THE JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
THE JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND FOR 1929

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY 74 GROSVENOR STREET, LONDON, W.I.
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PART I.—JANUARY

Four Hymns to Gula

By the Rev. C. J. MULLO-WAIR, M.A., B.D.

HYMNS to Gula are few and scattered. In the present article some of these are brought together. They are treated in the following order:

(a) King, Bab. Magic and Sorcery, No. 6, ll. 71–95, with the variants there cited and a new variant in Ebeling, KAR. 341. A šu-il-la prayer.

(b) King, ibid., No. 4, ll. 24 ff. A šu-il-la prayer.

(c) Craig, Religious Texts, i, 18 (ed. Martin, Textes Religieux, p. 70), with a variant in KAR. 41. Probably a kišub. Bilingual.


Through the kindess of the authorities in the British Museum, especially Dr. H. R. Hall and Mr. Sydney Smith, I have had the privilege of collating Nos. (c) and (d), and of the latter I have made a fresh copy. I am further indebted throughout this article to Professor Langdon, for many of the interpretations, restorations, and notes.

(a) King, No. 6, ll. 71–95

Var. A = KAR. 341; varr. B, C, D, and E as in King, ibid. (Var. B = King, No. 7, 9–33; var. C = King, No. 37, 7 ff.) Conjectural restorations are printed in ordinary type.

71.1 šiptu 2 tat \textit{Gu-la} 2 bēltum šur-bu-tum ummu ri-me₃-nil-tum 4 a-ši-bat šame-e ellūti

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72. al-si-ki bēlī 4 i-ziz-zi-im-ma 5 šī-me 3-e 6 ja-a- ti
73. eš-e-ki as-ḫur 7-ki kīma ulinni ili-ja u ištari-ja ulinna-ki
aš-bat
74. āš-šum di-in 8 da-a-ni purussā parā-si 9
75. āš-šum bul 10- lu-tu u 11 šul-lu- mu ba-šu-ū 12 itti-ki
76. āš-šum e-ți-ra 13 14 ga- ma-la 15 u šu-zu-ba 16 ti-di-e
77. išu Gu-la 17 bēltum šur-[bu-tum] 18 ummu 19 ri- mi 20- ni-tum
78. ina 21 ma'-du- ti kakka-bāni 23 ša 24- ma-mi
79. [bēlu 25 ka-a-si 26] as-ḫur-ki 27 ib-ša- ki uzna-ja
80. mašṭata 28 muḫ-ri-in- ni ma li-ki-e 29 un-ni-ni-ja
81. lu-š- pur-ki ana ili-ja zi-ni-i 30 31 ištari-ja zi-ni- ti
82. ana ili ali-ja ša šab-su ma kam- lu itti-ja 33
83. [ina 34 bi-ri 35 u 35 šutti 36] it 37- ta-[na-aš 38- ka-nam-ma 39]
84. [pal-ḫa- ku-ma 41] a-ta-[nam-dar 42]
85. išu Gu-la 44 bēltum šur-bu-tum 45 ina a-mat ki-bi-ti-ki
[šir-ti 46 4 ša ina E-kur 47 išu Enlil 47 48]
86. u an-ni-ki ki-nim 49 ša [lā enū 50]-ū
87. ili šab-su li-tu-ra ištari zin ti-[um 52 li-nu-uh 53]
88. ili ali-ja 54 ša šab-su ma kam- lu [libba-šu itti-ja 55]
89. ša ša 56 i-zi-za li-nu-ḫa ša i-gu-ga [li-ip-šah 57]
90. išu Gu-la 44 bēltum šur-bu-tum 58 sa-bi-ta-at a-[bu- ti-ja
at-ti 59]
91. ana 60 išu Marduk šar 62 ilānī bēl ri-mi-ni-ja [a-bu-ut- ti
šab-ti 63 ki-bi-i balāta 64]
92. šu 65-lul-ki rap-šu 66 ta-ja-ra-tu-ki kab-[ta-a-tum 67]
93. gi-mil dum-ki u 68 ba-la-ti ēli-[ja šuk- ni 69]
94. nar-bi-ki lu-ša- pi dā-li-l-ki lud-lul
95. inim-inim-ma šu-il-lā dīnu Gu-la-kam

1 Lines 71, 72 form three lines in A. 2 BE 4 lat Be-liit i-li. 3 CE mi.
4 Here A begins a new line. 5 A me! 6 CE i. 7 B asḥur. 8 A nā, B ni. 9 D [pa]-ra-su. 10 A bu-ul. 11 B omits u. 12 CE baš-a-u. 13 B eṭēra. 14 A inserts u. 15 B gamāla. 16 B šāzuba. 17 B 4 lat Be-liit i-li. 18 ABDE ša-ku-tum. 19 D um-mu. 20 D mc. 21 Lines 78, 79 form one line in B. 22 A i-na. 23 mul-mul B mul. 24 BDE šā. 25 Read B. A reads bēlī. 26 Read A. B has ku-[a-ši], cf. King, 4, 33 [bēlu ka]-a-ši. 27 DE seem to read at-ka-lī, cf. King, 4, 33. 28 A mašṭāti. 29 liš-ši. 30 Line 81 forms two lines in A. 31 A inserts ū. 32 Lines 82, 83 form one line in B. 33 E -iā. 34 Read D.
A reads ana. 22 Read AD. 26 Read ADE. 27 Read ADE. King has copied da. 23 Read DE. 29 Read E. 48 Acc. to King, BDE omit line 84. 41 Read A. 42 Cf. KAR. 92, edge a-ta-nam-da-ru and CT. xxvii, 36, 10, i-ta-nam-da-ru. 43 BE insert in three lines the common eclipse-formula. E precedes this by the line [ana-ku annannu mār annannī šā] īl-šū annannu ʾištar-šū annannī-tum. 44 B izat Be-lit i-š. 45 Dū. 46 Restored by King from 4, 43. 47 Read A. 48 mu BAD, cf. also King, 4, 43. D has traces of BAD, see King, 7, 23. 49 D ni. 50 Restored by King from 4, 44. 51 Line 87 forms two lines in AD. 52 Read A. 53 Restoration uncertain, but the sense is clear. 54 A ia. 55 Restored by King from 4, 37. 56 A ša. 57 Restoration uncertain; cf. King, 4, 46 and 47; pasūḫu is generally used parallel to nāḫu. The sense is clear. 58 A ū. 59 Cf. Ebeling, Quellen, i, 2, 35 = KAR. 58, Obv. 35. 60 Line 91 forms two lines in A. 61 B a-na. 62 lugul. A reads ša l. 63 Read A. King has the ideogram for šabatu, and reads šab- [i a-bu-ut-ti]. 44 Cf. King, 4, 49; or restore liš-me zik-ri, cf. King, i, 43 (var. 33, 25, zik-ri-ša). A has the beginning of ki or liš. 65 A zu l. 66 B ša, A ša. 67 Cf. King, 46, 6. 68 B ū. 69 Cf. Langdon, PSBA., 1918, 108, 17 = King, i, 22; Ebeling, Quellen, i, 3, 46 = KAR. 58, Obv. 46.

Translation

Incantation. Gula, lady magnified, mother compassionate, dweller in the pure heavens, I have cried to thee, lady; stand forth and hear me! I have sought thee, I have turned to thee, like the robe of my god and my goddess thy robe have I clasped. Forasmuch as to judge a cause, to make a decision—

75 Forasmuch as to make alive and to bring peace are with thee, Forasmuch as to preserve, to spare and to save thou art able

Gula, lady magnified, mother compassionate, Among the multitudinous stars of heaven Unto thee, lady, have I turned; my ears are unto thee.

80 Fine meal accept from me, receive my supplication, Let me send thee to my angry god, my angry goddess, To the god of my city who is wrathful and incensed against me.

By reason of a vision and a dream that have occurred I am afraid, so that I am cast into gloom.
85 Gula, lady magnified, mother compassionate, at the word of thy renowned command which in Ekur is Enlil
And thy steadfast mercy that changeth not
May my wrathful god be reconciled, my angry goddess rest;
May the god of my city who is wrathful, and whose heart is enraged against me
Who is furious, rest, who is enraged, relent!
90 Gula, lady magnified, one who maketh intercession for me art thou,
Unto Marduk, king of the gods, my merciful lord, make intercession for me; command life!
Thy protection is wide, thy reconciliation is mighty.
A bounty of welfare and of life provide for me!
Thy greatness verily I will extol, thy praises verily I will sing.

95 Incantation of "The Lifting of the Hand" to Gula.

The above hymn seems to be arranged in four almost equal sections, marked by the repetition of the invocation. Lines 83, 84, are an occasional insertion of a type common in prayers of this class. Here they occur, sometimes with other insertions, in the very centre of the hymn.

The hymn which follows, King, 4, 24 ff., is in part a variant of the last. In King, No. 6, the order of prayers is Anu, Nusku, Sin, Gula, Shamash; in No. 7, Marduk, Gula, Ishara. In No. 4, the order is Ea [= Enlilbanda), Damkina, Ninurta, Gula, the gap at the end of the obverse being partially restored by No. 3. No. 4 corresponds to the rubric of the bit rimki series, Zimmern, Ritualtafeln, 26, iii, 44–51, and is undoubtedly tablet II of the series; King, No. 41, is tablet I (Anu-Antu-Enlil-Ninlil) and King, No. 1, is tablet III.

(b) King, No. 4, ll. 24 ff.

The restorations in italics are from the preceding hymn, King, 6, 71-95.

24. šiptu iš ²Gu-la bēl-tu šur-bu-tū a-ši-bat šamē-e [uA-nim ³]  
25. [il-tum] ² rim-ni-tum ka-i-sat b[a-la-ši ²]  
26. [nap]-lu-us-sa taš-mu-ú ki-bit-sa šul-[mu]  
27. [al]-si-ki bēltu i-zīz-zi-ma ši-me-i ka-ba-[jā]  
28. [an]-4] di-ni da-ni purussā parā-si šulma(?) ⁵ sullu-mi  
29. [ashur]-ki a-še’-ki ulinna-ki aš-bat kīma ulinni ili-jā u  
is-tari-jā  
30. [di]-ni di-ni purussā-jā puru-si a-lak-ti ši-[mi]  
31. [dā-šum] e-ti-ra ga-ma-la šu-zu-ba ti-di-[e]  
32. dā-[šum] bul-lu-tu šul-lu-mu ba-shu-ú it-ti-[ki]  
33. bēltu [ka]-a-ši at-kal-ki šum-ki aš ⁶k[ūr(?)]  
34. ib-ša-ku uzān-jā it-ri-ni-in-ni-ma ilu-ut-ki lut-[ta-id]  
35. nīs kāti-jā muḫ-ri-ma liki-i un-ni-ni-jā  
36. lu-uš-pur-ki ana ili-jā zi-ni-i istari-ja zi-ni-[ti]  
37. ana ili ali-jā ša šab-su kam-lu libba-shu it-ši-[jā]  
38. ina šutti u bi-ri ša ittanaška-n[am-ma]  
39. ina lumun attālē ²²‘Sin ša ina arḥi annanni ʿūmi annanni  
šak-na  
40. lumun idāti ittālī limmēti lā ābātī  
41. Ša ina ekali-jā u māti-jā baša-a  
42. pal-ḥa-ku ad-ra-ku u šu-ta-du-ra-ku  
43. ina a-mat ki-bi-ti-ki šir-ti ša ina Ė-kur [²²Enlil]  
44. Šu an-ni-ki ki-nim ša lā enū-ū  
45. ša šab-su litu-ra īṣtar-ī zi-ni-tū [li-nu-ḥ]  
46. ilu ali-jā ṘuMarduk ša i-gu-ga [?[i(?)-ip-š]  
47. Ša zī-zu lip[pasīr] ṘuGu-la bēltu šur-bu-tū ummu  
[ri-mi-ni-tum]  
48. [ana] ṘuMarduk bēl(?) [ri-mi-ni-jā] māri riš-ti-e ša  
[³³Ē-š]  
49. [a-bu-ut-ti šab-ti] ki-bi-i [balāta]  
50. . . . (The rest of the hymn is missing.)

¹ Cf. Zimmerm., Ritualtafeln, 26, iii, 51. ² Restored by King from 7, 35;  
or restore ra-bi-tum. ³ Cf. King, 9, 39. ⁴ Or ē-šum, cf. King, 6, 74, but
King, p. 28, note, says there seems to be room for only one sign and restores ana. \* Idg. diug-gun, perhaps = šulmu, which seems to be the word required here. diug = good; gun = much. Cf. the parallel passage in iv R. 60, Obv. 37, where the tablet is unfortunately broken. \* as for az. 

TRANSLATION

Incantation. Gula, lady magnified, dweller in the heavens of Anu,

25 Goddess compassionate, bestower of life,
Whose regard is acceptance,¹ whose word is peace,
I have cried to thee, lady; stand forth and hear my speech!
For the sake of judging my cause, making a decision and bringing peace
I have turned to thee, I have sought thee, thy robe have I clasped like the robe of my god and of my goddess.

30 Judge my cause, make my decision, fix my path!
Forasmuch as to preserve, to spare and to save thou art able,²
Forasmuch as to give life and to bring peace are with thee,
Lady, in thee have I trusted, thy name have I invoked; My ears are unto thee. Preserve me, and I will verily glorify thy divinity.

35 The lifting of my hand receive, accept my supplication. Let me send thee to my angry god, my angry goddess, To the god of my city who is wrathful and whose heart is incensed against ³ me.
By reason of a dream and a vision that have occurred, By reason of the disaster of an eclipse of the moon, which in such and such a month on such and such a day occurred,

40 A disaster of omens and signs, evil and not good, Which are in my palace and my land, I am afraid, I am gloomy and I am cast into gloom. At the word of thy renowned command which in Ekur is Enlil,
And thy steadfast mercy that changeth not,
45 May my wrathful god be reconciled, my angry goddess rest;
May the god of my city, Marduk, who is enraged, relent,
Who is furious, be appeased! Gula, lady magnified, mother compassionate,
Unto Marduk, lord of my compassion, first son of Ea,
Make intercession for me, command life . . .

1 Lit. "hearing". 2 Lit. "thou knowest". 3 Lit. "with".

(c) CRAIG, RT. i, 18

Var. KAR. 41, from which is restored the beginning of ll. 1–3. Judged by its literary style, this hymn is probably a kišub,1 and is accordingly followed by a Semitic šu-il-la prayer, in column II. The last line of the Sumerian in column II is probably to be restored û m[â-e] . . . from OECT. 6, 48, 1. 6. In that text a rubric designating it a kišub intervenes before the commencement of the Semitic šu-il-la prayer.

1. [ē]n 2 [ê-Ni]n 2-si 3-in-na 4 [ama sag gig-ga]-5 ge
2. [ê-lat]Nin-k]ár-ra-ak um-me [šal-mat ƙaƙ-ƙa 6-d[i] Ninsinna,7 mother of the dark-headed.8
3. [ê-lat]Nin-tin-ga ama sag [gig 9-g]a-ge
4. [ê-lat]Nintinugga 10 um 2-me šal-mat ƙaƙ-ƙa-di
Nintinugga, mother of the dark-headed,
5. [ê-lat]Bau 13 ya-[u-û] nam-tul-la šub-ba šag 11 gig 12-ga-ge
6. [ê-lat]Bau 13 na-da-at ši-pat ba-lá-ți ana 14 ki-iš 15 lib-bi
Bau, who casts the incantation of life for the sick heart,
7. [ê-lat]Da-mu 16 galu kud-da sa dû-dû 17-ge
8. [ê-lat]Da-mu 16 šá šir-a-na 18 bat-ƙa 20 i-kâš-ƙa-ru 21
Damu, who binds up the man whose sinew is severed, 22
9. [ê-lat]Gun-ra 22a šiti-dû kalam-na-ge
10. [ê-lat]Gunura 23 pa-kid 24-da-at ma-ți
Gunura, the overseer of the land,
12. 𒀜𒀜Amašumāḫa 𒀨 ab-rak-kāt 𒈦-E-kūr
Amashumaha, apothecary of Ekur,
13. 𒀣Ama-šu-ḫal-bi ama 𒊩𒈬-nig-nam 𒆠-gāl-la-ge
14. 𒀜Amašubalbi 𒈵 um-me 𒌋 šik 𒊍-na-at 𒄿 napiš-tim 𒈵-Amashubalbi, mother of whatsoever exists, 𒈵-
15. 𒄞-Tu-bé-in 𒈵-tu 𒈵-ba-šāq 𒈵-sukal 𒈵-maḫ 𒊩𒈬-sag 𒈵-E-gal-maḫ-ge
16. 𒀜< Tubeintubašag > 𒊩продаж-kal-lu 𒊩ši-ru リアル ki-rib
𒈵-E-gal-maḫ
Tubeintubashag, far-famed messenger of the heart of
Egalmah,
17. 𒌊sag 𒊩ši 𒊩ši 𒊩sag 𒊩si 𒊩lipeš 𒈞-gig
18. mu-ru-uš 𒈪 kakkadi muuruš 𒈪-šin-ni muuruš 𒈪-lib-bi
ki-ış lib-bi
Headache, toothache, heart-sickness, bowel-sickness,
19. [igi gi]g 𒈪-ā-ṣīg sa-ma-ná tura 𒈹-gul-[al-la] 𒈢-
20. [ ]: muruš i-ni a-sak-ku sa-ma-nu 𒈸-muruš-
[l[i-m-nu]
Eye-disease, plague, itch (?), evil disease ...
21. . . . (The rest of the tablet is broken off.) 𒈵-

1 For the meaning of this term, see Langdon, OECT. vi, Preface. Ibid.,
2 pp. 44–60, a number of kišub texts are edited. 3 Craig's copy should be
4 amended. 5 Var. Nin-i-ši-in-na]. 4 Ninisimna and Ninisina are here
5 translated Ninkarrak, a well-known epithet of Gula and Bau. In KAR.
6 16 (var. KAR. 15), ed. Ebeling, Quellen, i, 52 ff., we have a hymn to Ni-in-
7 ni-an-na, who is likewise translated Ninkarrak. Consequently Ninisimna =
8 Ninisina = Ninisanna (orig. Nin-an-a-si-an-na) = "Queen who fills
9 the heavens", i.e. Venus (Istar), and does not mean "Queen of Isin";
10 cf. Langdon, Tammuz and Ishtar, p. 175, et passim. 5 Cf. 1. 3. 6 Cf. 1. 4.
7 So the Sumerian; the Semitic has "Ninkarrak". 8 i.e. "mankind".
9 10 Restored. 11 V. 𒌋nin-ti-ä-ga. 11 V. sag, translated lib-bi "heart"!
11 The sign in Var. is evidently intended for gig. 12 V. 𒌋Ba-šu. 14 V. a-na. 15 The root is keš press, harass, be harassed, be angry; see Langdon,
16 AJSL. 34, 207, 208. 16 Damu is a title of Tammuz as well as of the
17 Earth-goddess; see Langdon, Tammuz and Ishtar, p. 6 f. et pas.
18 V. keš-da-ge. For this use of ge, see Langdon, OECT. 6, p. 36, n. 1. dú-dû =
19 kašaru only here. Prb. du 𒈬 "assemble" (dû 7 in Langdon, Sum. Gr.,
20 p. 210). 19 V. Da-mu. 19 V. nu. 20 V. ku. 21 V. i-kâš-par (?). 22 So
22 the Sumerian; the Semitic has "Damu who binds up the severed sinew".
24 i.e. "mother of the far-famed might". Var. 𒊩-Su-maḫ. 25 Cf. sal
abríg in Johns, ADD. 828, l. 5. In BA. v, 644, 15. Gula of Isin is called abríg maḫ = [ab-raḵ-ša-tu šir]-tum. 27 Var. šap-ša-maḫ. 28 See list of corrections in Craig, RT. ii, p. ix. Var. Amn-ša-ḫal-bi. 29 Var. umme. 30 Var. na-piš-tim. 31 So the Sumerian: the Semitic has "mother of the creation of the breath (of life)". 32 Var. tu. 33 Var. za. 34 The text omits; Var. has šatTu-bé-in-tu-ba-za. 35 Var. ši-ru. 36 With ll. 17-20, cf. CT. 16, 31, 94-6. 37 See RA. 17, 100, lipeš = libbi, but probably does not mean "heart", but rather "bowels" or "womb". 38 Var. mu-ru-us. 39 Restoration uncertain. 41 Sumerian loan-word, cf. Thompson, Medical Texts, 1, 2, 10 = "itch", "skin-disease". It is also used for calcium nitrate, a scaly deposit that forms on walls; see Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine, 17, p. 4. 42 Traces of šul occur in the middle of l. 21.

(d) K. 232

Obverse

1. DI

2. KI

3. [niše(?) a (?)]-pa-a-ti
   pale-faced peoples,

4. [šu (?)]Asar (?)-l]u (?)-dug
   Marduk,

5. [šu (?)]Asar-gir 1
   Marduk (?),

6. -ḫat (?) 2 a-li-da-at il[āni (?)] 3
   mother of the gods,

7. [mu]-šap-šiḫat šu Nanna[ri]
   who appeaseth Sin,

8. kāt ili
   who removeth (?) affliction, 4

9. -bil (?)-ti ili u šarri
   god and king,

10. ra-šu-maš šu Utu-gal-lu 5
    lover of Ninurta,

    Giver of sceptre and hatchet, whose station 7 in heaven is . . . .
12. [ab-kal-lat ba-ra] 8-at mul-li-la-at 9 muš-ši-pat 9 ili u amēli Counsellor, seer, purifying priestess, magician-priestess of god and man,

13. Nintin-ūg-ga be-el-tu muš-ši-hat gi-mir niše mu-bal-liš-ta-at mitt Nintinugga, lady who appeaseth all peoples, who giveth life to the dead man,

14. Nin-kār-ra-ak be-liš rik-si ár-ša-še-e e-pišat nīk-ka-si a-ri-e Ninkarrak, mistress of the spell 10 against sorcery, who casteth up the reckonings of multiplication, 11

15. la-ba-at 12 uz-za-at ע mu-ma-1-ir-rat Crying in rage and directing,


17. Me-me ba-nit par-ši Me-me-šig-ga ša-pi-kat 14 irši-tim ša-ma-mi
Meme, creatress of ordinances, Memeshigga, moulder of earth and heaven,

18. \textit{Ama-šu-ḥal-bi} \textit{um-mu ri-mi-ni-tum} \textit{mu-šap-si-ḥat zu-um-ri}

Amashuhalbi, mother compassionate, soother of the body,

19. \textit{Gigim-šig-ga} \textit{ba-nit kak-ki} \textit{na-di-na-at šēdi dum-ki}

Gigimshigga, creatress of "weapons", giver of a good protecting-deity,

20. \textit{Lamma-šig-ga šā-pi-kāt irši-tim} \textit{mu-šat-li-mat lamassi dum-ki}

Lammashigga, moulder of the earth, bestower of a good guardian-genius,

21. \textit{Mah ši-rat īlāni [a-li-kat] pu-ut \textit{Ašur}}

Mah, far-famed one of the gods, who goeth before Ashur,

22. \textit{Nin-mah} \textit{ilat Nin-tu}

Nimah, Nintu,

23. \textit{LUM} \textit{mu-šak-li-mat ta-lit-ti}

who granteth 17 offspring

24. \textit{be-līt} \textit{da-ād-me}

Mistress of abodes,

25. \textit{mu-} \textit{ma-ḥa-zi}

Who holy places,

26. \textit{[in (?)]-nam-ma-ru i-sar-ru-ru mē (erasure) šikaru 18 (?)}}

are made to shine, water and beer flow,

27. \textit{i-ba'-u}

they come in,

28. \textit{e-liš ū šap-liš}

above and below,

29. \textit{[ma(?)]-ḥa-riš šā-di-id-ma}

in front (?) it is pulled, 19

30. \textit{[I]B (?) KAL da-ād-me}

abodes,

31. \textit{[ra-ʾi-mat] \textit{Utu-gāl-lu}}
32. te-ri[t 20]  
   Nurse (?)  
   lover of Ninurta,
33. ki-rib  
   The midst of fire (?),
   tu-šā-ḫa-am-maṭ  
   she causes to be set on fire (?),
34. -šar (?)-ši-  
   [šu-ba]ša Dù-kug 31  
   her dwelling is Dukug,
35. BIT I  
   a-ši-bat šub-ba-a-ti  
   dwelling in sanctuaries 22
36. ina (?) NI  
   BAD ḤUR  
   her dwelling is Dukug,
37.  
   DA RA na-šat giz[i]lli (?)] 23  
   bearer of the torch (?),
38.  
   [U]N (?) I ŠAM ŠI MAT SU  
   [U]N (?) I ŠAM ŠI MAT SU  
   bearer of the torch (?),
39.  
   NI BIT  
   her dwelling is Dukug,
40.  
   KI LAM DA  
   bearer of the torch (?),

Reverse

1. TI it[Nin-šig-[ga]  
   Ninshigga
2. -ta ir-ši-ta  
   the earth
3. SA RI E ŠA[R]  
   the earth
4. AM ŠE-GU-N[AR] 24  
   the pasturage and drinking-place
5. [ri-i]-ta u maš-ki-ta  
   She who (?)  
   the pasturage and drinking-place
6. na-piš-ti  
   the soul
7. . . . ba-ri nap-ḫa-ri . . . . . . . . all
8. . . . ŠAD DA LAT (?) . . . . . . . . .
9. ḤE-NUN 25 . . . TUK-KAN 26 purussā . . . . the decree
10. tinūri 27 . . . nu-um-mu-ra ḫuṣ-rin-ni šu-[uš-su-na ti-di-e]

The oven . . . how to fire (?), how to cause incense to be smelt she knoweth,

K. 232
Reverse
11. a-šar ri-kis šamni ki-i-ni iš-ka-ti t[u-uš-ta-din]  
In the place of the cult-installation of sure oil  
she fixeth the portions (of men),
. . . . Anu, Enlil, and Ea . . . . . .
13. a-šar ṭuSin ṭuŠamaš ṭuAdad i-
In the place where Sin, Shamash, and Adad.

14. kan-su-ma ilu u ṭu-iš-ta-ri i-bər-ra.
God and Goddess are bowed down, beholding

15. ṭuMarduk bēl ne-me-ki i-ŠAT MA (?) .
Marduk, lord of wisdom

16. ina kut-rin-ni šamni (?) . šēri 30 immēri ú-su-rat
iššurē 31
By incense, oil, the flesh of lambs, bird-
omens.

17. ina di-ni u purussi ma-ḥar-sā
By judgment and decision before her

18. a-šar sa-li-me ša ḫarrānu u pa-da-nu šu-te-[šu-ra]
In the place of peace, where way and path are made
straight,

19. . . . -pat-ti uz-ni-ši-na ūr-kūt-si-na i-[par-ra-as (?)]
He (?) opens their ears, the future he decides,

20. i-nu-šu lib-bi-sā SI (?)-te-liš uš-
At that time, her heart (?)

21. dal-ḥa ú-su-ra-a-te šu-ta-bu-la-te [tērēti]
Confused were the fates; the omens were darkened (?)

22. ta-miš it-mu-u ta’-it-tum 32 piri[štum 33 um-ma]
An answer they gave, counsel, decision, as follows,

23. ši-i-ma muš-ta-lat ma-ša-at ma-la-kat
"She shall be the contemplative, the sufficient, the
counsellor,

24. uš-ta-pi-šil kil-lat-si-na i-paṭ-ṭar ar-ni
She shall suppress their 34 shame, she shall annul (their)
sins,

25. be-liṭ ri-e-ši ut-nin-ni a-na ši-si-it ḫa-an-da-at
She shall be the lady of joy and prayer hastening to the
cry (of the people),

26. i-šīm-me taš-šit nišē i-nam-din bul-ṭu
She shall hear the imploration of the peoples, she shall
give life,

27. i-nam-din te-e šā šup-šu-ḥi ši-pat balāṭi
She shall give the incantation of alleviation and the spell of life,

28. i-paṭ-tar ri-kis nam-ra-ši mu-ru-uš ta-as-sūḫ-ti

She shall loosen the band of disease, the distress of tribulation,

29. ab-kal-lat ba-ra-at muš-ši-pat mu-us-sa-at ka-la-ma

She shall be the counsellor, the seer, the magician, the purifier (?) of all things,

30. sa-ni-kaṭ ri-`a-ta a-ši-rat muš-ta-lat

The establisher of rulership, the musterer, the adviser

31. sa-ki-pat . . . . bēlu ri-me-na-at

The overwelmmer . . . . the lady, the compassionate,

32. mu-kal-[li-mat ittāti] ša-bi-ta-at mu-paṭ-ti-rat

The revealer of signs, the intercessor, the forgiver,

33. [ri-mi-ni-tum šā ta-a-bu] na-as-ḫur-šā

The merciful, whose reconciliation is good,

34. . . . . . . . . . . . . . ši-tul 41.-šā

. . . . . . . . . . . . . her counselling,

35. . . . . . . . . . . . . . [ii]ī-I-gi-ġi

. . . . . . . . . . . . . the Heaven-spirits,

36. . . . . . . . . . . . . -ta-lat 37. . . . -lu-ta da-dd-me

. . . . . . . . . . . . . abodes,

38. . . . . . . . . . . . . -di-šā 39. . . . -liš

40. . . . . . . . . . . . . -rat 41. . . . (Remainder broken off.)

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1 Prb. alim is intended, cf. Langdon, Epic of Creation, vii, 3. ḫaAsar-alim, and vii, 5. ḫaAsar-alim-nun-na = Marduk. See ibid., note on alim. Cf. also CT. 24, 27, 26. 2 Perhaps the end of another sign. 3 The name of some god may have stood here. 4 Lit. “the hand of God”. 5 This name is also applied to Nergal. 6 paṭu = “hatchet” (not “ring”) as an emblem of royal power, and is prb. a loan-word from Sumer. bal = “hatchet”. See Langdon, Epic of Creation, p. 130, n. 1. 7 The reference is to the Hypsoma of Venus, i.e. Pisces; see Langdon, Epic of Creation, p. 149, n. 8. Gula is sometimes identified with Venus; the word Gula identified with Aquarius is not the goddess Gula; see Langdon, Archiv. für Orientforschung, iv, 96, and literature there cited. 8 Restored from Rev., l. 29. 9 Titles of priests, Muss-Arnolt, 549 and 608. Here we have the feminine forms, which are not in the dictionaries. 10 i.e. “ritual” 11 nikkasu, nikasu = reckoning, counting, bookkeeping; the Sumerian is nīg-sīd.
Cf. YOS. iii, 17, 4 f. nikkasa it-ti-šu-nu e-piš, and ibid., 40, 21, nikkasa e-pu-uš-ma. The word appears in Syriac as nikesayä, in Hebrew as nēkasim. Aru is a loan-word from Sumer. a-ra = "multiplication"; cf. SAI. 8839, a-ra = a-ru: ša nikkasi = "multiplication, applied to reckoning", in CT. 11, 36, 9. Cf. Thureau-Dangin, RA. 19, 90. Gula is thus confounded here with Nidaba, the goddess of numbers, see Langdon, Tammuz and Ishtar, p. 151. 12 labû = lababû, growl, rage; cf. Zimmerm, Neujahresfest, 20, 67, ta-la-bi-a "cry out"; cf. KAR. 379, 5-9, il-bi-u, of oxen and pigs. 13 SAI. 5374, explains 4Kûr-rib-ba wrongly as Igiği. It is explained rightly in CT. 25, 18, 6, as Ishartum, i.e. Gula; cf. also CT. 23, 2, 17, where 4Kûr-rib-ba = Ninisinna, i.e. Gula. The root rib means "excel". 14 Šapâku = to pour out metal into a mould, hence mould (weapons, etc.); cf. Clay, Gilgamesh, 162 and 165-7. 15 The name means "good ghost". 16 kakku "weapon", prob. refers to a sign on the liver and hence = "liver omen". 17 Lit. "causeth to appear". 18 Doubtful. 19 Translation uncertain. 20 te-rit = "oracle", but perhaps we have here the feminine of tiru guardian, though we should expect tarit. 21 The assembly-hall of the gods. 22 Lit. "dwellings". 23 Restoring GI-I[1]LAL. 24 Šegunû is a kind of grain. See Ungnad, ZA. 38, 80. 25 Perhaps this is the ideogram ge-num = nuḫû abundance. 26 tukkannu = a leather bag, used for divination. 27 In CT. 12, 26, 49b, the sign rendered by di-li-na is rendered also by ti-nu-ur. In Clay, Miscel. 53, 75 = CT. 35, 2, 65, the same sign is rendered di-li-im = ti-nu-ru. Hence di-li-na and di-li-im both = tinûru. Delitzsch, Sumer. Gl., p. 285, under ninindu, cites a Berlin syllabary which reads dili-en, dili-na, ti-nu-ur, tu-nu-ur = ti-nu-[ru]. 28 adânu is a denominal verb from adânu fixed time, cf. Langdon, OECT. vi, 100, 140, note. Perhaps some noun intervened after iškâti. 29 A reference to oil-divination. 30 = the liver? 31 Lit. "designations made by birds". 32 = ta'imtum | ū̄nu. 33 Restoring ḥal-[af]. 34 i.e. men's. 35 The sign NE has the values saḫ, saḫ, saḫ, see Ungnad, ZA. 38, 80. But it has also the value suḫ, cf. Muss-Arnolt, 1180a, ta-as-su-ḫaḫ-tum with Boissier, Choix de Textes, 176, 2, ta-as-NE-tum = ta-as-suḫ-tum. 36 Doubtful. 37 Sc. abâti. 38 Lit. "blotter out", sc. of (the penalty for) sin. 39 Cf. OECT. vi, 81, 12. 40 Lit. "turning". 41 The sign is lagar, but the gunufied form, tul, is evidently to be read here

Correction: The second-last sign on p. 15, l. 35, should be ṣâša, the ordinary sign for five.

Additional Note: Scheil, Sippur, No. 6, is another variant of a). It duplicates ll. 71-86, and was written for the use of Shamaš-šum-ukīn. It was edited by Boissier, Revue Sémite, 1898, 143 f., cf. also ibid., 1896, 161, and contains a few unimportant variants.
Fragment of Papyrus, B.M. 10447.

[See pp. 198.]

To face page 201.
Book-keeping for a Cult of Rameses II

BY S. R. E. GLANVILLE

(PLATE I)

In his Rechnungen aus der Zeit Setis I, p. 77, Professor Spiegelberg has published, à propos of New Kingdom account papyri in general, a fragment of papyrus, at one time in the Musée Guimet,1 whose interest lay in the mention of a new place-name åⁿ in connexion with the well-known town of Nefrusi, åⁿ. The occurrence of these two names in a hieratic fragment, B.M. Pap. 10447 2 (acquired by the British Museum fifty-one years ago) suggested the following synthesis.

TEXT

The text thus reassembled must have occupied a piece of papyrus about 20 in. long with a depth of about 4½ in. The tear down the middle has deprived us of one or more signs in every line but the third. In view of the economy of expression which characterizes Egyptian accounts these can ill be spared. In spite of these lacunae, however, the meaning of the document is clear, even if the construction is not always so.

TRANSLATION

1. Corn for the great statue of Rameses-Beloved-of-Amen, L.P.H., beloved of Tum in Upper Egypt, in the Ward of Tayatnaherhe in Nefrusi (1): 800 sacks, as follows:—

1 Its present whereabouts is unknown. Professor Moret, who very kindly searched the archives of the Musée Guimet, but without any success, tells me that it was not in the Musée when he became Conservateur in 1906. Professor Spiegelberg has heard nothing of it since he copied it there some time before 1896 (the date of the publication of his Rechnungen).

2 7½ by 4½ in. at greatest length and breadth respectively. The papyrus is bleached to a greyish colour. The top, right-hand and bottom edges are unhurt; the left-hand is very ragged as a result of the tear which caused the estrangement of the two fragments.
2. Carried forward (2) from Year 54, by the hand (3) of the scribe Amenemone of this House:

Farmer ... y, son of Ptahpadi, and farmer Nebwa, son of Ptahmay; 400 sacks.

3. Year 55, by the hand of the scribe Horminy of this House in this House; 400 sacks, as follows:

What is in the charge of the stable superintendent, Ha'khay, son of Nekhtminy, for (?) (4) the granary of Tayatnaherhe—

Farmer Nebwa, son of Ptahmay, 200 sacks.

5. What is in the Ward of Pa'ashpu,(5) in the central district of Nefrusi—

Farmer (?) ... y son of Ptahpady, on account of the workmen (?), 200 sacks.

Total 800.

Verso

The great Statue of Rameses-Beloved-of-Amen, L.P.H., beloved of Tum.

NOTES ON THE TRANSLATION

(1) Spiegelberg expresses some doubt as to the meaning of this collocation of place-names. But from the mention of the "dmy Pa'ashpu in the centre of Nefrusi" (l. 5) it is clear that dmy need not be taken literally as a town, village or even hamlet, but means here a quarter of a town. Tayatnaherhe was therefore either a suburb on the edge of, or more probably a quarter within the town itself, of Nefrusi. That the latter (see the references quoted in Gauthier, Dictionnaire des noms geographique, iii, 89), a town of the Oryx nome, somewhere between Shmûn and Kom el-Ahmar, was of sufficient importance and size to contain within itself separate dmyt, one of which had its own shrine to the King, is shown by a phrase in the Carnarvon Tablet. Kamôse there speaks of "cooping up (?)" Teti in Nefrusi¹ and the implication is that it was a sufficiently strong and important place for an army to fall back on. It was still to be reckoned as a stronghold under Piankhy when its walls were overthrown by Namlot.²

¹ Gardiner in JEA., iii, 105–6, and (with Gunn) v, 46.
² Newberry in PSBA., xxxv, 119, note i.
(2) Literally "remainder".

(3) *m drt*, frequently simply "from" (see Spiegelberg, *op. cit.*, 34) seems here to have its literal meaning "by the hand of", indicating the author of the accounts which are the significant contents of the text. The short statement contained in the latter half of the line—"farmer... etc."—is simply a digest of longer accounts kept by the scribe Amenemone. This is not clear from the construction of the line—grammatically one would be inclined to assume that *m drt* governed all three persons referred to—but the sense demands it.

(4) "for" seems to have more point than "of", and is perhaps balanced—as an explanation—by *ḥr b3k* in the next line.

(5) This name is not known elsewhere. The fact that neither Pa'ashpu nor Tayatnaherhe have occurred in any other inscriptions is in favour of their both being merely quarters of Nefrusi, only known locally. In ll. 4 and 5 the statements "farmer, etc... sacks" are to be taken as summaries of fuller accounts kept throughout the year. There is the same apparent absence of construction as in l. 2 (see note 3 above).

**COMMENTARY**

The writing is that of a neat Nineteenth Dynasty hand. It was this, rather than the occurrence of the name *R4.ms.sw-mry-imn*, which made Spiegelberg ascribe his fragment to the reign of Rameses II. This identification is confirmed by the high regnal dates mentioned in the B.M. text.

With the exception of the lacunae caused by the tear the document is complete. It is a finished statement—not a mere jotting, as the careful script and labelling on the back prove—of the corn receipts for two successive years in some small temple or local shrine of Atum which contained a statue of the reigning Pharaoh, Rameses II. It is possible that the Statue of the King was the sole recipient of offerings in the shrine, and that the dedication to Atum referred to a larger temple of that God in the neighbourhood. Certainly Nefrusi had been connected with the worship of Ḥathor from early
times,\(^1\) and Atum was associated with Hathor of \(\text{\textcircled{\text{}}} \text{\textcircled{\text{}}} \text{\textcircled{\text{}}}\) in the triad of Heroopolis in the Delta.\(^2\) As the statement of receipts deals in greater detail with the second year than with the first it is likely that the writer of the text was the scribe "by the hand of" whom the second year's tithes were acknowledged, namely Horminy; and the text may be presumed to have been drawn up at the end of the second year, i.e. year 55 of Rameses' reign, as a guide to Horminy's successor for use during year 56.

In view of the terseness of the Egyptian, the form of the account is best shown by spacing the letterpress as I have done in the Translation. It is then immediately apparent that the total of 800 sacks of corn for two years is not only made up of two equal annual amounts, but is subscribed by the same two farmers in each year, and that each farmer is assessed at an equal quota (200 sacks) each year. (This is only stated for the second year, but is implied for the first as well.) Farmer Nebwa's contribution went to the storehouse attached to the shrine or temple of the statue. The other farmer's—his name is lost—was kept in another quarter of the town, apparently for distribution to certain workmen. As these must have been connected in some way with the shrine at Tayatnaherhe it would seem that this was still being built or added to, and our text would therefore be the statement of the total accounts up to date. Spiegelberg, however, was uncertain of the readings  and  (in  in the last part of line 5; the sense is therefore not certain.

Thus analysed the text throws a little light on the common but rather vaguely interpreted word 'huty. Gardiner \(^3\) has broken away from the non-committal translation of the past, "peasant," "labourer," "fellah," etc., and adopted the more technical term, "tenant-farmer," to express the real

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\(^1\) Newberry, Beni Hasan, ii, 20.
\(^2\) Budge, God of the Egyptians, i, 354.
\(^3\) Eg. Grammar, p. 500, "J.24," note 5.
meaning. His justification is the passage in the Siut contracts\(^1\) in which the Nomarch stipulates with the priests of the Temple that in return for certain observances on their part he will give them firstfruits from his estate, and that he will start by causing every ‘huty of his to give firstfruits from his (the ‘huty’s) ‘huet. Here, then, ‘huet is not so much “field” — which would be misleading—as “holding”, and the ‘huty is a smallholder, renting his land—by payment in kind and certain services—from a person of substance, or the temple, or the King. This is precisely the meaning of Gardiner’s “tenant-farmer”. ‘huty occurs again in a passage from a long inscription published by Gardiner in 1913.\(^2\) Following a description of a new foundation of the King’s at Memphis comes the information\(^3\) that it was supplied with priests and temple officials, with land and animals, and with officials who were to look after these last two classes of endowments respectively. Those who were responsible for the land are called ‘hutwy, and the next sentence, referring back to this description, says that all the offices of the temple were filled right well. Clearly then the ‘hutwy were more than mere “field-labourers” as Gardiner then translated. They were persons who had been installed as tenants in small parcels of land from which they were expected to provide certain revenues to the temple. They were entirely different from the mrt mentioned in l. 22 of the same inscription, who, though field-labourers as the context implies, were the personal property of the writer (the owner of the statue)—serfs in fact.

Returning to the Ramesside inscription, everything indicates a similar status for the ‘hutwy here to those of the two texts just described. The fact that two farmers should supply the total corn provision two years running and at the

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\(^1\) Griffith, *Inscriptions of Siut*, etc., vi, 280.

\(^2\) On a statue of an important official of Amenophis III from Memphis, in Petrie, etc., *Tarkhan I and Memphis V*, p. 33 ff, plates lxxviii–lxxx.

same rate makes it most unlikely that this is an entirely voluntary contribution, even of such a self-imposed nature as an Athenian leitourgia of the fifth century. Clearly they rented their land on condition that they supplied 200 sacks of grain a year to the temple chest. Apart from its mention of two unknown place-names in connexion with Nefrusi, the inscription is therefore of considerable interest as showing that such contracts as those of the Siut Tombs and Amenhotep’s Statue did work in practice, and as giving us a glimpse of the method of book-keeping they entailed.

Text

Pap. B.M. 10447 + fragment ex Musée Guimet (unnumbered).

(N.B.—The dotted lines indicate the torn edge of the B.M. fragment, which contains the first half of each line of the text. Underlined passages in red ink.)

1. [image of hieroglyphics]

1 A very unusual, if not a unique spelling; perhaps by confusion with [image of hieroglyphics], in which the hieratic form of [image of hieroglyphics] is indistinguishable from that of [image of hieroglyphics].

2 Spiegelberg, ibid., read [image of hieroglyphics] for [image of hieroglyphics], but later altered this to the reading given here on the strength of the personal name [image of hieroglyphics].

Leemans, Mon. Eg. à Leide, ii, pl. 16; Sharpe, Hierog. Ins., i, 26 (= B.M. Stele 138); Lepsius, Denkm. Text, i, 183. To these must be added the remarkable jackal-headed shabti-figure, B.M. 47398, of painted
limestone, for Nahebe (XIXth-XXth Dynasty). The reading is confirmed by the writing in l. 4 of the B.M. fragment. I have transcribed it with 4, for the sake of consistency with the writing below (instead of Spiegelberg's 3).

1 The scribe has undoubtedly written 4, which in hieratic somewhat resembles 3. The mistake occurs also in hieroglyphic as early as the reign of Amenophis III (Petrie, Wainwright, and Gardiner, Tarkhan I and Memphis X, pl. lxxx, l. 19), and is quoted by Spiegelberg, Demotica, II, 53, note 5, in Sitz. d. Bayerischen Ak. d. Wiss., 1928, 2, Abhandl., as an accepted variant at the end of the New Kingdom. I owe this reference to Dr. Gardiner.

2 Probably not more than two signs missing.

3 Inserted in small writing above the line.
There are no traces of this line on the verso; possibly p² was omitted.
The Patna Congress and the "Man"

BY C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS

THE substance of the following was given in an address at the Oxford Congress of Orientalists, 1928. It makes no pretensions to do more than put forward a few suggestions concerning the so-called Third Buddhist Council—suggestions which may help when historians are reconsidering the miserably poor materials, which are all we have to throw light on what was the most momentous crisis and decision in the whole history of Buddhism.

"Congress of Patna" (or Pāṭaliputta) is a more suitable term than "council". To picture it, we must recall the factors in our own recent if less momentous ecclesiastical crisis: a council with revisional labours of twenty years, the whole Church of England and the House of Commons. Kern was in error in describing it as a mere "party meeting... after the schism", by which he seems to mean "secession", of the Mahāsaṅghikas. If we are to believe Buddhaghosa, this and the other schools or "sects" (ācariyakulā) had not seceded from the Sangha. They are expressly included in the one Sakya Sangha as distinct from teachers and teaching which were "outside this". It was the very presence of such schools, notably of Mahāsaṅghikas (or Vajjiputtīyas) in the Sangha, which contributed to bring about the "Council" and make it so momentous.

The Congress took place during the reign of King, or Emperor, Asoka round about the middle of the third century B.C. Our authorities as to the event are not contemporaneous. They are the Dipavamsa and the Mahāvaṃsa of Ceylon, and the commentaries on the Vinaya and Kathāvatthu. These appear to have been written, or to have taken written form,

1 Indian Buddhism, p. 110. 2 Kathāvatthuly.
between six and seven centuries later. As records of a great work and a great crisis they are one and all meagre, jejune, all but childish. The Ceylon "epics" were the work of "men of letters" more anxious to interest reader and listeners than to recover the true. Buddhaghosa was earnest, but in him the historical sense is totally absent. Kern's damning the records as "full of glaring untruths" is too fierce a bark, but, albeit he too much mixes up event with "story", and Patna with Ceylon, he does bring us to this important statement: "the object of the . . . (congress) . . . was 'to prove that the Vibhajjavādins' . . . were the real and original sect, i.e. 'the Sangha'."

But who were the Vibhajjavādins, or analysts, and whence the name? The four records deliberately affirm that the founder of the Sakya was "Analyst", and hence such were all his right followers. Kern sees in the term an invention of the Ceylon (Mahāvihāra) monks. To that I would suggest that at leisure, far from the bustle and stress of the Patna crisis, it is highly improbable that the victorious and hence orthodox majority in the Sangha would have invented such a name. Once victorious, any specific name, serving as a slogan, was unnecessary. So, at the Council of Nicea, Athanasian fought Arian and won. Thereafter the name "Athenasian" survived only to distinguish an elaborated fixed wording of a creed; the term Arian, Arianism for a large "sect" lingered on. It was not "orthodox", not "authentic", not the Church. For me this word "the Analysts", appearing as it does only in the accounts of the Congress, not, I believe, before or after, is a party slogan invented, probably not by the party so named, but by the lay world, interested in a great and long struggle, into which monarchy itself was drawn. So our own English spoke lately of "Revisionist", "Anti-revisionist". Our history abounds in such labels, discarded in the case of the winning side.

Dr. Walleser, in his recent discussion of the term, submits a possible explanation in the idea, much exploited nowadays,
that there had always been in the Sakya two ways of regarding certain terms: either the conventional, or people's meaning, and the meaning of philosophical intuition. And in considering the chief bone of contention at the time in the Sangha, namely, the reality of the "man" (over and above body and mind), he suggests, that the party who were careful to "distinguish" in which of those two meanings "the man" was taken were known as the Dividers or Vibhajjavādins.

Dr. Walleser does not stress the plausibility of this view, and I do not think it can survive historical sifting. Had the distinction been thought out and named: sammuti-kathā, paramattha-kathā—at any time preceding the Congress, we may be quite sure of one thing: it would, as a potent "silencer", have been brought forward by the orthodox debater (the "Our Speaker") in the opening and most important debate in the Kathā-vatthu, ascribed, as his compilation, to the President Moggaliputta-Tissa. But "Our Speaker" never makes use of it. The first time we meet with it is in the Milinda pañho, between two and three centuries later. There, anyway, such double meaning in teaching is not fathered on to the Founder. But some three centuries later we find both doctrine and libelled Father, full grown, not, in the text commented upon, where it should have been used, but was not; but in the Commentary, i.e. on the Kathāvatthu. It is set forth as the peroration of the comments on that first and momentous debate. Can historical evidence, short of definite narrative, speak more plainly?

It would not, of course, help the "distinction" theory were the Kathāvatthu assigned a more recent date. Such a hypothesis overlooks the old "Asokan" Pali in the first debate of the book, where ke stands for ko, and vattabbe for vattabbo, vattabbaṃ, archaisms in Buddhaghosa's time, and corrected by him (Comm., pp. 9, 20).

We come then to what I venture to suggest is a sounder

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1 He repudiated a dual way of teaching.
view of the sort of "hustings" term I think Vibhajjavādin was. Let us glance at the situation.

The Founder's message: The Way (through the worlds) for Everyman, Everyman walking as self-guided by inner "dhamma"—a message cruelly "edited" as for the "recluse" only—was not the founding of a church of recluses over against a layworld. Hence he made no arrangements to secure church authority or church doctrine with reference to that world. He and his followers formed themselves (first as teachers) into such a dual body of religieux and laymen. But, there being no hierarchy and at first only a moral code, while the laity looked on, criticized, and supported, the monk-world began very industriously to disagree with itself, from the Founder's day onward. With the rise of the Mauryan hegemony, a new broader conception of unity must have stared the now preponderant Sakyan community in the face, at Patna and elsewhere. To this political development they presented a glaring contrast. They were in a fairly chaotic state of disunity. Their ablest divines, if Tissa be not a unique case, had retired from the city monastery in disgust to hillside viharas. But to win over the patronage of the busy, sagacious king to their support was of great moment. A good shopfront, paying him the compliment of imitating the new political unity, was necessary. The Congress was summoned, and like Cincinnatus or Venizelos, Tissa was induced to come back and preside over the work of unity.

The records of the Congress make three statements, which from their obvious improbability call for criticism. A small highly efficient executive could alone cope with the gigantic task of revision, and of testing members of the Sangha by its results. We are told that the executive numbered a thousand, that the work of "dhamma-sangaha" took nine months, and that the expulsions of the monks, not holding views then pronounced unorthodox, preceded the revision by which alone

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1 So Mhv. Buddhaghosa uses this and the traditional term "reciting": sangīti.
their orthodoxy could be tested. I would suggest as a truer account that, albeit, as with the League of Nations Council, the full personnel of each general meeting was large, the actual revisers and judges may well have been, according to precedent, only eight.¹ The work of revision to be carefully done must have lasted years. With plenty of books and writing and typing materials, our own little Prayer Book Revision took twenty years. With plenty of MSS. around, the output of the gentlemen, now compiling an "authentic" version of the Mahābhārata at Poona, is one fasciculus per annum. But at Patna there were not even written MSS., nor any but few and awkward writing materials. There will have been repeaters, bhānakas, from different viharas eminent as living-record-viharas: I suggest the six repositories referred to, with a distinctive opening to certain Suttas, in the Saṃyutta Nikāya, to which I have drawn attention ²: Sāvatthi, Kapilavatthu, Benares, Sāketa, Rājagaha, and Patna itself. And these bhānakas will have come in sections before the judges, according as they were Dighabhānakas, and so forth, and have repeated, one at a time, some "bhānavāra" or portion of one, something like a Welsh Eisteddfod. Where they were all in verbal agreement, if this ever was the case, the judges may not have dared to revise, had they wished to. Where there were variant versions, one had to be selected as the standard version; the rest would be either ruled out, or committed to those miscellanies we find in the third and fourth Nikāyas. Thus the Magga will have been finally entered up as "eightfold"; not because there was any inherent necessity for eight, as either logical or exhaustive, or as the one and only version, but because, down the ages, teachers and so, repeaters had elaborated the probably original "thought, word, and deed" of the really ancient tradition into variants of these, and finally, of these, eight were selected; the tenfold Way, for instance, being relegated to miscellaneous collections.³

¹ As at the second "Council".
² Kindred Sayings, iv, Introduction.
³ Digha Summaries, M. ii, 29, S. and A.V.
And as to the inverted order in time of revision and expulsions, this may have arisen from a preliminary expulsion of those ascetics, who, to get material support, "without entering the Sangha ... donned the yellow robes" and frequented the viharas. Lacking a duly attested ordination, these intruders could be summarily dealt with. To this extent I judge the order of events in the records correct; but no further. The drastic expulsion of ordained monks can only have been carried through when a unified, standardized, authoritative "Word" had emerged as sanction. It was the one traditional sanction handed down in the Sakya as accredited to the Founder's own injunction: "The disciples' Teacher was to be Dhamma and Vinaya."¹ The Founder, did he actually say so, will have meant "your inward monitor (conscience) and your outer code of rules". But Dhamma had come to mean verbalized sets of teachings. And with Dhamma and Vinaya now edited, revised, reworded in a Revised Version, it only remained to get rid of those whose views did not run on all fours with those of the revising committee.

On what did disparity in views chiefly hinge? Let us compare the test-questions put to monks with the contents of the book Kathāvatthu. In the book, any acquaintance with it, as well as with its commentary, will leave no doubt as to the paramount importance of the opening debate: "Is the 'man' got at ² ('caught', Hume would have said) in the true and supreme-meaning sense?" Yet not nearly enough significance has been attached to this signpost of the past. It can only mean that the question of the man's real nature, either as a being using the body-mind khandhas, or as only those khandhas, was the chief question at issue in the fight for unity of teaching. Is our teaching to be of man as attan, with all that the venerable word implies in ancient Indo-

¹ Mahāparinibbāna Sta.
² Upalabbhāti. Comy.: "known."
Aryan tradition, or _an-attan_? Divorced from their early mentor, the Sānkhya, first analyser of "mind" as _distinguishable_ from the "man", the majority in the Sangha had plumped for _anatta_, and had carried out the revision so as to make _this_ appear as authoritative as repeaters' versions made possible. But they could not well put the damning test-questions save in terms sanctioned by oldest, most revered tradition, to wit, terms which were already used for wrong views in the Brahmajāla Suttanta, chanted as far back as the First Council. The views, there condemned, which were selected as tests do refer to the nature of the "man", but not as to whether "got at" or unget-at-able. They turn on whether he survives death: that mighty test yesterday, to-day, and for ever. If the "man" survived death—not this death only, of course; the Indian mind was more logical than ours—then _he was divine_, i.e. imperishable, unchanging, not-dukkha. If he did not survive, this was the despised nihilism (_ucceda_).

These ancient wordings sufficed for the expelling. Either view was inadmissible, let alone the other subterfuge views of the Suttanta.¹ But there remained a _third alternative view_, by which it had come to be held, a monk's orthodoxy might be passed. This had come, _during the Congress_, to be popularly known as that of the Vibhajjavādins. Having respect to the great preoccupation about the "man", we may conclude the nickname was because of their view about just that. If only the compiler of the "Man-talk" in the Kathāvatthu had been as clear in _positive_ statement of "Our" view, as he was in negativing the "Man"-speaker's arguments, we should not now be groping. But if we may conclude positively for him, we may say that his "Analysis" of man's nature had brought him curiously near, save in space and time, to David Hume. Namely, he does not deny that the man exists in _some_ way. That came later; in the Milinda,

¹ "Some only survive," and "we don't know anyway" ("Eel-wrigglers"), etc.
and in the commentaries, notably in that on the Kathāvatthu. But, analysing the concrete individual, he only finds the very "man" in the mind. And mind, as his Suttas entitled him to say, is "multiple, many-kinded, manifold."¹ not a unity. And there he left him. All attempts to explain survival by physical analogies in terms of result belong to later thought. The Vibhajjavādin, following his Abhidhamma as was the vogue, pulled his "man" to pieces as so many dhammas, mental phenomena. Process in dhammas belongs to post-Patna Abhidhamma.

This, then, I suggest, is how the historian of Buddhism may rightly interpret this curious name for the new orthodoxy: Vibhajjavādin. I suggest it is no invention of later records, for it is incredible that the Sangha would have called itself by a name without lofty traditional sanction. It does not occur in the (contemporary) Kathāvatthu, but, then, no party names of any kind do occur, so we can disregard that. It was left to the commentary to supply these, and that on the "Five Books" (Abhidhamma, iii–vii) makes no claim to derive from early sources as do those on the Five Nikāyas. Suddenly the name appears and as suddenly disappears. I have suggested why. While the little "Council" had been pursuing its long arduous labours with the coming and going of summoned bhānakas, companies of monks from the corresponding viharas and others will have been mustering at Patna, and, as our young people would say, no end of a hoo-ha was going on in waves of discussion, culminating in a great crescendo as it became known that the revision was nearing completion and the day of the Congress elections drew nigh. So viewed, it is not strange that a catchword or slogan should have arisen, maybe among the populace, maybe among the king's men (police, army, court), maybe among monks themselves, for the formidable party, now at last become corporate and articulate as such: the party, who saw, in "the man", one who could actually, when analysed,

¹ Majjhima ii, 26.
only be traced, beyond his bodily factor, in the manifold of the mind. Rather would it be strange had some such name not been lit upon.

"Man is not to be valued save in terms of body and mind," and as such comes under the category "an-atta":—this, I suggest, is the milestone in Buddhist thought attained at the Patna Congress, and not to be confounded with the further milestone reached in the Milinda questions, or with the yet further milestone revealed in Buddhadatta and Buddhaghosa. The position at Patna was not one of sudden growth. It may be seen at work in the Pitakas. But how much of what we find in these was work of earlier growth, how much was done at the Patna revisings: here is for us a problem at present insoluble. For instance, to which of the two agencies do we owe the substitution of "mind" for the more natural "man" in many passages in the Nikāyas? Or the timid omission of the "man", the attan, the satta, in the parable of the Jetavana wood? Surely to compare body and mind to faggots being gathered and borne to burning (as at death) from the wood, and then leave the inference: "the wood remains to blossom afresh, but 'you', 'tumhe', you do not remain, for you are not, save in the faggots" is a funny, a sorry jumble unworthy of the august speaker!

Is it odd that we writers on Buddhism have so slurred over all this growing divergence from the time of the Founder's caveat, that the "man" was not his body or his mind (spoken when to have denied the "man's" reality had been the teaching of a mad man) to Asoka's day? Is it odd that we feel no jolt as we pass over the intrusions and gaps in the documented teachings, so strangely un-Aryan as to be losing sight, in their chequered history, of the truth that, whatever factors the "man" may be vibhajja-ed into, he is, before all, "he", the user of them? the analyser in every analysis? "Jolt," indeed? Have we not rather felt a

1 E.g. Majjhima i, 295; Samyutta v, 218; iii, 2.
smoother going in our exploring the Piṭakas, as we noted this "mind" (manas, citta, viññāna) functioning where, and as, other old documents would have made the "man", the self, functioning? We have commended "Buddhist psychology" as akin to our own, at least to that of yesterday.

"Akin to our own"—that's why we've slurred, that's why there was no jolt. The Analysts at Patna put the very "man"—I don't like "soul"—may I say the "man-in-man"?—behind a curtain as "unget-at-able". But we have done the same. Our new psychology has, not so long ago, weaned itself from its mother philosophy, has analysed mind, that is, minding; and has thrown the minder, or must I say the metempirical self, back into the mother's lap. And there it leaves him. Early Buddhism, that is, Sakya was caught by the Sānkhyā vogue, in which the "man" was, as a new experiment, distinguished from "mind", and mind analysed. And it "went one better" (or worse), adapting the Sānkhyān formula: "This I am not," etc., but negating, where the Sānkhyā only accented difference. It is we who have quite unawares, but as the outcome of a somewhat similar cause, followed the Sakya. We, too, have lost sight of the wood for the faggots—ay, our philosophers do not always see it. "I grant your 'man', if you see him as a complex of events"... so runs a letter to me from one of them. The Founder of the Sakya told inquirers they could see themselves, if they would, in a mirror. Perhaps if we can see an episode of our own history of ideas in this Buddhist mirror, the way of a new and wiser psychology of our human nature may not be far off.
A Chinese Mahayāna Catechism in Tibetan and Chinese Characters

BY F. W. THOMAS, S. MIYAMOTO, AND G. L. M. CLAUSON

(PLATE II)

In the India Office Library there exists an extensive and well-written MS. (A) in Tibetan writing and non-Tibetan language, belonging to the collection acquired by Sir A. Stein from the famous hidden library of Tun-huang (Ch‘ien-fo-tung); it is described below. In the light of previous experience of such MSS. it was quickly apparent that the language was Chinese; but owing to the known difficulty of restoring Chinese characters from writing representing pronunciation, whether ancient or modern, an interpretation of the text seemed to be for the present practically out of the question.

However, a closer examination showed that many sentences (for the punctuation is rather good) commenced with the syllable hā . hmye . hyu ; and this suggested that the text was a catechism. The seventh line, beginning hlug . ņam . | hde . 'ir . ņam . wur . |, comprises three words recognizable as Chinese for six (hlug), one ('ir), and Buddha (wur); and only an equation of ņam to nyam, nem, is required in order to arrive at the meaning “six remembrances: the first, remembrance of Buddha”, which in Sanskrit is sad anusmṛtyayah | prathamā Buddhānusmṛtyih ; and it becomes easy to follow the enumeration of the familiar sextad. The

1 India Office MS. Tun-huang (Ch‘ien-fo-tung), Ch. 9, II, 17: paper scroll, 30 × 440 cm.; II. 290 recto + 196 verso of good, rather calligraphic, cursive Tibetan writing, the lines being parallel to the breadth of the scroll and each c. 29 cm. wide, the characters varying in size and betraying probably more than one hand; elaborate, but not always correct, punctuation by means of dots, single and double dandas, circles, one, two, three, or rarely more in number, etc.; paragraphs and some chapter-divisions indicated; fragmentary at beginning; at the end of the text a colophon mentioning the first volume of a work and invoking a blessing upon all creatures; blank at end, recto c. 25 cm., verso c. 160 cm.; eighth-ninth century?
obvious suggestion, however, of a version of a *Dharma-
samgraha* is not confirmed; and it is evident that the MS.
contains much matter, partly of a different character and
comprising an enumeration of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas;
parts only were at once intelligible.

A fortunate chance recalled to mind another MS. (B),
containing a Chinese text with interlinear glosses in Tibetan
character; and inspection showed that these pointed to
another exemplar of the same text. Though both are
fragmentary at the beginning, their actual commencing points
proved to be not very far apart, the second MS. beginning
at line 14 of the first. The presence of the Chinese characters
entirely alters the situation; it has been possible to edit
the text in the form given below and to furnish a trans-
lation.

At first it was proposed to print under each Chinese
character the transliterated text as elicited from *both* MSS.
This course was suggested by a rather peculiar circumstance,
namely that the systems of transliteration followed severally
by the two MSS. differ somewhat in almost every syllable.
What has necessitated a different procedure is the fact that
the correspondence between the two texts is by no means
always syllable for syllable; in fact, there are, in addition
to some standing differences of phraseology, larger divergences
and dislocations; in so much that after about l. 33 of the
first MS. the parallel passages cannot be set out without
further examination. For a preliminary comparison of the

1 India Office MS. Tun-huang (Ch'ien-fo-tung), Ch. 80, xi: paper scroll,
27.5 × 225 cm.: ll. 128 recto of poor Chinese writing in columns parallel to
the breadth and each c. 20 cm. wide, with interlineations in small, cursive
Tibetan writing, often faint or smudged or intruding upon the adjacent
Chinese characters, but with care legible, although there is some difficulty
in distinguishing c, ڭ, and ཛ, c and ts, chi and tsha, 'a, y- and ø-, ø and z,
-a and -r, and so forth. The Tibetan syllables, which are transliterations
of the Chinese characters to the left of each, are absent in about 50 per cent
of the cases. Chinese writing between ruled lines, two hands, the second
beginning l. 80. Fragmentary and smudged at the beginning: the last
line gives the title.
two transliterations we give below the two texts of the indicated portion.

In the second MS. the Tibetan transliterations are in general faintly written, often practically indiscernible. Here the other version has sometimes been of service in the establishment of the readings. It should be remarked that the transliterations are in a large percentage of the cases not given in the MS.: this was often due, no doubt, to the fact that the same Chinese character had occurred previously, a natural consequence of the nature of the text; and accordingly we have been able to make insertions (in Italic) in the later recurrences and so establish a practically complete consecution.

The Chinese writing is not very good: naturally, owing to the age of the MS., it shows old and rather cursive forms, and there are also a few errors. Mr. Miyamoto has been able to read the whole with little uncertainty; and he has provided the translation, which for the most part furnishes to students of Mahāyāna Buddhism its own evidence. To Mr. C. Y. Wang, who is now studying in Oxford, we are indebted for a careful verification of the readings.

At the end of the second MS. there is a colophon giving the title as “Mahāyāna Middle Doctrine, One Volume” = Sanskrit Mahāyāna-mādhyamika-darśana; and this is preceded by an explanation, in the course of which the work is described as “copy extract of explanation, Mahāyāna-Mādhyamika view, by the preacher (= dharma-bhānaka) Go”. The person and his date are unknown: the MS. would belong to about the seventh–eighth century A.D. In case the work is not a translation (from Sanskrit), the divergences of the two texts require some further explanation.

Two more points invite attention. The first concerns the wholesale differences in the transliteration. Partly these appear to be simple differences of system; e.g. the first MS. has hdehū, hdevaḥu, hkhuv, hlyo, wo, zo, gām, corresponding
to *de, hde, khon, lehu, boh, syn, gram* of the second. But it is obviously more serious when we find *bahu* in the first = *pehu* in the second, and when in the first we find the Tathāgata, whom we have previously found as *že-le*, represented by *zu-lahu* (= ordinary Chinese *Julaï*). Whether the differences are local or of another nature, sinologists will perhaps decide. In case the matter should seem to be one of date, we would plead for priority on the part of the second MS., wherein the Chinese characters have the primacy and which has a general similarity to other Chinese MSS. from the same source, diverted to Tibetan uses during the period of Tibetan rule in the Śa-cu region. The first MS., which is calligraphic, was evidently written for persons prepared to dispense with Chinese characters. It should be added that both MSS. show minor, but numerous, inconsistencies in their transliterations. The Chinese text, which here and there has been corrected or shows signs denoting repetition, change of order, or omission, is also in some places obviously faulty or defective.

The second point regards the circumstance that among an exiguous number of such Tibeto-Chinese MSS. we have two exemplars of the same work. The case might seem accidental. But in connexion with each of the two texts previously published (*JRAS*. 1926, pp. 508–536; 1927, pp. 281–306) we have been confronted with fragments of independent MSS. In regard to a purely Tibetan document another instance has been noted (*JRAS*. 1928, pp. 90–1). I am acquainted, further, with no less than four independent fragments of a *Rāmāyaṇa* text in Tibetan from the same region and with other parallel instances of fragments of Tibetan works. There is probability in the conclusion that in such cases the fragments have not now first come together, but represent MSS. associated together in old times, for comparison or by way of classification, in the Tun-huang Library or in the sources of its collections.

[F. W. T.]
大乘中宗見解
(De śiṅ cuṅ tsoṅ kyen he)\(^1\)

[1] [外] 四大問何者內四

[mdve] si d[e]. Bun: [ha] ja ḡdve si
de? Tab: [ku]ṛ [zu]ṛ kyen ḡeḥu yi ḡu di

大答骨定堅硬以為地

大[2] 血脈津潤是名水
de: hyar [su] tsin [ṭun] si mye ṣu
d[de]: [the] tsi (ci?) 'on ḡdvan ḡi ḡu hva [de]: chur

息入息以[3] 為風大


何者空識二大答空大
Ha ja khoṅ [ṣig [ži] [de]? Tab: khoṅ de

者虛通分也識大者了[4]
ja hu (ṭhuṅ phun ya: sig de ja lehū

別心也問此四大因
phar [ṣim ya. [Bun]: [tshi] si de 'in

內四大感得外四大因
[mdve] [si] de gvaṃ tig ḡgve [si] [de]: 'in ḡgve

四大感得內四[5] 大
si [de] gvaṃ tig [mdve] [si] de?

答因內感外問何者內
Tab: [iṅ] ḡdve gvaṃ ḡgve. Bun: ha ja ḡdv[e]

感外答內有骨定堅硬

gvaṃ ḡgve? Tab: ḡdve yiḥu kor ḡu ḡeḥu

忘[6] 相敢(sic)得外地大內
boṅ syoṅ gvaṃ tig ḡgve di de: ḡdve

\(^1\) Square brackets indicate obscure, but probably certain, readings: what is in Italics has been supplied from other occurrences in the text;
\(^\) indicates occurrences in the two Tibeto-Chinese MSS. previously
published; ( ) indicates corrections or additions, and small numerals
point to transpositions not noted in the MS.
有津潤忘相敢（sic）得外水大
[yi-hu] [tsin] žun boň syoň [gvam] tig ḫgve śu de:

內溫暖忘相 [7] 敢（sic）得外
ḥdve 'on [ḥdvan] boň syoň gvm tig ḫgve

火大内有出入息忘相敢（sic）

得外風大問何者是五

瀛 [8] 答色受相行識是
ḥun? Tab: śeg śi-hu syoň heň śig śi

五瀛問何者是名色瀛
ḥgo 'un. Bun: ha ja śi [mye] śeg 'un?

形礙以色瀛何 [9] 者
Hyen ḫge yi śeg 'un. Ha ja

受瀛答領納為受瀛
śi-hu 'un? Tab: leň ḫdab hu śi-hu 'un.

何者相瀛思想以為想
Ha ja syoň ['un]? Si syoň yi hu sy[o]ň

瀛 [10] 何者行瀛造作
'un. Ha ja heň 'un? Tsheňu tsag

何者行瀛何者是識瀛
yi hu heň ['un]. Ha ja śi śig 'un?

分別以為識瀛何 [11]
Phun par yi hu śig 'un. Ha

問瀛者何義答瀛者據
bun 'un ja ha 'gdi? Tab: 'un ja gi

聚之義何者名為陰
su ci [gdi]. Ha ja mye hu 'im?

是名 [12] 覆蓋之義問
Śi mye phu ke ci [gdi]. Bun:

¹ Omit. ² Altered from 隠者.
何者是十八界答六根
ha ja şì şib par ke? Tab: lug k[in] lug

塵六識是十八界 [13] 聲
chin lug şig şì şib par ke. Bun: 何者是六根答眼耳鼻
ha ja şì lug kin? Tab: hgen zi phyi

舌身意是為六根問何
ja şì lug chin? Tab: [šeg] še[n]

香味觸法是六塵問何
hoñ byi chog phab şì lug chin. Bun: 何者是六識眼識耳識 [15]
ja şì lug şig? H[gy]en [š]ig zi şig

鼻識舌識身識意義是十
pyi şig şar şig şin şig 'i şig: şì şib

八界問何者十二入
par ke. Bun: ha [ja] şim zi [žib]?

答眼 [16] 入耳入鼻入舌
Tab: hgen žib zi žib phyi žib şar

入身入意入色入聲入
žib şin žib 'i žib šeg žib şen žib

香味入觸 [17] 入 [法] 入
hoñ žib hbyi žib chog žib [phab žib]:

眼等六根為內六入色等
hgvan diñ lug kin hu hdve lug žib: šeg diñ

六塵為外六入內外二入
lug chin hu hgve lug žib: hdve gve ži lug

[18] 爲十二 [問何者為入]
hu şim zi. [Bun: ha ja hu žib?]
答眼塵且對通生識道受
Tab: ḡen chīn [tshya] dve thon šeṅ sig dehū sīhū

入愛僧名之 [19] 爲入
zhīb 'iḥi tsiṅ myi (sic) ci ḡu žib:

每聞道歸依三寶何者
ḥbe bun dehū ku 'i sam pehū. ḡa ja

是三寶答佛寶法寶 [20]
śi [sam] pehū? Tab: phur pehū phab pehū

僧寶是名三寶問三寶
śīn pehū śi mye sam pehū. ḡun: sam pehū

有幾種答有三種問
yīhū gi juṅ? Tab: yīhū sam juṅ. ḡun:

何者是 [21] 三寶答一
ha ja śi sam pehū (juṅ)? Tab: 'ir

體三寶別想 (相) 三寶住持三
the sam pehū phar syāṅ sam pehū chu ch[i] sam

寶是名三種問 [22] 何
pehū śi mye sam pehū (juṅ). ḡun: ha

者一體三寶答法身體
ja 'i[r] the sam pehū? Tab: phab śīn the

有妙覺以為佛寶以 (sic) 身
yīhū ḡbyehū ka[g] hi ḡu phur pehū: phab śīn

[23] 體有妙執以為妙法
the yīhū ḡbyehū gu hi ḡu ḡbyehū phab

寶法身體有離無 [24] 違爭土
pehū: phab śīn the ['iḥu] li ḡbu wu(ḥu?) jen śi

故 [24] 以為僧寶問云
ko yi ḡu śīn pehū. ḡun:

何名為妙覺答妙者神
ha mye ḡu (ḥbyehū) ka[g]? Tab: ḡbyehū ja śīn

1 Marked in MS. for omission.
用不側稱之 [25] 為妙覺
yoṅ hbu cheg [khyin] ci ḥu ḥbyehu: kag

者以法身體中覺了性故
ja hi phab sin thehi cuṅ kag leḥu sen ko

々云妙覺問云何 [26] 妙
ko ḥun ḥbyehu kag. Bun: ḥun ha ḥbyehu

軌答軌者軌則之義以
guḥi? Tab: gu ja gu tsig ci ḥgi: yi

法身體中中有妙軌持
phab sin the cuṅ cuṅ yiḥu ḥbyehu guḥu chi

[27] 義故々云妙軌問
ḥgi go go ḥun ḥbyehu gu. Bun:

云何離遠爭答僧者和
ḥun ha li [h]u jen? Tab: sin ja hva

合為義 [28] 法身無相故
hvab ḥu ḥgi: phab ḥbu syaṅ ko

則無爭故言體無遠爭名
tsig ḥbu jen ko ḥgen thehi ḥbu wu jen mye

之為僧問 [29] 何者為
ci ḥu sin. Bun: ha ja ḥu

一體答三寶名殊其體
‘ir the? Tab: sam peḥu mye ṡu khi the

不異故名一體問 [30] 何
ḥbu yi ko mye ‘ir the. Bun: ha ḥa

以得知三寶名殊其體是
ḥi tig ci sam [peḥu] mye ṡu khi the ṡi

一答維摩經云佛即是
‘ir? Tab: yu ḥba gyeṅ ḥun phur tsig ṡi

[31] 法々即是衆是三寶皆
phab [phab] tsig ṡi juṅ: ṡi sam peḥu ke
無為相與虚空等納此義

[32] 邊故名一體問云

何名為別相三寶答

文化身[33] 以為佛寶所

信已上小[34] 乘初果已

上以為僧寶問何名別

相答一々相殊[35] 名

讓答佛寶不是法々不是

衆[36] 形狀不同故名別相

問云何名為住持三

寶答泥龜[37] 素像以為

佛寶紙素竹帛以法寶削

髮染依[衣] [38] 以為僧寶問
何者住持像法令不断
Ha ja chu chi syaŋ (sic) phab? Leñ hbu dyan

絶故名住持 [39] 問何名
tshvar ko mye chu chi. Bun: ha mye

像法答像法似之法故
syon phab? Tab: syon phab si ci phab ko

名像法問此三種三寶
mye syon phab. Bun: tshi sam juñ sam pehu

為 [40] — 爲異 問云何
hun 'ir hun yi? Bun: hun ha

不不異答名別故不一
hbu 'ir hbu yi? Tab: mye phar ko hbu 'ir:

體同故名不異 [41] 問有
the thon ko mye hbu yi. Bun: yihu

不可得无亦不可得答
hbu (kha) tig hbu yī hbu (kha) tig? Tab:

離有離无問云何離有
li yihu li hbu. Bun: hun ha li yihu:

云 [42] 何離無答自性
hun ha li hbu? Tab: tshi syeñ

離故問自性共甚離答
li ko. Bun: tshi syeñ khuń syim li? Tab:

本性理中有无 [43] 具不
bun syeñ li cuñ yihu hbu khu hbu

可得問畢竟嘻作甚謬
(kha) tig. Bun: pyir keń hvan [tso]g šim ma

物答法身不自名問
bur? Tab: phab šin hbu tshi mye. Bun:

[44] 說有四諦何者是四
śvar yihu si de: ha ja si si
諦答大乘四諦小乘四
de? Tab: de šīn si de (siḥu) šīn si
諦問何者 [45] 是大乘
de. Bun: ha ja šī de šīn
四諦答知無生是名苦
si de? Tab: kho ḥbu šen si mye kho
諦知集無和合是集諦
de: kho tshib ḥbu hva hvab ši tshib de:
[46] 知滅無滅是名滅
kho ḥbyer ḥbu ḥbyer ši mye ḥbyer
諦以無二法得道是名道
de: yi ḥbu zi phab tig deḥu ši mye deḥu
諦問何 [47] 者小乘四
de. Bun: ha ja (siḥu) šīn si
諦答生死果為苦諦煩
de? Tab: šen si gva ḥu kho de: phan
惱業為集諦 [48] 寂滅理
ḥde ḥgeb ḥu tshib de: tshi[ğ] ḥbyer li
為滅諦戒定惠為道諦
ḥu [ḥbyer] de: ke deñ hve ḥu deḥu de.
既言生死果何者生死因
Gi ḥgen šen si gva. Ha ja šen si 'in?
[49] 答集是生死因
Tab: tshib ši šen si 'in.
問記[sic]言生死果亦合有無
Bun: gyi ḥgen šen si gva yi [hvab] yihu ḥder-phan
因果何者是 [50] 無因果
'in gva: ha ja ši ḥbu 'in gva?
答寂滅理為果戒定
Tab: tshig ḥbyer li ḥu gva: ke deñ
惠 爲 因 問 諸 經 之中 先
hve ḥu 'in. Bun: cu kyeṅ ci cuṅ sen
[51] 因 後 果 何 故 此 四 謐
'in hiṅu gva: ha ko tshi si de
中 先 果 後 因 答 舉 理 而
cuṅ syan gva hiṅu 'in? Tab: gu li ḡygar
言 則 合 [52] 先 因 後 果 此
ḥgen tsig hwab sen 'in hiṅu gva: tshi
四 謐 法 佛 初 成 道 時 爲 五
si de phab phur chu (sen) dehung si ḥu ḡo
俱 倫 比 丘 等 [53] 初 開 法
Khu lin (ḥbyi) ḡkhyeṅ duṅ chu bun phab
要 恐 難 悟 解 且 進 視 果 後
yeṅu khuṅ ḡnan ḡo he: tshya dzin si gva hiṅu
視 因 於 理 元 狀 [54] 問 說
si 'in: 'i li ḡbu ṣoṅ. Bun: śvar
有 五 乘 何 者 是 五 乘 答
yihu ḡo śiṅ. Ha ja si ḡo śiṅ? Tab:
天 乘 普 乘 聲 間 乘 綠 覺
ḥde śiṅ bam śiṅ sen bun śiṅ yuṅ kag
[55] 乘 諸 佛 如 來 乘 是 五
śi[n] cu phur [ṭu le śiṅ: ṣi ḡo
乘 天 乘 五 戒 十 善 得
śiṅ. ḡde śiṅ? ḡo ke śib ṣan tig
生 六 欲 天 是 [56] 名 天 乘
śeṅ lug yog ḡde: si mye ḡde śiṅ.
[何 者 十 善] 答 身 三 口 [Ha ja śib ṣan?]. Tab: śiṅ sam si
意 三 是 名 十 善 亦 名 十 惡
'i sam si mye śib ṣan: yig mye śib ḡag.

1 "Mouth."
問何者是[57]（身）三業
Bun: ha ja si. (sin) sam hgeb?
不殺不盜不婬（淫）何者意
Hbu bur hbu dehū hbu yim. Ha ja 'i
三業不貪不嗔不癡
sam hgeb? Hbu tham hbu chin hbu chi.
何[58]者口四業惡口
Ha ja si hgeb? 'A[g]
兩舌妄言綺語不遠此
lyon sar bon hgen khi hgu hbu wen tshi.
業有其五種十善[59]—
hgeb yiłu khi. Hgo juñ sib san?
'Ir
人十善二天十善三聲聞
(zin) sib san: zì hde sib san: sam señ bun
十善四緣覺十一善五菩薩
sib san: si yuan kag sib san: hgo san phusar
十[60]善問何者梵乘
sib san. Bun: ha ja bam siṅ?
答修四無量心生得色
Tab: sihu si hbu lyon sim señ tig seg
界四禪天[61]名梵乘
ke si zan hde
mye bam siṅ.
問何者四無量心
Bun: ha ja si hbu lyon sim?
答慈悲喜捨名四無量[62]心
Tab: tshi pyi hi sa mye si hbu lyon sim.
問何者慈能乘悲能

1. "Mouth."
是 何 者 逆 觀 [70] 答
ši šun. Ha ja hqig kvan? Tab:

死 衆 生 々 綠 有 々 綠 [取] 々
[ši] cuñ šen šen yvan yihu; yihu yvan [tshu]; tshu

綫] 愛 々 綠 受 々 綠 触 々 綠
[yvan] 'e; 'e yvan šihu; šihu yvan chog: chog yvan

六 入 [71] （六）入 綠 名 色 々
lug zib; (lug) zib yvan mye šeg; mye šeg

綫 識 々 綠 行 々（緑）行 明 々
yvan šig; šig yvan heñ; heñ (yvan) hbu mye; hbu mye

（緑）一 念 不 覚 此 十 二 因
(yvan) 'ir nyam hbu kag: tši šib zì 'in

[72] 緑 何 者 緑 因 果 過 十
yvan. Ha ja yvan 'in gva kva šib

二 支 因 明 行 現 在 十
zì ci? 'In hbu mye heñ hyan tshe šib zì

支 果 [73] 問 何 者 如 來 乘
ci gva. Bun: ha ja žu le šin?

答 六 波 羅 蜜 名 佛 乘
Tab: lug pa la hbyir mye phur šin.

問 何 者 是 六 波 羅
Bun: ha ja ši lug pa la

[74] 蜜 答 一 布 施 二 持
byir? Tab: 'ir pu ši zì chi

戒 三 忍 辱 一 四 精 進 五 禪 定
ke sam si tšen dzin hgo šan deñ

六 智 惠 是 [75] 六 波 [羅] 蜜
lug ci hyve ši lug pa [la] hbyir.

何 者 布 施 得 名 波 羅 蜜
Ha ja pu ši tig mye pa la hbyir?

1 "Endure taunts" = "sufferance."
答布施之时不見受[76]者
Tab: pu ŝi ci ŝi ḥbu kyen ḥзуhu (sic) ja
不[見]施者不見所施財物
ḥbu kyen ŝi ja ḥbu kyen ŝu ŝi tshe bur
得名波羅蜜何者持戒
tig mye pa la ḥbyir. Ha ja chi kye
波羅[77]蜜不見持戒
pa la ḥbyir? ḥbu kyen chi ke
不見他破戒不見所持戒
ḥbu kyen (thah) pa ke ḥbu kyen (šu) chi ke
法得名波羅（蜜）何者
phab tig mye pa la [ḥbyir]. Ha ja
[78]精進不見他解怠
tson dzin? ḥbu kyen (thah) ga de
不見自修行得名波羅蜜
ḥbu kyen tshi sihu heň tig mye pa la ḥbyir.
何者[79]禪定不見
Ha ja šan deň. ḥbu kyen
他亂意不見所證理得名
(thah) lvan 'i ḥbu kyan tha ŝu ciš li tig mye
波羅蜜何者[80]智慧
pa la ḥbyir? Ha ja ci hyve?
不見自智惠他愚癡
ḥbu kyen tshi ci hyve phu kya[n] (sic) ḥgu tsha
不見所有惑得名智[81]波
ḥbu kyen ŝu yišu hog tig mye ci pa
羅蜜問何者引前鵲引
la ḥbyir. Bun: ha ja 'in? Tshyan tsho yin
後々細淨前々鸞答前
hišu: hišu se tsheň tshyan tshyan tsho. Tab: tshyan
五 [82] 如 盲 後 一 如 道
bgo zu men: hiwu 'ir zu dehu.

問 何 者 擇 土 攝 於 六 資 生
Bun: ha ja than do sab 'u lug tsi sen

無 悟 法 此 中 [83] 有 一 二
hbu iwu phab tshi cuu yiwu 'ir zi

三 名 曰1 修 行 住 答 擇 能
sam mye (siwu) heh chu? Tab: than do (sic)

攝 其 六 問 云 何 波 羅
sbab khi lug. Bun: hun ha pa la

[84] 蜜 中 前 落 後 勝 云 何
hbyi cuu tshyan lyvar hiwu sin? hun ha

此 中 乃 能 攝 勝 答 且 初
tshi cuu (chneh) niin sbab [sin]? Tab: tshya chu

表 視 門 中 [85] 作 如 是 說
byehu si [mo]n cuu dzag zu si svvar:

俱 能 悟 其 六 波 羅 蜜 三 事
khu niin bgo khi lug pa la hbyir dar sam si

體 空 之 時 毋 勝 [86] 問 何
khoŋ kho ci si hbu sin
Bun: ha

者 一 二 三 答 資 生 攝 一
ja 'ir zi sam? Tab: tsi sen sbab 'ir

攝 二 法 攝 三 問 何 者 資
sbab zi phab sbab sam. Bun: ha ja tsi

生 [87] 答 油 (唯) 有 信 心 能 施
sen? Tab: yi yiwu sin (sic) sim niin si

財 物 名 爲 資 生 也 問 何
tshe bur mye hu tsi sen ya. Bun: ha

者 无 畏 施 由 [88] 持 戒
ja hbu 'u si? Yihu
chi ke

1 "Is called."
思(忍) 施 財 之 時 一切 衆 生
si  žin [žig] tshe ci  ši  'ir tshe cu[n]  šen

無 有 畏 具 問 何 者 是
ḥbu  yīhu  'u khu.  Bun:  ḫa  ja  ši

[89]  法 施 答 精 進 禪 定
phab  ši?  Tab:  tsoṅ tshin  šan  deṅ

智 惠 撲 三 合 一切 衆 生 得
cig  hyve  šaṅ  sam  hab (sic)  'ir tshe cu[ŋ]  šen  tig

其 解 脫  [90]  故 名 法 施
khi  ga  thar  ko  mye  phab  ši.

問 閏 說 三 毒 答 貪 視 痼
Bun:  bun  śvar  sam  thog.  Tab:  tham  chin  chi

是 名 三 毒 問 此 貪 [91]  視
ši  mye  sam  thog.  Bun:  tshi  tham  chin

癬 何 因 如 生 答 由 貪 不
chi  ha  'in  žu  šen?  Tab:  'ihu  tham  ḫbu

得 故 生 視 々 之 緣 以 故 生
tig  ko  šen  chin:  chin  ci  khig  yi  ko  šen

癬 由 [92]  此 如 生 問 貪
chi:  yīhu  tshi  žu  šen.  Bun:  tham

者 是 何 義 答 染 着 境 界
ja  ši  ha  ḫgi?  Tab:  žam  jag  keṅ  ke

名 之 爲 貪 視 [93]  者 何
mye  ci  ḫu  tham.  Chin  ja  ha

義 答 增 汗 (憎 污) 境 界 名 之 爲
ḥgi?  Tab:  tshin  'o  keṅ  ke  mye  ci  ḫu

媚  （） 姿 者 何 義 答 於
chin.  Chi  ja  ha  ḫgi?  Tab:  'i

[94]  緣 不 了 之 名 爲 癬
yvan  ḫbu  leḥu  ci  mye  ḫu  chi
何故得名為毒答此
Ha ko tig mye ḫu thog? Tab: tshi

毒能害多身 (答) 且如世間之
thog niṅ śar he 'ir śin tham chin chi

毒蛇毒藥之流唯害吾身
thog ṣa thog 'ag ci [la] [yu] (he) he śin

如何得持得免生死死答
zu. Ha dve chi tig 'en śeṅ si? Tab:

生以慈悲願為對治多癡
śeṅ yi tshi pyi gvan ḫu dve chi: ta chi
衆 [101] 生 以 因 緣 觀 為 對 治
cuñ señ yi si yvan gyan ūu dve chi:
免 生 死 此 對 持 門 中 為 是
mye señ si: tshi dve chi mon cuñ ūu si:
久 境 說 [102] 為 非 久 境 說
giñu keñ śvar ūu phyi giñu keñ śvar.
問 見 此 物 否 答 此 不
Bun: kyan tshi bur phu? Tab: tshi ūbu
增 見 我 問 此 物 不 [103] 解
tshiñ kyan ūga. Bun: tshi bur ūbu hve
思 惟 分 別 見 与 不 見 汝 還
si yu phun phar kyan yi ūbu kyan: ūu hvan
同 此 物 耶 答 我 亦 如 是 不
thoñ tshi bur ya? Tab: ūga yihu ūu si ūbu
[104] 作 是 念 思 惟 分 別 見
tsag si nyam si yu phun pyar kyan
與 不 見 云 何 諸 法 耶
yi ūbu kyen. Hun ha cu phab ya?
答 於 無 心 [105] 中 法 繼 起
Tab: t’u ūbu sim cuñ phab khoñ khi.
心 分 別 一 切 法 耶
Sim phun pyar ’ir tshe phab sya?
休 分 別 一 切 法 王(生) 問 愚
Hīhu phuñ (sic) phar ’ir tshe phab señ. Bun: hva
作 甚 [106] 没 物 答 [ . . . ] 問
tshag síb ma bur? Tab: tshu
取 此 物 答 是 青 黃 赤 白
1 tshi tshi bur? Tab: si tsheñ hvoñ chig

¹ "White."
交我甚作物交
kehū hga hvan. Tshag śīn (sic) bur kehū

我曽答有情无情是汝
hga hvan? Tab: yīhū tshēn hbu tshēn śī žu

見聞有情无情
kyen. Bun: yīhū tshēn hbu tshēn śī

汝見聞有情无情是
žu kyan? Bun: yīhū tshēn hbu tshēn śī

我見云何是見答我
[hga] kyan. Hun ha śī kyan? Tab: hga

亦不作有情无情
[yīhū] hbu tshag yīhū tshēn hbu tshēn

見聞久境曽作甚没
kyan. Bun: giḥū keṅ hvan tshag žīm ma

物 [110] 答法不自名
bur? Tab: phab hbu tshi mye.

問云何四到(倒)答常樂
Bun: hun ha śī deḥu? Tab: śoṅ lag

我淨 [問云何倒] 答 [111] 无
hga tshēn. [Bun: hun ha deḥu]. Tab: hbu

常計常不淨計計淨苦計為
śoṅ kye śoṅ hbu tshēn kye tshēn kho kye ḫu

樂問何者 [無] 常計 [112] 常
lag. Bun: ha ja [hbu] śoṅ kye śyōṅ

不計計計答是念々遷
hbu tshēn kye tshēn? Tab: śī nyam nyam tshyan

變無有常住凡夫 [113] 不
kyen hbu yīhū śoṅ chu: bam phu hbu
了妄計有常是身三 [十]
lebu Ḇon (sic) kye yiḥu šon: sī sīn sam [sib]

六種不 [靜] 之變凡夫不了
lug jun Ḇbu [tshen] ci [kyen]: bam phu Ḇbu lebu

[114] 妄計為靜問何 [者]
ℏon (sic) kye Ḇu tshen. Bun: ha ja

無我計我苦為樂答是
ℏbu ℓga kye ℓga kho Ḇu lag? Tab: sī

五蘊 [115] 諸佛法和合而
ℏgo ℓun cu phur phab hva hvab ℓgyar

有凡夫不了妄計有我是
yiḥu: bam phu ℓbu lebu boň kye yiḥu ℓga: sī

身眾苦 [116] 之本凡夫不
ʃin jun kho ci bin: bam phu ℓbu

了妄計樂相問何者是
lebu boň kye lag syon. Bun: ha ja sī

八對答於 [117] 有計有
par deḥu? Tab: 'u ℓbu kye yiḥu

於有計無問何者於無
'u yiḥu kye ℓbu. Bun: ha ja 'u ℓbu

計有何者於 [118] 有計
kye yiḥu: ha ja 'u yiḥu kye

無計凡夫不了於無計
ℏbu? Tab: bam phu ℓbu lebu 'u ℓbu kye

有聲聞不了於有 [119] 計
yiḥu: šen bun ℓbu lebu 'u yiḥu kye

無大乘中宗見解義別
ℏbu. De sīn cuṇ tshon kyan he ℓgi phar

行本吳¹ 法師
ℏen bun phab (sī)

¹ Proper name, "Go," "Wu."
言大乘[中]宗見解
者謂觀三界内外諸法緣
起緣性[121]以世谷(俗)詮猶
如幻化夢及陽炎假設設
有第[一]義詮此[122]緣生
生無滅超過言語及
者遠離挾持及以增益
不詮[125]世法一向是
無於第[一]義而觀諸法超
語言境界以無所得[126]是
故不傍（謬）出世間是遠離二
ko ḥbu boṅ [chur] še ken: ši lvan li ẓi

邊故名中宗言見解 [127]
pyan ko mye cuṅ tson: hgen kyan he

者以惠之眼了達世俗第
ja yi hyve ci hgen lehu dar [še] svog diṅ

一義故名為見解
'ir ḡi ko mye hu kyen he.

[128] 大乗中宗見解一卷
de šiṅ cuṅ tson kyen he 'ir koon

Comparative Specimen of Transliterations

MS. B (ll. 1–15)
ḥgve si de. Bun: ha ja ḡdve si de? Tab:
kur žug kyen ḡeḥu yi ḡu di de: hyar su tsin żun
ši mye šu de: the ts'i on ḡdvan hi ḡu hva de: chor
sig žib sig hi ḡu phuṅ de. Ha ja khoṅ sig ži de?
Tab: khoṅ de ja hu thuṅ phun ya: sig de ja lehu
phar sim ya. Bun: tshi si de 'in ḡdve si de gvm
tig ḡve si de 'in ḡve si de gvm tig ḡdve si de?
Tab: 'in ḡdve gvm ḡve. Bun: ha ja ḡdve
gvm ḡve? Tab: ḡdve
yihu kor žug kyan ḡeḥu

MS. A. (ll. 14–)
ḥgvaḥi ḡzi daḥu || ḡhā ḡmye yihu
ḥdvahu zi ḡdeḥu | Tab | ḡdvahu
yihu | kur ḡzug kyan ḡeḥu | yihu
ḥyu diḥ deḥu | ḡhyar | ḡzu tsi ḡzun |
yihu yu žu ḡdaḥu | ḡtbeh ḡchu ḡun
ḥdvah | yihu ḡyu ḡhva daḥu | ḡchur
ḥsigh ḡzib ḡsigh | yihu ḡyu ḡpuṅ ḡdaḥu ||
Ḥā ḡmye ḡyu ḡkhuṅ ḡseg ḡzi ḡdaḥu |
Ḥtab | ḡkhuṅ daḥu jaḥ | ḡphyu
thuṅ ḡpuṅ | ḡsigh ḡdaḥu jaḥ | ḡlyo
ḥbyvar ḡsim || ḡhā ḡmye yu |
'in ḡdaḥu |

ḥgām

ḥgahi

Ḥtab | ḡdaḥu
yihu ḡkur ḡzug kyan ḡeḥu |
Hbō zo ḡām tig ḡdvāhu yīhu ḡdíḥ daḥu ḡgvāḥi yīhu ḡhyar ḡzu tsi ḡzūn wo zo gām tig ḡgaḥu yīhu ḡdāhu yī ḡte ḡchu ḡun ḡdvāhu yīhu ḡhvāḥ deḥi ḡgvāḥi yīhu ḡchu ḡṣig ḡṣib ḡṣig ḡwo zō gām tig ḡgvāḥi yīhu ḡpuṅ ḡdāḥi ḡhā ḡmye yīhu ḡgu 'un ḡtab ḡṣeg ḡhzū ḡyozō ḡhēḥi ḡṣig ḡhā ḡmye ḡgu 'un ḡhā ḡmye yīhu ḡṣeg 'un ḡtab ḡhyme ḡgahī yī ḡyu ḡseg 'un ḡhā ḡmye ḡhyu ḡhzū 'un ḡtab ḡle ḡdāb ḡmye yu ḡhzū 'un ḡhā ḡmye yu ḡyoz 'un ḡtab ḡṣi ḡṣi ḡhzū ḡhzū ḡhā ḡmye yu ḡhēḥi 'un ḡtab ḡdzāhu tsag ḡ HTMLElement 'un ḡhā ḡmye yu ḡṣeg 'un ḡtab ḡhpun ḡpyar ḡmye yu ḡṣeg 'un ḡhā ḡmye yu 'un ḡtab ḡun ḡjāh ḡpū gāḥi ci ḡgyi ḡhā ḡmye yu 'yim ḡyim jah ḡtsib ḡdzib ci ḡgyi ḡhā ḡmye yu ḡlzuh ḡkyo ḡhā ḡmye yu ḡhēḥi 'un ḡtab ḡdzāhu tsag ḡmye yu ḡheḥi 'un.
(1) . . . the four [external] elements.¹

Question. Which are the four internal elements?

Answer. Bone, being hard and solid, is held to be earth-element; [2] blood, being liquid, is held to be water-element; warmth of body is held to be fire-element; expiration and inspiration are held (3) to be air-element.

Q. Which are the two elements, ether (ākāsa) and consciousness (vijñāna)?

A. Ether-element has for nature vacuity and penetrability; consciousness-element (4) is intellectual discrimination.

Q. As to these four elements, do we apprehend the four external elements by means of the four internal elements or the four internal elements by means of the four external (5) elements?

A. By means of the internal we apprehend the external.

Q. How does the internal apprehend the external?

A. Internally there is bone (6), characterized by solidity, which apprehends the external earth element; internally there is what is characterized by liquidity, which apprehends the external water element; internally there is heat, characterized by being warm, which (7) apprehends the external fire element; internally there is what is characterized by expiration and inspiration, which apprehends the external air element.

Q. Which are the five Aggregates ("Covers", skandha)? (8)

A. Form (rūpa), feeling (vedanā), conception (samjñā), samskāra, and consciousness (vijñāna)—these are the five aggregates (skandha).

Q. What is the Name-form (nāma-rūpa) aggregate?

A. Shape and impenetrability are the [Name-form] aggregate.

¹ Circumstances have prevented Mr. Miyamoto, who is in Japan, from revising the translation, which, however, is believed to be nearly everywhere correct.
Q. What (9) is the Feeling aggregate?
A. Receptivity is taken to be the Feeling aggregate.
Q. What is the Conception aggregate?
A. Volition and conception are the Conception aggregate
(10).
Q. What is the Samskāra aggregate?
A. Shaping and action are to be understood as the Samskāra aggregate.
Q. What is the Consciousness aggregate?
A. Discrimination is to be understood as the Consciousness Aggregate (11).
Q. What is an Aggregate? What does it mean?
A. Aggregate means "assemblage".
Q. Why is it to be understood as "Cover" (skandha)?
A. The term means (12) concealing and covering up.
Q. Which are the Eighteen Factors (dhatu)?
A. Six sense-organs (indriya), six objects (viṣaya), six consciousnesses—these are the Eighteen Factors.
(13) Q. Which are the Six Sense-organs?
A. Eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, mind-organ (manas)—these are the Six Sense-organs.
Q. Which are the (14) Six Objects?
A. Colour, sound, odour, savour, touch, and dharmas—these are the Six Objects.
Q. Which are the Six Consciousnesses?
(A.) Eye consciousness, ear consciousness (15), nose consciousness, tongue consciousness, body consciousness, mind-organ consciousness—these are the Eighteen Factors (sic).
Q. Which are the Twelve Coefficients (āyatana)?
A. Eye (16) coefficient, ear coefficient, nose coefficient, tongue coefficient, body coefficient, mind-organ coefficient, colour coefficient, sound coefficient, odour coefficient, savour coefficient, touch coefficient, (17) [dharma-coefficient]. The six sense-organs, eye, etc., are regarded as six internal coefficients; the six objects, colour, etc., are regarded as six external coefficients; internal and external, two sixes, (18) make the twelve.
Q. What means "Coefficient"?
A. Eye-object is the way of producing consciousness and entertaining desire and aversion and so is (19) named "Coefficient" (āyatana). When we hear the path, we take refuge in the Three Jewels.

(Q.) Which are the Three Jewels?
A. Buddha-jewel, Dharma-jewel, (20) Saṃgha-Jewel—these are named the Three Jewels.
Q. How many kinds of Three Jewels are there?
A. There are three kinds.
Q. Which are (21) the [three kinds of] Three Jewels?
A. One-essence (body) Three-Jewels, diverse-marks (vilakṣana) Three-Jewels, consecrated (pratiṣṭhā) Three Jewels—these are named the three kinds.

(Q.) (22) What is One-essence Three Jewels?
A. Essence (body) of Dharma-kāya, being wonderful (superior) enlightenment essence (body), is to be regarded as Buddha Jewel; (23) essence of Dharma-kāya, being wonderful (superior) standard, is to be regarded as Dharma Jewel; essence of Dharma-kāya, being field of absence of dissension (24), is to be regarded as Saṃgha Jewel.

Q. How is it to be regarded as wonderful (superior) enlightenment?
A. As regards "wonderful", (its) divine operation, being unfathomable, is called (25) wonderful. As regards "enlightenment", because in the essence of the Dharma-kāya there is the nature of enlightenment and understanding, it is called wonderful enlightenment.

Q. What is (26) wonderful standard?
A. As regards "standard", the meaning is standard and rule. Because in the essence of the Dharma-kāya there is the idea of wonderful standard and consistency (holding, dhṛti), it is (27) called "wonderful standard".

Q. How "absence of dissension"?
A. As regards Saṃgha, it means "union". Because owing to the (28) negative characteristics of the Dharma-
kāya there is no dissension, the essence (of Dharma-kāya) is without dissension and is named Samgha.

Q. (29) Why is it to be regarded as one essence?
A. Because, while the names of the Three Jewels are different, their essence is not different, it is called one essence.

Q. (30) How can we know that, while the names of the Three Jewels are different, their essence is one?
A. It is said in the Vimalakīrti-sūtra that “Buddha is identical with (31) Dharma, and Dharma at the same time is identical with Samgha. These Three Jewels are all without characteristics, like ether (ākāśa), etc.” Adopting this interpretation (point of view), we speak of (32) one essence.

Q. What is meant by “Diverse-characteristics Three Jewels”?
A. The Nirmāṇa-kāya of 60 feet (33) in height is to be regarded as the Buddha Jewel; the doctrine as spoken is to be regarded as the Dharma Jewel; from Mahāyāna “Śraddhā decad” (34) and Hinayāna “First Fruit” upwards [the community] is to be regarded as the Samgha Jewel.

Q. What is meant by “Diverse Characteristics”?
A. Each characteristic being different (35) is what is meant by Diverse Characteristics.

Q. How is each characteristic different?
A. The Buddha Jewel is not identical with Dharma, and Dharma is not identical with Samgha; (36) because their forms are different, we speak of diverse characteristics.

Q. What is meant by Consecrated Three-Jewels?
A. Clay idols (37) and images on cloth are to be regarded as the Buddha Jewel; paper, bamboo or cloth are to be regarded as the Dharma Jewel; shaven hair and tinted cloth (38) are to be regarded as the Samgha Jewel.

Q. What is “Maintaining-of-substitute (pratirūpaka) Dharma”?
A. Because of not allowing to be annihilated it is called “maintaining”.
(39) Q. What is meant by Substitute (pratirāpaka) Dharma?
A. As regards "substitute", because of resembling Dharma, it is called "Substitute" Dharma.
Q. These three kinds of Three Jewels, are they (40) one and the same or different?
[A. Neither the same nor different.]
Q. Why not one and the same nor different?
A. Because their names are different, they are not one and the same; because their essence is the same, they are called not-different.
(41) Q. Being is unprovable and not-being also is unprovable?
A. (It is) apart from being and apart from non-being.
Q. How apart from being (42) and apart from non-being?
A. Because of absence of self-nature (svabhāva).
Q. Is self-nature in both cases entirely absent?
A. In ultimate principle both being and non-being (43) are unprovable.
Q. Are things absolutely non-existent?
A. The Dharma-kāya is indefinable.
Q. It is said that there are Four Truths (satya). What are those Four Truths? (44)
A. Mahāyāna Four Truths and Hinayāna Four Truths.
Q. What (45) are the Mahāyāna Four Truths?
A. To know non-origination is to be regarded as the pain-truth (duhkha-satya); to know non-conjunction (asamyoga) is to be regarded as the origination-truth (samudaya); (46) to know non-destruction-ness of abolition (nirodha) is to be regarded as the abolition-truth (nirodha-satya); to attain the path by non-duality Dharma is named the path-truth (mārga-satya).
Q. (47) What are the Hinayāna Four Truths?
A. The fruit, life and death, is the pain-truth (duhkha-satya); assoil (kleśa) and action (karma) are the origination-truth (samudaya-satya); Nirvāṇa, (48) the extinction
principle, is the abolition-truth (*nirodha-satya*); the moral principle (*śīla*), contemplation (*dhyāna*) and knowledge are the path-truth (*mārga-satya*).

[Q.] The fruit, life and death, has already been spoken of; what is the cause of life and death?

(49) A. *Samud.dayā*, collection or accumulation, is the cause of life and death.

Q. That the fruit, life and death, also comprises causality of being and non-being has already been said. What is the (50) causality of non-being?

Q. The Nirvāṇa principle is the fruit; the moral principle (*śīla*), contemplation (*dhyāna*) and wisdom (*prajñā*) are the cause.

Q. In many Sūtras the cause comes first (51) and the fruit afterwards. In the case of the Four Truths why does the fruit come first and the cause afterwards?

A. If we speak [of the Four Truths], laying stress on accordance with reality, then we arrange (combine) (52) with the cause first and the fruit after. The Four Truths were taught when Buddha had just attained his enlightenment, for the benefit of the five Bhikṣus, Kaundinya, etc., (53) for whom the teaching would have been difficult to understand, hearing it for the first time. For a time discern the fruit first, and later discern the cause; (but) in reality there is no distinction (style) (54).

Q. It is said there are Five Vehicles (*yāna*). Which are the Five Vehicles?

A. Deva Vehicle, Brahma Vehicle, Śrāvaka Vehicle, Pratyeka-Buddha Vehicle, (55) Buddha-Tathāgata Vehicle—these are the five Vehicles.

[Q. *What is*] the Deva Vehicle?

A. By five morals (*śīla*) and ten merits (*kusala*) one can obtain birth in the six Kāma-deva worlds (56). This is called the Deva Vehicle.

[Q. *Which are the ten merits*?]

A. Of body three, of mouth four, of mind three,—these
are called the Ten Merits (kuśala) and also called the Ten Demerits (akuśala).

Q. Which are the (57) three [Body-]actions?
[4.] Non-killing, non-stealing, non-fornication.
(Q.) Which are the three Mind-actions?
(A.) Non-greed, non-anger, non-infatuation.
(Q.) (58) Which are the four Mouth-actions?
(A.) Fault-finding, ambiguity, falsehood, futility—not giving up these actions.

[Q.] There are five kinds of Ten Merits (kuśala) ? (59).
[4.] First Ten Merits of Mankind, second Ten Merits of Devas, third Ten Merits of Śrāvakas, fourth Ten Merits of Pratyeka-Buddhas, fifth Ten Merits of Bodhisattvas (60).

Q. What is the Brahma Vehicle?

A. By practising four Infinite Thoughts (apramāna-citta) to be born in four Dhyāna-deva worlds of the Rūpārupā-world (61) is named the Brahma-Vehicle.

Q. Which are the Four Infinite Thoughts?

A. Friendliness (maitrī), compassionateness (karuṇā), cheerfulness (muditā), equability (upekṣā) are named the four Infinite Thoughts.

Q. (62) What is friendliness (maitrī) ?
[4.] Ability to follow the path.
(Q. What is] compassionateness ?
[4.] Ability to uproot suffering (duḥkha).
(Q. What is cheerfulness (muditā) ?]
(A.) To be delighted with anyone’s acquisition of happiness (sukha) is to be regarded as cheerfulness.

[Q. What is equability (upekṣā) ?]
[4.] (63) To maintain an even mind (samatā) is to be called equability.

Q. What is the Śrāvaka Vehicle ?
[4.] By means of the voice to comprehend the path is (64) to be regarded as the Śrāvaka [Vehicle].

Q. What is the Pratyeka-Buddha Vehicle ?
[4.] To comprehend the twelve Causes (nidāna) is to be regarded as the Pratyeka-Buddha Vehicle.
Q. Owing to what difference between the comprehension of Pratyeka-Buddha and the "voice-caused" (Śrāvaka) do we speak of two Vehicles?

A. (66) (Though) the comprehensions are one and the same, there are minor differences: (accordingly) they are separated into two Vehicles, because Śrāvakas, (67) who need to meet Buddha expounding the Four-Truth doctrine so as to comprehend the path, differ from Pratyeka-Buddhas, who appear when there is no Buddha in the world and (68) in solitude comprehend impermanence. Therefore there is difference.

Q. How do we (?) comprehend Nidāna Dharma?

A. Ignorance, saṃskāra, vijnāna, Name and Form (nāmarūpa), Six Coefficients (āyatana), Contact (sparśa), Sensibility (vedanā), Thirst (trṣṇā), Attachment (upādāna), Life (bhava), Birth (jāti), Old age and Death (jarā-maraṇa)—these are in the direct order.

Q. What is the inverse contemplation?

A. (70) For a mortal creature, Birth depends upon Life; Life depends upon Attachment; Attachment depends upon Thirst; Thirst depends upon Sensibility; Sensibility depends upon Contact; Contact depends upon the [Six] (71) Coefficients; the Six Coefficients depend upon Name and Form; Name and Form depend upon Consciousness (vijnāna); Consciousness (vijnāna) depends upon Saṃskāra; Saṃskāra depends upon Ignorance; Ignorance depends upon one instant of consciousness which is ignorant. These are the Twelve Causes (nidāna) (72).

Q. What is the causation of the Twelve Causes (nidāna)?

A. From Ignorance and Saṃskāra come, as a present result, the Twelve Causes (nidānas).

Q. What is the Tathāgata Vehicle?

A. The Six Perfections (pāramitā) are called the Buddha Vehicle.

Q. What are the Six Perfections? (74)

A. First Liberality (dāna), second Morality (śīla), third Sufferance (kṣānti), fourth Energy (vīrya), fifth Contemplation
(āhyāna), sixth Wisdom (prajñā)—these (75) are the Six Perfections.

[Q.] How is Liberality called Perfection?

A. In practising Liberality to have no thought of the receiver, (76) the giver, or the object is called its Perfection.

(Q.) What is [Perfection in] Morality? (77)

(A.) Not to think of one’s own morality or other peoples’ transgression of morality or the morality itself is called its Perfection.

[Q.] What is (77) [Perfection in] Energy?

A. Not to think of other people’s inertness or one’s own activity may be termed Perfection.

Q. What is (79) [Perfection in] Contemplation?

A. Not to think of other people’s distraction of mind or the principle which is being realized may be termed Perfection.

[Q.] What is (80) [Perfection in] Wisdom?

(A.) Not to think of one’s own Wisdom or other people’s foolishness or want of comprehension itself may be termed Wisdom- (81) Perfection.

Q. What is “conducing to”?

[A.] A prior crude thing conduces to a posterior, the posterior is finer and purer: a posterior fine thing refines a prior crude thing.

The prior five (82) are, as it were, blind; the last one is, as it were, a way-(shower).

Q. How does Liberality (dāna) comprise the Six Provisions, viz. the dharma of fearlessness containing (83) one, two, three—this is called caryā-vihāra?

A. Liberality can comprise the six.

Q. Why among the Perfections (pāramitā) (84) is the prior inferior and the posterior superior? And how can the prior contain the superior?

A. Provisionally (85) we speak so: but when we comprehend essential voidness of three things in connection with the six Perfections (pāramitā), there is no superiority (86).
Q. What are the one, two, three?
A. The Provisions comprise one and two dharmas and three.

Q. What is Provision? (87)
A. To perform Liberality (dāna) through faith is Provision.

Q. What is Liberality (dāna) of fearlessness?
[A.] (88) Through performance of Liberality (dāna), through Morality (śīla) and Sufferance (kṣānti), all creatures are without fear.

Q. What is (89) the Liberality (dāna) of Dharma (teaching)?
A. It comprises Energy (vīrya), Contemplation (dhyāna), and Wisdom (prajñā), these three, and so effects the deliverance of all creatures. (90) Therefore it is called Liberality of Dharma.

Q. We hear speak of Three Poisons.
A. Greed (lōbha), Anger (krodha), and Infatuation (moha)—these are called the three poisons.

Q. How do Greed, (91) Anger, and Infatuation originate?
A. Owing to the insatiability of Greed, Anger originates; in dependence upon Anger, Infatuation originates. (92) So [we have] dependent origination.

Q. What is meant by Greed?
A. Attachment and passion for objects is termed Greed.

[Q.] (93) What is meant by Anger?
A. Dislike and befouling is termed Anger.

[Q.] What is meant by Infatuation?
A. Not understanding (94) occasions is termed Infatuation.

[Q.] Why do we apply the term "Poison"?
A. Greed, Anger and Infatuation are regarded as poison.
(95) Among poisons there is none more poisonous than these. While ordinary poison hurts one body, the poison of Greed, Anger, (96) and Infatuation can hurt many bodies. While ordinary poison can (hurt) one body, poison of Greed, Anger, and Infatuation can destroy the ten merits (kusāla) of many bodies (97). While such an ordinary poisonous snake and
poisonous medicine hurts only body and life (98), but after death poison is ineffective, the poison of Greed, Anger, and Infatuation can cause to be reborn in endless Samsāra (99).

[Q.] What is the antidote so as to escape Samsāra?
A. As is said in the Sūtra, for greedy persons the contemplation of (100) Impurity (aśubha) is the antidote; for angry persons contemplation of Friendliness (maitrīkaraṇa) is the antidote; for infatuated persons (101) contemplation of Causation (nīdāna) is the antidote, so that they may escape Samsāra. In this means of counteracting (which) is to be regarded as final view, and which (102) is to be regarded provisional?

Q. Do we see the thing itself (ātman)?
A. One does not see the thing (ātman).

Q. As to the thing, in thinking and discerning we do not (103) discriminate seeing and not seeing. Do you on the contrary (consider them?) the same?
A. I also do not discriminate (104) seeing and not seeing.

Q. What are things?
A. While there is no mind, (105) dharmas occur in succession.

[Q.] Does mind discriminate all dharmas?
[A.] Cease to discriminate in regard to origination of all dharmas.

Q. Can we (106) disregard all dharmas?
A. [ ]

[Q.] Are we attached to dharmas?
A. Blue, yellow, red, white are interfused with the self.

Q. (107) Are things interfused with the self?
A. [To discriminate] sentient being and non-sentient being (sattva and asattva) is merely your view (?)..

Q. Is to discriminate sentient and non-sentient (108) merely your view?
A. To discriminate ("question", literally) sentient and non-sentient is my view.
Q. What is [your] view?
A. I (109) also do not make any discrimination of sentient and non-sentient.
Q. In ultimate reality are things non-existent? (110)
A. Phenomena (Dharma) are not themselves named.
Q. Which are the Four Errors?
A. Permanence, Pleasure, Self, Purity.

Q. What is Error?
A. (111) To take as permanent what is not permanent, to take as pure what is not pure, to take as pleasure what is painful[, to take as self what is not self.]
Q. Why does one take as permanent (112) what is (not) permanent, take as pure what is not pure?
A. (Things), being transitory every moment, are without permanence. Ordinary people (113) ignorantly and mistakenly take them as permanent. The body has thirty-six kinds of (impure) transitoriness. Ordinary people ignorantly and (114) mistakenly take it as pure.
Q. Why does one take as self what is not self and as pleasant what is painful?
A. The five aggregate (skandhas) (115) are collections of dhammas; but ordinary people ignorantly and mistakenly take them as being self. The body is source (116) of many pains. Ordinary people ignorantly and mistakenly take it as characterized by pleasantness.
Q. What are the Eight Pairs (correlates)?
A. (117) In the non-existent to apprehend existence, in the existent to apprehend non-existence.
Q. Who apprehends existence in the non-existent? Who (118) apprehends non-existence in the existent?
A. (117) Ordinary people ignorantly apprehend existence in the non-existent: Śrāvakas ignorantly apprehend non-existence (119) in the existent.

Copy extract of Explanation, Mahāyāna Mādhyamika view (by) Preacher (dharma-bhānaka) GO (120).
As regards the "Mahāyāna" (Mādhyamika) view, it means in the Triple Universe interdependent origination and nature of internal and external things: (121) from the point of view of ordinary understanding, things are like illusion, dream and mirage and conventional; from the point of view of the final theory (122) things of an interdependent origination in their causation are entirely void (śūnya) and of Nirvāṇa nature without origination or annihilation, and transcend the sphere of expression and (123) thought and are undemonstrable (asiddha). As regards "Mādhyamika" (middle), we mean by reason of absence of negation and affirmation (124). In the ordinary view, as contemplated by the Mādhyamika, since originated things, internal and external, are in themselves (in their tathatā) provisionally (?) existent, they are not decried (125) as absolutely non-existent. In the final theory, as contemplated (by the Mādhyamika), things transcend the sphere of expression, and by reason of their undemonstrableness (asiddhi) (126) we do not decry the supra-mundane. Thus by reason of avoiding of the two extremes it is called Mādhyamika. As regards "view" (127), since with the eye of wisdom we comprehend conventional and absolute reality, we employ the designation "view".

(128) Mahāyāna Mādhyamika Darśana, One Volume.

Note

Concerning the doctrines outlined in the text it is hardly necessary to make any explanations. In regard to the terminology Mr. Miyamoto remarks that the usual Chinese equivalent for samjñā "conception" is not the syon (syah) of l. 8, but the syon of l. 9, and that the 'byer of l. 46 is not the usual equivalent of nirodha. The writer of the Chinese characters has employed wrong signs corresponding to gvan (ll. 6–7), gyi (l. 49), ymin (l. 57), dehu (l. 110), sveg (ll. 121, 127), phan (l. 122), boh (l. 126), zin (l. 88), 'i (l. 37). The Chinese text has been corrected in places, and there are marks
indicating transpositions (which in the edition we have carried out *sub silentio*).

Apart from inconsistencies in the transliteration the writer of the Tibetan has made some errors, writing *peḥu* for *juṅ* in l. 21, *siṅ* for *chu* in l. 36, *syāṅ* for *syoṅ* in l. 38, *ḥder-phan* (*nirvāṇa*) for *ḥbu* in l. 49, *pun bu* for *seṅ* in l. 65, *phu kyan* for *thaḥ* in l. 80, *do* for *niṅ* in l. 83. The quality of the inconsistencies in the transliteration may be indicated by *ḥgen* l. 13 = *ḥgvan* l. 17, *gve* l. 17 = *ḥgve* ll. 1 sqq., *chur* l. 2 = *chud* (?) l. 7, *gu = guhi = guḥu* l. 26, *gyen* l. 30 = *kyen* l. 50, *sen* l. 50 = *syen* l. 51, *ḥzhu* l. 75 = *siḥu* usually, *yin = 'in* l. 81, *ẓig* l. 88 = *zi* l. 87, *boṅ* ll. 113-4 = *boṅ* ll. 115-6 (pronounced *woṅ* ?), *tshag* ll. 105-6 = *jag* l. 92 = *tsag* ll. 104, etc., *tshoṅ* l. 119 = *tsoṅ* usually. An index of the transliterations may be supplied later.
Two Studies in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya

BY E. H. JOHNSTON

1. SOME BUDDHIST REFERENCES

In the various discussions over the date of the *Kauṭiliya Arthaśāstra* no notice appears to have been taken so far of the deductions that can be drawn from Buddhist sources. This is all the more remarkable in that the exact dating of the Chinese translations enables us to determine the lower limits for the dates of a number of Buddhist works, so that we thus have fixed points from which to start. Here I propose to consider the relationship in date of the *Arthaśāstra* to the works of Aśvaghōsa, to Āryaśūra’s *Jātakamālā* and to the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*.

As for the first of these, it is usual to place Aśvaghōsa early in the second century A.D., a date which cannot be far out and is certainly not too early in view of his style and of the date of the fragments of the MS. containing the *Śāriputra-prakarana*.² Now, though he shows nowhere any acquaintance with the doctrines peculiar to the *Arthaśāstra*, this does not prove without further examination that it was not already

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¹ The substance of this study was read as a paper before the Seventeenth Congress of Orientalists at Oxford under the title “Some Buddhist writers and the *Kauṭiliya Arthaśāstra*.” Of the abbreviations B. stands for *Buddhacarita*, and S. for *Saundarananda*. In quoting the *Arthaśāstra*, I give the sentence numbers of Jolly and Schmidt’s edition as the most convenient form of reference.

² So long as it was held that the work translated from the Chinese by E. Huber under the title of *Sūtrālaṅkāra* was by Aśvaghōsa, it was difficult to escape the conclusion that he was at least somewhat later than Kanīṣka. Professor L. de la Vallée Poussin seems to hold that the evidence of the MS. fragments published by Professor Lüders giving the name of the book as *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* and of the author as *Kumāralāta* does not dispose of the previous view (*Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi. La siddhi de Hsuan Tsang*, Paris, 1928, pp. 223–4). Enough, however, is extant of the Sanskrit text to show that the style is devoid of the characteristics that distinguish all Aśvaghōsa’s writings, and the references to Nanda’s not having obtained arhatship and to six abhiñās (whereas Aśvaghōsa only knows five, S., xvi, 1) cannot possibly emanate from the author of the *Saundarananda*. 
in existence in his time or even that, if in existence, it had not been so long enough to become a standard work. For arguments ex silentio, particularly in Indian matters, are dangerous weapons on which to place reliance and at the best do not afford conclusive proof.

Every reader of Aśvaghoṣa must be struck by the number of his references to the theory of politics, which, especially in the Saundarananda, is his favourite source for similes. Twice, for instance (B., ii, and S., ii), he gives us a detailed description of the ideal king, which conforms to the ideas about kingship then current in India except among the exponents of the arthasastra. He presumes such acquaintance with the teachings of the schools that he gives a numerical riddle on them (B., ii, 41); some of the numbers cannot be explained out of the Arthasastra, but all fit in fairly well with the teaching of the Mahābhārata. He knows technical terms such as pāṛṣṇigrāha (S., xvii, 41) and maitra (S., ii, 18, and xvii, 56), the latter only occurring elsewhere in the Kāmandakīya Nītisāra. The four upāyas to which, as in MBh., xii, 2156, he adds a fifth, niyama (S., xv, 61), are familiar to him. He knows how a king should proceed who wishes to conquer the earth (S., xvii, 10) and the progress of the saint to arhatship presents itself to him as parallel with the progress of a conquering king (S., xvii passim).

His ideas keep within the limits of the dharmaśāstra, particularly, as hinted above, in the form expounded for popular consumption in the Mahābhārata. In this connexion it may be noted that he mentions two rājaśāstras by name (B., i, 41 (46)), those of Uṣanas and Brhaspati, which are

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1 I use arthaśāstra for the teaching of the school generally and Arthaśāstra for Kauṭilya's work.
2 The one disciplined is himself (xii, 2599), the seven protected the seven constituents of a kingdom (xii, 2659–60), the seven abandoned the seven vices of kings (v, 1061–2), the five observed the five measures (xii, 2156), the three obtained dharma, artha, and kāma (xii, 2150), the three understood sthāna, vrddhi and kṣaya (xii, 2152 and 2665), the two known are probably the frequently mentioned pair, naya and apanaya or anaya, and the two abandoned kāma and krodha (xii, 2721 and v, 1160).
frequently cited in the epic as the standard authorities but he is so fond of quoting epic tags that we must not draw any conclusions from this as to the authorities with which he was acquainted. Now the dividing line between the *dharmaśāstra* and the *Arthaśāstra* must be sought in the conception of the ultimate purpose of kingship. According to the former the institution of kingship exists for the maintenance of order and the preservation of the structure of society. The *Arthaśāstra* no doubt pays lip service to this ideal but the essential doctrine underlying the entire work is that a king's sole preoccupation is with his own self-aggrandizement and that in its pursuit he should be restrained by no considerations except those of enlightened self-interest. The originality of the *Arthaśāstra* lies, in my view, not in the conception of this principle, which was probably already in the air, but in the relentless logic with which all its implications are worked out.\(^1\) The word *vijigīṣu* used as a substantive looks as if it had been coined by the author to denote the king who acts on this principle; it is thus used twice in what appear to be later passages of the *Śāntiparvan* (*MBh.*, xii, 3944 and 3962)\(^2\) and frequently in classical literature. Aśvaghoṣa, however, though acquainted with the idea that the conquest of the earth is among a king's functions, does not use the word but only the form *jigīṣat* (*S.*, xvi, 85) as a participle and *jigīṣu* (*S.*, xvii, 56) as an adjective. His references seem to suggest that in his day the idea had not been followed out to its logical conclusion.

For, if the *Arthaśāstra* had been a standard work then as in later times, we should have expected not merely that he would be more cautious in dealing with the subject of conquest but that, when in the *Buddhacarita* he has to deal with the disadvantages of kingship, he would have stressed the

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1 For further remarks on Kauṭilya's point of view, see p. 89 below.

2 Cf. its use as an adjective in *MBh.*, xii, 3567, a passage which explicitly declares that conquest by means of *adharma* is not permissible but is proper when effected by means of *dharma*. 
immorality inherent in it according to the *Arthasastra*. After all he knew of *anrta* as applied to affairs of love (B., iv, 67 ff.) and might have been expected to know of *anrta* as applied to politics. But when it comes to the point the worst he can find to say is, B., ix, 48 (a passage omitted in Cowell’s MSS.), *ṣamapradhānah kva ca mokṣadharmo danda-pradhānah kva ca rājadharmāḥ*. The reference is of course to the many passages in the *dharmaśastras* eulogizing *danda* as the supreme duty of a king. It is also worth pointing out here that in dealing with the various philosophies of life in B., ix, 55–64 (Cowell’s 45–54) \(^1\) no mention is made of the principles of the *Arthasastra*; the relevance of the omission will be apparent later on.

Turning now from ideas to language, I would refer to the notes in my edition of the *Saundarananda*, where I quote the *Arthasastra* several times to explain words peculiar to the two works. The number of such cases is deserving of notice, and their importance can be best gauged by considering the two most significant parallels in detail. In ii, 45, Śuddhodana is described as *āsakyaśakyasāmanta*, an expression which has been found puzzling enough to evoke several proposals for emendation. In the *Arthasastra* (vi, 1, 3 and 8) *sakya-sāmanta* is used as an attribute which a king and country should have and its meaning is made clear by the corresponding *ānatasāmanta* in the similar passage in *Manu*, vii, 69.\(^2\) So far as I know, the expression only appears again once later, in the *Kāmandakiya Nītisāra*, where the commentator misunderstands it. It is clear that Āśvaghoṣa was playing on an expression current in the politics of his time, though

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\(^1\) Cowell’s MSS. omitted 11 verses in canto ix after verse 41, according to the old MS. in Nepal and the Tibetan translation but, as one of these verses is clearly an interpolation, to obtain the correct numbering of the subsequent verses Cowell’s numbers should be increased by ten only.

\(^2\) Cf. also *Jātakamālā*, p. 67, ll. 23–4, *ānataśevavasāmantaḥ \ldots prthivin*. In *S.*, ii, 45, Professor Thomas suggests in a private communication the reading *āsakyaḥ sākya*\(^2\), which is probably the correct reading and strengthens, if anything, the parallel drawn above.
its use need not necessarily have been confined to the school of Kauṭilya. The other word is rātrisattra (ii, 29) for which I would compare satrājīvino rātricārīnah, of K.A., xiv, 1, 4 and rātrisattraparāh,¹ ib. viii, 4, 61. I can find no parallel to the word elsewhere. This common use of neologisms which failed to hold their place in the classical language suggests that no great interval separates the Arthaśāstra from Aśvaghoṣa.

The next author on my list is Āryaśūra whose date is probably the fourth century A.D.; for a work attributed to him was translated into Chinese in A.D. 434. In the absence of the Sanskrit original this proof of date is not conclusive, as we cannot be certain that the work was really by the same writer, but the probability of its correctness is heightened when we consider the style of the Jātakamālā. For on the one hand it shows an intimate acquaintance with the works of Aśvaghoṣa such as is not to be found in later Buddhist efforts in the kāvya style and on the other its language conforms more closely to the canons of classical Sanskrit than does that of Aśvaghoṣa. A difference of two centuries is not, therefore, unreasonable.

Whereas, if Aśvaghoṣa was acquainted with the Arthaśāstra, he did not refer to it even in places where it would have strengthened his argument to do so, Āryaśūra deliberately parades his knowledge of it. The first of the four references to political science in the Jātākamālā which alone need consideration occurs in the tale of Maitribala, Jātaka no. viii, verse 14, where it is said in praise of the king, dharmas tasya nayo na nītīniktīḥ, which Speyer translated, “Righteousness is the rule of his political actions, not political wisdom, that base science.” As naya is used by Aśvaghoṣa (B., ii, 42 as corrected in JRAS., 1927, p. 216, and S., ii, 16) and Āryaśūra (e.g. verse 2 of this Jātaka and xi, 3) to indicate the policy a king ought to follow, possibly the contrast is between

¹ According to T. Ganapati Sastri rātrisattracarāh, which is perhaps preferable.

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naya and nūti and the meaning then is, “The rājadharma he follows is naya, not base nūti.”

The second passage occurs in the Viśvantarajātaka, no. ix, over the episode of the gift of the elephant. In verse 10 the prince is said to give the elephant out of attachment to dharma and not to be afraid of nūtvāyāka, though acquainted with rājaśāstram arthānuvṛttyā gatadharmanārgaṁ, “the rājaśāstra in which the path of dharma is lost through following artha.”¹

The significance of the passage, however, lies in the reason for which the Brahmins were sent by their king to obtain the elephant. This king ruled over the land immediately adjoining that of Viśvantara’s father (bhūmyanantara) and therefore according to the Arthaśāstra was necessarily the latter’s foe; he wished to get hold of the elephant in order to overreach Viśvantara. The verb used according to Kern’s edition (p. 53, l. 3) is abhisamādhātum, which is evidently the same as the atisamādhā so beloved of Kauṭilya and the trick recalls the practices recommended in the Arthaśāstra in a manner that can hardly be unintentional. The Pali version (No. 547) knows nothing of this motive or of the reference to nūti, though in the Pali versions corresponding to the two passages about to be discussed the khattavijjā, by which the doctrine of the exponents of the arthaśāstra is meant, is mentioned. The addition of this motif is therefore clearly due to Āryaśūra’s invention.²

It will be more convenient to refer next to the fourth passage, which occurs in the Sutasomajātaka, no. xxxi, verses 52–5, where Saudāsa charges Sutasoma with ignorance of nūti and Sutasoma counters that it is precisely because of his knowledge of nūti that he declines to act in accordance with its principles. The adjective jihma, applied to it in verse 54,

¹ Speyer’s, “though knowing that the science of politics follows the path of Righteousness (dharma) only so far as it may agree with material interest (artha)”, does not seem quite to hit off the sense.
² R. Fick, Festgabe Jacobi, pp. 145–159, holds that the Pali version is later than the Jātakamālā; but the evidence seems to me insufficient to justify a definite conclusion.
is worth noting in view of the expression nūtikaūtaḷyaprasmāṅga that occurs in the next passage. The Pali version refers to the khattadhamma (glossed as the nītisattha) in the corresponding passage and has in verses 426 and 427 almost verbal equivalents of Āryasūra’s verses 52 and 54, but is so different in essential details of the story that there can be no question of imitation by either of the other but only of a common original.

That these passages refer not merely to the arthaśāstra generally but to the Arthaśāstra of Kautilya in particular is made clear by the third passage, which affords a suggestive parallel to Āsvaghoṣa’s description in B., ix, 55–64, already mentioned of the philosophical systems of his day. In the Mahābodhiyātaka, no. xxiii, the king’s five ministers set out to him five different theories of life, three of which are given in the corresponding passage of the Buddhacarita, the svabhāvacāda (verse 17) propounded in terms reminiscent of Āsvaghoṣa, the īśvaravāda (verse 18) and the doctrine that this world is the end of everything and that therefore happiness is the sole object to be sought in life (verse 19). The other two, not being mentioned in the Buddhacarita or in the list in S., xvi, 17, may well relate to systems which had no recognized status in Āsvaghoṣa’s day. The first of these is the karmavāda, a doctrine that every action is determined by a previous action to the entire exclusion of free will. The other is described in the following terms:—Apara enam kṣatravidyāparidṛṣṭeṣu nūtikaūtyaprasmāṃgeseṣu nair-gṛṇyamalineṣu dharmavirdhiṣv api rājadharman yam iti samanuśaṣāsa |

21. Chāyādrumese iva nareṣu kṛtāśrayeṣu tāvat kṛtajñacaritaḥ svayaṣah parīṣet | Nrītho 'sti yāvaḥ upabhoganayena teṣāṁ kṛtye tu yajña iva te paśavo niyojyāḥ ||

The verse is difficult to translate neatly and Speyer’s version requires modification to bring out the exact sense, which is
as follows:—“Another who held that in the practices set out in the science of the Kṣatriyas is to be found the rule of conduct (dharma) of a king, though they are contrary to righteousness (dharma) as following the crooked ways of political wisdom (nīti) and as being soiled by ruthlessness, instructed him thus:—

21. ‘Seeing that men are the vehicles (āśraya) of a king’s actions, just as trees are the vehicles of shade, he should seek to acquire a good repute for himself by acting as if with gratitude towards them, so long as there is no advantage to be gained by the policy of making use of them, but (i.e. when there is such an advantage to be gained) they should be employed in his service in the way that cattle are used in the sacrifice.’”¹

The doctrine thus set out describes so exactly the principles underlying the practices recommended in the Arthaśāstra, at any rate as viewed by a hostile eye, as to leave no doubt that that work is referred to here and that we are to see in the expression nītikauṭilyaprasaṅgesu a definite reminder of the author’s name; the word, naírghṛṇya, has a significant parallel, too, in Bāṇa’s nirghṛṇa in his description of the Arthaśāstra in the Kādambarī. The refutation of the minister’s views by the Bodhisattva further on contains another clear reference: Bhavān apy asmān kasmād iti vikutsyate yadi nyāyyam arthaśāstradrṣṭam vidhīmin manyase, so that we can now see that Āryaśūra identifies the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya with the kṣatravidyā, the khattadhamma or khattaviyā of the

¹ There is a double meaning in kṛtāśrayesu and kṛtye. Properly speaking men are kṛtāśraya by having a king as their refuge or support and the use of āśraya in this connexion seems even to be extended in B., xiii, 71, to the meaning “leader”. Its opposite use here is meant to emphasize the contrast between the dharmaśāstra and the arthaśāstra. The correspondence of kṛtye and yajña hints that yajña is really nothing more than kṛtyā, “magic”. The late Professor Gawroński’s conjecture of hi for tu in the last pāda spoils the point of the verse.
Pali Jñātakas.¹ Again the arguments used earlier in the tale by the five ministers to inspire in the king distrust of the Bodhisattva by the suggestion that he is a spy sent by an enemy king to effect his ruin are evidently a clever skit on the uses to which the Arthaśāstra recommends spies should be put and recall the passage in the Viśvantara-jñātaka already discussed, while the opposition of view is pointed by the final emphatic exposition of the principles of the dharmaśāstra.

The corresponding Pali version is Jñātaka no. 528. While several of the verses show similarities of argument and occasionally of language with Āryaśūra's, the minor details differ so considerably that a direct connexion seems improbable. Their agreement, however, in a capital point, namely, in the philosophical views attributed to the five ministers, shows that they derive from a common original whose purpose was to set out and refute these five heretical views. The Pali version is evidently the work of a man without Āryaśūra's education in Hindu lore and in particular its reference to the khatta비jjā, viz. mātapitaro pi māretvā attano va attho kāmetabbo, though very close to a phrase of Bāna's in the passage of the Kādambarī already alluded to, does not necessarily imply any direct acquaintance with the tenets of the Arthaśāstra. Moreover, like the Pali Vessantara-jñātaka in the episode already discussed, it has nothing to correspond to the suggestions Āryaśūra puts into the mouths of the five ministers for distrusting the Bodhisattva but the latter's statement in it of the Kṣatriya science is worth notice (Fausböll, v, p. 240):

\[
\begin{align*}
Yassa rukkhassa chaivyāni sīdeyya sayeyya vā & \\
na tassa sākhāmann bhāñjeyya mittaadūhhi hi pāpako & \\
Atha atthe samuppanne samūlam api abbhe & \\
attho me sambalenā 'ti suhato vānaro mayā &
\end{align*}
\]

¹ The exact meaning of kṣatravidyā in Chāndogya U. p., vii, 1, 2, is uncertain; in Dīgha Nikāya, vol. i, p. 9, l. 7, khatta비jjā is classed among the occupations a Brahmin or brahmana cannot properly follow but this does not necessarily prove that the reference is to the arthaśāstra, for any of the functions of government are improper for those who lead a saintly life.
Several points in these verses recall the verse already quoted from the Jātakamālā, the comparison with the shade of a tree, the parallelism of idea in mittadūbhi and kṛtajñacaritaih and the injunction to cut down the tree if any use can be made of it as compared with the injunction to use men like sacrificial victims when needed; there must have been something of the sort in the common original. The Pali version shows also that the common original ended with a statement of the principles of the dharmaśāstra. A definite conclusion is hardly possible but I incline to the view that the Pali writer intended by khattavijñā, like Āryaśūra, to refer to the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, though probably deriving his knowledge of it from popular report and not from direct study; if so, it is to be inferred that the common original knew it too. The alternative is that Āryaśūra turned a reference to the earlier arthaśāstra into a reference to Kauṭilya's work.

To sum up, it is quite certain that Āryaśūra knew the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya and that in his day it was regarded as the standard work on the arthaśāstra so that the lower limit for the date of its composition can hardly be later than a.d. 250. The Pali versions of the Sutasoma and Mahābodhi Jātakas cannot be dated with any approach to accuracy except within very wide limits, but in view of their style and of the five philosophical theories quoted in the latter they cannot be much older than the Jātakamālā. But if the common originals of the Pali versions and Āryaśūra's tales meant by the reference to the Kṣatriyan science the work of Kauṭilya, the lower limit for the latter must be placed a good deal, perhaps a century, earlier.

This conclusion is consonant with the evidence of the Laṅkāvatārasūtra. The main body of that work dates from not later than the fourth century a.d., as it was translated into Chinese in a.d. 443. Subsequently an appendix of 884 ślokas was added, which appears in the second Chinese translation of a.d. 513. This addition is put into the mouth
of a previous Buddha called Viraja Jina, who prophesies the coming of the Buddha of the Śākya race and various events before and after that.\footnote{The context shows that this is the correct interpretation of verses 797–800, and that J. W. Hauer (Das Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra u. das Sāmkhya, Stuttgart, 1927) is in error in taking them to give the name and parentage of the author of the appendix.} Verse 786 prophesies that the Gupta kings would be succeeded by Mlecchas, so that this addition must date from the last quarter of the fifth century when the Gupta empire had dissolved beneath the attacks of the Huns. Later on the coming of future ṛṣis is announced in the following order, in verse 813 Pāṇini, in verse 814 Kātyāyana the composer of sūtras and Yajñavalkya, in verse 816 Vālmiki, Masurākṣa, Kauṭilya, and Aśvalāyana, and finally in verse 817 the scion of the Śākyas. Evidently, therefore, at the end of the fifth century a.d. Kauṭilya was placed on a level with the ancient ṛṣis in point of age and the work which earned him this position must be at least several centuries earlier than that date.

Two points of interest arise out of this passage. In the first place, it contains no hint of any connexion between Kauṭilya and the Maurya dynasty, though the latter is known to the author of the appendix, being mentioned in the same verse as the Guptas. Secondly, Masurākṣa is only known as the writer to whom is attributed a collection of gnomic verses under the title of Nītiśāstra in volume Mdo 123 of the Tibetan Tanjur. This translation follows immediately after a slightly longer work called both Cāṇakyaṇītiśāstra and Cāṇakyaṛjanītiśāstra and is of exactly the same nature as the various collections of gnomic verse which pass under the name of Cāṇakya.\footnote{Mr. J. van Manen says of it in the Foreword to the second edition of the Cāṇakyaṛjanaṇītiśāstram (Calcutta Oriental Series, No. 2, 1926), p. xiii, that it has certain verses which are contained in nearly all Cāṇakya collections and are nowhere else attributed to another. I have made a cursory examination of it in the British Museum copy (fol. 194b–200a), this volume being missing in the India Office set. It is divided into seven cantos, containing some 129 or 130 verses; the exact number is uncertain, as sometimes five or six lines are used to translate a single verse, and all the verses} It shows no Buddhist influence and
must surely have been well known to Hindus at the time it was translated. Why then is the name Masurākṣa unknown to Hindu tradition? Further the use of the name Cāṇakya in connexion with the Arthaśāstra seems to be a good deal later than the association with it of the name Viṣṇugupta Kauṭilya and there are traces of a tradition that they were different persons. Accepting the tradition that Viṣṇugupta Kauṭilya was the author of the Arthaśāstra and taking the view that seems to me unavoidable that he was a different person from the minister of Candragupta Maurya, for whose name and story legend is our only authority, are we to conclude that the minister’s name was Cāṇakya and that in that case Masurākṣa was his personal name or a nickname?

must be identified to attain certainty. The first verse gives Masurākṣa’s name, and mentions the arthaśāstra as one of his sources, an unusual feature in these collections. The remaining ten verses in this canto contain general rules for the conduct of life, of which I have not identified any. In canto ii verses 8–15 consist of the well-known series beginning sīṁhād ekāh, describing the twenty qualities of animals which should be imitated. Canto vii describes in 19 verses the qualities of a king and his various servants; they seem superior in quality to the similar verses in Haeberlin’s Cāṇakyaśāstram and in the above mentioned, the Bhojarāja, recension, while the Vṛddhacāṇakya (Bombay, 1882) has not the series at all. I have identified a third of the remainder, almost all in the Bhojarāja recension, though some occur in the other two also. A more prolonged search would probably result in the identification of many of the rest. The text of the verses seems generally good; very few deal with the faults of women, most treating of the behaviour to be adopted towards relations, friends, foes, evil men and servants. It seems to have more unity than the Cāṇakya collections generally.

1 The only similar name I can find is Surakṣa, the name of Vyāsa in the fourteenth age in Vāyupurāṇa (Ānandāśrama S.S.), xxiii, 162. The verse looks corrupt, having no less than three conjunctions where only one is required, and the name may therefore have suffered mutilation by the loss of a syllable.

2 Namely in Bhaṭṭotpala’s references in his commentary on the Bhajjaṭāka (quoted in the preface to the first edition of Shamsastry’s translation), which suggest that according to the authorities he followed Viṣṇugupta and Cāṇakya were considered two separate persons and that he identified them in accordance with the traditions current in his day. That he meant the two persons under discussion here can hardly be doubted; for there surely cannot be another pair of the same names who had also been confused.
Or are Čaṇakya and Masurākṣa different persons and, if so, can we hold that Masurākṣa was the real author of the verses passing under his name? There certainly seems to be no reason for fathering any one else's work on so little known an individual.

However that may be—it does not much concern the question here under debate—I feel justified in holding that, taking the Jātakamālā and the Laṅkāvatārasūtra alone, the lower limit for the composition of the Arthaśāstra is certainly not later than about A.D. 250 and is probably a good deal earlier, if the Pali khattavijjā refers to Kauṭilya's work and not to the earlier arthaśāstra. It also looks as if it cannot be far removed in date from Āśvaghoṣa and in particular cannot be much earlier. In fact it would agree with the evidence here set out if we took the beginning of our era as the upper limit for its date, so long as it is borne in mind that this is an estimate based on probability, not on rigid proof. These limits agree with the fact that, leaving out of consideration works which may know the Arthaśāstra but do not treat it as a standard work, no work of Brahmatical origin which treats it as a recognized authority, that is, which is substantially later than it, can safely be dated as early as A.D. 300.

II. Notes on Land Tenure and Agriculture

The correct interpretation of the text of the Arthaśāstra depends to a large extent on a correct appreciation of the author's mentality and aims. If it is wrong on the one hand to read into it the ideas of a great statesman or a deep political thinker, on the other hand half its value is missed by treating it as the pedantic theorizings of a pandit. The book is in essence the work of a practical administrator little interested in political theories beyond the principle that the king's advantage is the sole rule of action and unfettered by moral or religious prejudices except in so far as their existence in others affects the execution of policy. Its aim is to describe and consider critically the different courses that can be taken
in the various difficulties of administration, and no passage can be held to be satisfactorily explained till its practical bearings have been made clear. Except on the moral side, Kauṭilya's attitude comes naturally in fact to all who have been engaged in administrative work, and it is on the strength of such experience, even though limited in amount, that I venture to attempt an explanation of certain passages ¹ to which justice has not hitherto been done.

1. Book II, chapter 24, deals with the duties of the sūtādhy-akṣa, which consist in the cultivation, direct or through tenants, of svabhūmi and in the collection of certain irrigation dues. Svabhūmi is correctly taken by Shamasasty and Jolly (Festschrift Kuhn, p. 28) to mean the "crown lands", the lands in actual cultivating possession of the king. An exactly parallel expression is current to-day in Bengal, where the demesne lands of a landlord are known as nīj lands, the term being used in the Bengal Tenancy Act. The similar Persian form, khudkāsht, which was used in the old Bengal Regulations to denote what is now known as a settled raiyat, is now used occasionally in Bihar in the same sense.

To anyone who reads ch. 24 in either Shamasasty's or Jolly and Schmidt's edition, the transition from the description of the cultivation of the crown lands to that of the collection of irrigation dues will appear excessively abrupt; further, as their texts stand, these regulations must apply to collections of dues for all classes of irrigation works, and it is not apparent why the sūtādhyakṣa should collect them, seeing that they ought to fall within the ordinary duties of the staff responsible for the collection of land revenue. Despite, therefore, the weight of Professor Jolly's opinion to the contrary (Festgabe Jacobi, p. 427), I think one must take svasetubhyah as heading the regulations about irrigation

¹ A recent work dealing with some of the passages discussed here is B. Breloer, Kautaliya-Studien, i. Das Grundeigentum in Indien, Bonn, 1927. I find myself unable to accept the theories set out in it and disagree entirely with several of the proposed translations and the deductions drawn from them.
dues in a sentence to itself and not as the last word in sentence 20, which I quote in full a few lines lower down. Svā has the same meaning as in svabhūmi, and the reference is to the king’s private irrigation embankments, which he maintains for the irrigation of the crown lands, there being also, as appears from Book III, ch. 9 and 10, irrigation works belonging to other persons. The collection of the dues for the use of this water from the cultivators of lands other than crown lands naturally falls within the sitādhyaśa’s sphere. To join svasetubhyah with the preceding anyatra krchreabhyyah gives no sense, e.g. Shamasastry’s “with the exception of their own private lands that are difficult to cultivate” is nonsense in the context, even if setu could have this meaning, which is highly improbable, though Professor Jolly has accepted Shamasastry’s version (Festschrift Kuhn, p. 29).

The chapter begins with the description of direct cultivation by labourers under the supervision of the superintendent. Then follow two sentences, 19 and 20, which have given a lot of trouble, describing cultivation by tenants.

19. Vāpādirīktam ardhasītikāh kuryah

20. Svaviryoapājīvino vā caturthapaṅcabhāgikāh | yathēṣtam anavasitāṁ bhāgam dadyur anyatra krchrebhyyah

The first sentence is usually taken to mean that he should let land which he does not sow for any reason to the class of tenant known as ardhasītika. This, though probably correct, is difficult. The natural way to express what it amounts to would be to omit vāpādirīktam and add vā after ardhasītikāh. Since the ardhasītika is little better than a landless labourer, it cannot be lack of labour that is the

1 Jolly and Schmidt print sentence 20 as a whole, omitting the avagraha in ‘bhāgikāh. I follow Shamasastry in dividing it into two parts for convenience’s sake; it would really be better to take the last two words as a separate sentence too.

2 For vāpa “sowing”, “area sown”, cf. Ind. Ant., xv, p. 340, l. 46, where a field is described as vṛhīdviṣṭhakaśvāpa “having an area which requires two pithakas of seed to sow it with”.
reason for letting it out, nor can lack of seed be in question; for if the king has no seed, a fortiori the ardhasūtika will not have any. As a possible alternative which avoids these difficulties and does not introduce any greater ones of its own, I should like to insert vā after vāpātirikta and take the sentence as meaning that alternatively the land should be let out to cultivators who pay half the produce as rent on the vāpātirikta system, explaining that as the system under which an amount equal to the seed sown is deducted from the gross produce of the field and handed over to the tenant, the balance being then divided between the king and the tenant. Such a deduction would not be made in the case of the one-sixth share payable as land revenue and is therefore due for mention here.

To assess the value, if any, of this conjecture, a clear understanding is needed of the position of the ardhasūtika and of the conditions of his tenure, which can be obtained by reference to existing forms of tenancy in Bihar. Two classes of tenant of distinctly different status hold land on produce rent, as it is called, that is, paying a share of the produce (or an equivalent in cash of the share at the market price of the day) as rent instead of paying a fixed cash rent. Both are regarded as tenants by the law, not as labourers, which distinguishes the system from the Italian mezadría. In both cases the landlord supplies only the land and the tenant finds the seed, ploughs, cattle, and other requisites of cultivation. The first class, which is a survival from the days before fixed cash rents were the rule, is limited to the districts of Patna, Gaya and part of South Monghyr.¹ There it is or was till recently the rule that paddy land is held by the

¹ A description of it, which has been much criticized of late years by one school of officers as idealized, will be found in G. A. Grierson, Notes on the District of Gaya, Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, Calcutta, 1893. The latest and most authoritative study from the economic point of view is in E. L. Tanner, Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the District of Gaya, Patna, 1919; for further details see the similar reports on Patna and South Monghyr.
ordinary raiyat (cultivating tenant) on condition of paying a portion of the produce, usually a half, as rent; if the share is actually divided out on the threshing floor, the tenure is known as *batāī* or *aghor batāī*, and if it is settled by appraise- ment before reaping, then as *dānābandā* or *bhāoli*, the latter term being also used to describe the system as a whole. Other lands are held on cash rents. The reason for the survival of this tenure is the necessity for a complicated irrigation system in this area if the cultivation of paddy is to be successful in ordinary years, and it is held that the landlords have an inducement to keep up the system because their income is dependent on the size of the crops. The rights of the cultivators in these paddy lands are in no way different from those of the settled or occupancy raiyats (to use the legal terms) holding on cash rents, except that in the case of those holding by *bhāoli* the crops may not be reaped till appraised and that in the case of those holding by *batāī* the crops must be reaped and threshed only in the presence of the landlord’s representative and must be stored pending division on the landlord’s threshing floor. The tenure is probably closely parallel to that of the ordinary cultivator under the conditions prevailing in Kautilya’s day, substituting the king for the landlord, but has a special interest with reference to the conjectured interpretation of *vāpātirikta*. For when the division is being made or the landlord’s share is being worked out after appraisement, the tenant is allowed so much of the gross produce to cover costs of cultivation, usually 5 per cent., the equivalent of the seed roughly, this being possibly the historical origin of the allowance.

The other class, which corresponds exactly to the *ardhasātika*, is to be met in small numbers everywhere in Bihar. As a general rule they have a small holding of their own but have to eke out their living by labour, and they are thus halfway between the ordinary cultivator and the landless labourer. In addition to their own small holding, if any, they
cultivate on batāi either the landlord's own lands or the lands of a big raiyat. Public opinion among landlords and tenants alike regards them as tenants at will, and there are still traces of a feeling that the batāudār has a special relationship amounting almost to service towards his landlord. But modern conditions have made him a much freer individual than Kauṭiliya's ardhasītika, whose wife is reckoned among the household servants (K.A., iii, 13, 15) and whose widow shares with the gopāla's widow the unenviable distinction of being responsible for her husband's debts (K.A., iii, 11, 28). In the case of the gopāla this is clearly to be explained by the terms on which he looks after his master's cattle, and it may be presumed that an ardhasītika's debts would be only for goods entrusted to him by his landlord.

Taking sentence 20 in parts, the first is usually understood to mean that alternatively the land may be let out to those who live by their own labour, who are to receive a fourth or fifth part of the crop for their labour. The contract, on the face of it, is improbable not merely because of the smallness of the share received by the labourer but still more because a labour contract of this description, in which the labourer has to be lent seed and the means of cultivation, is not suited to Indian conditions; and I also fail to see how it can be extracted from the Sanskrit. Caturthapañcabhāgikā ought to mean "paying a fourth or fifth share of the produce as rent", in which case svavīryopajīvin cannot mean "one who lives by his own labour", even granting that vīrya could possibly mean "labour"; for a labourer would not get better terms than an ardhasītika. Why too should such a clumsy periphrasis be used for "labourer"? A parallel expression occurs in Manu, vii, 138, kārukaṁ chulpinaṁ caiva ūdrāṁ cātmopajīvināḥ, i.e. Śūdras who are not dependent on others for their living, but have some independent means of livelihood, such as a trade or art, and in Gautama, x, 31–2, śilpino māsi māsy ekaikam karma kuryuḥ | etenātmopajīvinō

1 Cf. athabhāgiya in the Asoka edicts.
vyākhyaūtāh. This suggests that, taking vīrya in its natural sense of “valour”, “manly vigour”, the expression refers to those who live by the exploitation of their martial qualities, such as soldiers, policemen, peons, etc., whom it is a regular custom in India to provide with land on favourable terms. It is, in fact, almost equivalent to Bāṇa’s sastropajīvin, “one who lives by the profession of arms.”

The next part is translated by Shamasasty, “Or they may pay to the king as much as they can without entailing any hardship on themselves,” and by J. J. Meyer, “Sind sie nicht zu Rande gekommen, so mögen sie nach Wunsch einen Anteil geben.” Both seem to me improbable; Kauṭilya has too practical a mind to suggest an arrangement which must lead to endless trouble, and probably to riots, at the time of harvest. Avasita bhāga is “a determined share”, i.e. the shares set out above, a fourth or a fifth; surely, therefore, anavasita bhāga means a share other than those determined above, so that the translation should run, “They may pay a share other than those set out in the previous sentence, as may be agreed on,” giving, as so often in the Arthasastra, elasticity to hard and fast rules. Anyatra kṛchrebhyaḥ can hardly refer to cases of natural disasters such as floods or famines, seeing that the rent is not an unalterable sum in cash or grain but a proportion of the produce and therefore nil in such circumstances. Presumably kṛchrebhyaḥ refers to cases where the king’s stocks of grain are deficient (v, 2, 1), and the two words accordingly lay down that in such cases the crown land should not be let out on such favourable terms but should be cultivated direct as being the more profitable method.

Sentences 21 to 24 deal with irrigation dues for the use of water from the king’s embankments, the share of the crop payable being fixed according to the efficiency of the irrigation arrangements and consequently to the amount of water used. Hastaprāvantima refers presumably to irrigation by swing basket and the like (Grierson, Bihar Peasant Life,
Calcutta, 1885, § 949), skandhaprāvartima to the lever known ordinarily as a latthā (ib., § 928 ff.) and srootyantraprāvartima may be flush irrigation from rivers (ib., § 918). The next sentence runs, karmodakapramāṇena kedāraṁ haimanāṁ graśmikām vā sasyaṁ sthāpayet, in which kedāraṁ as an adjective in conjunction with the other two and meaning “rains crop” seems to me highly improbable, as well as requiring another vā after haimanāṁ. Ganapatī Sastri hardly gets over this difficulty by reading kaidāraṁ, which equally cannot have this meaning. To me the obvious solution seems to be to amend to kedāre, since anusvāra and e are regularly confused in MSS., the reference being to the considerations that should govern the selection of crops for irrigable land. Haimana then means the crops reaped in the winter, such as winter paddy, and graśmikā the irrigated crops reaped in April and May, the latter naturally requiring much more irrigation and consequently more labour for their cultivation. I am not sure under which head sugarcane should come. It is usually planted towards the end of the cold weather, and in most parts requires much irrigation during the hot weather. In Bihar the cutting of the crop begins as a rule in January and may go on till April, but in northern and central India cutting may begin as early as November.

The rest of the chapter does not call for comment here.

2. We have surprisingly little in the Arthashastra about the land revenue levied on cultivators other than those cultivating crown lands. That the share was ordinarily one-sixth may be deduced from the mention of sadbhāga among the sources of revenue (ii, 15, 3). Presumably the king’s share was divided on the threshing-floor so that no assessment was required; for, if there had been any system of appraisement such as was a well-established custom by Akbar’s day,1 it would surely have been mentioned as requiring special arrangements. All we have is the prescription for the maintenance of elaborate

1 Blochmann and Jarrett, Ain, II, p. 44.
registers by the officials known as gopa (ii, 35) which are intended not merely to prevent evasion by taxpayers but also evidently as a check on the dishonesty of the collecting staff. Nothing is said about the system of collection, but the form of the registers shows that each cultivator paid direct to the officials. The efficiency of the land revenue system was so essential to the stability of a government in India and the collection of revenue in kind on a large scale presents such difficult problems to the administrator, as may be seen from Sir George Grierson’s and Mr. Tanner’s works referred to above,¹ that one can only suppose that this side of administration had little interest for the writer.

3. In Book V, ch. 2, we have what may be called an āpaddharma, the special measures for replenishing the king’s treasury when its emptiness is causing him difficulties, some points in which deserve notice. These special levies are not to be exacted as a regular measure, but only once. The first measure is confiscation of part of the stocks of grain (dhānyasyāṁsam) in the possession of cultivators and compulsory purchase of the rest, so far as not required for food or seed. At least it seems to me that, if the reference was to taking one-third or one-fourth of a crop as land revenue instead of the usual one-sixth, we should have had bhāga here and not aṁsa. This suggests that in sentences 13 to 15, apahārin is to be understood as meaning “withholding” and not “stealing”, and that the penalties accordingly are graded with respect to the gravity of the opposition to the king’s authority—least when only one person is concerned, more if several persons of the same community combine, and heaviest in case of general opposition. The immunity of Brahmans from this measure does not prove any exceptional consideration for them on the author’s part; high-caste

¹ P. 92, n. 1. Those most qualified to judge believe that in practice under the produce rent system, while the landlord’s demands work out at between 40 and 45 per cent. of the crop, the actual collections amount to only 25 per cent. or even less on an average.

JrAS. January 1929.
tenants still expect and often get special treatment,¹ so that, like Kautūlya, the modern landlord prefers a village which is śūdrakarśakapraśya (ii, 1, 2). Alternatively, if the stocks are not confiscated the revenue officers must make great efforts to have the area of land under cultivation increased and to see that it is properly cultivated (sentences 8–10). This represents an important stage in the aggrandizement of the king’s position. According to the old theory, the king did not exist jure divino but was merely set up to protect the people against external foes and internal disturbers of society, and he was given a share of the crop so that he might carry out this function efficiently; traces of the way in which this contractual theory worked in practice are still to be found in out-of-the-way parts of India.² Here we are at the point that, in addition to the liability to lose newly settled land if he did not cultivate it (ii, 1, 12), the cultivator must in cases of urgent political necessity, though not as a general rule, cultivate as much land as possible, not for himself, but in order to help the king out of his difficulties. Ultimately it becomes an accepted principle that it is the cultivator’s duty at all times to cultivate as much land as possible in order that the king may profit by the consequent increase of revenue, instead of its being his right to hold the land subject to the payment of taxes to do as he likes with.³

¹ For an instance see Grierson’s Notes on the District of Gaya, pp. 75–6.
² Thus in the Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the District of Ranchi (Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, Calcutta, 1912), p. 79, § 188, Mr. Reid, speaking of the kunthkhatti tenures of the Mudas, says, “The rents payable by the owners of the intact kunthkhatti villages really represent the small tribute which the Mudas or their descendants agreed to pay as a subsidy for the support of their feudal chief.”
³ Cf. W. H. Moreland, India at the Death of Akbar, p. 97. Naturally no coherent theory of the various rights of property in land could grow up in such soil. The growth of the king’s position seems to me also illustrated by the difference in wording between Manu, viii, 39 (on treasure trove) ardhahākāra rakṣagāt rājā bhūmer adhipatiḥ saḥ, i.e. “overlord of the soil” as its guardian, and the couplet quoted by the commentator on K. A., ii, 24, which is evidently much later in date, rājā bhūmeḥ patir drṣṭāḥ kāstrājñair udakasya ca, though even in this pati is not the same as “owner” and leaves room for other rights in land and water.
Sentences 8 and 9 run as follows:—

8. tasyākaraṇe vā samāhartaṇpuruṣā grīṣme karṣakānām udvāparaṁ kārayeyuh |

9. pramādāvaskannasyātyayaṁ (var. pramādāpannasyā) dvigunam udāharanto bijakāle bijalekhyain kuryuh |

What does udvāpa mean here? Sowing is not done in the hot weather but with the first onset of the rains, and anyway bijakāle must mean "at the time of sowing", not "at the time of germination of the seed", so that udvāpa cannot mean "sowing". It is in fact not recorded in this sense at all, its essential meaning being "throwing out" or "subtraction". The moment any showers fall in the hot weather, particularly in what is known as the choṭā barsāt, the "little rains" that precede the monsoon, usually by a fortnight or so, work starts on preparing the land so as to be ready to sow when the rains arrive. Udvaṇa surely therefore means "clearing the land", "preparing it", possibly even "clearing fresh land", deriving from the meaning "excavate" of udvap. Sentence 9 has been correctly translated by Dr. Meyer, and need not be dealt with here.

4. Two main classes of arable land are known to Kauṭilya, kedāra and sthala, a division which is identical with the primary classification of land which revenue officers make in Bihar to-day. Kedāra is the wet land growing mainly paddy, with often a catch crop sown before the paddy is reaped and with an occasional variation of sugarcane. It is low land divided into very small plots, each carefully levelled and surrounded by a small bank so as to retain water and keep it at the same depth throughout; these plots are known now by the name kiyār or kiyārī.1 This land may or may not be irrigated. Sthala is the upper dry land growing rains and winter crops, usually known in Bihar as rabi land, because it grows rabi (winter) crops. Irrigation does not

1 Grierson, Bihar Peasant Life, § 62, records kiyārī as used for "beds formed in a field for irrigation", but gives a nearly similar use to the above, which was familiar to me in practice, in Notes on the District of Gaya, p. 53.
seem to have been practised on sthala. The kinds of land irrigated are described in ii, 6, 5, pus$paphalavātaṣaṇdake-
dāramūlavāpaḥ setuh, the revenue from these sources being presumably the crop shares mentioned in ii, 24, 21 ff.; that is, irrigation was confined to kedāra land, to orchards and to the special crops growing in the different sorts of enclosures. Vāra has its modern equivalent in Bihar in bāri land, that is, land close to the homestead, highly manured, generally enclosed, and often irrigated, which is used for growing vegetables and special crops (e.g. nowadays tobacco). But mūlavāpa has not been satisfactorily explained by the translators.1 Probably, as the Amarakośa gives āvāpa = ālavāla, the reading should be mūlavāpaḥ equivalent to mūlavālaḥ. What is evidently the same word occurs again in iii, 9, 41, saṇḍavapānām, and in vii, 14, 37, setuvapesu; the meaning ālavāla would do in all three cases. The only parallel use I can discover is in a ninth century inscription at Gwalior (Ep. Ind., i, p. 159), where a field is described as situated vyāghrakeṇḍikābhidhāne hāramūlavāpe, of which the last two letters are unfortunately not quite certain. Hāra is taken here to be the same as Hindi hār, “pasturage” or “land in the immediate vicinity of a village”, but the passage does not determine the exact sense of mūlavāpa. The area of the two fields granted is described as yavor gopagiriyanāpyena vāpo yavanāṁ dronā ekādaśa, in which āvāpa is used in the same sense as vāpa, in the passage quoted on p. 91, n. 2. Vāpa is used in Ep. Ind., xiv, p. 303 (translation p. 310) in a sense that seems to me doubtful and to be of no help here.

The sources of irrigation include two kinds of tank known as saras and taṭāka, in addition to wells, pits (iii, 9, 41), and inundation canals from rivers. It appears from iii, 9, 31, and 32, that there might be more than one taṭāka on the same

1 It certainly does not, as has been suggested, include sugarcane, which is propagated by cuttings, not by planting roots, and which in any case is already included under the head kedāra.
slopes, one above the other. I infer therefore that a *tātāka* is what is now known in Bihar as an *āhar*, a reservoir formed by throwing an embankment across a slope with smaller wing embankments; where the slope is slight, a considerable area will be flooded by an *āhar* during the rains, so that this fits in exactly with the provisions in these two sentences to guard against the flooding of land already irrigated by an existing *tātāka* by the formation of a new one below it and against the cutting off of the supply of water of a *tātāka* by making a new one above it. It must be admitted, however, that the Hindi derivative, *tālāo*, is never used for *āhar*, so far as I know. If *tātāka* means an *āhar*, *saras* must refer to an irrigation tank formed by damming up a valley or stream.

5. It is an interesting speculation whether the part of India in which the *Arthashastra* originated can be determined. Book II does not quote from other works and reads much more like the notes of an official with all-round experience than summaries from other works. It appears to be based on practical knowledge, and the same practical vein runs through the handling of legal and other questions in the three following books. If this view is correct, there ought to be sufficient indications in these books to show in which part of India the author obtained his experience. So far as agriculture goes, the accounts fit in admirably with conditions in south Bihar, not so well with north Bihar, and not at all with Bengal or north-western India. The description would probably also cover a good deal of central India. From the suggestions as to the size of villages and the distances between them (ii, 1, 2) he seems to have lived in a fairly populous part, and the repeated mention of forest tribes suggests possibly south Bihar, but more probably central India. The preference for trade routes to the south is also noticeable (vii, 12, 30 ff.).

1 For an admirable description of these embankments, see Grierson, *Notes on the District of Gaya*, p. 54.

2 Provided my explanation of *tātāka* is accepted; otherwise the author’s ignorance of the *āhar* system would seem to imply ignorance of the conditions of Magadha, as the *āhar* can hardly be a recent invention.
While I incline to central India, someone with a wider knowledge of the country than mine may be able to draw a definite conclusion.

6. Though it is not germane to the points discussed above, I should like to add a note on the meaning of the word *vaidehaka*. To my mind he has his exact analogue in the *bepārī*¹ of Bihar to-day. Though this word is used in a general sense of any small trader, it denotes particularly a man whose capital consists of a bullock-cart or a pack animal or two and a few rupees cash or credit with a wholesale dealer in a market town. He wanders about the countryside, sometimes buying small lots of grain or other agricultural produce in the villages at harvest time and selling them to the wholesale dealers, at others taking salt, cloth, or other goods from a wholesale dealer and retailing them in the villages or at markets. Like so many other remains of old India, he is disappearing under modern conditions, but his insignificance and his wandering life made him the ideal disguise for a spy who wished to go round the villages without attracting attention.

¹ The dictionaries recognize various forms, Forbes *baipārī*, *byopārī*, and *beopārī*, Fallon *byopārī* and *baipārī*, and Ram Lal *byaupārī*; it is also confused with formations from Sanskrit *vyavahāra*. I give it here in the form familiar to me in practice.

*October, 1928.*
A Prose Version of the Yūsuf and Zulaikha Legend, ascribed to Pīr-i Anṣār of Harāt

BY REUBEN LEVY

I N Ethé’s Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the India Office Library, there is an entry (No. 1778) describing a prose work entitled Anīsu ’l-Murīdīn wa Shamsu ’l-Majālis, which is ascribed in the introduction and colophon to Shaykh ‘Abdullāh Anṣārī of Harāt. Ethé, obviously assuming the genuineness of this ascription, states in Geiger und Kuhn’s Grundriss (vol. ii, p. 282) that the work is the oldest prose version of the Yūsuf and Zulaikha story, and on this assertion of Ethé’s a recent number of Islamica (vol. iii, April, 1927, p. 10) contained a plea from Berthels for fuller information about the work. At the suggestion of Professor Nicholson I undertook the examination of the MS., which the India Office authorities kindly placed at my disposal in the University Library at Cambridge.

The MS., which appears to be the only one extant of the work, is late, having been written in the year 1013–1605 at Burhānānūr. Almost from the first page doubt arises on its authenticity. After the usual hamdullāh and blessings on the Prophet and his kin, the MS. continues on folio 1b:

حمد و سپاس مریصانعی را کا بلبل خوش نواز بلاغت
فانه‌ای خلاصی شکر نعمه ای بر زبان میراند و طوطیه
شکر خنای مدخت خطبة دیوان عظمت و کبریای او
میخوانند الح

This is very reminiscent of the flowery style of Persian associated with later writers, such as Waṣṣāf or Jāmī, and it
can be closely paralleled in introductions and colophons of Persian works lithographed in India.

There follows an account—beginning in Arabic and continuing in Persian—of how the author came to undertake the work. Certain friends of his, anxious to acquaint themselves with his views, aphorisms, good counsel, and message of truth, but finding his ordinary works beyond their understanding, approached him with the request that the would compose them some work in Persian that would be within the compass of their comprehension. In accordance, therefore, with the divine behest which bids a man speak to his fellows according to their intellectual capacity, he wrote the present book. It is worthy of remark that Ḥājī Khalīfa (Fluegel’s edition, vol. vi, p. 189), in speaking of another work of Anṣārī’s—the Manāzīlu ’l-Sā’irīn—quotes a passage from it which gives a similar reason for composing that work. In this section of the MS. the author is called :

الشيخ الإمام المحقّ والحبر المدقّق سالم المسالك
هادى الخلايق عن طريق الممالك الواسل الى جوار رحمة
الله وى شيخ الإسلام عبد الله انصارى رضى الله عنه،

"The Shaykh, the truth-demonstrating Imam and subtle doctor; guide of mankind on the road through destroying perils; he that has achieved the approach to God’s mercy, that is to say the Shaykhu ’l-Islām, ‘Abdullāh Anṣārī; may God grant him favour."

Pīr-i Anṣār could no more have written that than Moses the account of his own death and burial in the last chapter of Deuteronomy. It is doubtless possible that the introductory matter in the MS. is an addition by a later hand, but there appears to be neither a break in the continuity of the text nor any change in the style.

There is more definite proof against Pīr-i Anṣār’s authorship
of the work in folio 6a and the following section, where, after explaining the motives for the revelation of the Sūra of Joseph (Sūra xii), the writer quotes a number of mystical authorities who attest the pregnant character and inward significance of the Sūra. Amongst these authorities is the Imām Ghazālī. He was not born until 450/1058, and would have been about 30 years old, therefore, when Pir-i Anṣār died. It is a matter for doubt whether Ghazālī had by that time achieved fame enough to entitle him to a place alongside such giants as Manṣūr-i Ḥallāj and Sahl ibn ‘Abdullāh Tustari, though it is possible. Doubt of the spurious character of the work is, however, set entirely at rest when (on f. 14a) we find ‘Atṭār quoted. The only possible Sufi authority of that title is Farīdu ‘l-Dīn, who was not born until 513/1119; that is, thirty years or more after the death of Anṣārī, which took place in a.d. 1088.

Certain negative evidence goes to support the conclusion that the work in our MS. is not that of Anṣārī. None of the biographers and bibliographers who notice him has any mention of the Anīsu ‘l-Muridīn. Hájjī Khalīfa, in fact (Fluegel’s edition, No. 1339), would seem to be the first authority to mention the work contained in our MS., which he calls the Unsu ‘l-Muridīn of Khwāja ‘Abdullāh al-Anṣārī of Harāt. Unfortunately he fails to give the year of the writer’s death, and thus adds to the difficulty of identifying the author of the work. It may, incidentally, be pointed out that Hájjī Khalīfa might easily have seen a copy of the MS. with which we are dealing, for it was written in a.d. 1605, and he did not die until a.d. 1658.

One last piece of internal evidence may be added to strengthen the case against Pir-i Anṣār’s authorship. In the

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1 E.g. Al-Dhahabī, Ta’rikhu ‘l-Islām (Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 50, ff. 176a–178a); Al-Ṣafadī, Al-Wāfī bi‘l-Wafayāt (Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 22,358, f. 141b); Jāmi, Nafahātu ‘l-Uns (ed. Nassau Lees, p. 376); Rizā Quli Khan, Riyāzu ‘l-‘Arifin. A more or less complete list of authorities is given in the notes to Mīrzā Muhammad Khān Qazwīnī’s edition of the Chahār Maqāla (pp. 255–8).
poetical works commonly attributed to him he uses for his takhallus the names “Pîr-i Anşâr”, “Pîr-i Harât”, or “Pîr-i Hari”, whereas in the one long poem given in our MS.—a series of mathnâviyyât—the author’s takhallus appears as “‘Abdullâh”. Though the fact is not conclusive in itself, it affects the cumulative weight of the evidence. In the MS. itself there would appear to be no positive clue to the author, and the work may still be the earliest prose version of the Yûsuf and Zulaikha story, but its value for Sufi studies cannot be as great as it would have been if it had come from the hand of Anşârî of Harât.
Two Aramaic Ostraka

BY A. COWLEY

(PLATES III-V)

A.

THIS was given some years ago to the University Library at Cambridge by Sir Herbert Thompson, who bought it with other objects from a dealer in London. I have to thank the Librarian for his kind permission to publish it.

From the character of the writing, as well as from the contents, it is clear that it comes from Syene (Assuan), and its date is no doubt 450-400 B.C. It was broken into at least three pieces, which when joined together present a practically complete text. It begins on the concave side, where the writing is very distinct. The continuation, on the convex, is more roughly written, owing to the irregularity of the surface, and is moreover a good deal faded, so that it is only by repeated efforts that I have succeeded in making out most of it. For the photographs (of both ostraka) I am indebted to the skill and patience of Mr. J. F. Phelps of the Clarendon Press (see Plates III–V).

The document is a letter dealing, as usual, with domestic details, the nature of which is not entirely clear. It was sent by X (not named) from a place not named, to his mother at Syene. NPN’ has gone to Syene to sell sheep for SHMRY. X asks his mother to help N, who will in return help X. N had promised X that if he went to his (N’s) house, they (his servants) would give Hannah a goat for him (X). The servants now refuse to do this, and instead send in a bill for bread and wheat. N even asks her what she wants. The implication seems to be that by showing kindness to N he may be brought to a better mind.
The text is as follows:

Concave

1. אל אמי קווילדה בברעה
2. שלחת לכל בצעת הלל דוה
3. כ
4. נושא עד ואי וספורי על
5. רבבותיה שלחתי פאי עמה
6. לאנה אלול קומי
7. עמה בסתו ומא
8. עמה אל שם העבר

Convex

8. בשלום הבשא ישבך
9. וכל דלallo של קים
10. להבתיו ויתני להזת עמו וא
11. המלך כל הWebSocket
12. עמי על המקה ר
13. אם לכל מקה וה
14. המ שיאלה
15. לא מי התכון

Translation

Concave

1. To my mother Kvelia: a blessing
2. I send to you. Now, behold,
3. NPN’, who tends the sheep of SHMRY, was
4. A friend of you (both). He has come to Syene with the sheep
5. to sell. Go and stand
6. by him in Syene this
7. day. If you treat (him)

Convex

8. well in Syene, he will treat me
9. so. Behold, he promised me saying “Go
10. to my house and they shall give to Hannah (?) a goat till
11. she come to you”. Now they have turned round [and refuse]
12. to do (this) for her. Behold, they count
13. even bread and wheat. He
14. has . . . and has asked her
15. saying "What do you want?"

Notes

1. 1. The restorations are certain. The name seems to be new. It is no doubt Jewish.

1. 2. The last word was bent round to fit the space and hence the tail of the  ד  is sloping.

1. 3. The writer first wrote יִרְעָא נְתַנְתָּא יְכָ֑ר "N. the shepherd of S." Then he was dissatisfied with the phrase and added יִרְעָא above the line, meaning it to be read יִרְעָא , but he wrote יִרְעָא a little too far to the left.

Nֶתֶנָה The נ here, as in יִרְעָא , is strangely formed, but must be so read. The name looks like Egyptian.

Nֶתֶנָה here and in l. 4 would naturally be taken to mean "birds" (especially for sacrifice) as commonly in later Hebrew. This however is unsuitable with יִרְעָא . In the Aramaic papyri (ed. Cowley, 1923), No. 33, 10, note, it was suggested that יִרְעָא = יַע = יַע = יַע , since it is there associated with יַע (as here in l. 10). This is confirmed by the present passage. The equation יִרְעָא = יַע , however, requires further consideration. It may be from a different stem; cf. the use of בֵּית in Hebrew.

Nֶתֶנָה evidently an Egyptian name, as probably that of his shepherd was (but cf. Gen. xlv, 34). If it is Sekhemre, it ought to end in יַע , as Professor Griffith points out. They were willing to do business with the Jewess, although their sheep might have been used for sacrifice.

1. 4. יְכָ֑ר ; cf. Aram. Pap. 30, 23, 24. The plural suffix makes it unlikely that this is in apposition to SHMRY, as it were "a friend of your family". Writing to his mother he would have said "a friend of our family". It is probably predicative, "N. was a friend of S. and you."
with simple accus. loci quo itur, as in Aram. Pap. 15, 3.

1. 5. דֵּלֵּב as in Aram. Pap. 9, 6, with no object expressed.

רָאָלָא correctly, fem. imperative.

רָאָלָא, not רָאָלָא, nor רָאָלָא "before me", which is not found in Aram. Pap. or B.A. It is רָאָלָא, fem. imperative, and רָאָלָא may be compared with רָאָלָא in Aram. Pap. 38, 6. "Stand with him" means "help him" to sell the sheep well. For the two verbs without connective particle cf. Aram. Pap. Aḥikar 103, עַבְּרָא עַבְּרָא.

1. 7. חָתָּא with חָתָּא energeticum, after חָתָּא, as Aram. Pap. Aḥikar 82, where see note.

1. 8. בֶּלַע. The traces remaining make בֶּלַע certain.

בֶּלַע. The בֶּלַע is badly made, but nothing else seems possible. For the phrase cf. Aram. Pap. 38, 8.

1. 9. יַלַע. The יַלַע is doubtful, but cf. the second יַ in יַלַע, l. 10. There ought to be a trace of the tail of י. יַלַע. The יַלַע is very faint, and the יַ might be a יַ. The meaning "promised" is rather forced.

1. 10. יַלַע. There are perhaps traces of יַלַע and possibly room for י, or perhaps יַלַע is used with a simple accusative.

יַלַע. The jussive form, correctly.

יַלַע is very uncertain. I at first read it יַלַע, which however would not fit in with the rest of the text. In one of the photographs a very faint trace of what may be a יַ appears above the line, the tail of יַ is perhaps visible, and the יַ looks more like a י. This agrees with יַלַע in l. 11. Hannah must be some dependent of the writer. It can hardly have anything to do with יַלַע and יַלַע in Aram. Pap. or B.A.

יַגֵּל, not יַגֵּל. The יַ is always slanting, and the last letter is יַ which is smaller than י. The י is equivalent to our indefinite article, as in Aram. Pap.

l. 11. יַלַע is fairly certain, though the י is partly effaced and looks like a י. "Till she come to you" I suppose means "in order that she may bring it to you".

יַגֵּל. Only the יַ is certain, and יַ is probable. It
with simple accus. loci quo itur, as in Aram. Pap. 15, 3.

1. 5. לְבָנָה as in Aram. Pap. 9, 6, with no object expressed. לְבָנָה correctly, fem. imperative.

כֶּרֶס, not כֶּרֶס, nor כֶּרֶס "before me", which is not found in Aram. Pap. or B.A. It is כֶּרֶס, fem. imperative, and כֶּרֶס may be compared with כֶּרֶס in Aram. Pap. 38, 6. "Stand with him" means "help him" to sell the sheep well. For the two verbs without connective particle cf. Aram. Pap. Aḥikar 103, יָעַבְרֵד עָעָבְרֵד.

1. 7. יִבְּרֵד with יִבְּרֵד energeticum, after יִבְּרֵד, as Aram. Pap. Aḥikar 82, where see note.

1. 8. הָבוּ. The traces remaining make הָבוּ certain.

יִבְּרֵד. The יִבְּרֵד is badly made, but nothing else seems possible. For the phrase cf. Aram. Pap. 38, 8.

1. 9. הוּ. The הוּ is doubtful, but cf. the second הוּ in יֵרְתְּנִי, l. 10. There ought to be a trace of the tail of הוּ.

ני. The יִבְּרֵד is very faint, and the יִבְּרֵד might be a יִבְּרֵד. The meaning "promised" is rather forced.

1. 10. יִבְּרֵד. There are perhaps traces of יִבְּרֵד and possibly room for יִבְּרֵד, or perhaps יִבְּרֵד is used with a simple accusative.

נָוּ֔ר. The jussive form, correctly.

לְבָנָ֖ה is very uncertain. I at first read it לְבָנָ֖ה, which however would not fit in with the rest of the text. In one of the photographs a very faint trace of what may be a לְבָנָה appears above the line, the tail of לְבָנָה is perhaps visible, and the לְבָנָה looks more like a לְבָנָה. This agrees with לְבָנָ֖ה in l. 11. Hannah must be some dependent of the writer. It can hardly have anything to do with לְבָנָה and לְבָנָה in Aram. Pap. or B.A.

יִבְּרֵד, not יִבְּרֵד, יִבְּרֵד. The יִבְּרֵד is always slanting, and the last letter is יִבְּרֵד which is smaller than יִבְּרֵד. The יִבְּרֵד is equivalent to our indefinite article, as in Aram. Pap.

1. 11. לְבָנָה is fairly certain, though the לְבָנָה is partly effaced and looks like a ל. "Till she come to you" I suppose means "in order that she may bring it to you".

לְבָנָה. Only the לְבָנָה is certain, and לְבָנָה is probable. It
Aramaic Ostraka. B.
looks as if we should read יָרָה, but a connective particle is wanted with the next word (a verb?) which I cannot read. The meaning seems to be "they turned round and refused to do it", i.e. to give the goat.

1. 12. לַמִּיָּעֶהוּ לֹה "to do (it) for (him or) her", probably for Hannah.

יָעֶה is probable, though the מ is rather like a ב. "Reckoning" as part of a debt apparently.

1. 14. יָעֶה I cannot guess this word.

1. 15. לֹה seems the most likely reading. There is scarcely room for לֹלַ. But it is a strange ending to a letter.

B.

This was found by Sir Flinders Petrie in the course of his excavations at Beth-pelet (Josh. xv, 27; Neh. xi, 26) in the south of Judah. He very kindly sent it to me for examination, and allowed me to publish it.

The writing is on one side only, and is unfortunately very much faded. In order to make a legible plate I have inked over the letters in the photograph.

The text seems to be a fragment of accounts, or a report of expenses to a superior. There are traces of a second column, but it probably only contained isolated entries. The language is Aramaic, but the character of the writing differs from that used at Syene and Elephantine, and is evidently influenced by the "Phoenician" style. The date may be guessed at about 300 B.C.

The text is as follows:

1. . . .
2. נמָאָכִּתְהָ כְּיָה
3. אָמָנִכְּ יָאָנִכְּ ה
4. שֵׂמֶלְהָדְה
5. לְשֵׁבָנִכ
6. יָרָבָנִכ
7. מָלְדָה

1. Expenses of the house of
2. AMNK (or thy workman)
3. Shebaniah the sum of . . .
4. to Shebi
5. the Arab
6. in his hand
1. 1. Only one letter remains.

1. 2. אֶפָּר[ת] as in Aram. Pap. 73, 7, 14.

[ת]יַב. There is a faint trace of a possible י.

1. 3. מַטָּר or possibly מַטָּנָה. This may be "thy workman", if the document is a report of expenses. Or is it a name? In the other column ל is no doubt for הַכָּל.

1. 4. [ב]שְׁבֵּנִי. There are traces of לֵיל (!), but the ב is not quite certain. If מַטָּר is a name, we should read [ב]שְׁבֵּנִי here.

1. 5. A new entry after a wider space.

1. 7. אֶר[ה] as in Aram. Pap. 81, 32–8, of money or goods held by a person.
Two Notes on the Ancient Geography of India

BY J. PH. VOGEL

(a) Kantakasela = कान्तकाकोस्विळा

In recent years explorations of great importance have been conducted on a Buddhist site in the Pālnāḍ taluk of the Guntur district of the Madras Presidency, lastly under the superintendence of Mr. A. H. Longhurst, of the Archaeological Survey of India. The site in question which comprises several ancient mounds is situated in the midst of wooded hills on the right bank of the river Kistna or Krishnā, the Kaṇṇapēṇṇā or Kaṇṇavāṇṇā (Skt. Krishṇavarnā) of Pali literature, at a distance of some 15 miles from Macherla and on the border of the Nizam’s dominions. One of those mounds is known by the name of Nāgārjunikanṭa. Mr. Longhurst claims it to be the most important Buddhist site hitherto discovered in Southern India.

The discovery of several ruined stūpas and monasteries, of remarkable pieces of sculpture in a late Amarāvati style, and of numerous Brāhmi inscriptions fully confirms Mr. Longhurst’s estimation. The inscriptions, more than thirty in number and all composed in Prakrit, refer to the same Ikkhāku (Skt. Ikshvāku) dynasty which is also mentioned in the Jaggayyapeṭa inscriptions discovered by Dr. Burgess in February, 1882. On palaeographical evidence they may be assigned to the third century of our era. A paper containing transcripts and translations of these interesting records of Buddhism will shortly be published in the Epigraphia Indica.¹

In the present note I only wish to draw attention to one point which relates to the ancient topography of Southern

¹ A preliminary account of the discovery will be found in the Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy for the year ending 31st March, 1926, Madras, 1926, pp. 4 and 92 f., and for the year ending 31st March, 1927, Madras, 1928, pp. 71 f. Some of the statements made here regarding the contents of the inscriptions require correction in the light of more minute study. Cf. also Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for the year 1926, Leyden, 1928, pp. 14–16.

JHAs. JANUARY 1929.
India. Among the Prakrit inscriptions found on the site of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa there are two of considerable length, each of which was incised on the stone floor of an apsidal shrine. One of these two inscriptions is of peculiar value for the ancient topography. It records that a chetiyaṭghara—evidently the apsidal temple in question—with a floor of stone slabs and with a cetiya had been founded by an upāsikā, named Bodhisiri, on the Siripav[v]ata (Skt. Śrīparvata),¹ on the east side of Vijayapurī in the monastery at Culadham[m]āgiri. Besides, the inscription enumerates a number of pious foundations which were due to the same donor. Now among the latter we find the following: Kāntakasele ² mahācetiyas[s]a puv[v]-adāre selamamdavo, "at Kāntakasela a stone shrine at the eastern gate of the Great Cetiya (Skt. Caitya)."

There can be little doubt that the locality indicated here by the name of Kāntakasela must be identical with the Kauśākamśula ἐμπόριον mentioned by Ptolemy (vii, 15) ³ immediately after the mouths of the Maisōlos River. It follows that this river has been rightly identified with the Kistna.

Several of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions refer to a Mahācetiya, the ruins of which are represented by a mound now called Übaguṭṭa or "Owl Mound". In all probability this is the same stūpa which is mentioned in connection with Kāntakasela.

As to the exact position of Kāntakasela we shall have to await the further results of Mr. Longhurst’s excavations. If

¹ According to Tibetan tradition Nāgārjuna spent the last part of his life in a monastery called Śrīparvata.
² The vowel-sign over the s has the appearance of an o stroke. But in these inscriptions the rendering of the vowel marks is far from accurate. Moreover, if we compare the names of other localities which occur in this passage, viz. Culadham[m]āgiri, Mahādham[m]āgiri, Devagiri, Pu[p]hagiri, and Puv[v]asela, there can be little doubt that the correct form must be Kāntakasela, and not "sola."
³ Variant readings are Cantacasila, ²ssilla, Canticosila, and Cantacosyla. Cf. Louis Renou, La géographie de Ptolémée. L’Inde (vii, 1-4), Paris, 1925, p. 8.]
we are right in identifying it with Ptolemy’s Καντακοσσώλα, we may be sure that this place was situated on the right bank of the Kistna and at a considerable distance up that river. Ptolemy calls it an ἐμπορίον, i.e. “an authorised sea-coast mart”. We may assume that it was an important port in the second century of our era when such a vivid trade was carried on between the Roman Empire and Southern India. This sea-borne commerce, testified by hoards of gold coins of the Roman Emperors, accounts for a thriving population of merchants at Kanṭakasela and indirectly for the existence of the great monuments which once adorned that place. For it was especially among the wealthy commercial classes that the Buddhist religion found many devotees.

(b) The Binduka River

In Richard Schmidt’s Nachträge zum Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung von Otto Böhtlingk, an important lexicographical publication which has lately been brought to completion, we find on page 133 the following entry: “Kandukābindukā f. N. pr. eines Flusses, Festgr. 16.”

I do not know which “Festgruss” is the one referred to by the author. Anyhow, the name Kandukābindukā is, I believe, due to an error made by Bühler in editing the two Šaradā praśastis found in the temple of Śiva-Vaidyanātha at Baijnāth (the modern form of Skt. Vaidyanātha) or Kīragrama in the Kāngra district of the Panjāb.

The river-name was supposed by Bühler to occur in Praśāsti ii, verse 10; which he transcribed and translated as follows 3:

śailasyāṅkāc calitvā ruciranavavayāḥ khelaśiva saheḷam kulyā kanyeva yatra sphuradura ⁴-lahāri Kandukābindukākhyā Kira-

3 Ep. Ind., vol. i, pp. 97 ff.
4 Evidently a misprint for -uru-.
grāmo 'bhīrāmo guṇagaṇanilayo vartate 'dhirīgaratam so 'yaṁ rājānakena prabalabhubhayujā rakṣito Lakṣmaṇena. “There is in Trigarta the pleasant village of Kīragrāma, the home of numerous virtues, where that river called Kandukābindukā, leaping from the lap of the mountain, with glittering waves sportively plays, thus resembling a bright maiden in the first bloom of youth (who jumping from the lap of the nurse gracefully sports). That (village) is protected by the strong-armed Rājānaka Lakṣmaṇa.”

Bühler’s reading of the verse is unobjectionable, but the word bindukā must, in my opinion, be connected with the preceding and not with the following compound.1 In other words, we ought to read the second pāda:—
kulyā kanveca yatra sphuradurulaharihundukā Bindukākhyā. The river is compared with a playful maiden, and the waves of that river are likened with the playing-balls which she tosses up and down. We would, therefore, propose the following rendering of the passage in question: “Where that river called Bindukā, leaping from the lap of the mountain, with sparkling wide waves resembling playing-balls merrily plays, like a bright maiden in the first bloom of youth.”

It was rightly recognized by Bühler that the river so well described by the poet is the modern Binnu, on the left or east bank of which the village of Baijnāth is situated. It is one of the feeders of the Biās (ancient Vīpāsā or Vīpās) which, flowing through deeply cut river-beds, have given the hill-district of Kāṅgrā its ancient name of Trigarta.

From the modern form “Binnu” it is evident that the ancient name of the river was “Bindu(kā)” and not Kandukābindukā. The forms Binoa and Binwa used by Moorcroft and Cunningham respectively do not agree with the local pronunciation. The Kangra District Gazetteer in its latest edition (Lahore, 1926, p. 10) has “Binnun”.

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1 Cf. Annual Report Arch. Survey of India for the year 1905-6, pp. 17 ff., plates v and vi. The correct date of the inscriptions must be Śaka 1126, corresponding to A.D. 1204.
MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

A MONGOLO-TIBETAN SEAL

Capt. Forbes-Tweedie, of the 2nd North Stafford Regiment, was recently so kind as to place temporarily at my disposal the seal of which the inscription is reproduced below:

![Seal Image]

He acquired it in Darjeeling in 1926 with the history attached to it that it had originally belonged to the Depung Monastery.

The seal itself stands exactly three inches high; the base, on which the inscription is carved, is of metal 1\(\frac{1}{8}\) inch square and \(\frac{5}{8}\) inch thick. The inscription is \(\frac{7}{8}\) inch square. The metal portion is joined flush on to the wooden handle, which is square where it joins the base, then tapers slightly to a waist surrounded by a collar, square in section and semi-circular in profile, from which emerges a bulbous knob, trefoil-shaped in profile in one axis and roughly oval in the other, carved in low relief on the trefoil-shaped faces. A hole is pierced through the collar in the same axis as the trefoil shape and a piece of very grubby silk is tied through it.

The wooden handle is painted a dark crimson overlaid with gold scroll-work. The base is apparently of iron. The inscription is carved so skilfully that it might well be the work of a European die-sinker but there is apparently no reason to suppose it to be of other than local manufacture. Taking it as a whole there seems no reason to suppose that it
is of great antiquity, but there is no positive evidence on the subject.

The inscription is in the usual Tibetan square seal-character which is a collateral descendant with Phags-pa Mongol of the early Tibetan alphabet. This alphabet was published by the Rev. Dr. A. H. Francke in his "Note on the Dalai Lama's Seal and the Tibeto-Mongolian Character" (JRAS., 1910, p. 1205) and various seals in this alphabet were published by E. H. Walsh in his two articles "Examples of Tibetan Seals" and "Examples of Tibetan Seals: Supplementary Note" (JRAS., 1915, pp. 1 and 465).

There seems no doubt that the inscription is to be read as follows:

\[ \text{nomchhi merg(e)n mkhan.po.} \]

The only possibility of doubt is the first character in the second line. In Mr. Walsh's examples the sign for ę is a horizontal line with a small downward-pointing cusp in the centre while subscript -r is a straight horizontal line; Dr. Francke's authorities seems to indicate that the two characters should be reversed, and certainly ę for the straight horizontal line seems correct here.

The interest in the inscription, and, indeed, as far as I know, its uniqueness, lies in the fact that while the first two words are indubitably Mongol the third is equally indubitably Tibetan, the whole inscription meaning "The religious, wise Abbot". The seal therefore appears to be the official privy seal of the abbot of some monastery presumably in Mongolia, and therefore not the Depung Monastery.

One linguistic point is of interest. It is to be observed that, as in the Phags-pa inscriptions, the Mongol ę is represented...
by the aspirated chh and not the simple ch. This agrees with the observations of Ramstedt in Mongolian phonetics. The fact that chh and not tsh is used to represent this sound may perhaps be regarded as evidence of antiquity, since the latter pronunciation is now normal, but the spelling may be traditional.

G. L. M. Clauson.

A NOTE ON THE MIZMÄR AND NÄY

Difficulties occasionally arise in recognizing the various musical instruments of the "wood-wind" group among the Arabs of the Middle Ages as well as to-day. For instance, the Arabic word mizmär, and the Persian word nāy, stand for any instrument of the "wood-wind" family, i.e. either term can refer to a reed-pipe (cylindrical or conical bore)¹ or a flute (lip or beak variety). These words also have a specific as well as a generic meaning since both mizmär and nāy are names given specially to the reed-pipe by the Arabs and Persians respectively. We know this on good authority.

Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037) says in the Shifā' that the mizmär is an instrument "which you blow into from its end which you swallow",² in contradistinction from the instrument "which you blow into from a hole like the yarā which is known as the surnāy".³ On the other hand, his pupil, Al-Ḥusain ibn Zaila (d. 1048), uses the same definition but substitutes the term nāy for mizmär.⁴ This bears out the description in the Masāṭīh al-ʿulūm (ca. 976-7), which says that "the nāy is the mizmär" and that "the surnāy is the ʿaffāra and likewise the yarā".⁵ Further, we have a passage dealing with

¹ Reed-pipe = a reed-blown instrument.
² The single vibrating reed of the Arabs has to be taken completely into the mouth.
³ Bodleian MS., Pocock, 109. The passage is corrupt in both the India Office (Loth. 477) and R.A.S. copies.
⁴ Brit. Mus. MS., Or. 2361, fol. 236.
⁵ Masāṭīh al-ʿulūm, 236. In the thirteenth century Vocabulista in Arabico, 216, 392, the last-named instrument is written yarā.
the mizmār in Ibn Sīnā’s Arabic treatise the Kitāb al-najāt,¹ which is reproduced in the Persian Dānish nāma, but the instrument is here called the nāy.² Yet in spite of these clear and definite statements that the mizmār and the nāy were identical, and that both were reed-pipes, we find that these names were also allotted to separate and distinct instruments representing the reed-pipe and flute respectively. Al-Fārābī (d. 950) certainly deals with the “wood-wind” under the generic term mazāmīr (sing. mizmār),³ yet he discriminates between the mizmār and the nāy in the specific sense.⁴ The Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’ (10th century) also consider the mizmār and nāy to be different.⁵ This latter distinction continues in several Arabic speaking lands in modern times, notably in Egypt.⁶ The result is that the term nāy in one country designates a flute, while in another it refers to a reed-pipe. How did this confusion arise?

Whilst the Pre-Islamic Arabs probably used the words mizmār or zamr to denote any instrument of the “wood-wind”, they appear to have known the reed-pipe and the flute under the special names of mizmār and qūṣṣāba (or qasaba) respectively.⁷ Similarly, the Persians used the term nāy in a generic sense for a “wood wind” instrument as well as in a specific sense for a reed-pipe, whilst denoting, it would seem,⁸ the flute by the name nāy narm (“flute douce”).⁹ Later, the two types were distinguished from each other by the genus of the reed (nai) from which they were made, as the

¹ Bodleian MS., Pocock, 250, fol. 168.
³ Leyden MS., Or. 651, fol. 77 et seq. Kosegarten, Lib. Cant., 95.
⁴ Leyden MS., Or. 651, fol. 15 et seq. Kosegarten, Lib. Cant., 45.
⁵ Bombay Edit., i, 97.
⁶ Descr. de l’Égypte. État Mod., i, 954. Lane, Mod. Egypt., chap. xvii.
⁸ Al-Aghānī, ii, 175. Al-Mufaddaliyyāt, xvii. Lane, Lexicon, s.v.
⁹ Cf. Dozy, Suppl. Dict. Arabes, s.v.
⁰ Al-Jawāliqī. Kitāb al-mu’arrab.
nāy siyāh (black nāy), a reed-pipe, and the nāy safīd (white nāy), a flute.¹ This custom was actually followed by Arabic writers in the nāy aswād and nāy abyād.²

So long as qusṣāba (or qaṣāba) stood for a flute with the Arabs there was scarcely any likelihood of confusion arising. But as soon as Persian instruments and nomenclature came to be adopted in Arabian music, the vexed question started. Unfortunately, when the Arabs borrowed the Persian word nāy in the specific sense, they did not always attach the qualifying adjective which determined whether it was a reed-pipe or a flute. The result is that, not only in the Middle Ages, but even to-day, we must know the provenance of the instrument referred to, or the nationality of the writer, before we can determine whether the word nāy stands for a reed-pipe or a flute.

HENRY GEORGE FARMER.

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FONDATION DE GOEJE

COMMUNICATION


3. Des huit publications de la fondation il reste un certain nombre d’ exemplaires, qui sont mis en vente au profit de la fondation, chez l’éditeur E. J. Brill, aux prix marqués : (1) Reproduction photographique du manuscrit de Leyde de la Ḥamāsah de al-Buḥtūrī (1909), fl. 96 ; (2) Kitāb al-Fākhir

² Muhammad ibn Murād Treatise, Brit. Mus. MS., Or. 2361, fol. 173v.

*Novembre, 1928.*
OBITUARY NOTICE

Thomas Hunter Weir

The Society has lost one of its older members by the death of Thomas Hunter Weir, D.D., Lecturer in Arabic at Glasgow University, who passed away at his home, 38 Hamilton Park Terrace, Glasgow, on 5th May, at the age of 62. Dr. Weir had a long association with the University, having been born at the Old College, where his father, the Rev. Duncan Harkness Weir, D.D., from 1850 onwards was professor of Semitic Languages. He began his Oriental studies at Glasgow in 1885 under his father's successor, Professor James Robertson, and proceeded to the degrees of M.A. and B.D. Shortly afterwards he spent two years in Western Australia, returning in 1893 to take up the appointment of assistant to Professor Robertson. He pursued his study of Arabic in Germany, Syria, Egypt, and North Africa. He knew North Africa well, particularly Morocco, where he made frequent and prolonged visits in the course of which he travelled over the whole of that region. In 1900 he was elected a member of the Royal Asiatic Society. In 1907, when an independent lectureship in Arabic was founded at Glasgow University, he was appointed to it and held that position till his death. A few years ago he was awarded the degree of Doctor of Divinity by the University of Aberdeen.

Besides articles in various periodicals and contributions to the Encyclopædia of Islam and the Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, he published in 1899 A Short History of the Hebrew Text of the Old Testament (Second edition, 1907); The Sheikhs of Morocco in the XvIth Century, 1904; Arabic Prose Composition, 1910; Revised editions of Sir William Muir's "Life of Mohammed," 1912, and of the same author's Caliphate, 1915; The Variants in the Gospel Reports, 1920; Omar Khayyám the Poet (a verse translation with an introduction and commentary) in the Wisdom of the East Series, 1926.
He was of a retiring disposition and had no love of publicity. All who came within the circle of his friendship remained there to the end. The successive groups of students who read with him during the 35 years of his academic life not only participated in the fruits of his exact and profound study of Arabic, Hebrew or Syriac which he delighted to share with them, but in other ways unconnected with learning they found him a never failing source of sympathy, encouragement, and kindness.

A. S. F.
NOTICES OF BOOKS

Indica by L. D. Barnett


Mr. Hill may be congratulated on having produced what is perhaps the best work on the Gītā that has appeared for many years. He gives us the text, well printed in the best Dēvanāgarī type of the Oxford Press, with translation and footnotes beneath it, preceded by an Introduction in which he studies with scholarly detail the cult of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudēva and the composition, age, and doctrine of the Gītā, with a summary of its arguments; and at the end come bibliographic notes, an index of important Sanskrit words occurring in the text, and a subject-index. He has read widely and wisely in Indian literature, sparing no pains to elucidate the variorum of theology and philosophy which forms the Gītā and to reduce it to order; and it must be admitted that he has achieved a large measure of success.

Good as it is, however, the work calls for some criticism. We will begin with the translation.

In some passages Mr. Hill obscures his meaning by needless and clumsy inversion of words. Examples of this are v, 6, "the saint whose way is practice" to Brahman comes right soon," and xviii, 48, " every enterprise in imperfection is involved." Some of the terms used in translation, too, do not seem quite happy. The rendering of adhibhūta, adhidēva, and adhiyajña (rightly explained in the introduction) as

1 This is a very loose translation of yōga-yukta. Mr. Hill, objecting to rigidly uniform translation of technical terms, frequently errs on the other side and renders them by words that convey little of their special meaning.
"Essential Being", "Essential Deity", and "Essential Sacrifice", and of dēvāḥ and surāḥ as "Lords of Heaven", is rather misleading and inaccurate. In ii, 48, samatva is not quite the same as "to be of balanced mind"; it is "to be indifferent" in the older sense of the word, preferring neither. In iv, 32, I think that vítatā is not "outspread", but "performed", and Brahmanō mukhē is modelled on the type of Agnēr mukhē: Brahma is Agni (iv, 25) as well as everything else connected with sacrifice (iv, 24).1 "His self controlled by contemplating Brahma" is much too loose to represent brahma-yōga-yuktātāmā, v, 21. Nidhānam, xi, 18, is not "treasure-house" but "treasure". In xi, 32 Kāla ought to be translated literally as "Time"; there is much philosophy (Kāla-vāda, Zervanitism, etc.) behind it. In xiv, 20, Mr. Hill translates gunān déha-samudbhavān "which owe their being to the body", and adds in a note "which exist in relation to the Self because it is embodied"; but this is terribly forced and contrary to the whole tenor of Indian thought. In ix, 16 and xvii, 13 the rendering of mantra by "rune" is misleading, as a glance at the Oxford Dictionary will show. In xviii, 60 I venture to question the rendering of svabhāvajēna . . . nibaddhāḥ svēṇa karmanā by "bound by thine own duty born of thine own nature", and would rather understand it as meaning "framed [in your present personality] by your own [previous] karma which is the result of nature", referring e.g. to Mr. Dasgupta's History of Indian Philosophy, i, p. 54 ff. In xviii, 67, aṣuṣrūṣu is not "one who does no service", but "one who is unwilling to obey". Further I would remark that on at least two crucial passages—xiv, 3 and xv, 16 f.—Mr. Hill's notes, being based upon the orthodox commentators, fail to explain the difficulties, whereas the real elucidation is readily obtainable from the Pāñcarātra system. This fact is important, and I shall return to it.

Turning now to the introductory portion of the book, I will

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1 Cf. Śat. Br. III. ii. 2, 7. Agnir brahmāgnir yajñah, etc.
first touch on a few details before passing on to the consideration of larger issues.

On p. 10 Mr. Hill writes that "it was probably during this period [the second century B.C.?] that the doctrine of avatāra, or descent, arose." This is a daring statement. The fundamental idea of an avatāra, that a deity may cause a portion of his essence to become incarnated in a man or other animal, belongs to primitive Aryan thought, as has been well shown by Professor Hertel (Die Sonne und Mithra, pp. 69, 79); what was perhaps new in the doctrine of the avatāras of Viśṇu was the belief that he performed them periodically for the salvation of the world. The further elaboration of the Kṛṣṇa-incarnations into the doctrine of the four vyūhas is perhaps later than the Gītā, but its principles are already implicit in the older theology. Again, the etymology of the name Nārāyaṇa given on p. 13 is, to say the least, rather dubious. The Nārāyaṇa-legend still awaits critical study; but pendente lice I venture to hold to my euhemeristic view that possibly Nārāyaṇa was in origin a real or supposedly real person, a deified saint, and his name a patronymic derived from Nara, which is well attested as a personal name. An exact parallel is the patronymic Paumāṇya. Another minor point that suggests itself is concerned with the conception of Puruṣa (p. 27 ff.); in Upaniṣadic thought this is primarily distinct from the idea of Brahma, though the two are often merged into one another.

But more important than these matters is the lack of clarity on two points, the origins of the school of theology represented by the Gītā and its relation to the Pāṇcarātras and other cognate churches. On the latter subject, in fact, Mr. Hill says oṉē ḍoṛō; yet it is obviously most important, nay vital. The Pāṇcarātras are lineally descended from the ancient church in which the Gītā arose; they have left us a copious literature with an elaborate theology; and the latter simply and naturally explains passages in the Gītā over which writers of other schools boggle in helpless futility.
The *mahad brahma* of xiv, 3 is the *mahat* (*tattvam*) of the Pāṇcarātras, which issues from the combination of *prakṛti*, *puruṣa*, and *kāla*, and hence, as the Gītā declares, is the source of all *bhūtas*. The reference to the various *puruṣas*, and especially the *kūṭastha*-p., in xv, 16 f. is regular Pāṇcarātra doctrine. Plainly then there are some gaps in Mr. Hill’s interpretation of the Gītā.

After these criticisms of Mr. Hill it is only fair to him that I should lay myself open to a riposte by stating my own views on the sources of the Gītā, for which of course I claim no originality.

At a very early time, about the end of the Vedic age or somewhat later, there arose a theistic church or *cakra*, which worshipped Viṣṇu, who was at once the Spirit of the Sacrifice (and hence the controlling force of the universe) and the Spirit of the Sun, the blessed saviour whose abode is in "the Home supreme", *paramam padam*. Its chief doctrines are preserved in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* III, xvii, 6 and in certain parts of the *Katha Upaniṣad*. The former text teaches not only the adoration of Viṣṇu the Sun-god, but likewise the theory that the various functions of life are symbols of various elements in the priestly sacrifice; the natural corollary of this was that the faithful might dispense with the actual forms of priestly sacrifice and substitute for them pious performance of the common acts of life, conceiving them as offered to God. Stress was laid on the virtues of austerity (*tapas*, systematised later as *yōga*), bounty (*dāna*), honesty, harmlessness (*ahimsā*), and truthfulness, which were declared to symbolise the *dakṣiṇās* or priests’ fees, a most important element in the rituals.

Definitively disinclined towards brahmanic ritualism, the cult was well suited to Kṣatriyas, and it found a powerful supporter in Kṛṣṇa Vāsudēva,¹ who in time was deified as an incarnation of the Supreme. Certainly he was not the

¹ Of course, I abandoned long ago Bhandarkar’s view that Kṛṣṇa was originally distinct from Vāsudēva.
first *avatāra* acknowledged by his church, nor the last, but
the influence of his personality strongly stimulated the belief
in incarnation. The cult of Nārāyana was also absorbed into
it. The church grew vigorously and threw off branches
styling themselves Bhāgavatas, Pāñcarātras, Śātvatas, etc.
Of the first we have an early document in the Besnagar
inscription (c. 180 B.C.), where Vāsudēva is entitled “god of
gods” and is worshipped with a solar cult based on that of
Viṣṇu, while it is announced that “three immortal steps
well observed lead to paradise”, self-control (*dama*), bounty
(*cāga*), and heedfulness (*apramāda*)—obviously an ethical
interpretation of the mythical three strides of Viṣṇu.

Perhaps a few years later the Gītā was written. Its author
was a Bhāgavata preaching the worship of Kṛṣṇa as the
Supreme Viṣṇu incarnate in the flesh,¹ and striving to
reconcile other schools of thought to his creed. His dominant
idea, expressed in many keys and variations, is a reaffirmation
of the old text of the Chāndogya Upaniṣad in an ennobled
form; the surest way to salvation is for man to do the duty
of the caste into which he is born and to devote all the
activities of his life to God as a sacrifice, desiring naught
thence for his own pleasure.² The doors are opened wide;
all classes of mankind may enter into the avenue towards
salvation, though only the elect may hope to attain the goal
at the end of the present life. And the virtues which the
Gītā expressly inculcates are precisely those mentioned in the
Chāndogya and the Besnagar inscription, with some additions
and the omission of “heedfulness”.

¹ Kṛṣṇa is styled Viṣṇu in xi, 24, 30, and the equivalent Hari, xi, 9,
xviii, 77, passages where the supreme nature of the deity is strongly stressed.
Mr. Hill’s attempts to dodge the consequences of these facts on p. 25 are
unintelligible to me.

² Note especially iv, 23 ff. The same idea, transfigured by devotional
feeling, is expressed in the *cārāma śloka*, xviii, 66, “surrendering all duties
[i.e. devoting to God the performance of all duties prescribed for man,
and renouncing all claim to reward for performing them], come to me
alone for protection,” etc.

*Jras. January 1929.*
It is a catholic religion; and its catholicity betrays Kṣatriya influence. The doctrine that man should obey the duty of his caste is propounded in the Gītā first in reference to Kṣatriyas only, and is then extended to all classes. Arjuna’s protest in Book I forcibly voices the difficulty which many Kṣatriyas in real life must have felt in reconciling their caste-duty as soldiers with the increasingly insistent cry of humanity for “harmlessness”, ahimśā, and the Gītā seeks to solve the problem for them and to draw wider conclusions. Perhaps, too, the words “king’s science, king’s mystery” applied in ix, 2 to the revelation of Kṛṣṇa’s identity with the Supreme are not mere rhetoric. As with Buddhism and Jainism, so here also the Kṣatriyas led the way towards a wider scheme of salvation.


Mr. Das’s book has reached a second edition. It is unnecessary for us to do more than to record this fact and recommend Mr. Das to perpend Proverbs iv, 7.


This “History” is still acephalous, for the first part, which is to deal with the Vēdas, is yet unpublished—acirāya, we hope. The present volume, which discusses (naturally from the standpoint of the Ārya Samāj) the many questions of interpretation, bibliography, and history connected with the Brāhmaṇas and Āraṇyakas, has the merits of wide reading, clear writing, and honest seeking after truth. But it is not likely, we think, to upset the general conclusions of Western philology, which the Professor on p. 96 roundly describes as asatya, and to make us believe, for example, that the substance of the Brāhmaṇas was composed in the most ancient times
by a succession of primitive teachers beginning with Brahma-Svayambhū, and was cast into its present form in the age of the Mahābhārata (p. 66 ff.), or that the basic parts of the Manu-smṛti are thousands of years older than the Mahābhārata (p. 90), or that a nasty myth can be explained away as a rūpakālaṅkāra (p. 139), or that the word śūdra used as a term of reproach denotes merely a man of incurable stupidity (p. 220), or that Śāunaka, Āśvalāyana, Kātyāyana, Yāska, Pāṇini, Piṅgala, Vyādi, and Kāutsa were all contemporaries (p. 236), and much else. The fact is that the Professor, in spite of the best intentions to the contrary, is on most essential matters led astray by unconscious prejudice: like many worthy folks in a country very near to our own, he sees in the past a Golden Age of perfect wisdom, virtue, and happiness. Once he has started with this amiable prepossession, facilis descensus: all the canons of historical criticism are thrust aside when they become inconvenient for the thesis, arguments of no cogency are paraded as convincing proof, and the author goes his way merrily following the good old rule sit pro ratione voluntas.

4. Beiträge zur Metrik des Awestas und des Rgvedas.

It has long been known that certain early parts of the Avesta are composed in metres based on the number of syllables. Dr. Hertel now goes a step further, maintaining that practically the whole of the Avesta is metrical, being divisible into lines of 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12 syllables with regular caesura, that the Gāthās are of strophic structure, with lines usually of 7, 9, or 11 syllables, and that the Later Avesta is

1 A pretty example of this is seen on p. 94, where the catalogue of books mentioned by Rāvana in the Pratīmā-nātaka is seriously quoted as convincing evidence that these and many other works really existed thousands of years before the Mahābhārata in lōka-bhāṣā, and not in the semi-Vedic language of the Brāhmaṇas.
composed of groups of lines usually octosyllabic, but in certain cases decasyllabic and dodecasyllabic. An ingenious detailed analysis is devoted to these points, and enables the author to connect these Avestic systems with the metres of the Rgveda. The argument is exemplified by a metrical analysis of Vend. XXII and III, Haūxt Nask II, and the decasyllabic and dodecasyllabic verses of Yašt X, to which is appended a translation of Vend. XXII with notes.

Bold as this hypothesis is, the evidence for it is strong. Certainly many liberties have to be taken with the traditional text in order to fit it into the schemes established by Dr. Hertel; as in the scansion of Rgvedic verses (and perhaps a little more so), liberal allowance has to be made for vocalic variations due for example to anaptyxis, svarabhakti, slurring of vowels, and the like, and some word-endings omitted or wrongly supplied in the traditional text need to be added or corrected. But in spite of this the general conclusions seem to me almost irresistible; and even readers who cannot accept them must admit that the monograph is singularly able and suggestive of new outlooks in the realm of Indo-Iranica.

An interesting sequel to it is to be found in the Orientalische Literaturzeitung, 1928, No. 4, p. 238 ff., where in his article "Metrische Form der altpersischen Keilschrifttexte" Dr. J. Friedrich maintains and to some extent proves that the Behistūn inscription and several, if not all, of the minor inscriptions of Darius and his successors are couched in metres similar to those established by Dr. Hertel for the Avesta.


Professor Beni Prasad in this work shows the same qualities that mark his excellent monograph on Jahāngīr: wide reading, lucidity and simplicity of style, and (a rare and precious
virtue) sober and sound judgment, which enables him to grasp the essential facts of his subject and contemplate them with clear sane vision, unclouded by prejudices and mirages. Such sobriety and accuracy of thought are peculiarly needful in dealing with Indian culture, which, as he truly remarks, is characterised by "an emotional flow and vibration, which, on the whole, militates against rigidity of discipline and organization," and is hence often liable to misunderstanding.

The twelve chapters of the book survey the theme under the following heads: (1) the characteristics of Indian political speculation, (2) Vedic literature, (3) the Epics, (4) Manu, (5) the Artha-śāstras of Kāuṭalya and Bṛhaspati, (6) the Dharma-sūtras and Dharma-śāstras with their chief commentators, (7) the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas, (8) Buddhist and Jain theories of government, (9) the Niti-śāstras, (10) references in classical Sanskrit literature,1 (11) the theory of government of corporations, and (12) basic principles of the Hindu theory of Government. This arrangement does not seem altogether happy, as Manu’s proper place is with the other Dharma-śāstras, from which he is here separated by the chapter on the secular Artha-śāstras. Extreme caution has led Mr. Beni Prasad to refrain from any attempt to distinguish between the clerical and the secular elements in the Rāja-dharma sections of the Mahābhārata; nevertheless, it would perhaps have been helpful if he had indicated more clearly the main points on which the great Epic admits ideas anticipating the thorough-paced secularism of Kāuṭalya, whose characteristics, we may add, are very adequately and justly set forth by our author. He suggests very cautiously that Buddhist intellectual influences may possibly have had something to do with the development of Artha-śāstra (p. 243). It is indeed possible, but it seems to me unlikely: more probably Artha-śāstra arose from secular schools of

1 Mr. Beni Prasad, we observe, accepts "Bhadā" at Mm. Gaṇapati Śāstri’s valuation and swallows him whole. Chacun à son goût.
political thought older than Buddhism, which have left some traces in the Mahābhārata.

The chapter on Buddhist and Jain theories is particularly interesting, and the data gathered from Jain literature will be new to most readers. The corporations are not quite adequately discussed, considering their immense importance and the abundance of the materials for study, especially in Southern India; and something more might have been said on the distribution of functions between the Crown and the popular organisations, such as the township and the nādu in the Tamil kingdoms, on the practical side of which the inscriptions furnish much information. Perhaps, too, it would not have been amiss if space had been found for some notice of the relations between the Royal courts of law and the popular tribunals, to which Mr. Śankararāma Śāstri has given some interesting and ingenious pages in his able work Fictions in Hindu Law. It is hardly correct to assert that the Jains are entirely without a graded hierarchy (p. 331). There are also not a few misprints which have not been rectified in the footnotes. In reviewing a work of such magnitude, however, it is unfair to dwell upon minor points. Regarded as a whole, the book is very good, and the reader will heartily endorse Professor Keith’s commendation of it as an able and carefully thought out presentation of the subject.


1 Of these the chief are Lomaprabhāchārya (p. 228), for Soamaprabhāchārya: draughts (p. 236), for droughts; Buddhists (p. 243); Śivasimhadeva (p. 293), a peculiarly unhappy error; Āmuktaamālayaveda (p. 303), imperfectly corrected in the Corrigenda to Āmuktaamālayavaśa, which, of course, should be Āmukta-mālavaśa; homogeneity (p. 361); and prisoner (p. 366, n. 5), for poisoner.
This handsome volume is a worthy monument to the Δρετή of the two scholars whose names appear on its title-page, the young man who prepared and annotated the text with zealous care and the master who, when an untimely death had prevented his disciple from publishing the fruit of his labours, generously devoted his time and skill to the task of revision and preparation for the press. Both have done exceedingly well, and every student of Sanskrit literature is under a deep debt of gratitude to them.

The text has been critically edited on the basis of a collation of 18 MSS. The preface gives an account of the critical materials and the history of the text as deduced from them by the editor, besides much information concerning the poet and his works, literary features, bibliography, etc. Critical notes are printed under the text, and a commentary after it, besides appendices. As Professor Macdonell remarks, "no classical Sanskrit text has ever been so exhaustively prepared by an Indian scholar." Professor J. Hertel, in his "Note on Bhavabhūti and on Vākpatīrāja" (Asia Major, i, p. 1 f.), justly lamented that "we not only do not possess any truly critical edition of the Mahāvīrācarita, but not even any edition giving even the scantiest various readings from any MS.", and that the spurious Acts VI–VII of the vulgate cannot be traced back further than 1800. The researches of Todar Mall have now removed that reproach. From his collation of 18 MSS. he has established the existence of three recensions, of which the differentia lies in the variations of the text after Act V, 46 onwards,¹ and has traced the vulgate

¹ Strictly speaking, there are four recensions. The part of the play from the beginning down to V, 46 (a₁), which is Bhavabhūti's genuine work, is preserved with no serious variations in all MSS.; the part thence to the end of Act V exists in three different forms, viz. the vulgate (b₂), the composition ascribed by Virarāghava and some MSS. to "a certain Subrahmānya" (b₁), and yet another (b₃); and Acts VI–VII, certainly spurious, are found in two forms, the vulgate (c₃) and the composition of Subrahmānya (c₄). The MSS. contain either (1) a₁ alone, or (2) a₁ + b₂ + c₃, or (3) a₁ + b₃ + c₃, or (4) a₁ + b₄ + c. Todar Mall, whose exposition of
text of Acts VI–VII to the seventeenth century. This is no slight service, although it must be confessed that his materials for criticism of the Southern family of MSS. were by no means so abundant and reliable as to allow him to make a complete survey.

Todar Mall had also prepared a translation of the text, and this Professor Macdonell has refrained from printing, considering that "its inclusion in the book would be educationally harmful to the many Indian students likely to use it". This is a valid reason, but we venture to think that it is hardly adequate; for owing to the suppression of this translation many passages in the commentary which refer to it are, so to speak, in the air, and the solutions of many puzzles in the text, which ought to be within the reader's reach, are withdrawn from him.

The commentary itself is generally good, and gives evidence of very wide reading in the realms of poetical and rhetorical literature. There are, however, a few deficiencies, which are natural enough in the exegesis of an author so subtle and parākṣa-priya as Bhavabhūti. For example, it would not have been amiss to point out that the word atha, with which the play begins, is deliberately chosen to illustrate the definition to which Amarasiṃha refers in his maṅgaldānanta-rāriṃbhā-prāśna-kārtṣyēsv atha, or that in the line II. 7 there is a play on logical definitions of negation, while on the other hand an unnecessary difficulty is raised over uddhṛta-jagat-traya-manyu-mūlam, I. 6, which simply means "based upon the wrath of him who was the saviour of the three worlds", i.e. having for primary theme the vengeance of Rāma. On p. 117, l. 4, anēka-samaya-vyutpannam...puram is wrongly explained: it refers to the many samayas or social organisations (perhaps the traditional eighteen samayas) into which the society of the city was divided. On p. 123, line 9, these relations is somewhat wanting in clearness, suggests that a1 represents the poet's first draft, and that he subsequently revised this and added b2; the latter hypothesis, I must confess, does not appear to me to be very probable.
he bids us "mark the reference to the Edicts", and we ask whether he means the Edicts of Asoka; if so, he is mistaken, for the reference is to ordinary prāśastis. Nor is the treatment of the Prakrit quite happy. On p. xxxviii he asserts that "the author confuses the two Prakrits Śaurasenī and Māhārāṣṭrī"; but is it likely that so learned a pandit as Bhavabhūti would be guilty of this elementary mistake, and are the scribes above suspicion? And surely the editor who prints, e.g., pāniggahanāim (p. 36), anuppēsidam (ibid.), cintidam (p. 42), odūram (p. 161) with final -m instead of anusvāra is hardly doing his duty towards Prakrit grammar. Finally it may be noted that in spite of the table of corrigenda a few misprints remain, e.g. odvaya for odvayam (I. 18), hmēhi for hy ēhi (I. 62). But these slight weaknesses must not blind our eyes to the great virtues of the work; it is one for which we must be truly thankful.


As was to be expected of him, the Rao Bahadur has given us an exceedingly able and interesting book. In Tamil literature there are few works more famous than the twin poetical romances Śilapp’-adīgāram and Mani-mēkhalai, ascribed respectively to Ilañ-gōv-adīgal and Śāttan; and of these the latter has excited greater interest on account of the summaries of various systems of philosophy contained in it. Obviously the determination of its date would be very helpful in solving some serious problems in the history of Indian thought, and the Rao Bahadur has accordingly addressed himself to this task with his wonted vigour and skill. He presents to us a study of the historical statements contained in Mani and of the system of Buddhism set forth in it, besides furnishing an epitome of the story; and his main

1 See Pischel, Gramm. d. Pkt.-Sprachen, § 348 f.
conclusions are that both Šīlapp. and Man. are products of the Śaṅgam Age of Tamil literature and actually composed by their alleged authors, Iḷaṅ-gōv-aṅgīgal and Śattan, at an early date, that the historical statements in Man., and especially the fact that it describes Kāncī as being in the author's day under the rule of a Cōla viceroy, fully bear out this view, and that the Buddhism set forth in Man. is a system earlier than that which was propounded by Dignāga. On the last point he prints with laudable candour the contrary opinion of Professor Jacobi, who maintains that the system described in Man. is identical with that of Śaṅkara-swāmin's Nyāya-pravēśa, and hence not earlier than the sixth century.

While we feel great diffidence in expressing an opinion contrary to the considered views of so able and erudite a scholar as the Rao Bahadur, we must confess that we are not convinced by his arguments. Firstly, the early date assigned to the Third Śaṅgam is itself very questionable. To take a few leading names of that period, the Rao Bahadur himself maintains (Ancient India, p. 336 ff.) that Karikālan Cōla, Neḍuṅ-jelīyan Pāṇḍya, or Śeliyan Śēndan, the victor at Talaiyāḻaṅgānam, and Šeṅguṭṭuvan Čēra all lived within a very few (not more than three) generations of one another—and the inscriptions compel us to place the second of them in the seventh century. Moreover, Šeṅguṭṭuvan is credited with a naval victory over the Kaṅḍambus, who are probably identical with the Kadambas or Kaḷabhras, and the Kaḷabhras are well known in the Pāṇḍyan records as having usurped the Pāṇḍyan kingdom and held it until about the middle of the sixth century, when they were ousted by Kaḍuṅgōn, who is probably the same as Ugra Pāṇḍya, a king well known in Śaṅgam tradition.1 The literary sources, moreover, tell us

1 There is a trace of this expansion of the Kadambas in the colophon of Buddhadatta's Vinaya-viśeṣanāḍa, which was written at Bhūtamaṅgalam, on the river Kāvērī, in the Cōla country (Cōla-ruṭṭha), under the rule of Acchuta-vikkanta (i.e. Acyuta-vikrānta, or Aeyuta-vikrama), a scion of the Kaḷamboha race, Kaḷambha-kula-nandana. This must have been in the fifth or sixth century.
that Ṛṣiṅ-gōv-aḍigaḷ was the brother of the Cēra king Śeṅguṭṭuvan, who on the mother's side was a grandson of the Cōḷa Karikālan, and Śeṅguṭṭuvan was a patron of Śāttan and is mentioned in Man. Now Karikālan is said in Cōḷa inscriptions to have conquered Kāṇci and reigned in it, and there is much force in the view of scholars like Mr. K. G. Sankar, who hold that this conquest of Kāṇci was gained at the expense of the Pallava Nandivarman I, c. A.D. 500. Thus the age of the Śaṅgam, to which Śeṅguṭṭuvan and Śeliyan Śēndan belonged, must be placed after 500, as Mr. Sankar has contended on other grounds ("The Moriyas of the Sangam Works," JRAS., 1924, p. 664); and so, if Śīlapp. and Man. are genuine words of Ṛṣiṅ-gōv-aḍigaḷ and Śāttan, they also are later than 500.

But are they genuine? It is significant that neither of them is in the list of poems said to have been presented to the Śaṅgam. What is more important, both of them are so full of marvels that it is impossible to regard them as contemporary with the kings who figure in them. It is indeed quite possible for a Hindu to write a poem in which a king of the poet’s own time is made the hero of a perfectly fictitious and marvellous plot; but it is most unlikely that he would represent such a real king as taking part as a contemporary in a series of acts stuffed full of miracles which every reader would know to belong to ancient days. Such a series of acts are the tales of Kaṇṇaki and Maṇi-mēkhalai: every Tamil thought of that cycle of legend as having happened in olden times, and he would have laughed at a poet who would have represented a king of his own day as taking part in those far-off events. The same conclusion is suggested by the much discussed word kuccarak-kudigai, "Gurjara chapel," occurring in Man. xix, a term that could not have come into use until long after the sixth century; the Rao Bahadur offers the despairing explanation that kuccara may not refer to the Gurjaras, but all Tamil authorities agree that it does, and no other meaning of the word is known. It is also note-
worthy that Man. in bk. xxvii refers to a Purāṇa of Viṣṇu, and this seems to be the well-known Viṣṇu-purāṇa, which was probably composed about A.D. 400. It would, therefore, appear that both Silapp. and Man. are much later than the sixth century, which is more or less the period of the Third Śaṅgam, and are pseudo-historical romances composed under the later Cōlas, at a time that may be tentatively fixed as circa A.D. 1000, which have been fathered upon traditional writers of the Śaṅgam Age. The exposition of Buddhism given in Man. may well have been written at a late date, when the religion was declining in the South and was living on the memories of its past; and a poet of that period would naturally be led from the circumstances of his own day to describe Kāṇē as being under the rule of the Cōlas in the times depicted by him, especially as he would perhaps also remember the tradition of the conquest of the city by Karikāla.

In view of the facts, therefore, we feel ourselves compelled to dissent from the Rao Bahadur’s conclusions; but we dissent with profound respect for the learning which fortifies them, and which has added a valuable and interesting contribution to the study of his native literature.


Of the achievements of ancient Hindu culture none is more striking than its colonisation of the lands that lie to the east of its home. Here the social, the religious, and the artistic ideals of India not only maintained themselves for many centuries, but even attained in some cases to new powers, notably in the domain of art. In the new environment no doubt the blood of the Hindu stock, speedily diluted by native admixture, gradually disappeared; but Hindu ideas showed a wonderful vitality, adapting themselves to circumstances
and evolving fresh developments of art in which to express themselves. It is therefore a happy thought of Dr. Majumdar to project a complete history of the ancient colonies of India, and in the present volume the enterprise makes a good beginning.

This history of Campā is not, strictly speaking, a work of original research. In order to merit that title an author would need to have profoundly studied the Cham language and other sources, especially the Chinese records; and Dr. Majumdar makes no claim to such achievements. His work is mainly based upon the publications of the French scholars who have specialised in the subject. Nevertheless it is by no means a mere compilation. The survey of the history art, religion, and culture of Campā is generally careful and critical, and this is followed by a collection of the inscriptions, giving descriptions of them, Sanskrit text where there is any, and translations. Generally the work may be said to be well planned and well executed.


In the early days of European penetration into India much work of extremely high quality was done by members of the Society of Jesus in the study of Indian religions, languages, and history; and this fine tradition of scholarship has been preserved by their successors, among whom Father Heras has notably proved himself a worthy heir of the patria virtus of his Order. The present volume is in itself a massive monument of scholarly research, and the whole history when completed will be in truth a magnum opus, large in bulk and great in value to the historian.

The account of the family of Āravidu begins at a point of time earlier than its actual usurpation of the throne, viz.
from the death of Acyuta in A.D. 1541–2 and the last days of the Tuḷuва dynasty. The first great representatives of the Āraviḍu house, Rāma Rāya and his brothers Tirumala and Veṅkaṭādri, headed a movement directed against Salakam Timma, the tyrannical minister who ruled in the name first of Acyuta’s feeble young son and successor Veṅkaṭa I, and subsequently of Veṅkaṭa’s cousin Sadāśiva, and during the early years of Rāma’s administration he was nominally regent for Sadāśiva, the last of the Tuḷuvas, who survived as a puppet-king in the hands of the Āraviḍu brethren until his murder in about 1569, some four years after Rāma’s death at the battle of Talikota (here more accurately termed the battle of Raksas-Tagdi) had left the control of the kingdom to Tirumala. Thus the histories of the two dynasties intersect one another between c. 1541 and 1569. From 1569 onward Tirumala reigned alone, followed by his sons Raṅga and Veṅkaṭapati; and the death of the last-named in 1614 marks the limit of the present volume.

The detailed survey of this important and fascinating period leads the author into many excursions into by-ways of South Indian history, some of which, though interesting and valuable in themselves, may perhaps appear to divagate occasionally from the main lines of his subject. The Nāyakas of Madura, Tanjore, Jinji, and Ikkeri, the Rajas of Mysore and other feudatories of Vijayanagar, and—last but by no means least—the Portuguese and the Jesuit missions occupy many pages of the narrative. The author’s wide researches into the European sources have enabled him to throw much important and welcome light upon the parts played in the period by the Portuguese and other Europeans, and especially by the Jesuits, whose brave and devoted efforts, if they had received adequate support from their own people, might have materially changed the course of events to the disadvantage of the British and Dutch. One of the most discreditable pages in the miserable annals of the decadent Spanish monarchy is the story of Philip III’s betrayal of the gallant Jesuit mission
at the court of Veṅkaṭatapati, temperately narrated on p. 481. Though possibly not all readers will be convinced of the miracles recounted on pp. 144 and 390, all will probably agree that Father Heras does no more than justice to Roberto de' Nobili in his admiration of that saintly man's heroic labours.

While in many respects it is admirable, there are some points in which the book leaves something to be desired. The reader will probably seek in it a key to the riddle presented by the recorded acts of Rāма Rāya, and will seek in vain. We are told that Rāма “was not blind in his arrogance” towards his Muslim rivals (p. 97); yet the inadequacy of his fortifications suggests myopia. We read that in his later years he retired to devote himself to literary and theological studies, leaving Tirumala in control of the government (p. 39); yet when the Muslim confederates made their fatal attack upon him, he took the field at once with a large and well equipped army, despite his advanced age.1 His character and policy need explanation. One feels also that the reasons given on p. 32 for the revolt of Tirumala and Veṅkaṭâdri against Rāма are scarcely adequate. Another somewhat disturbing feature in the narrative is the habit of the author, when referring to works such as Briggs’s Firishtah and the European sources, of quoting names from them in the mutilated shapes in which they give them. This course in most cases is unnecessary, and leads to needless confusion, even when the distorted forms of the names are interpreted, which our author has not always done. The historian who draws statements from foreign sources ought to translate into standard shape the names given in them, if he can. It is a pity, inter

1 We see no reason, à propos, why Father Heras should accept the assertion of Couto and Faria y Sousa that Rāма was then in his 96th year in the face of the much more moderate statements of Firishtah and the Burhān-i-Ma’āṣir, especially as he is thus compelled to ascribe a correspondingly advanced age to Tirumala on his accession. Whatever may have been the skill of the jettis described on p. 314, they could hardly be expected to work miracles.
alia ejusmodi, that Father Heras has so often taken over without change the bad transliterations of names given by Briggs as though they were the genuine utterances of Firishtah. He even reproduces the barbarous "Syud Hye" (p. 82) without attempting to standardise or interpret it. In general, the spelling of Oriental names is somewhat irregular and inconsistent, and the author's study of the native sources and languages would seem to be less complete than his researches in other directions. The chapters dealing with Indian religions and literature likewise are not always very critical and exact.

Like most scholars who publish English works in India, Father Heras has not been happy in his printer. The book is disfigured by almost innumerable typographical errors, such as "Fak-l" for "Fażl" on p. 270, and probably it is to the printer that we must ascribe the statement on p. 200 that the Muslim confederacy mustered "three thousand foot", which should, of course, be "three hundred thousand". These are, indeed, only external blemishes, but they seriously mar the aspect of the book and tend to obscure the exceptional merits of its contents.


Although the year under review has brought forth no sensational new discoveries, it has been fruitful in good works for the conservation of previous acquisitions and in finds of considerable importance. The chapter on the conservation of ancient monuments occupies the largest space; but the section "Exploration and Research" has also a long tale of successful labours to unfold, such as the continued progress

¹ It may be added that a reviewer in the Journal of Indian History, VII, 1, p. 108 f., has called attention to an error of Father Heras, showing that the Bevinhalli plates do not refer to the city of Madras.
of the excavations on the "Indo-Sumerian" sites of the Indus Valley and Taxila, the discovery of some fine sculptures of the Gupta period in Assam, and the valuable observations on the great "Arjuna's Penance" at Mahabalipuram, not to mention much else. Due notice is given to the work of Sir Aurel Stein, whose Third Expedition is described in summary under the heading of "Miscellaneous Notes", where also are to be found some other noteworthy contributions by officers of the Survey. The lover of art will be especially attracted by the fine vase from Mohenjo-Daro, the graceful sculptures of Assam (where hitherto no ancient sculptures have been found), and some of the statuary of Bengal illustrated in the plates of this Report, with which the Survey may well be satisfied, as its readers assuredly will be.


It is fitting that this book should appear at the time when Mr. Woolley's discoveries in the prehistoric royal tombs of Ur have revealed in its full horror the Mesopotamian counterpart of the barbarous and abominable rite of sātī. Though inspired by a just indignation, Mr. Thompson's account is essentially a sober historical narrative, well documented from the most reliable sources, and it throws a lurid light not only on the practice itself, but also on the weakness of the British Government previous to 1829 in dealing with it. Albuquerque prohibited it in Portuguese territory in 1510; the Mughals, and notably Akbar, strove to suppress it, with varying degrees of success; but the British officials shrank from interference, and actually sanctioned it, under certain conditions, by the Regulations of 1813 and 1817, with the appalling result that

1 May we venture in all humility to deplore the fact that Sir John Marshall on p. 63 lends his authority to the fantastic equation "Asura = Dasyu"?
in the area of Bengal alone the number of officially reported cases rose from 378 in 1815 to 839 in 1818. Mr. Thompson justly observes that "the abolition of suttee, so far from being, like the abolition of slavery, an example of our greatness as a nation and an empire, is an example of our timidity. In this instance we have taken to ourselves praise beyond our desert. The credit is almost entirely personal, and it is Bentinck's." But when once the Government had taken this step by issuing the famous Regulation XVII of 1829, it made amends for its former inertia by acting with a vigour which has almost cleansed India of this foul stain. Almost—but not quite; for again and again the abomination crops up sporadically, and is acclaimed with hysterical enthusiasm by large sections of native opinion. "The disquieting thing is," says Mr. Thompson, "suttee has troubled the Hindu conscience hardly at all"; in fact, a vast number of Hindus, including many ultra-modern champions of Indian "rights", still regard it as eminently dulce et decorum, and we have no doubt that if British control were removed the fires would soon be blazing again almost as fiercely as ever. Mr. Thompson believes (we cannot agree) that if India were left to itself the influence of Mr. Gandhi's teaching would prevent satī from becoming again an established custom, but he admits that it might become frequent in some parts, and he concludes his book with some wholesome remarks on "the nonsense about the wonderful purity and spirituality of the Hindu marriage ideal" and "the sex-obsession of the civilization and the social system which, in making one sex the unpitied servant to the other, drains and destroys both". By his statement of the case Mr. Thompson has rendered a great service to India, for which India is likely to repay him with small thanks.


The "teachers of India" are here limited to six Marathi bhaktas, Kabīr, Mirā-bāi, Narsinh Mehta, the Sikh Gurus,
Kēśava Candra Sēna, and Dayānanda Sarasvatī, of whose lives slight sketches are given. As far as we can see, almost the only use of the book is for the edification of pious Hindus. With the exception of the two last, the narratives are almost entirely based upon the highly imaginative statements of devout but wholly uncritical and unreliable Hindu writers, and possess small historical value. Some of the statements given are very doubtful, e.g. those regarding Mīrā-bāi's family and date and the extremely improbable age of 119\(\frac{1}{2}\) years assigned to Kabīr, who actually seems to have lived from 1440 to 1518. Mr. Kincaid on p. 47 makes the remarkable statement that "there was an old Greek proverb that said, 'Sophias arche, kuriou phobos,' or the fear of one's lord is the beginning of wisdom"—which shows that his study of Indian things has been at the expense of his Bible-reading.

13. **Konkordanz Panini-Candra.** Von Dr. Bruno Liebich. (Indische Forschungen, 6 Heft.) 9\(\frac{1}{2}\) × 6\(\frac{1}{2}\), 52 pp. Breslau (Trebnitz printed), 1928.

The title of this excellent little work describes its contents with a brevity worthy of Pāṇinī himself. Dr. Liebich, who has succeeded the late Alfred Hillebrandt as editor of the *Indische Forschungen*, gives us here in parallel columns the numbers of the Sūtras of Pāṇinī's Aṣṭādhyāyī and those of the same Sūtras as they occur in the Cāndra-vyākaraṇa of Candra Gōmin, the concordance shewing that—apart from the Pāṇinian rules concerning the Vedic language and accents, for which he had no use, and a certain number of tralaticious technical terms—Candra quotes all Pāṇinī's Sūtras except nineteen. After this Dr. Liebich prints (for the first time) the text of the eighty-six Paribhāṣā-sūtras of the Cāndra-vyākaraṇa. Not the least valuable part of the work is the short preface, in which Dr. Liebich vigorously refutes the somewhat ill-advised theories on the integrity of the text of the Mahābhāṣya lately propounded by Dr. Sköld.

The collection of records in the India Office styled “Home Miscellaneous Series” suffers from a misleading title, for whilst the first forty-seven volumes of it consist mainly of papers concerning home affairs, the remainder has become in the course of time an enormous general miscellany into which have been dumped all papers which could not be easily classified under more specific headings. It thus touches upon almost every phase of the commerce, the civil administration, and the military affairs of British India from the seventeenth century onwards, and often throws important light upon them. Mr. Hill’s Catalogue gives brief but adequate abstracts of these documents, and is furnished with a good index; we may therefore predict with confidence that it will be of immense value to future students, and it is deeply to be regretted that death has denied to the author the satisfaction of seeing his work published and of receiving the thanks due to him.

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**Reviews on Indian Subjects by Jarl Charpentier**


The author, relying upon Dr. Waddell’s interpretations of the “Indo-Sumerian” seals, tries to prove that the Laws of Manu spring from a common source with the Code of Hammurabi and were composed by Parashurama about 2300 B.C. To quote details from such a work would be alike tedious and unnecessary, as the author shows a total lack of scientific method.

The present writer some years ago read with no small interest Dr. Beni Prasad's History of Jahāngīr, which created upon him a favourable impression by its generally critical method, sound valuation of evidence, and the absence of those ultra-Nationalist points of view which often vitiate the work of Hindu historical scholars. He must, unfortunately, confess his ignorance as to whether that was the first book published by Dr. Beni Prasad; but if so, it was certainly a clever and fortunate start.

The learned author now has published a bulky volume on the State in Ancient India; and it may be said at once that it leaves the reader in a satisfied and benevolent mood. There is perhaps behind these 600 pages less of original research than there was behind the somewhat smaller work on Jahāngīr. But one cannot fail to notice the wide scope of the author's reading, which only very seldom leaves out any work of importance, and one is also bound to admit that his general principles are sound and attractive to the Western mind. It is with pleasure that we notice that even if the author does not always present us with his own original views, he has carefully recorded those of other scholars and sifted what evidence is available for the different periods with which he deals.

To enter into a discussion of certain details concerning which the present writer ventures to hold opinions slightly different from those of the learned author is unfortunately impossible here for lack of space. But as he will publish another review of the book in a journal where somewhat more room is available,¹ he may well hope to discuss these minor points there. Of little slips inevitable in a

¹ Cf. the forthcoming issue of the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies.
bulky work like this, there seem to be remarkably few; the passage (p. 159) speaking of Kātyāyana's Kāśikā has been duly corrected on p. 579. Altogether it is a pleasure to state that Dr. Beni Prasad has here given us another work which may not only be perused with genuine interest, but is also of great and indisputable use to every scholar interested in the history and institutions of Ancient India. It may be that a book like this will live through a second edition; if so, the learned author would do his readers a real service by giving, at the end, a somewhat more substantial summary of his own individual views.

3. Kern Institute, Leyden: Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for the Year 1926. Published with the aid of the Government of Netherlands India. x + 107 pp., xii plates. Leyden: E. J. Brill, Ltd., 1928.

Professors Vogel, Krom, and Kramers, all of the University of Leyden, have started upon an undertaking which will lay all their fellow scholars under a deep and everlasting obligation to them. The Bibliography of Indian Archaeology in reality comprises much more than is promised by its title. For by "Indian" is here meant not only things belonging to India and Further India, but also the whole of Indonesia; and besides there is also a selection of works dealing with Iran and the Far East. Nor is archaeology the only subject dealt with here; cognate subjects like epigraphy, numismatics, chronology, ancient history, etc., have also been taken into consideration in this work of singular merit.

This Bibliography has been edited by the above-mentioned well-known scholars with the help of some of their confrères on behalf of the Kern Institute. Thus will be established still more firmly in the memory of forthcoming generations of Sanskritists the name and fame of one of the greatest scholars that have hitherto busied themselves with investigations concerning India and Indonesia. Financial aid has been bestowed by the Government of Netherlands India; and one can only
feel sorry that the Anglo-Indian Government and the Government of Ceylon did not see their way to grant a support to a work which chiefly deals with the archaeology, etc., of British India and is, besides, wholly written in English.

The bibliographical part is, as far as the present writer can judge, very full and excellently fitted to facilitate future researches in this field. Not only books and papers have been quoted, but also reviews of the separate works, as far as they have become known to the editors. An excellent introduction deals with excavations and finds belonging to the years immediately preceding 1926. Thus we find here condensed reports on Mohenjo-daro and Aornas, on the excavations at Nalanda and the preservative works upon the Ajanṭā frescoes, on Pandit Gaurishankar Ojha’s new history of Rājputānā, on Franke’s chronicles of western Tibet, on the French work on the temple of Ísavaputra, on Professor Herzfeld’s researches in Achaemenian and Sasanian Persia, and on several minor subjects. Nothing could, in fact, be more useful and welcome. We sincerely hope that Professor Vogel and his colleagues may be able to continue their extremely important work in full enjoyment of the necessary material support and the assurance of the admiration and thankfulness of their fellow scholars. It seems scarcely necessary to mention that everyone who is in any way interested in these subjects should willingly support the work by supplying the editors with such books, pamphlets, and papers that he may himself find leisure to publish. This is an easy and welcome way of acknowledging the obligation under which Professors of the great University of Leyden have again laid the scientific world.


The caves at Bādāmi, once a famous Southern Indian capital, were described long ago by Burgess, though in a
rather incomplete way. They belong to the late sixth century A.D., as is clear from an inscription of the Western Châlukya king Mangaleśa (Maṅgalîśvara) dated in the Śaka year 500. The interesting bas-reliefs with which the four caves are adorned have now for the first time been fully described and interpreted by Mr. R. D. Banerji, who has thus rendered no small service to archaeological research work in India.

Mr. Banerji’s interpretations of these bas-reliefs, which mainly consist of scenes from the myths connected with Śiva, Viśṇu, and Kṛṣṇa, seem generally indisputable, and are backed by careful references to the Purāṇas. We cannot here go into details, but should like to make one or two cursory remarks of no great importance.

On p. 10 the author speaks of a scene where Śiva in the guise of a dwarfish Brahmin appears at the side of Pārvatī. This dwarf is seen to carry an umbrella which has apparently puzzled Mr. Banerji, for “dwarfs with umbrellas indicate the dwarf (Vāmana) incarnation of Vishṇu”. However, we should like in all modesty to ask whether it is anything especially peculiar to find a Brahmin carrying an umbrella; because he is small in stature he need, of course, not necessarily be identified with the dwarf avatār. On the same page there is a very obscure passage in regard to Brahmā and his appearance at the marriage of Śiva. He first speaks of a person carrying a sūrpa in his hands “and is therefore Brahmā”; and immediately afterwards he speaks of another four-headed person who is seen pouring libations from a sacrificial ladle (sūrpa) and is also identified with Brahmā. That the later identification is correct we would by no means deny. But as far as the present writer’s knowledge goes a sūrpa is never a sacrificial ladle but simply a winnowing basket; and if any mythological person could be aptly depicted as carrying such an instrument, it would no doubt be Paraśurāma.

The person carrying a water-vessel in the bas-relief discussed
on p. 31 sq. is without any doubt Śukra, who, as later descriptions tell us, was standing by holding the pot from which Bali was to pour water into the hands of the Vāmana.

These passing remarks are in no wise meant to detract from the value of Mr. Banerji's careful work, which we have perused with much interest.

5. ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. New Imperial Series.
   Vol. xliii, Parts i and ii. The Bakshāli Manuscript.
   156 pp., xlvii plates. Calcutta: Government of India
   Central Publication Branch, 1927.

The manuscript which was unearthed in 1881 at Baskhāli, a village situated in the close neighbourhood of more famous places such as Shāhbāzgarhī, Takht-i-Bahi, and Chārsadda, contains the fragments of a mathematical treatise now fully edited by Mr. Kaye. It first came into the possession of the late Dr. Hoernle, who in 1902 bequeathed it to the Bodleian Library after having long prepared a full edition of it, which, however, came to naught. Owing to a misunderstanding—wholly explicable, by the way—on the part of Buehler, it was at one time believed to be a fragment of one of those Tripiṭakas which, according to tradition, Kaniṣka deposited in certain stūpas in North-Western India.

Dr. Hoernle considered this manuscript, which is written in old Šāradā on birch-bark, to be of considerable age, and to date perhaps from the fifth century A.D. Mr. Kaye, on the contrary, tries to prove that it is comparatively young; and although he does not think it possible to give a quite definite date, it is obvious that the twelfth century would best correspond to his calculations. We shall not argue this special point. And although it sometimes seems as if Mr. Kaye had perhaps attached too little weight to the work of his predecessor, we are quite prepared to accept his arguments as being in the main sound and valid. The present writer is the much more inclined to do so, as the noble science of mathematics is to him thoroughly inaccessible, he being thus
in a position which allows him neither to contest nor to corroborate the mathematical arguments adduced by Mr. Kaye.

The fragments of the text, which are in part at least in a very bad state, have certainly been edited with the greatest care and sagacity, and we are bound to treat with all due respect the conclusions which Mr. Kaye has extracted from them. Still it seems to us that a few remarks presented on p. 18 sq.—and which are wholly outside the mathematical part of the work—are rather doubtful. What reason, e.g., could there be for identifying the obscure word pākarāk-śakānām (fol. 65r) with the well-known demons called Rākṣasa? We admit we do not know nor does the learned author offer us any explanation whatsoever. On fol. 37r we read: r/bhano/ratham/suram ahoraya-siddhasamhāi/vidyādharahy/parivṛtām; this simple phrase has been curiously misinterpreted on p. 18, and has given rise to some totally out-of-the-way remarks upon the connection of Sun and Serpent. On the same folio there is a mention of Yudhiṣṭhira which has elicited the remark: "which implies some familiarity with the great epic of India"—we should say a slightly unnecessary one. The casual mention, in a modern scientific work, of Abraham would perhaps betray some familiarity with Genesis, but would it be strictly necessary expressly to point this out? That the mention, on folio 47, of a prince whose name was in all probability Śatrudamana should give a valuable clue may perhaps be doubted, as the name is almost certainly a purely legendary one. Finally, the remarks on Pārtha (Arjuna) on p. 19—to which should be added a reference to fol. 47—are partly unintelligible; it is at least extremely doubtful whether in the fragment alluded to there is any reference to the Haihaya.

The language of these fragments even on a cursory perusal seems to present several points of no small interest. It ought to be thoroughly dealt with by some person who is possessed of a real capacity for philological researches.
Since that fascinating work, *The Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, was composed, just a century ago, by Colonel James Tod, to whom the present work is dedicated in such felicitous terms by the author, enormous progress has been achieved in historical research, chiefly through the help of information supplied by epigraphical records and coins. Tod relied almost entirely upon the bardic chronicles and traditions, which we now know to be largely erroneous. The present writer shows that the bardic chronicles began to be written after the sixteenth century, V.S., and that these chroniclers had no knowledge of the actual dates of the old rājās, and, there being no means of testing their assertions, whatever they wrote became later on to be regarded as authentic. Rāya Bahādur G. H. Ojha has used Tod’s work so far as its contents can be accepted or verified; but he has remodelled the survey on fuller and more scientific lines in the light of wide special research, and enriched it from his own vast stores of information. He not only corrects—giving valid reasons in every case—innumerable errors and fictions in the bardic accounts that were reproduced by Tod, but exposes several mistakes made in vernacular compilations of more recent date. He has also been able to elucidate and qualify many references to local events in the Muhammadan histories. One of the most striking features of the work is the constant use made of epigraphical records. All available inscriptions, stone and copper-plate, published and unpublished, so many of which have been brought to light by the author himself, have been skilfully utilized, as well as the often valuable evidence of coins. It would be tedious to cite examples of how inscriptions have enabled the bardic records to be superseded, e.g. in the case of Samarasisimha, whom Tod, following the bards, described as having been slain in the battle of Tarāin
(A.D. 1192), "together with his son Kalyan, and thirteen thousand of his household troops and most renowned chieftains". We now know that Samarasimha was alive more than a century later! (p. 482). A further example is furnished in the case of Kumbhakarna (pp. 591–636), whom the author rightly describes as in so many respects one of the greatest of the Sisodiyā rājās of Mewār, who "laid the foundation of the paramount sovereignty of Mahārāṇa Sāṅgā", but whose greatness had hitherto been overshadowed by Sāṅgā, the latter's fame being much enhanced by Bābur's detailed and graphic account of his hard-won battle with this "pagan" at Khānuā in 1527.

Appendix 4 contains an important note on the gotras of Kṣatriyas, in which the author controverts the views recorded by Mr. C. V. Vaidya in his History of Mediaeval Hindu India, and holds that the practice was for Kṣatriyas to adopt the gotras of their purohits. He pertinentl points out that if the names do not represent the gotras of the purohits, but those of their progenitors, then, as in the case of Brāhmaṇas, their gotras would have remained ever the same, and would not change, whereas we find evidence from ancient inscriptions that Kṣatriyas of one and the same family or stock from time to time adopted different gotra names. Another instructive note on the prevalence of the title "Simha" as second member in Kṣatriya names forms Appendix 5. According to the Rāya Bahādur we first find this title used as an ending to the pada nama in the case of Rudrasimha, the second son of Rudradāman of Gīnār inscription fame, who lived towards the close of the second century A.D.

The composition of the fasciculi is somewhat confusing; for instance, fasc. ii starts with portion of the third chapter of vol. i, and then follow the title page, dedication, preface (pp. 1–60), and table of contents of vol. i, inserted between pp. 544 and 545 of this second fasciculus. The printing is good, and scarcely any typographical errors have been noticed. The language is clear and refined, but recalls the
comments of Sir George Grierson in *LSI.*, vol. i, pt. i, p. 167, on the tendency to excessive employment of Sanskrit words.

This is a work of outstanding importance, written by an erudite Indian scholar, exceptionally qualified for the task by a lifetime's study and research in the area concerned, and inspired, as was Tod, with deep attachment to that land of chivalry and romance. The present volume deals almost entirely with Udayapur history, carrying us down to the accession of Pratāpasimha, the son of the eponymous founder of the city of Udayapur, during the reign of the emperor Akbar. When completed, it will form a contribution of permanent value to the history of northern India. The appreciation which it has already won is shown by the fact that it is now impossible to obtain copies of the first two fasciculi, and a revised issue is already in preparation. We shall look forward to the appearance of a correct English translation, illustrated by suitable maps.

C. E. A. W. O.

**Nana Farnavis.** By A. MacDonald, Captain 18th Bombay Native Infantry, together with an autobiographical memoir of Nana Farnavis. With an introduction by H. G. Rawlinson, I.E.S. Humphrey Milford, for the University of Bombay. Price 8s. 6d.

The Memoir of Nana Farnavis is a reprint from the original edition of 1851. It is of interest as the only English life of one who is still regarded by the Maratha Brahmins as their last and ablest statesman. The Memoir is stated to be founded on original manuscripts and verbose conversations with the relations and personal attendants of the Peshwa's Minister. The matter, however, is mainly composed of verbatim transcripts from Grant Duff, or of information taken from the curious autobiographical fragment, included in this volume, of Nana Farnavis' life, which was first translated and published by the well-known Oriental scholar Lieut.-Col. John Briggs.
It may be noted that the date given in the Memoir for Nana’s birth, which was presumably obtained from family records, differs from the date shown in a note to the autobiography. No discredit attaches to Captain Macdonald for any lack of originality in his Memoir, since it was compiled with the object of translation into the Marathi language. The translation was actually published by him in the next year, 1852, and must be a rare instance of a book written in an Indian vernacular by a British officer in ordinary regimental service. The records show that Captain Macdonald performed the whole of his service with one and the same regiment of Bombay Native Infantry. An examination of the Marathi edition shows the language of the translation to be clear and simple. The Memoir itself is of much interest as giving the life story of the statesman who sought to restore the supremacy of the Maratha people after the staggering disaster of Panipat from which he himself had escaped by a hairbreadth. In spite of the losses of that campaign, the Marathas remained the most powerful of the Indian peoples, able to dominate the throne of Delhi, the states of Rajputana, and the Nizam. The disunion among the Marathas themselves, however, led inevitably to their downfall. The great aim of Nana Farnavis was to cement the Maratha confederacy under the Brahman supremacy of the Peshwa and his Brahman ministers: while the object of the great Maratha feudatories, Sindia, Holkar, and the Nagpur Bhonsle, was exactly the opposite: to exercise unfettered sway in the kingdoms they had won for themselves in Central and Northern India, while retaining full powers of interference in the affairs of their ancestral Deccan. Moreover, Nana Farnavis was determined to be the Brahman who held the real power. We may accept Grant Duff’s opinion of his veracity and humanity, and his engagingly frank fragment of autobiography shows him to have been observant of the practices of his religious belief. Yet his treatment of his old colleague Sakharam Bapu can hardly be justified, while his strict tutelage of the young Peshwa
Madhao Rao II was probably a contributory cause in that unfortunate youth's suicide. Moreover, his personal timidity and lack of military talent was a serious handicap. It was not an inherent defect of his caste, since several of the stoutest Maratha fighters and leaders were Brahmans by race.

The relations of Nana with the rising British power afford much matter of interest. It was the dispatch of Colonel Upton's Mission by the Bengal Council, and the entire supersession of the Bombay Council's policy and orders, that cemented the tottering power of the Peshwa's Ministers of whom Nana was the most astute. Mr. Macpherson's recent *Soldiering in India* tends to confirm Grant Duff's opinion that the military officers sent over from Bengal were ill-qualified to negotiate with Maratha Brahmans. Nana Farnavis was, however, not merely adept at playing off the Supreme Council against the Bombay Government. He also maintained relations with the Admiral on the Coast, whom the Marathas professed to regard as "the King's Sirdar". Nana Farnavis, however, overreached himself. He could not refrain from offering petty indignities both to Colonel Upton and his successor, the Bombay civilian, Mr. Mostyn; and his coquetting with the French, though probably only intended to frighten the English, had the effect of hardening the policy against him. Only the ineptitude of the Bombay military operations prolonged the domination of the Poona Brahmans. It may be noted that Nana's personal relations with the English were friendly, and their assistance was invoked when his time of adversity came.

The description commonly applied to him of the "Maratha Macchiavel" shows his reputation with his European contemporaries; while among his own people his memory still remains as the last and greatest administrator of the Peshwa's régime. It is, perhaps, a pity that Mr. Rawlinson has not supplied the fuller annotation, which he is so well qualified to make. The spelling of the proper names is said to have been modernized in this edition. This has not, however, been done
uniformly or correctly, and in three passages the omission of words has made havoc of the sense. The interest of the subject matter, however, fully justifies the republication of the Memoir.

P. R. C.

**Bengali Self-Taught. By the Natural Method with Phonetic Pronunciation. By Suniti Kumar Chatterji, M.A. (Calcutta), D.Lit. (London). 7½ x 5, pp. ix, 199. E. Marlborough and Co. 3s., cloth 4s.**

The author is Professor of Indian Linguistics and Phonetics in the Calcutta University, which is a guarantee for the reliability of the work and of the system which he employs. The two outstanding features of the book are the distinction which is preserved throughout between the current standard form of colloquial speech (Chalit Bhāṣā) and the literary language (Śādhu Bhāṣā), and the phonetic pronunciation of the Bengali words in the vocabularies and conversations. The literary language was formerly Sanskritic both in vocabulary and construction and differed considerably from the spoken language, but is assimilating to it more and more. The phonetic transcription is according to the Marlborough system of phonetics, but the explanation of it is clearly given, and also, where they differ, the corresponding symbols of the International Phonetic Association. The alphabet and a short specimen of Bengali is given in the Bengali character, but, for the rest, the Roman character is used. This is, no doubt, necessary in a book printed in England, at the price of this series. But though this makes it easier to learn in the first instance, and is sufficient for purely colloquial purposes, the student can only be said to have taught himself Bengali when he has taught himself to be familiar with it in its own character, in which alone it is written. The vocabularies are followed by an outline of grammar, which, though condensed into thirty-four pages, appears to cover all points of grammar required for the colloquial language.
The notes on the phonetic differences between the Sadhu-bhasha and the Chalit-bhasha are more complete than in previous grammars. But certain matters which are essential for a knowledge of the Sadhu-bhasha, such as the rules of sandhi, the formation of compound words (samās), and the inseparable prefixes (upasarga) do not find a place. The syntax, too, is very briefly treated, only two pages being given to it. The grammar is followed by a series of well-chosen conversational sentences arranged under different subjects, and include idiomatic phrases and expressions, in which the Bengali language is so rich. The book is a very reliable one, and the student who has gone through it, if he has, at the same time, accustomed himself to write the words in the Bengali character, will have acquired a sound knowledge of the language.

E. H. C. Walsh.


This book is concerned solely with art. It does not profess to deal with iconography or history. The Pāl dynasty reigned from the seventh to the eleventh centuries A.D. Our knowledge of the Pāl kings is mainly derived from the inscriptions on copper-plate grants. Though the Pāl kings were Buddhists, Buddhism and Hinduism were at that time existing peacefully side by side, and the art of that period is mixed with the then prevalent Tantric cult, and which gives it a vitality, which is in strong contrast with the surviving classical spirit of the art of the previous Gupta period. Although the capital of the empire was at Gaur, in Northern Bengal, the second and third rulers of this dynasty, Dharmapāla and Devapāla extended their conquests over Northern India, and the chief examples of its art have been found in Bihar. Out of the thirty-four examples given in the plates, the provenance of three is not known, but is probably Bihar, and, of the remainder, more than
half are from places in Bihar, eight of them being from the
recent excavations at Nālanda, and, of the other fifteen images
which exist, bearing inscriptions of the Pāl dynasty, a list of
which is given, only one, from the Dacca district, is from
Bengal, one being from Sarnāth in Benares, and the rest are
from the Gaya district, and from Nālanda and other parts of
Bihar. The author, however, calls attention to the fact that
at Māhāsthān, in the Bogra district of Bengal, from which
the image on Pl. III is derived, there exist the remains of an
extensive city of this period, whose excavation would probably
lead to valuable discoveries.

The best examples of the art of the Pāl dynasty are of the
period of Devapāla, the early part of the tenth century,
and the greater part of the examples given, including all the
small metal images found at Nālanda, are of this period. After
this the art declines. The next five kings are mere names, but
their names on the images serve to date them and to trace the
art in its decline. There was a temporary revival in the reign
of Mahipāla, the first thirty years of the eleventh century,
but it did not last.

The author mentions an interesting survival of the Pāl
dynasty which he found in certain of the hill states in the
Punjab, where there is a strong tradition that the ruling
families of Sukhet, Keonthal, Kashtwar, and Mandi are
descended from "The Rajas of Gaur in Bengal".

The characteristic of the Pāl art is its virility, and the
similarity of the art of the contemporary Tang dynasty of
China would lead to the conclusion that the Chinese is a
copy of the Indian art of this period.

The author has done well to bring together these examples
of the art of the Pāl empire, which has so strongly influenced
the art of Nepal, up to the present time, and from which
the art of Tibet is mainly derived; and which, until recent
years, has been overshadowed by that of the Sen dynasty
which succeeded it.

E. H. C. WALSH.
CULAVAMSA. Being the more recent part of the Mahāvamsa.
Edited by WILHELM GEIGER. Two vols. London: Pali
Text Society, 1925-7.

BUDDHADATTA'S MANUALS. Part II. Vinayavinicchaya and
Uttaravinicchaya, summaries of the Vinaya Piṭaka,
edited, for the first time in Europe, by A. P.

THE BOOK OF KINDRED SAYINGS (SAMYUTTA NIKĀYA) OR
GROUPED SUTTAS. Part IV. Translated by F. L.
WOODWARD. With an introduction by Mrs. Rhys Davids.

Professor Geiger’s edition of the Mahāvamsa is now com-
plete, and it contains all that can be desired in a critical
edition. The extremely interesting introduction to the
Culavamsa (for so it seems we must now call the latter part)
carries further and makes still more convincing the con-
clusions which the editor has for long held concerning the
Ceylon Chronicles, and we are promised a translation with
further discussion of the problems involved. One of the
admirable indexes consists of twenty pages of words not
found in the Pāli dictionaries. The P.T.S. dictionary for some
reason omitted words found only in the Abhidhānappadīpiṅkā.
Nearly a hundred of them now appear in this list.

Buddhadatta’s summaries of the Vinaya, says the editor,
were intended to assist learning by heart, when books were
not available so easily as at present. But they have also an
independent value through the fact that they were compiled
by a contemporary of Buddhaghosa, and embody some of the
material of the old commentaries, several of which are referred
to by name. They also give us indications of the state of the
text at the time, as well as of the mode of interpretation. There
is no mention of Buddhaghosa, who, so the editor thinks,
was rather earlier. Another interesting fact is that these works
represent not Ceylon Buddhism but the Buddhism of South
India, where they were compiled, and they will probably
contribute something to the history of mediaeval Buddhism.
The first of the works summarizes the Vinaya rules in about 3,000 verses. The second is a supplement, but not a mere abbreviating of the first. It goes through the same matter in 324 verses, largely in catechism form, and then gives a number of classified lists, which form the bulk of the work. The Rev. Mahāthera is to be congratulated on producing such a scholarly edition, and one so well adapted to the needs of Western students.

Mr. Woodward’s volume, like the previous ones, is not a mere translation, but a valuable commentary and help to overcoming the frequent perversities of Feer’s text. It is a healthy sign to find among recent translators such an unsettled state of opinion about the rendering of technical terms. Tathāgata remains, but sugata is “happy one”. Do we really get any nearer to bhagavā by substituting “Exalted One” for “Blessed One”? Lord Chalmers, like the modern Buddhists, translates it “Lord”, but Mr. Woodward uses “Lord” for bhadanta, a term not peculiar to the Lord. Who would guess that “person-pack” stands for sakkāya, and that uttama-purisa (not uttara-) becomes “superman”? It appears that now we may sometimes translate niraya by “hell” and (according to Mrs. Rhys Davids in the introduction) bhikkhu by “monk”. Mrs. Rhys Davids finds the Magga, the Way, in the pages addressed to laymen, which promise that those who live wisely and well shall be reborn in the Heaven World. “How absurd, in face of such pages, appear the opinions of persons who will not carefully read them, that Buddhism was originally a system of ethics with no call for faith in the unseen, and a metaphysic centring in the unreality of man or self.” It was the Sangha, the body specially trained to carry on the Master’s teaching, which “not only decentralized the Way, but also dropped from it the wayfarer”.

E. J. Thomas.

In this well got up book of two volumes, the learned authors have reproduced no less than 142 documents, "sources for the history of the Portuguese as well as of the Franciscan and Jesuit Mission in Ceylon." The majority of the documents are from the archives in Portugal: the earliest is dated 26th November, 1539, the latest 15th September, 1562. The value of these original papers need not be emphasized, and it is now possible accurately to reconstruct the history of Ceylon during the period covered by them. This has been admirably done in the Introduction.

Bhuvanēka Bāhu VII, we now know, came to the throne of Kōttē in 1521 (pp. 283, 584) on the assassination of his predecessor Vijaya Bāhu VII, and it was not long before he fell out with his more energetic and abler brother Māyādunne, who on the partition of Vijaya Bāhu's dominions had secured for himself the kingdom of Sitāwaka. The antagonism between the brothers colours the whole history of the period. Document 1 tells of the help sent by the Portuguese to Bhuvanēka Bāhu against Māyādunne, supported by the Samorin of Calicut. In the very next document we find raised the question of the succession to the Kōttē throne; Māyādunne was to be kept out at all costs. Bhuvanēka Bāhu wished the crown to be secured for his daughter's son, Dharmapāla, but rival claims were put forward on behalf of the princes Jugo and his brother, later known as Dom Luis, the king's sons by a wife of inferior birth. The importance of this question led to the well-known embassy to Lisbon at the end of 1541, and the recognition of Dharmapāla as the heir by the king of Portugal, who crowned the effigy of the baby prince.

Great hopes were entertained in Portugal for the conversion of Ceylon, which Bhuvanēka Bāhu's ambassador, in spite of later denials, undoubtedly led the Portuguese to expect. The result was the first Franciscan mission to the Island. The
friars, however, found the dispositions of the king very different from what they had been represented to be. While ready at first to make concessions in favour of converts and to give presents to the churches, he had no intention of becoming a Christian himself. He soon adopted a policy of definite obstruction, due in some degree at least to the practical exemption of the converts from the royal jurisdiction, and even went so far as to kill his own son Jugo in 1544–5. The result of this murder was the flight of his other son, Dom Luís, and of this youth’s cousin, Dom João, to Goa, where, however, both died early in 1546. The same anti-Christian and anti-Portuguese policy is seen about the same period in the kingdom of Jaffna, where the Mannar martyrs paid the penalty for their adherence to the new religion towards the end of 1544. The hostility to Christianity on the part of Bhuvanēka Bāhu and of the local Portuguese officials was such that St. Francis Xavier went in disgust to Japan (D. 115).

Bhuvanēka Bāhu also at one time allied himself with his inveterate enemy, Māyādunnē, against Kandy, the object, it is said, being to establish themselves in the hill country in order to be independent of Portugal. The shiftiness of the king of Kōṭṭē naturally resulted in suspicion on the part of the Portuguese, who at length definitely made an ally of Māyādunnē, and it was at the hands of a Portuguese that Bhuvanēka Bāhu died, being shot on an unknown date about the middle of 1551. The Viceroy’s attempt to fasten the blame on Māyādunnē and to explain the plundering of the royal palace and of the Tooth Relic temple does not carry conviction (D. 127). The assassination was fatal to the Portuguese; Dharmapāla was abandoned by his subjects, and Māyādunnē became the real master of the low country of Ceylon. The character of Bhuvanēka Bāhu is portrayed in Document 16 (p. 127).

A number of letters deal with the kingdom of Kandy and its relations with the Portuguese and the other native powers
of the Island. Here again the king endeavoured to secure Portuguese help by a pretence at conversion to Christianity.

Considerable light is thrown on the subject of the marāla or death duty, by which the movables of a deceased man escheated to the king (DD. 16, 34, 77, 127); Christians were exempted from this burden, with the result that death-bed conversions were a subject of complaint. Bhuvanēka Bāhu's policy towards the converts in the matter of land held by service tenure is set out in his letter to Dom João de Castro, dated 12th November, 1545 (D. 34), in which he states: "And as to the lands (held) of favour, I wish to tell you of what manner they are, to wit: from ancient times until now the bygone kings gave these lands to whom they wished, and, having given them, if (the holders) fell sick of any sickness by reason of being cripples or of old age and they could not go to watch at their palaces or could not go to war and disobeyed them in any way that may be, they would take away from them the said lands, which I cannot do if they are Christians, nor do I dare so much as to speak to them. Wherefore I do not have jurisdiction over them, and for this reason I take from them the lands, as many as become (Christians)."

An item of interest is the use of Tamil at the court of Kōṭṭē, disclosed by the letters of Bhuvanēka Bāhu; this had been suspected before. In 1546 the king of Kandy asked of Māyādunnē a cabaya in the Portuguese fashion and a barret cap (D. 64). The present Kandyen four-cornered hat almost certainly is the descendant of the barret cap; the long-sleeved Kandyen jacket is known as Juvan hatte, "Juan jacket."

In the matter of coinage the "pam" or loaf of gold equal to twenty calamjas weight is mentioned in Kandy (D. 64). In 1547 complaint is made of the debasement of the currency by Bhuvanēka Bāhu (D. 100). In Documents 64, 65, and 79 dealing with Kandy in 1546 "fanams of the country" are spoken of. As 2,400,000 were the equivalent of 25,000 pardáos,
they were most probably of base silver. My deduction, therefore, in *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, p. 175, as to the derivation of the later silver "Sinhalese fanam" from the Köṭṭē "new fanam" of base gold was mistaken.

The following errors have been noticed:—

pp. 126, 135: the word Carea is supposed to represent *Kaḍayān*; it is really *Karaiyan*.

p. 127: Changatar. This is not directly from the Pali, but from the Tamil *saṅkattar*.

p. 198: The signature of Bhuvanēka Bāhu does not represent Śṛī, but Śvasti. It is a clear debasement of the form with subscript V and T found in the earlier medieval inscriptions. Māyādunne used the first two letters *Sva*. The Śṛī, so familiar in the late Kandyan copper-plates, appears as the sign manual of the king of Kandy (Plate II).

p. 495: The pardão d'ouro was of six, not of five, tangas.

p. 525: Plate I clearly proves that "Joan o Rey" does not exist. The legend runs: Puruttuikkālukku muṇne konḍu pora kattu. This, I suggest, means: Letter sent to Portugal before (the other copies). It thus is the equivalent of "1ª. via", which precedes the Tamil sentence.

p. 559: The signature is not in Tamil, but in Grantha letters.

These, however, are slight blemishes. It may also be suggested that "Topare" on p. 364 is Polonnaruwa, which appears in maps under this name before the ancient city was "discovered". "Oupalão" on p. 421 may be Tamil *uppalam", "salt pan."

In conclusion we may note that these interesting volumes contain a full bibliography, notes on the archives and manuscripts, and an introduction giving the history of Ceylon from 1539 to 1552, according to the texts now published, as well as an analysis of the various historical works on the period. There is also a map of Ceylon, two plates, and a good index. The authors are to be congratulated on their achievement.

H. W. CODRINGTON.

Dr. Pieris once more has given to the student of Ceylon history a translation of original documents connected with Portuguese rule in the Island. The little book under review deals exclusively with Prince Vijayapāla, who after quarrelling with his brother, king Rājasimha II of Kandy, went over to the Portuguese and ended his days in exile.

The translation is marred by the unnecessary use of Portuguese words in passages where good English is available. This occasionally must render the translation difficult of understanding by the casual reader, who, for instance, can hardly be expected to know what is meant by the "Reino". Unfamiliarity with ecclesiastical terminology also has led to results which strike the English reader as peculiar; for example, "the High Pontiff Urbano VIII," "the ship of São Pedro," "Done at Rome at São Pedro," "Innocencio the Tenth." Again a Franciscan Guardian is needlessly called "Guardião". The Archbishop of "Mira", of course, was the titular holder of the well-known see of Myra. But in spite of these defects Dr. Pieris is to be congratulated on his work.

Of interest is the fact revealed in Document 10 that Vijayapāla wrote to his brother in Tamil. This had been the court language of the kings of Kōṭṭē. And again the appearance in the seventeenth century of the title "Vedauntra" in Document 12. This does not conceal "some form of the word 'Bandara'," as supposed by the translator, but is the Sinhalese Vāda-un-tāna, which is found in use in the Kōṭṭē period and in the sixteenth century inscription at the Nātha Dēvālē in Kandy. It apparently means "His Majesty" or "His Highness".

H. W. Codrington.
Mu'jam al-Muşannifîn. By Maḥmūd Hasân at-Tonkî.
Bairût : Matba‘ah Ţayyârah, 1344. 8vo. 385 pp.

The author, who is still living, has conceived the plan of writing in eleven volumes a work containing biographies of all Arabic authors of whom he is able to find notices with a list of all their works whether known to exist in manuscript or print at the present date. As far as my knowledge goes, four of these volumes are ready for the press and the author is working upon the remainder.

The first volume, after giving the reasons for composing such a large undertaking, deals with the various sciences practised by the Arabs, or upon which there exist works in the Arabic language. The principal guides have been the works of Ṭâsh Köprüf Zâdeh and Ḥâjjî Khalîfah, but when the author deals with the theological sciences he draws freely upon all manner of other works and at times becomes very explicit. As is natural for an Indian author, great predominence is given in this section to the Ḥanafî school. Very interesting is the chapter dealing with witchcraft, where he discusses the lawfulness of practising this black art by a Muslim. His conclusion is that it is permitted if the study has for its aim to counteract the evil practices of others. A section here is in Persian (pp. 322–4), taken from the Madârij an-Nubuwwah of ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq Dihlawî. The printer in Syria, unaware that he was printing in another language, has in this part heaped up misprints, but I believe they can all be rectified by anyone acquainted with the Persian language. The Persian citation contains the account of how the Prophet was bewitched by the Jews so that he was smitten with forgetfulness. It is not quite clear whether the author of the Mu'jam believes in the correctness of the tale or not. The chief value of the work will lie in the later volumes containing the biographies and bibliographical details; these depend greatly upon the quality of the sources drawn upon, and at the beginning I must warn the author and publishers that
the greatest care must be taken to give the names of persons and books correctly. Here analogy does not help and I find the celebrated Maghrībi scholar Birzālī, who spent his life in Syria and continued the History of Ibn 'Asakir, repeatedly called al-Birzānī.

The book is printed on good paper and in clear type. It is published by funds supplied by the government of Haiderābād, and should become a very useful work of reference. I cannot give a list of all the errors 1 in the Persian section referred to above, but I have noted the following in the margins of my copy.

p. 72, read اسرب 1302 for 1300; p. 75, read غروان for غروان; p. 85, 3, read اللحمي for الحببة; p. 105, 2, read للولاية for لفترة; in the preceding line read في الا كش for كش مردوغية; p. 106, 13, read الطوسي for الاسمي; p. 109, 3 a.f., read يسري for يسري; p. 110, 5, read الطوسي for الطوسي; p. 120, 16, the name of the celebrated Koran-reader is Ubayy, not Abi آنی; p. 121, 19, read مردوغية for مردوغية; p. 123, read سافی for سفعین ibn "Uyainah; ll. 5 and 8, read مردوغية and مردوغية for راهویه and راهویه; line 6, the name of the traditionist is Abū Bakr ibn Abī Shaibah; p. 135, 7, the name of the traditionist is Ibn Ḥibbān (not with Jim); p. 159, 9, read فرغانة for المذهب; p. 158, 7, read أصل المذهب for فرغانة; line 12, omit the word كانوا, it is not Arabic; line 16, Hūlāgū was not a son of Jingiz Khān, but a grandson; line 19, the Mamlūk Sultans cannot be called Ṣalātīn al-'Arab; p. 184, 8, read بطا شکری for بطا شکری; p. 191, 1, Qais wa Ghailān is wrong, it is Qais 'Ailan without Waw; line 4, read الروم and غسان for غسان the الكتيب; according to the Durar al-Kāminah he died 718, not 728; p. 211, 9, read سلطان شامة, not سلطان شامة; line 18, read البرزالي for البرزالي, so also on the next page twice;

1 I marked over thirty on two pages.
p. 212, 4, Dhahabî did not continue his large history to the year 740, but only to 700; p. 249, 3 a.f., I believe here is intended; p. 270, 8, read; p. 286, 9–10, this is a verse, and ought to have been set out as such.

F. Krenkow.

NOTE ON TURKESTAN DOWN TO THE MONGOL INVASION. By W. Berthold. London: Gibb Memorial, 1928.

It is not my intention to say anything about the excellence of this work, but in reading through the work I made some notes which may be of general interest.

p. 16, al-Ḥākim (not al-Ḥakîm) is generally known as Ibn al-Bayyi‘ (not al-Bayyi‘); he is the author of the large collection of tradition recently published in four large volumes in Haiderabad. His history of Nishāpūr is cited very frequently by Ibn Ḥajar in the Lisān al-Mīzān, by Dahabî, and in the Jawāhir al-Mudī‘ah; from this it is certain that manuscripts existed in the eighth century of the Hijrah in Syria and Egypt.

p. 33, notes. The History of Jurjāniyyah (Gurgānj), by Ḥamzah Iṣbahānī, is, I am sure, a clear error for the History of Jurjān, by Ḥamzah b. Yūsuf as Sahmî al-Jurjānî, of which a manuscript is preserved at Oxford (i, 746).

p. 189. The reading al-Qasrî alone can be right because the man was a Yamanite as opposed to the Mudarîs; the tribe of Qushair which the author suggests were Muḍarîs.

p. 274, misprint 493 for 403, as the date of the death of the īlak.

The author will agree with me that in statements of fact or dates the Arabic authors as a rule deserve greater credence, especially if the Persian manuscripts are of late date, owing to the habitual carelessness and slovenliness of Persian scribes.

F. Krenkow.

'Omar Khayyām has not obtained in Germany the same celebrity as in England, though translations were made at an early date and by translators who were also poets of renown like von Schack and Bodenstedt. The latter made a selection while Schack translated nearly all found in the editio princeps of Calcutta. The translation of Mr. von der Porten is, as the title states, a rendering of the quatrains found in the Bodleian MS., to which are added a number recently discovered by Christensen and published in the Journal of the German Oriental Society. The translator, though keeping as closely to the text in his interpretation, has been able to give a much better German conception of the Persian poet than has been the fortune of his predecessors, and several quatrains are little gems of poetry in their new garb. The edition is an "édition de luxe", like most translations of 'Omar, and in every way equal to similar editions published in other languages.

F. K.


This is a selection of 130 quatrains by 'Omar Khayyām made by an Arab author who enjoys a high reputation as a poet in the 'Irāq and lands of the Arabic tongue. In each case the Persian text is given and then followed by an Arabic translation in prose and verse, the metres in the latter varying according to the requirements for giving an exact rendering. This is carried out with remarkable skill, but in one case I notice that the translator selected one quatrain which was perhaps too outspoken in its heresy, so that he had to alter the meaning. In No. 9 of the selection the Persian poet says:
"Weak in intellect was he who belittles wine", which is left untranslated in the rhymed version, and in the prose version he renders it "and he who belittles it is short-witted". Otherwise the translator has followed his text very closely, and rendered the meaning as clearly as the two languages permit.

F. Krenkow.

Sternglaube und Sterndeutung. By Franz Boll.
Unter Mitwirkung von Carl Bezold. Dritte Auflage von W. Gundel. xii, 211 pp., 20 plates and map. 8vo.
Leipzig-Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1926. 13s. 6d.

The best translation of the title of this book would probably be "Star-Lore". It covers the double meaning of faith in the stars and the interpretation of the stars. It is more than astrology, for it comprises also the fundamental principles of the more scientific investigation known as astronomy. Whether astrology is now a thing of the past is a matter of conjecture. In one form or another it still survives in the folk-lore of many nations. This ancient Babylonian science has dominated all the civilized nations for at least two thousand years, and yet no comprehensive history of astrology has hitherto been compiled. A first attempt, and rather modest, has been made by Professor Boll, assisted by the well-known Oriental scholar, Professor Bezold, to supply such a handbook, preparatory to the greater work which they contemplated. Death has carried both authors away, and Professor Gundel has published an enlarged edition into which he has incorporated all the notes found in Boll's copy. The Oriental origin and progress of this science is shown by Professor Bezold, and its subsequent development is given in a masterly manner by Professor Boll. Succinct as the treatment of the vast material has been, it is, however, of inestimable value, as it is thus far the only comprehensive treatment of the history of star-lore, and at the same time the authors have
given a full bibliography of the subject. This has been greatly enriched by the latest editor, Professor Gundel. The book contains besides forty-eight illustrations in the text and on twenty plates, and also a star-map, as well as an excellent register. It is printed with the usual care and beauty so conspicuous in all the publications of B. G. Teubner.

M. Gaster.


The contribution of Professor Christensen to the criticism of the Avesta consists of a series of minute examinations of a number of Yasts. He endeavours to combat the results arrived at by others, especially by Hertel, as to the date of their composition, and he comes to the conclusion that we have, in Yast 13, the oldest remnants of Zoroastrian literature. This Yast, together with 19 and 10, he ascribes to a pre-Achemenian period or, latest, contemporary with the Achemenian, in spite of the mass of legendary matter contained in these Yasts, which points unquestionably to a later development in Zoroastrian teaching. To a period probably of the fourth century B.C. he ascribes seven more Yasts, and only the Vendidad and Yast 9 is of the time of the Arsacides, whilst Yast 16 is probably a little later. It is especially Yast 13 to which the author has devoted most of his attention, studying it from many points of view, as also the formation of some of the personal names contained in the list of that Yast, the three-partite division of the world, and about the Kayanides in their relation to the Achemenians. The story of the division of the world into three parts, from which the author tries to deduce some definite conclusions, does not seem, however, to be so old, and belongs probably to a wide cycle of legends also discussed by me in my edition of the Samaritan Asatir. In the last portion of this essay, Professor Christensen has
collected all the references found in the ancient literature about Zervan, "time without limit," from the Gathas down to Sharastani. The problem of Zervan and his position in Zoroastrianism is now the object of much heated discussion amongst Iranian scholars, and this marshalling of sources is therefore a very welcome contribution towards its elucidation. It is only at the hand of original sources, in this case very few in number, that there lies the possibility of its solution.

M. GASTER.


This volume is a welcome sign of the awakening desire for international co-operation in matters scientific. At the invitation of the Society for Old Testament Study a number of scholars, English and Continental, foregathered in Oxford in September of last year. This volume contains the result of their deliberations. Sixteen lectures delivered on that occasion are here printed. They constitute a valuable contribution to the study of the Old Testament.

It would be difficult to discriminate between one paper and another, especially when one like the present writer holds views diametrically opposed to those expressed by many of these scholars. It must be left to the student of the Old Testament to select and to appraise them according to the point of view which appeals to him most. With few exceptions these papers adopt the standpoint of Higher Criticism. Some, like Professor Lods, find the Bible full of magic. Professor Gunkel writes very beautifully on the poetry of the Psalms. Interesting also is the article by Dr. S. A. Cook on Archaeology and the Religion of Israel, whilst Professor G. A. Cooke would find further material for his study of Ezekiel.
xxviii in the treatment of the legends of Nimrod and Hiram in my edition of the Samaritan Secrets of Moses. This material may perhaps further amplify Professor Cooke's suggested interpretation of this chapter. Dr. G. Driver publishes his paper on the Tetragrammaton which he also read in a somewhat fuller form at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The Society is to be thanked for its spirited endeavour again to focus successfully the study of the Old Testament. It is a pity, however, that such a high price had to be charged, since it must prove prohibitive to many.

An index might with advantage have been added.

M. GASTER.


In this essay Professor Brown raises again the problem of the intercourse between India and the West, and the possibility of the transmission of legends and tales from that country to Syria and Palestine. He limits himself in his investigation to the miracles in connection with walking on the water found in Buddhist literature and in the Gospel narrative. There are, no doubt, parallels in other literatures, but here only Buddhist stories are considered.

The idea which has hitherto been entertained that there was no connection between one country and another, however distant, gives way under the weight of modern discoveries. Nations have never lived quite separated from one another, and trade-routes were used not only by merchants, but also by pilgrims and missionaries. Another question, however, is the dependence of one set of stories upon another. Against this assumption there is always the alternative hypothesis of independent origin. Some five and twenty years ago on
the occasion of the Folklore Congress, I ventured to express the view that where we have a complexity of incidents in two sets of legends, such independent origin is utterly impossible. I am glad to find that Professor Brown—unquestionably by independent study—comes to precisely the same conclusions. On the strength of these conclusions he finds the source of Peter walking on the waters in the Jataka 190, where the lay pupil also walks on the water to meet his master.

The walking of Jesus finds its parallel in the similar walking of Buddha on the waves of the sea as represented in the Sanchi sculpture. Professor Brown rightly points out that there are no exact Biblical parallels, for here the people walk dryshod over the earth, the waters being separated. I should like to adduce the only parallel in Jewish literature known to me; it is of a somewhat late origin, but it is interesting simply to connect it with the pseudo-Messiah, David Alroy, the hero of Lord Beaconsfield's novel of the same name. He is said to have eluded his pursuers by rolling up his turban and walking on it across the river.

M. Gaster.


Modern scholars turn in increasing numbers towards the investigation of the sources of the so-called "pseudo-sciences" of the Middle Ages, and foremost to those of alchemy and astrology. The above publication is an important contribution towards the history of astrology in Europe. No less a personality than that of Abraham ibn Ezra now appears to have been one whose writings exercised the deepest influence on this science in the Middle Ages.
Aben Ezra was hitherto known chiefly as one of the most acute commentators of the Bible, a great grammarian and a profound mathematician. We now learn that he was also the author of a number of astrological treatises which have enjoyed the highest reputation among the best-known astrologers. His influence went far beyond Jewish circles, for already, as early as 1273, these writings, compiled between 1140 and 1150, were translated into French by a certain Hagin, a Jew, in the house of the canon, Henry Bate, of Malines. Professor Levy shows in detail that this translation has been the basis of all the other translations either full or in part which appeared in almost every European language. Foremost among these is the complete Latin rendering of Peter d'Abano, utilized by Tycho de Brahe and Copernicus. Among others there are also two English translations, one of them by Culpeper.

Altogether a remarkable chapter of literary history is here revealed, which goes back to Hebrew and Arabic sources, for Aben Ezra made extensive use of Arabic astrological writings, principally those of the Jew Mashala. He knew, of course, a large number of ancient writers, Greek and Arabic, the former through the Arabic, whom he quotes freely.

The original Hebrew text has hitherto remained unpublished, and Professor Levy has rendered a signal service to scholars for having drawn detailed attention to a work of such interest and importance. He himself is now preparing an edition of the Old French translation of Hagin.

M. Gaster.
point out, it is practically independent, in its origin and later development, of Christian influences, though fully represented in the sacred monuments. On the contrary, the very beginnings can be seen in pagan art, influenced by the East, and already as old as the period of Diocletian. Later on, especially after the wars of Heraclius with the Persians, the Sassanian influence becomes a dominating factor in Byzantine art. It is seen more and more clearly that Byzantium was a connecting link between East and West, and that much of the Western culture was an imitation, often debased, of the Byzantine. Byzantine art comes to an end with the last Crusade, when in 1204 the Franks found their "Holy Land" in Byzantium, looked upon the Greeks as the "Paynim", and finished their conquest with the sack of Constantinople. The rich booty which they found in the Churches and palaces of Constantinople was carried to the West, where it has been preserved to a large extent in private and public collections. To these the authors have gone, and with great diligence and care they have been able to reproduce on a hundred plates much that is most representative and characteristic. Statues and coins, chalices and ivories, silken shrouds (many coloured), and many other ornaments have been here arranged chronologically. The authors rightly refuse, with few exceptions, to reproduce coins, which on their part are the best specimens of the Byzantine art. They are very difficult to reproduce, and bearing in mind that these plates are in collotype with black on a sepia ground, such reproductions might have been a distinct failure. One novel point deserves mentioning. It is to the effect that the iconoclastic movement, in spite of its wholesale destruction of sacred images, or rather in consequence thereof, has given to Byzantine art a newer and broader outlook, and some of the finest works of the ninth and tenth centuries were due to this new impulse. Each plate is minutely described, but one cannot help expressing some regret that no attempt has been made to reproduce in colours some, at least, of these specimens.
They lack the fine artistic finish and the aesthetic beauty which would have added so much to a better appreciation of the Byzantine art.

M. GASTER.

L'ART HITTITE. Par EDMOND POTTIER, Membre de l'Institut.

As this first section of M. Pottier's work on Hittite art contains no less than 121 finely drawn reproductions, the exceeding richness of this section of ancient artistic production is beyond all question. This was naturally to be expected when we consider how rich a field of discovery Hittite territory has constituted during the last sixty years or more. It is a matter of considerable regret that we are unable as yet to read the hieroglyphic texts from Hamath and the other sites where these noteworthy inscriptions are found. On the other hand, the cuneiform Hittite inscriptions have been very useful as far as they can be read, and the fact that they are Aryan is a matter of considerable interest, as they must give the earliest form of Aryan speech known. The same may therefore also be said with regard to the art, which in many respects resembles that of the Assyrians, especially in the military scenes of the time of Aššur-naṣir-pal.

It is only when going through a book like this that one realizes the great progress which has been made of late years in the study of the antiquities of that long-lost nation, the Hittites, otherwise "the Children of Heth". Who would have thought, before the discovery of those antiquities, that "the Children of Heth" had been such a great nation as the researches have since shown them to have been—that the Israelites were once reckoned with the Hittites—as they were also with the Amorites—Amurrû, which gave its name to the west cardinal point?

When looking at the pictures in this book so thoroughly
carried out, the thought strikes the reader: How like the Assyrian sculptures those of the Hittites are—and yet how unlike. Was one derived from the other, and if so, which was the earlier? All that can be said is, that the Hittite sculptures seem to have preceded those of Assyria, and that, although they show a certain technique and style of their own, they are to all appearance far from being as finished. This may in part be due to the fact that the stone used by the Hittites is rougher, and therefore must have been more difficult to work satisfactorily. To this must be added the fact that their costumes, manners, customs, and religion were somewhat different, and therefore different in type and feeling. Hittite sculpture may, in fact, have been somewhat less formal, and this, with the smoothness of the stone—generally alabaster or limestone—may have made Assyrian sculpture more polished, though, in its earlier stages, more uncouth. It is doubtful, as all who have studied it will probably admit, whether Hittite art ever began to approach the perfection of Assyrian art from say, the time of Sennacherib to that of Aššurbanipal—especially the latter.

On the other hand, the art of the Hittites seems to have been more grotesque, as well as rougher, than that of the Assyrians from the time of Aššur-naṣir-pal onwards. In examining it M. Pottier has made full use of the work of his predecessors in the same field, and explains that the book is the outcome of his lectures in 1917–18, and that he intended to expose to the Syrians the scientific work of modern scholars in Oriental lands. The object is praiseworthy, and would be in accord with the latest trend of Oriental thought.

After the *Aperçu Historique*, the author treats of the priority of Hittite art over the art of Assyria, to which I have referred; and then proceeds to deal with the various sites in turn. The chapter which begins with Karkemish is especially interesting. He speaks of the importance of the site and its archaeological history—the explorers who have examined and worked in it, including George Smith, Hogarth, Thompson,
Woolley, and Lawrence, in addition to which, moreover, he mentions "the English consul in Aleppo who had already referred, in 1754, to a sculptured relief on that site which he naively described as a "Christian clergyman in his sacerdotal robes". This is Monsieur Pottier's fig. 2, representing a Hittite divinity. It was sent by G. Smith to the British Museum. Unfortunately it is headless, but it has an inscription on the back.

This and numerous other statues, in the usual Hittite style, are given, including the Hittite form of the mother-goddess (fig. 4), who is shown with plaits, wings, hat apparently surmounted by the crescent moon, and holding her breasts. These figures of deities are very numerous, and in many cases are very well carved. Noteworthy is fig. 5, among others, the Assyrian style of dress being very pronounced—but which was the nation that borrowed from the other this fashion of dress?

The human figures are numerous and interesting. From them we get a good idea of the types and the costumes of the various officials, from the beardless eunuchs (similar to those of the Assyrian reliefs) to the short-bearded warriors with crested helmets and spears. In fig. 20 we see a hero with curly side-locks capturing a lion and a bull, the former by seizing its hind-legs, and the latter by grasping its horns—naturally, to do this, the animals have to be on different levels. Other strange scenes of similar daring are reproduced.

All the subjects are depicted and well described, with comparisons with Assyrian and Babylonian art. The next section deals with Zenjirli, where Koldewai worked, and of which the plan is given—a plan interesting owing to its rather circular and symmetrical form. Many are the lion-forms, some of them very strange, among which may be mentioned the double-headed chimera, depicted with a lion's head level with the shoulders and a woman's head above.

Noteworthy is the variety of designs or, rather, details of the sculptures. They are in many cases somewhat rough,
but that makes us wonder all the more, knowing, as we do, the rough nature of the material. There is no doubt that the Hittites who produced these sculptures would have become artists as skilled as the Assyrians in the same conditions of material and of encouragement.

It is one of the most perfect books upon the subject of the Hittites and their art which has yet been published—full of suggestive points, and well provided with material for comparison. The further researches of M. Pottier upon the subject will be looked for with eagerness.

T. G. Pinches.

FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY: ANTHROPOLOGY.

As mentioned by Professor Langdon in his Preface, Mr. Mackay deals in this section of the work almost exclusively with the pottery and implements found at the Sumerian palace. The other extensive collections of pottery found by himself and others will be published in a future volume. When complete, the importance of this part of the excavations will be recognized as unexpectedly great. The building furnishes a perfect example of early Sumerian architecture upon a grand scale. Unfortunately this early Sumerian palace contains no records of the early Sumerian monarchs who reigned there more than twenty-eight centuries before Christ, but such things are likely to be found later on. Besides Mr. Mackay, those engaged upon the work were Professor Stephen Langdon; a generous donor, Mr. Herbert Weld, of Queen’s College, Oxford; Col. W. H. Lane; Father Eric Burrows, of Oxford; and Mrs. Mackay, a trained
anthropologist, to whose skilled hand all the line-drawings of the pottery found are due. It is a solid work due to the united energies of two great English-speaking nations co-operating.

T. G. Pinches.


The Annual includes a remarkable article on the Jordan Valley in the Bronze Age, by W. F. Albright, studying the topography, toponomy, ceramics, etc., of numerous sites from Banias to south of the Dead Sea. The larger topics include an account of Hirbet Kerak (Talmudic Beth-Yerah), south of the Sea of Galilee, which may have been in its day the most important city of northern Palestine; studies of the Sethos stelae from Beisan (suggested equation of the ‘-py-rw with the Madianite Ephra); an expedition to the Dead Sea in 1924, and discovery at ed-Drâ, above the eastern shore, of a settlement of the early Bronze which came to an end c. 1800, a fact which is used to date the destruction of the Cities of the Plain. As to the nature of this event, Dr. Albright gives reasons for accepting the old opinion that they were submerged: no early remains were found at what is certainly the Byzantine Segor (Zoor): the old town must have been lower down the Seil, and is now beneath the waves. One of the general conclusions from this study is the high antiquity of the civilization of the Jordan Valley; most of the sites of the Bronze age here would have been occupied in the first half of the third millenary, and many before 3000: The town sites of the rest of Palestine are mostly much later. It is a very interesting article.

“A new factor in the history of the Ancient East,” by E. Chiera and E. A. Speiser, deals with the important
discoveries at ancient Nuzi near Kirkuk. The proper names in the documents discovered there are Hurrian, and the first part of the article contains a good critical summary of what is known of the people in question. The latter part deals with the contents of the tablets, and the peculiar usage of fictitious adoption in evasion (it is supposed) of a law prohibiting purchase of family estate. The other articles, by W. H. P. Hatch, give an account of the convents in Wadi Natrun, and publish three Coptic fragments (from a history of Dioscoros and two theotokia).

E. B.

DER OIKONOMIKOC DER NEUPYTHOGOREERS "BRYSON"
UND SEIN EINFLUSS AUF DIE ISLAMISCHE WISSENSCHAFT,
Edition und Uebersetzung der erhaltenen Versionen,
nebst einer Geschichte der Oekonomik im Islam mit
Quellenproben in Text und Uebersetzung. Von MARTIN
PLESSNER. viii + 297 pp. Heidelberg: Carl Winter,
1928.

The distortion of names connected with the translation of an ancient Greek work has led to the curious result that the above-mentioned treatise of the Neo-Pythagorean philosopher Bryson in its way through the Arabic version was ascribed to Apollonius, Galen, and one or two other fictitious persons such as Rufus and Barsis. To unravel this tangle was the first task our author had to face, and this he has accomplished satisfactorily. Of the Greek original only two fragments have been saved, but the Arabic version made by an unknown translator fortunately prevented the total loss of this work. This Arabic text was in its turn translated into Hebrew by David b. Solomon Ibn Ya‘ish of Seville in the middle of the fourteenth century. These facts alone bear witness to the importance ascribed to treatise in the learned world east and west and one cannot but welcome Dr. Plessner’s endeavour to trace Bryson’s influence on the ethical literature of Islam.
He shows how numbers of the most distinguished Muslim doctors profited by his teachings, and helped to disseminate them among their co-religionists. We encounter the names of al Dimershiqī, the author of a work on the ethics of trade translated by Dr. H. Ritter; of Ibn Abd al Rabī'; of the encyclopaedic work by the renowned Fakhr al Din Al Rāzi, Ibn Sīnā, Miskawāīh, al 'Ijī, and even Al Gazzālī's 'Ihya. Special attention is paid by Dr. Plessner to Nāṣīr al Dīn al Tūsī whose expositions according to our author owe their existence to an amalgamation with Ibn Sinā’s discussions on the subject. He assumes, apparently with good reason, that Bryson’s influence on Muslim economics was two-fold, first upon Ibn Sīnā himself, and through him on Al Tūsī, The latter, however, provides the key to the understanding of any theory of economics in Islām. In connection with this the author gives copious and interesting extracts from the Qabus nāma of Ibn Qabūs, headed “Five chapters on economics”. They show parallels to Nāṣīr, while not really being the source of the latter. This is illustrated by specimens of the Persian text. After this follow several chapters of Shahrazūrī’s encyclopaedic work, edited by our author in an appendix to the book. These texts form an important parallel to the Arabic version of Bryson. The author’s summing up and his attempted genealogy of the various texts are sure to meet with general approval. A definite judgment will have to be deferred till a lucky chance makes larger portions of the Greek original available. The author was well advised to supplement his researches by the editions of the Arabic, Hebrew, and Latin versions, a task carried out with commendable efficiency. To this he added a German translation which will be a great help to wider circles of readers. The management of a house, we read in the heading, becomes complete through four matters, viz. money, servants, wife, children. To each of these items a number of paragraphs is devoted showing the advantages of the proper administration of a house, and the loss entailed by incapacity or neglect.
The author has produced a book of historical as well as literary value. His philological treatment of the various Oriental texts is all that is desirable.

H. Hirschfeld.


This sumptuous volume, with its beautiful print and paper and 76 illustrations, is a pleasure to handle and read, even apart from its contents. And the names of the editor and his colleagues are a sufficient guarantee that nothing is wanting on this score. Ancient Arabia has at last found a worthy record, brought up to date and as exhaustive as such a record can be. Two more volumes are promised; when the whole work is finished it will long remain the standard authority upon the subject.

Dr. Nielsen, well known in this country for his researches into the old moon-worship of Arabia and its relation to the Sinai and Sinaitic legislation of the Old Testament, contributes an introductory chapter on the history of exploration in Southern Arabia, and a review of the materials for reconstructing the archaeology of Arabia and Abyssinia, as well as another chapter on the religion of the ancient Arabians. It is needless to say that both chapters are at once learned, interesting, and full of new points of view. A second chapter is by the veteran Semitist, Professor Hommel, on the early history of Southern Arabia, more especially of the Minaean and Sabean kingdoms, a subject which he has long since made his own. Then come chapters by Professor Rhodokanakis on "Public Life in the old South-Arabian States" and by Professor Grohmann on "The Archaeology of Southern Arabia". The last pages of the volume are occupied by very complete and useful indices.
One of the chief impressions left by the book is the importance of Southern Arabia in the early history of trade, culture, and religion, and how little we still know about it. The country and its monuments are still but superficially explored and the inscriptions already recovered from it, often with great difficulty and even risk of life, are but a tithe of those which must still await discovery. Southern Arabia was the land of the incense-bearing trees, and incense played an important part in the religions of Egypt and Babylonia from an early date. We are only now beginning to learn what a large amount of maritime intercourse must have been carried on at an early period along the coasts of Arabia and the adjacent lands, and how much truth there was in the Babylonian legend which derived the primitive civilization of Babylonia from the waters of the Persian Gulf.

Even the relative dating of the Minaean and Sabean kingdoms is still a matter of dispute. Like Glaser, Professor Hommel makes that of the Minaeans precede Saba and would refer the earliest known Minaean inscriptions to a period as far back as about 1300 B.C. In Saba the kings were preceded by the *mukarrib*, a title the precise signification of which is still uncertain. The first ruler of the country who gives himself the title of "king" is Kariba-Il Bayyin, the son of Yata'-ammar Watar, who, as Hommel points out, is clearly the Karibu-ilu "king" of Saba mentioned by Sennacherib (685 B.C.). His father would be "the Sabean" Iti-amara of Sargon (715 B.C.). But it must be remembered that the compiler of the Books of Kings at a time when the facts must have been still known, speaks of a "queen of Sheba in the age of Solomon."

The scientific exploration of Arabia begins with the Danish expedition sent out under the auspices of the king in 1761 and the results of it which are embodied in Carsten Niebuhr's "epoch-making" book, and it is therefore fitting that it should be a Danish scholar who puts as it were the final touch
to the work. This splendidly printed and illustrated "Handbuch", despite its title, is as kingly in its appearance as was the expedition of 1761.

A. H. Sayce.


This paper-bound volume consists of an introduction containing 120 pages and 269 pages in the body of the book. It is the first sub-section of the four sub-sections which comprise the third part, dealing with the north-western Persian dialects, of the ambitious project inaugurated nearly thirty years ago by Oskar Mann, which contemplates a complete survey of the Kurdish and Persian dialects. This volume professes to deal with no less than seven different dialects, with regard to each of which a certain amount of grammatical material is supplied, and a small vocabulary together with stories, verses and fables translated into German. The method of treatment of these dialects is singularly lacking in uniformity. In the case of two dialects, those of Khunsär and Nâyín, the specimen passages with their translations cover over thirty pages, while the Natanzí passages with their translation cover only three pages and in the case of the Sivand dialect only one short fable is given. The vocabularies of these two dialects are ridiculously meagre, and a large proportion of the few words exhibited corresponds with standard Persian. It is difficult to imagine what purpose is fulfilled by giving such words at all. This criticism applies to all the seven vocabularies. The method adopted of dealing with the numerals is curiously inadequate and inconsistent. In some cases a fairly complete list is given, showing no very striking divergence from standard Persian. In the Natanzí only the numbers 1, 3, 4, 10, 18, 30, and 500 are given, while
in So-Kohrûdi the meagre list is confined to 1, 2, 3, 5, and 10. It is difficult to conceive what benefit these lists can be to any one. What would have been useful and interesting would have been a combined table comparing the numerals up to a hundred in all the seven dialects. This, together with a translation of the same story into all the dialects, would have made it possible to see how far the dialects are essentially different and in what the main differences consist. I do not find it possible to have great confidence in the phonetic methods of the scholars who have reproduced the dialectic words in the Roman alphabet. To take an instance, the standard word for a partridge (kabk) appears in the Nâyînî dialect as qêûq and in the So-Kohrûdi dialect as kauka. In view of the facts that words containing the "q" sound are apparently rare in the Nâyînî dialect, and words containing the sound of "k" very common (the ordinary Persian word kakul meaning a lock of hair, appears, for instance, unaltered in the Nâyînî list), it seems highly unlikely that qêûq really represents the pronunciation of this word. The short lists given do not furnish many points of philological interest, but a few may be enumerated. In the Natanzi the word for the pronoun "I" is azâ, which seems to come from the Avestan azen. In Samnani the word for a wolf, viz. varg is much closer to the Avestan vehrka than the standard Persian gurg. Similarly, the Nâyînî word for the sky, viz. aur, is very close to the Avestan avera. The Sivandi list contains two curious words beginning with "f", viz. farm (sleep) and fird (small), in both of which the labiant spirant seems to be a substitute for a guttural spirant. On the whole, however, the material supplied is much too meagre to justify any definite conclusions with regard to the individual peculiarities of the dialects.

R. P. DEWHURST.
The author of this book has embodied in it the latest results of the excavations and investigations carried out in Egypt, Babylon, and the Hittite countries. It is, in a way, a continuation of the Oriental history carried down to the sixteenth century B.C. by Eduard Meyer, but conceived from a much wider point of view. The history of these Oriental nations is shown not only in their mutual relations to one another, largely influenced by geographical conditions, but also as the background of the history of Greece and Rome, leading up to the history of the civilization of the West. Only one portion of this vast programme is here thus far dealt with. Other volumes are to follow which are to complete this great work, showing how antiquity lives even in our modern times, and how profound the influences have been which have emanated from those ancient times and Empires, and have moulded the lives of the Western nations. In order to carry out such an undertaking the author has gone to the sources. He has studied Egyptian documents from the hieratic to the demotic and even Coptic scripts, and he has spent many years in trying to unravel the mysteries offered by the Hittite documents from Boghaz-Koi. A large portion of this history is devoted to what he calls the Second Ḥatti Empire, the beginnings of which are rather doubtful, and for which there are only hypotheses, but which the author believes had come to an end in the twelfth century B.C. The book is divided into two sections; the one, up to p. 203, contains the historical survey of those centuries, some portions more fully and others less fully described, and the second section, from pp. 207 to 425, contains the literary apparatus reserved for the scholar. In fourteen chapters the author deals exhaustively with all the doubtful and obscure points which require special elucidation. Here again he
reserves a large portion of this section to careful investigation of the Hittite documents, the kings that ruled, their wars, especially with Egypt, and their relation to the other nations. A special chapter is also given to a review of the Babylonian chronology, and the last chapter contains six genealogical tables of the kings of Egypt, of the New Ḫatti Empire, of Mitanni-Ḫurri, Amurru, Babylonian and the Assyrian twenty-third dynasty of Babel to Asurbanipal, and the Elamite kings of this period. The author also publishes in the course of his history numerous translations of ancient texts, chiefly Hittite, since the Assyrian and so also the Egyptian are, to a large extent, sufficiently well known through Breasted's work, to which the author refers. The indices and two maps complete the book, which opens up a new view of the history of the Near East, based on original research, profound scholarship, independent investigation, and great power of historical insight into the driving forces which have created and destroyed those empires of old, and which, have been nevertheless the real sources of our modern civilization. The author has been engaged on this work since 1913, long before Boghaz-Koi had given up its secrets, and he is fully aware of the fact that the decipherment of the Hittite documents has just entered upon its first phase, and vast material is still waiting to be read and properly understood. This may prove a weak point in his otherwise masterly presentation of ancient history, but every book which rests on documents yet uncovered by the spade is subject to become antiquated or superseded within a very short space of time. With the material, however, at his disposal, the author has given us a most valuable and fresh contribution to the history of the Orient. It is to be hoped that the other outstanding volumes will follow rapidly, and thus complete a work which would become at the same time a new history of civilization.

M. G.

Sir E. Denison Ross in a very interesting preface says: "... none of the books dealing with new Turkey have been written by men who possessed so intimate a knowledge of the old régime as does Colonel Massy. This valuable book is, therefore, of especial interest ..." The author's intention was to write a handy volume likely to be of use to travellers and those who wish to take a journey to the Eastern Mediterranean may read it with profit. He was one of those British military men who were sent with Consular rank to Turkey to observe the results of Sultan Abdul Hamid's promises to reform the administration of Asia Minor. Their work had more success, perhaps, than was expected by people who knew the Near East and Colonel Massy can claim "that no massacre of Armenians ever took place in that part of Turkey where he was stationed"; a similar claim might be made by some officers of little more than school age who served in Transcaucasia after the British occupation had ceased, and over wide tracts kept the peace between Christians and Moslems. The most interesting sections of this book are the first, "Turkey under the last Sultans," and the fourth, "The Dawn of the Turkish Republic," contrasting the present state of affairs with that under the old régime. As Sir E. Denison Ross says: "Only the . . . institution of the Chinese Republic in 1912, and the resulting changes in everyday life, offer a picture at all comparable . . ."

O. W.

Professor Dr. Kahle’s publication (Berlin and Leipzig, 1926) of the text, with German translation and notes, of the Turkish book of sailing directions in the Mediterranean, compiled in 1521, is usefully followed by Herr von Burski’s life of Kemâl Re’îs, the great admiral whose victories gained for him the rare posthumous title of Gâzi. An introductory section deals with the sources, including Sanuto’s “Diarii”,

O. W.
and various Turkish authors. The biography occupies the bulk of the book, and is followed by an estimate (pp. 75–82) of Kemal’s position in the Turkish fleet, of the previous history of which a brief sketch is given, and the important part played in the navy by sailors of Christian origin is shown. Of these, Kemal was the one who by his bravery and efficiency established the connexion between the Ottoman Empire and the corsair states of north Africa before his death (in 1510 or perhaps 1511 A.D.).

O. W.


This July number of the *Acta O.F.M.* is entirely devoted to the memory of the great Franciscan missionary John of Monte Corvino, who is thought to have died in 1328 at Cambaluc. The fifty-four pages are occupied by (1) a Letter in Latin and Italian from the Pope to the Minister General of the Franciscan Order, (2) an Encyclical Letter from the Minister General to the members of the Order, (3) the Petition to the Pope for the Beatification of John, sent from the First Plenary Council of the Order in China, 12 June, 1924, (4) *Vita et Gesta Fr. Ioannis de Monte Corvino*, by the well known and indefatigable Fr. Hieronymus Golubovich, followed by *Documenta*, i.e. John’s Letters, etc., reprinted from his *Biblioteca Bio-bibliografica*, (5) Martyrologium Franciscanum Sinense. It will surprise some to learn that the list contains fifty-seven names from John in 1328, to Aurelius Maiquez de Valentina in 1926; but then several of these died in their beds, though no doubt well worthy of the great title of martyr. (6) *Ordo genealogicus Missionum Sinensium*, (7) *De Sociis Fr. Ioannis de Monte Corvino*, by P. Ioseph M. Pou y Marti, (8) *Conspectus Brevis fontium Missionum Fratrum Minorum in Extremo Oriente saeculis, xiii–xiv*, by P. Livarius
Oliger, (9) Animadversiones in sequentem statisticam, and (10) a folding Chart of Sviluppo Storico della Chiesa in Cina. The whole forms a wonderfully complete collection of all that is known about the life and work of John of Monte Corvino, whose name is indeed worthy of immortality. The Acta O.F.M. is written, it seems, at Rome. Had it been edited as it is printed at Quaracchi, the editors would probably have been aware of the articles in this Journal for 1914, 1917, and 1921, and some small slips in sections (4) and (7) might so have been avoided. On p. 224 credit is given to Golubovich for a discovery with regard to the end of John's second letter which was in fact published by Yule in 1866.

A. C. M.

LES FRANCISCAINS EN CHINE AUX XIIIe-XIVe SIECLES,
Xaveriana Nos 42, 44. Pat Joseph de Ghellinck,
S.J. 6 1/4 × 4, each No., 40 pp. Louvain, 1927.

The first of these little booklets describes the missions of Carpini and Rubruck, the second those of Montecorvino and his successors. Well written and well printed on good paper, they form not only the most readable and pleasant, but the most scholarly, accurate, and complete account of these missions (especially of the third) which has yet appeared; without, of course, having space for all the original documents, which are, however, easily accessible in several recent publications. The two or three errors are obvious slips or misprints of no importance: No. 44, p. 6, quatorze for 24, p. 28 Tait-Ting-ti for T'ai-ting-Ti. There is a short but sufficient bibliography.

A. C. Moule.

HILLS OF BLUE. A Picture Roll of Chinese History from Far Beginnings to the Death of Ch'ien Lung, A.D. 1799.
By A. E. Grantham. With 19 portraits and a map.

It would be difficult to gather from the main title—Hills of Blue—that this work by Mrs. Grantham is, as revealed by the
sub-title, a history of China from Far Beginnings to the death of Ch'ien Lung in A.D. 1799. As the preface states, "the mark chiefly aimed at was the emphasizing of the human interest of the colourful beauty and ethical significance of that immense drama, the history of Chinese culture, and to trick out the dry facts with the decorative detail gathered in the course of prolonged residence in China and close association with her ancient art." It is greatly to Mrs. Grantham's credit that she has succeeded in fulfilling what she herself describes as "the enormous difficulties of her task" and in making Chinese history interesting to the general reader—a task which has been frequently attempted but seldom with success. She modestly states: "This book is not meant for the learned," and warns "Sinologues not to waste their time on it". But it is hoped that no one, whether he be learned or a sinologue, is so dull as not to enjoy the vivid and picturesque manner in which she has described the varied scenes and characters which make up the Picture Roll of the History of China, to fail to appreciate her enthusiasm for the noble ideas of Confucian ethics and for the beauty of Chinese art, and not to admire her skill in showing how the noble ideals of China have often been revealed by being put into practice in the course of her long history.

Want of space forbids a detailed review of this excellent work but the errors and inconsistencies in the spelling of Chinese names and several misprints should be corrected when a second edition is published, and here the sinologue would be of more use than he is generally supposed to be. The index also requires additions. For example, there is no reference to the Sacred Edict, to which much attention is properly given in the text.

We hope Mrs. Grantham, who has shown herself in the present and her other works so justly appreciative of and sympathetic with China and the Chinese, will see her way to continue her historical labours by bringing her history of China up to date. Her vivid and picturesque style could not
fail to make the modern history of China entertaining and instructive. In the meantime she is to be much congratulated on having written a work which should be read by all who take an interest in China.

J. H. S. L.


The need has long been felt of a history of Chinese philosophy written on a comprehensive plan and giving a clear view of the various currents in the intellectual life of the Chinese. It is rather remarkable, therefore, that two works more or less answering this description should have appeared almost simultaneously. Each of the authors is confessedly a master of his subject, and the only matter for regret, perhaps, is that both books should be in German. In default of an original work in English or French, a translation into one or other of these languages would be very desirable.

Professor Forke's volume contains a detailed and well-documented account of the principal schools of philosophy from the earliest times to the end of the third century B.C., and in due course a further volume comprising the middle and modern periods will be added. So far as possible, the philosophers are allowed to speak for themselves, characteristic passages being translated with the Chinese text subjoined, in order that they may be tested and verified by other workers in the same field.

The author avows that his aim has been to do for Chinese philosophy what Deussen accomplished for Indian philosophy. Whether or no he has succeeded in this ambitious endeavour, there can be no doubt that his work is of a high and scholarly order. He distinguishes twelve schools of philosophy, seven
of which are borrowed from the classification of Ssū-ma T'ān in the 130th chapter of the Shih Chi: Philosophers of Nature, Confucianists, Mohists, Legists, Sophists and Dialecticians, Taoists. The Legists are further subdivided into an older group, chiefly concerned with the ethics of government, and the later Jurists. Two more schools, the Political Philosophers and the Eclectics, are taken from the Han history, and three are added which cannot well be assigned to any of the above groups, namely the Egoistic school of Yang Chu, unclassifiable writers, and "philosophical hermits".

Professor Forke is conservative in his judgments, and inclined on the whole to accept long-established tradition rather than the revolutionary ideas recently expressed by Hu Shih and others. A curious exception is his theory as to the date of the author of the Tao Tê Ching: while admitting that nothing positive can be laid down, he thinks it may be assumed with some confidence that Lao Tzū lived in the fifth century, and places his birth about the time of the death of Confucius. This conclusion, however, rests on a very flimsy foundation. On page 254, and in the index, he leans to the identification of Ko Hsien-kung with the famous Taoist writer Ko Hung. His authority may be Professor Pelliot, who was handling the question some years ago; but there is really ample evidence to prove that Ko Hsien-kung (whose personal name was Hsūan) was Ko Hung's great-uncle. See Chin Shu, chap. 72, and Pao P'o Tzū Nei P'ien, iv, 1–2.

Professor Hackmann's book, though intended for the general reader, and planned on a rather more modest scale, contains much interesting matter. No Chinese characters are printed in the text, but there is hardly less quotation than in the larger work, and in most cases it is clear that the author has not been content to utilize previous translations, but has gone himself to the originals. A classified bibliography is provided, in which every book has a number by which it is referred to in the notes. This saves considerable
space. Professor Hackmann divides his material into four main periods: (1) what he calls the "unrestricted" period (die Philosophie in freier Bewegung); (2) the period of rigidity (Erstarzung), beginning with Mencius; (3) the philosophy of Chinese Buddhism; and (4) the Confucian revival under the Sung dynasty, which rather for the sake of convenience than because of any real affinity is stretched so as to include Wang Yang-ming. Of these periods, only the first and the greater part of the second are covered in Professor Forke's present volume. The portion of the work dealing with the rise and development of Buddhism in China is particularly valuable because the subject has been unduly neglected since the days of Eitel and Edkins. It is one which Professor Hackmann has made peculiarly his own, and he emphasizes the debt which Chinese thought, always inclined to be lacking in precision, owes to the subtleties of Buddhist metaphysics. We may note that he, too, accepts Lao Tzü as an historical figure, but thinks that he must have flourished in the sixth century B.C., when his ideas of the universe were expounded orally to friends and disciples, and that in the Tao Tê Ching we have a record of his teachings compiled at a later date, blended with a number of interpolations from extraneous sources.

LIONEL GILES.

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MEMOIRS OF THE RESEARCH DEPARTMENT OF THE TOYO BUNKO (THE ORIENTAL LIBRARY), No. 1. \(10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{3}{4}\), 100 pp. and several plates. Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko, 1926.

This volume, which is, we hope, the predecessor of many more, is a specimen of the admirable research work being done by Japanese students.

The authors are particularly to be congratulated on having made their work accessible to the world by writing their articles not in Japanese, but, in four cases, in English, and in
the fifth in French, and on the mastery of those languages which they display.

The articles are all of considerable interest. The first by Professor Kurakichi Shiratori, the Editor, is entitled "A Study on the titles Kaghan and Katun". In this article Professor Shiratori has marshalled a long range of Chinese authorities. It is unfortunate that his main thesis, that the title Kaghan did not appear till the end of the fourth century A.D., is vitiated by the fact, of which he was ignorant, that it appears in the Paikuli inscription, dated a little after A.D. 280, and some of the arguments used to support this thesis would in any case hardly have held water. It is also unfortunate that in attempting elucidations of Chinese renderings of Turkish and other foreign words he should not have been able to make use of the works of Karlgren, Pelliot, and other scholars on the early pronunciation of Chinese. Any system of identification not built on these foundations is necessarily doomed to disaster. But these defects do not greatly diminish the value of the article.

Mr. Kosaku Hamada's article on "Engraved Ivory and Pottery found in the site of the Yin Capital" belongs to a different branch of learning and makes an interesting contribution to the early history of Chinese art.

Mr. Shigeru Kato's article, "A Study of the Suan Fu, the Poll Tax of the Han Dynasty," goes well beyond its title, and contains much valuable information on early Chinese systems of taxation. It is difficult to resist the suspicion that in some cases the author tries to read a little more into his authorities than those authorities contain, but in the main he carries conviction.

Mr. Masukichi Hashimoto for his article on the "Origin of the Compass" has a wide range of Chinese and European authorities on which to draw, and shows considerable skill in marshalling his arguments.

Mr. Riuzo Torii's article on "Les Dolmens de la Corée" does not profess to touch more than the fringes of his subject,
but all that he has to say is well worth saying; his article is accompanied by some excellent photographs and an admirable spot map showing locations. We may look forward with considerable interest to the further and more detailed studies which he promises us.

G. L. M. Clauson.

Philology and Ancient China. By Bernhard Karlgren. (Series A. Volume VIII of the Publications of Instituttet for Sammenligrende Kulturforskning.) $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, 167 pp.

Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard), 1926.

Professor Karlgren’s work now needs no introduction to English scholars, and his present volume is a worthy companion to its predecessors. It contains the text of a series of lectures delivered before the Institute which published it, and is therefore aimed, in Professor Karlgren’s own words, at “giving the humanist in general an idea of the analogies or differences that Sinology presents compared with other subjects of research”, with specific reference, of course, to philology. It falls into three parts, the first a general description of the character of the Chinese language and writing, the second an outline of “the principal tasks and methods of Sinological linguistics”, with some indication of the lines on which research should continue, and the third a brief discussion of the problem, which is at present greatly exercising leaders of thought in China and Japan, of getting free in modern language and writing from the cumbrous heritage of the past.

It is unnecessary to say that the Professor’s discussions are as lucid and interesting as ever.

G. L. M. Clauson.


This book falls into two distinct parts. The second is a series of Indices to Volume I, II, and III respectively of the
History. These were made by the Society's Assistant Secretary, Mrs. Davis, under the supervision of Mr. Percival Yetts, with some assistance from Sir Denison Ross, and deserve unqualified commendation.

But regret almost as unqualified must be expressed that the most laudable sentiments of *pietas* should have impelled Sir Henry's children to print the first part of the book, which is in the form of a number of introductory chapters to the History.

The History is, with all its defects, a great work. It "dates" of course, and is the product of a time, now long past, when authors could write voluminous works on periods of Oriental history with no first-hand knowledge of the original authorities, but it has won a place in English literature which is fairly represented by its current price of 50 guineas in the second-hand book market.

But the methods of 1876, will not do in 1927. Sir Henry's children in their brief preface try to take upon themselves the "errors and shortcomings which these chapters may contain", but they cannot be held responsible. There are, it is true, a number of superficial defects which might have been avoided; the system or rather lack of system of transliteration of the Mongol, Sanskrit, Chinese, and Tibetan words and names contained in these chapters is chaotic to an extent which makes it impossible to distinguish whether the faults are to be regarded as mistakes or misprints; but the defects go deeper than such superficialities. The introductory chapters are to a large extent a pastiche of extracts from other authorities, such borrowings being religiously acknowledged, but in some cases, what authorities! The description of the Mongol language is taken from Jülg's antiquated article in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, with some rather confusing misprints; no reference is made to the work of Ramstedt, Pelliot, Pozdnyeev, and other more recent scholars. For the account of the Sino-Turkish twelve-year cycle, which was adopted by the
Mongols, no later authorities than Rémusat and Klaproth are quoted; no reference is made to the work of de Saussure or even to the remarks in Radloff’s edition of the Old Turkish Inscriptions, much less to the fresh information rendered available by the publication of Kashgari’s Divān.

This is bad enough, but worse is to follow when more original work is undertaken. It is difficult to find any excuse for such errors as the following:

p. 8: “The true Turks may have been the same people whom the Greeks called Tokhari.”

p. 9: “The Kazaks, or, as the Chinese call them, Hakas.”

p. 86: “The Mongols have no word for right and left.”

(The actual Mongol words are given on p. 33 except that “right” is printed as “eight.”)

p. 129: “The P’ags-pa . . . alphabet . . . consisting of a thousand characters.”

Ditto: “A new alphabet . . . to the forty-four Uighurian characters . . . were added fifty-six more.”

p. 130: The Mongolian script is written from left to right.”

Such quotations are sufficient to show that it would have been best to confine the additional volume to the indices.

G. L. M. Clauson.

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One of the miracles of the day, accepted with scarcely a murmur of surprise, as we accept so many other marvels, is the development of Japan. How is it that she who has been so apt a pupil of the sophisticated West, has yet kept her own simplicity, her individual charm and her indigenous ideals?
Answers to this question may, so it seems to me, be found between the pages of what the author describes as: "a little manual on Japanese flower arrangement, which marks the first attempt to prepare the way in Germany to an art which is one of the most beautiful Japan can give us." Mr. Prenzel explains how his first view of flower arrangement as an aesthetic joy, pure and simple, gave way, under instruction, to a realization of the profound influence Japanese flower arrangement, springing as it does from philosophic principles, exercises upon man's inner being.

An adequate review of this booklet would far overstep the space at my disposal. I can only describe it as a revelation.

Florence Ayscough.

Insect-Musicians and Cricket Champions of China.

By Berthold Laufer, Curator of Anthropology, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.

The leaflets issued by the Anthropological Department of the Field Museum are justly famous; Dr. Laufer's meticulous attention to detail is proverbial, and the rays of light thrown on the culture of the Far East by his illuminating analyses are brilliant indeed.

Natural science may be, indeed it is, a closed book to the Chinese, but they know that Homeogryllus japonicus, which they call Golden Bell, is the only cricket who requires the presence of his female in order to sing; wherefore the females of other species are fed to birds.

The cricket cult is one of the most curious manifestations of Chinese development. Dr. Laufer points out the intense love of insects as a class felt by the Chinese, and acknowledges the discoveries which their observations have brought about: "The curious life-history of the cicada was known to them in early times, and only a nation which had an innate sympathy with the smallest creatures of nature was able to penetrate into the mysterious habits of the silkworm and present the
world with the discovery of silk. The cicada as an emblem of resurrection, the praying-mantis as a symbol of bravery, and many other insects play a prominent role in early religious and poetical conceptions as well as in art, as shown by their effigies in jade."

The illustrations are extremely interesting, and supply added attraction to a fascinating leaflet.

Florence Ayscough.


Furthermore, ghouls and goblins are both evil manifestations, and Mr. Willoughby-Meade has much to tell us that is far from evil. The chapter on Ancestor-Worship, for instance, is instinct with appreciation of the Chinese point of view in regard to a cherished belief which has no remote connection with goblin or ghoul.

Considering the connotation of our word "soul", I think that Mr. Willoughby-Meade uses it all too frequently as a translation for the Chinese word kuei: a spectre, ghost, apparition or manes. Granted, the line of demarcation is difficult to define. Soul, according to Chambers, is that part of man which thinks, feels, desires: the seat of life and
intellect, etc. The "soul" then is the essential "I" which in Chinese belief impregnates the p'ái wei, being the ancestral tablets, and the portraits of the deceased. The author refers to this emanation as the "superior soul", and cites rare instances of its transformation; but it is unreasonable to expect the general reader to differentiate too closely between this and the very ordinary kuei or inferior soul, which is frequently transformed and makes constant appearances. Mr. Willoughby-Meade's avowed intention is to "interest and amuse those who have not studied the religion, art, or literature of the Chinese, but who may, perhaps, be encouraged to become better acquainted with the outlook of an industrious, gifted, and long-suffering people"; and who, it must be added, should realize that, in turning these delightful pages, they are not reading of matters past. The overwhelming majority of the Chinese people to whom natural science is a closed book, accept the beliefs of their fathers as simply and naturally, albeit with even less comprehension, than we of the West accept the marvels of the radio, or aviation. Last year when the British planes rose into the clear blue sky above Shanghai, the people watched with interest. Amah said: "Country-man think so b'long lung (a dragon). My talkee never can, lung, no man can see." Her faith in the existence of dragons is absolute, but they do not come within the orbit of the human eye.

Amah, although very clever, is uneducated, but at the same time I received a note from a young man who has had the benefit of considerable education; he wrote in English and said: "My wife and I have been pursued by demons, we are both ill." I hear too that the General who has proved himself to be the most capable administrator among the Tu Chün, never takes a step without consulting his Taoist geomancer.

I cite these concrete examples as there is a tendency in the West to believe that "modern ideas" have engulfed and transformed the "Chinese people". This is far from true.
Mr. Willoughby-Mead has made a valuable contribution to the understanding of the Far East, and it is to be hoped that his charming book may be widely read.

**Florence Ayscough.**


Dr. George Sarton is well known as a skilful protagonist of the New Humanism, which emphasizes the unity of civilization and the dependence of progress upon the advance of positive knowledge. For many years he has been engaged in preparing material for a comprehensive history of science, and the present book is a general survey of the subject from the time of Homer to that of Omar Khayyam. The ambitious character of Dr. Sarton's scheme will be apparent when it is realized that the volume now under review is only the first of three large series. The first series, which will be completed in eight or nine volumes, is to consist of a purely chronological survey in the form of cross sections of civilization for each half-century. The second series will consist of seven or eight volumes, dealing with surveys of different types of civilization, e.g. Jewish, Muslim, Chinese, Hellenic, and so on. The third series, of eight or nine volumes, will survey the evolution of special sciences, and Dr. Sarton hopes to add also, to each series, special volumes or atlases containing maps, synoptic charts to exhibit the genealogy of ideas, and facsimiles of title-pages, etc.

The author describes this first volume of the first series as a sort of fresco of intellectual progress during the course of two millenniums. "The reader will find in it a history of mathematics from Thales and Pythagoras to Omar Khayyam, a history of theoretical music from Terpander to Guido of Arezzo, a history of astronomy from Philolaos to al-Zarqālī,
a history of geography from Hecataeos to al-Bīrūnī, a history of exploration from the time of the Phœnician navigators to that of the Scandinavian, a history of medicine from Alcmaeon to Ibn Sinā—in brief, a vast intellectual panorama extending from the Iliad to the Chanson de Roland."

It is a regrettable fact that the development of science is a subject to which orientalists, as a whole, have devoted comparatively little attention. The debt of Western civilization to Islam is universally acknowledged, and many aspects of it have been fully studied. Yet it is, perhaps, in the transmission and development of Greek science that Islam rendered its greatest service to the modern world. In the present book, for the first time, the material available for the general study of this important problem has been classified in a systematic manner, and the way is now clear for more detailed research. To convey an idea of the thoroughness which Dr. Sarton has carried to his task, it may be mentioned that, though no longer a young man, he has recently undertaken the study of Arabic and Hebrew under Dr. D. B. Macdonald and Professor J. R. Jewett. The result is that his bibliographical information is not vitiated by those errors of transcription and transliteration which prove so exasperating to the reader who wishes to make reference to the manuscripts and books described.

The general treatment of the subject is to take each half century separately as material for a single chapter. This unit was chosen as representing a length which approximates to that of a man's intellectual life; and each chapter is called after the most representative man of the period considered. The purpose of such nomenclature is purely mnemonic; it may be difficult to remember that such or such a man flourished in the first half of the ninth century, and such or such another in the second half of the same century, but it is quite easy to recall that the former flourished at about the same time as al-Khwārizmī, while the other will naturally cling in our memory to the personality of al-Rāzī.
One of the most striking features of the book is, indeed, the skill with which Dr. Sarton has arranged and selected his information. Although mainly a work of reference, it is extremely readable, and the short sketches at the beginning of each chapter are masterpieces of their kind.

As an example of the detailed treatment, we may choose Chapter xxviii, which is entitled "The Time of Jâbir ibn Ḥaiyân". The various sections of this chapter are as follows: Survey of Science in Second Half of Eighth Century; Religious Background; Cultural Background; East and West; Muslim and Latin Mathematics and Astronomy; Muslim and Latin Alchemy; Japanese Technology; Muslim, Chinese, and Japanese Natural History; Latin and Chinese Geography; Latin, Syriac, Muslim, Hindu, Tibetan, Chinese, and Japanese Medicine; Latin, Muslim, and Japanese Historiography; Muslim Philology.

In the first section, Dr. Sarton deals with the religious background as exemplified in the anti-Talmudic movement of Anan ben David, the foundation of the Mālikite school, the Buddhist renaissance in Tibet, and the work of Wu K'ung. He then considers the cultural background, passing on to a concise description of Muslim and Latin mathematics, astronomy, and alchemy, and the other topics mentioned above.

The remaining sections include in each case bibliographical references to the most important relevant works and articles. The completeness of these references is well illustrated by the fact that no fewer than thirty are devoted to Jâbir alone.

In these days of exaggeration in description, one hesitates to use the term monumental, but no other adjective seems appropriate to describe Dr. Sarton's treatise. It is a treasury of learning and a mine of information. No student of the history of science, or, indeed, of civilization, can fail to find it of the utmost assistance and inspiration.

E. J. Holmyard.
NOTES OF THE QUARTER
(October–December, 1928)

GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

Lord Ronaldshay, President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society:—
Professor Sayyad Abd-ul-Wahhab.
Mr. Aziz Ahmad.
Mr. Md Hazur Alam.
Syed Ali Zainalabiden Alsagoff.
Mr. H. W. Bailey.
Mr. Myles Dillon.
Mr. Andrew Fleming.
Mr. Gerard Heym.
Mr. G. R. Hunter.
Sayyad Ahmad-ullah Qadri.
Professor D. S. Simpson.
Deraki Nandan Singh, Raja of Monghyr.
Mr. Tarini Prosad Sinha.
Mulla Ramoozi Tauheed.
Mr. Siraj-ud-din Talib.
The Rev. C. J. Mullo-Weir.
Mr. W. S. Yamini.

Thirty-nine nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Mr. A. Yusuf Ali read a paper on Education in India: the New Outlook.

The lecturer laid stress on the defects of university education under present conditions, but spoke highly of the Indian student himself.

In offering a cordial vote of thanks to the lecturer, the Chairman spoke of his own deep interest in Indian University education.

13th November

The President in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society:—
Mr. S. Srinivasa Aiyar, B.A.
Mr. Mulk Raj Anand, B.A.
Mr. Sita Ram Batra, B.A.
Mr. Chandra Narain Saxena
Sahitya Bhushan.
Babu Hansh Chandra, B.A.
Mr. D. L. Chetty, B.A., B.L.
Dr. Ishvara Datta.
Mr. Sudhir Chandra Dutt, M.A., B.L.
Mr. Henry Field.
Mr. W. G. Goddard, M.A., D.Litt.
Mr. Amrit Lal Jain, B.A.
Mr. Bhushan Chandra Joshi.
Mr. K. A. Narayana Iyer.
Mr. Sham Sunder Lal, B.A.
Mr. K. S. Hussain Mohamad.
Mr. Jaswant Narain Mathur.
Mr. Parasmani Pradhan.
Mr. Ch. L. Narasimha Rao.
Mr. M. Sankam Rao.
Mr. Sudhir Chandra Roy.
Pandit K. V. Radha Krishna Sastri.
Mr. A. M. Servai.
Mr. C. S. R. Somayajulu.
Mahadeo Prasad Srivastava.
Mr. S. Srinivasan.
Mrs. W. S. Strong.

Nine nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Professor F. W. Thomas gave a lecture on "Some Documents and Languages from Chinese Turkestan", with lantern illustrations.

A cordial vote of thanks was passed to the lecturer.

11th December

The President in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society:—
Mr. S. Agha Ashhar.
Mr. V. S. Bakhle.
The Hon. Mrs. Maurice Glyn.
Mr. R. V. Jahagirdar.
Mr. Md. Liyakut Ullah Koraishy.

Twelve nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Mr. Harold Bowen read a paper on "Some Notes on Early Muhammadan Titles".
The Librarian would be grateful for the presentation of any of the following works of which the Library is in need. Information as to the existence of copies for sale would also be welcomed:—


*Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, vol. i, vol. ix, Nos. 1, 2, 3.


*Le Muséon*, Nouvelle série, vols. iv, v, vi, and from vol. x, to the end of the series, about 1915.

*Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. ii, Nos. 5, 6; vol. iii, Nos. 9, 11, 12; New Ser., Nos. 9, 10, 1863; *Proceedings* from the beginning.

*Phainix, The*, vol. iii, Nos. 27, 28, Sept.–Oct., 1872; No. 30, Dec., 1872; Nos. 34, 35, 36, April, May, June, 1873.


*Sudan Notes and Records*, vol. i, No. 2; vol. ii, No. 1.

*Toyo-Gakuko*, vol. xiii, No. 1.

*Vienna Oriental Journal*, vol. xxix, pts. iii, iv.

*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. viii.

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**Principal Contents of Foreign Oriental Journals**

*Islamica*. Vol. iii, Fasc. 3


Brockelmann, C. *Ibn Ginne über das weibliche Demonstrativpronomen*.

Bräulich, E. *Eine bildlichen Darstellung der Furcht bei altarabischen Dichtern*.

Caskel, W. *Die einheimischen Quellen zur Geschichte Nord Arabiens vor dem Islam*.

Pröbster, E. *Streifzüge durch das maghribinische Recht*. 
Colin, G. S. Sur une charte hispano-arabe de 1312.  
Fischer, A. Prinz Mehmed Sa'id Halim Pascha's "Islam-laschmaq".

*Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana*  
N.S. Vol. i, Fasc. 4

Cassuto, U. Studi sulla Genesi.  
--- Shifchah e Amah.  
Morici, G. Imiti e la poesia delle stagioni nel l'India.  
Faggioli, P. La versione malese del Pañcatantra e le sue fonti.

*Toyang Pao*. Vol. xxxi, No. 1

Dragunov, A. Contribution to the reconstruction of Ancient Chinese.  
La Vallée Poussin, L. de. Les neuf kalpas qu'a franchis Śākyamuni pour devancer Maitreya.  
Margouliès. Le "fou" de Yen-tseu.

*Transactions of the Japan Society*. Vol. xxv, 1927-8

White, O. Impressions of Manchuria.  
Ponsonby-Fane, R. A. B. Chokei-Tennō: the Emperor Chokei.  
Smith, M. Paske. Nagasaki Festivals.

*Journal of the Burma Research Society*. Vol. xviii, Pt. 1

Hall, D. G. E. New Light upon British Relations with King Minden.  
U Than Tin. Short Account of Taungthas.  
Blagden, C. O. and Pe Maung Tin. Talaing Inscription translated.  
U Tha Kin. Medieval Burmese Courtship.

*Sudan Notes and Records*. Vol. x

Unpublished Letters of Charles George Gordon.  
MacMichael, H. A. Notes on Gebel Haraza.  
Evans-Pritchard, E. E. Preliminary Account of the Ingassana.  
Larken, Major P. M. Impressions of the Azande.  
Roper, E. M. Poetry of the Hadendiwa.  
Titherington, Major G. W. The Raik Dinka of Bahr el Ghazal Province.


Edgerton, F. Maurice Bloomfield, 1855-1928.  
Spoer, H. H. and Haddard, E. N. Folklore and Songs from Qubebe.  
Coomaraswamy, A. K. Indian Architectural Terms.
Journal of the Society of Oriental Research. Vol. xii, Nos. 3–4
Hertz, A. Die Entstehung der Sinaïschrift und des phönizischen Alphabets.

Journal of Indian History. Vol. vi, Pt. 3, 1928
Subramanian, K. R. Some interesting Constitutional Points from Teriyapuranam.
Srinavasachari, C. S. The Historical Material in the Private Diary of Ananda Ranya Pillai (cont. vol. vii, Pt. 1).
Basu, B. K. Trade of Bengal from the Earliest Times down to the Great War.
Fyldes, Capt. G. B. Sketch of the History of Afghanistan.

Vol. vii, Pt. 1
Mehta, N. C. Notes on Indian Painting.
Heras, H. A New Partap of Krishna Deva Raya of Vijayanayara.
Sinha, H. N. An Introduction to the Rise of the Peshwas.
Iyengar, P. T. Srinivasa. Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture.

Vol. vii, Pt. 2
Narayana Iyer, C. V. Who was the Pandya Contemporary of Chēramān Peṟumāḷ Nāyanār.
Ramsingh, Thakur. Maasir-i-Jahangiri.
Chakravartī, P. Philosophy of War among the Ancient Hindus.
Sinha, H. N. The Rise of the Peshwas.
Srinivasachari, C. S. The Historical Material in the Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai.
Srinivasa Iyengar, P. T. Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture.

Journal of the Bombay Historical Society. Vol. i, No. 2
Kundangar, K. G. Hosahallji Copper-plate Grant of Harihara II.
Sastri, K. A. N. The Śalivahana or Śaka Era.
Commisariat, M. S. The Emperor Jahangir’s second visit to Ahmadabad.
Moraes, G. M. A Marriage between the Gangas and the Kadambas.
Heras, Rev. H. Three Catholic Padres at the Court of Ali Adil Shah I.
Wariar, A. Govinda. The Rajasimhas of Ancient Kērala.
Indian Antiquary. Vol. lvii, Pt. dccxviii, 1928

Joseph, T. K. Thomas Cana (cont. in Pt. dccxx).

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Oldham, C. E. A. W. The Gaydanr Festival in the Shahabad District, Bihar.
Chakravarti, C. Meaning and Etymology of Puja.
Venkatasubbiah, A. Vedic Studies.

Pt. dccxx

Nair, U. B. A Nair Envoy to Portugal.
Bhattachajie, U. Ch. The Home of the Upanisads.
Master, A. Maharasstra and Kannada.

Supplement in all three numbers

Hill, the late S. C. Notes on Piracy in Eastern Waters.

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Vol. xxiii, No. 1, 1927

Majumdar, D. N. A few types of Ho Songs composed by a Ho Teacher of the Chaibassa Zilla School.
— Death and connected ceremonies among the Hos of Kolhan.
De Beauvoir Stocks, C. Afghan Stories from the Lolab.
— Eulogy of Father Jerome Xavier.
— Some letters of Fr. Jerome Xavier.
Ivanow, W. Notes on Khorásani Kurdish.
— Some Persian Darwish Songs.
— Jargon of Persian mendicant Darwish.
Grierson, Sir G. The Laksmana Sambat.

Jewish Quarterly Review. Vol. xviii, No. 4, 1928

Schulman, S. Professor Moore’s “Judaism”.
Roth, C. Sumptuary Laws of the Community of Carpentras.
Skoss, S. L. The Arabic Commentary of ’Ali ben Suleiman the Karaite.

Vol. xix, No. 1

Marx, A. The Darmstadt Haggadah.
Marmorastein, A. Some Unknown Scholars of Angevin England.
Vol. xix, No. 2

Blondheim, D. S. An Old Portuguese Work on Manuscript Illumination.

Levien, J. Two Autograph Letters from a MS. in the B.M.

Zelson, L. G. The Tombstone of Moses ibn abi Zardil (d. 1354).

Rupam. Nos. 35–36, 1928

Gangoly, O. C. Some Images of Bramha of the Chola Period.

Treasurywalla, B. N. Wood Sculpture from Guzerat.

D. P. M. Studies in Indian Painting.

Gangoly, O. C. Two Images of Viṣṇu.

— A Persian Miniature dated 1563.

Maitra, A. K. Indian Architecture according to the Silpa Śāstras, A review.

Plotinus. Art in Eastern India, A review.


Canaan, T. Plant-lore in Palestinian Superstition.


Wiener, H. The Historical Background of Psalm lxxxiii.

Jirku, A. Wo lag Gibe'on?
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Alexéiev, B. M., Chinese Gods of Wealth. 10 × 6¼. 1928.
Bought from Carnegie Grant.

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From the Divan, Cochin State.

From the Government of Burma.

From the Government of Ceylon.

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Cambridge History of India, The, vol. 3. Turks and Afghans, ed. by W. Haig. 9\(\frac{1}{2}\) × 7. *Cambridge*, 1928.  
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Cheikho, L., Majānī al-adab, 10 vols. 8 × 5\(\frac{3}{4}\). *Beyrouth.*  
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Cormack, Mrs. J. G., Chinese Birthday, Wedding ... and other Customs. 3rd ed. 8 × 5\(\frac{1}{2}\). *Peking.*  
*Bought from Carnegie Grant.*

Davids, C. A. F. Rhys, Gotama the Man. 8 × 5\(\frac{1}{4}\). *London*, 1928.  
*From the Publishers.*

*From the Author.*

Dyson, V., Forgotten Tales of Ancient China. 8\(\frac{1}{2}\) × 6. *Shanghai*, 1927.  
*Bought from Carnegie Grant.*

*Subscription.*

Ferguson, J. C., The four bronze vessels of the Marquis of Ch’i. Pamphlet. 8 × 5\(\frac{1}{2}\). *Peking*, 1928.  
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Filchner, W., Hui-Hui, Asiens Islamkämpfe.  
— Wetterleuchten im Osten. 8\(\frac{3}{4}\) × 6. *Berlin-Schöneberg.*  
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*Bought.*

Fitzler, M. A. H., Ennes, E., A Secção ultramarina da Biblioteca Nacional, Inventários. 9\(\frac{1}{2}\) × 6\(\frac{1}{4}\). *Lisboa*, 1928.  
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Francke, A. H., Tibetische Hochzeitslieder, übersetzt. 11\(\frac{1}{4}\) × 9\(\frac{1}{2}\). *Hagen i. W.*, 1923.  
*Bought from Carnegie Grant.*

Fyзee, A. A. A., Descriptive List, Arabic, Persian and Urdu MSS., Bombay Branch R.A.S. Pamphlet. 10 × 7.  
*From the Bombay Branch.*


Jagdish Sinha Gahlot, Marwar Rajyaka Itihās. 2nd ed. 7½ × 5½. Jodhpur, 1925.


Karnataka Sangha Publications:—

Architecture and Sculpture in Mysore, vol. 1.
Dates of some Kannada Poets.
Prabuddha Karnataka, 1927–8.
9 × 6. From the Publishers.


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Lakshman Sarup, The Commentaries of Skandasvāmin and Mahēśvara on The Nirukta ed. with introduction, etc. 10\(\frac{1}{2}\) × 7\(\frac{1}{2}\). Lahore. From the Publishers.
Landon, P., Nepal. 2 vols. 10\(\frac{1}{2}\) × 7\(\frac{1}{2}\). London, 1928. From the Publishers.
Levonian, L., Moslem Mentality. 7\(\frac{1}{2}\) × 5. London, 1928. Bought from Carnegie Grant.
Licent, E., Dix Années dans le bassin du Fleuve Jaune. 4 vols. and 4 vols. of Atlas. 12 × 9\(\frac{1}{4}\), 21\(\frac{1}{2}\) × 16. Tientsin, 1924. Bought from Carnegie Grant.
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Marco Polo, Il Milione, L. F. Benedetto. 14 × 10\(\frac{1}{2}\). Firenze, 1928. Bought from Carnegie Grant.
Mears, E. G., Resident Orientals on the American Pacific Coast. 8 × 5\(\frac{1}{4}\). Chicago, London, 1928. From the Publishers.
Mulshanker Maneklal Yajnik, The Samyogitāśwayamvaram. 9 × 5\(\frac{1}{4}\). Baroda, 1928. From the Author.
Narasimhaswami, S. P. L., A History of the Panchala. Pamphlet. 9\(\frac{1}{2}\) × 6. Vizagapatam, 1925. From the Author.
Nizami, The Poems of, described by L. Binyon. 16 plates. 15 × 10\(\frac{1}{4}\). London, 1928. Bought from Carnegie Grant.
Pe Maung Tin and Luce, G. H., Selections from the Inscriptions of Pagan. Univ. of Rangoon, Dept. of Oriental Studies, Publication No. 1. 10 × 7\(\frac{1}{2}\). 1928. From the Registrar.


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Sarat Chandra Roy, Oraon Religion and Customs. 8½ × 6. Ranchi, 1928. From the Author.


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LIST OF MEMBERS.
CORRIGENDA

p. 114, l. 5  chetiyaghara read cetiyaghara.
p. 115, l. 27  Praś-āsti read Praśasti.
The Last Buwayhids
BY HAROLD BOWEN

The introduction to the edition of the fārs-nāmeh of "Ibn al-Balkhi" by Mr. Le Strange and Professor Nicholson contains a long passage dealing with the end of the Buwayhid or Būyid dynasty. This passage, and particularly its footnotes, show that there are points in this section of history that it would be interesting to clear up. I have attempted to clear them up in what follows. For the purpose I have used a number of Arabic and Persian works, indicated respectively in the footnotes to my account by the letters or words preceding each name in the following list.

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The ta’rikh-i guzideh of Hamd Allah the mustawfi (Gibb Memorial, xiv).

al-zij al-sanjari, almanac compiled by al-Khāżini (B.M. codex, Or. 6669, fol. 79a—table of the Buwayhid dynasty).

There is no need to comment on any of these works except that of Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī and the zij. The codex used of the first covers the years 440 to 517, and is extremely detailed from the year 448 owing to the fact that the lost history of Muhammad ibn Hilāl al-Šábi, which the Sibṭ draws upon very freely, began at this date. The British Museum codex of the mir‘āt al-zamān (Or. 4619) goes down to the year 460; but it omits all but a fraction of the matter contained in the Paris codex from 448 onwards, and appears indeed to contain no more than extracts from the work as it was originally written. It omits a great deal of the matter relating to the Seljuqids, and concentrates on events in Baghdad and in Syria and on signs and wonders. The Paris codex, on the other hand, is especially useful for my purpose, since it elucidates the history of the end of the Buwayhid rule in Fārs. As for the zij, though it is named after sultan Sanjar, it cannot have been finished as it stands, even if it was begun, in his reign, which came to an end in 552 (1157), since in the table dealing with the 'Abbāsid caliphs the compiler shows al-Nāṣir, who succeeded only in 575 (1180).

The rule of the Buwayhids was always more like an ill-regulated confederacy than an empire. Only for a very short space during its life of a hundred years odd was it in the hands

Amedroz, however (see JRAS., 1906, p. 854), expresses the opinion that the Paris codex embodies part of a later recension of the work, comprising "... added matter, drawn probably from authorities to which the author had later access ".

* The first three emirs were recognized and given their titles by the caliph al-Mustakfi in 334 (946); and the last emir was deposed by Tughrul-beq in 447 (1055). * Ali ibn Buwayh first grew powerful as early as 321 (933), however, and a Buwayhid appears to have held fiefs from the Seljuqids up to 490 (1097).
baha' al-dawlah

sultan al-dawlah,
d. 415

al-Marzuban
(Abu Kalljjar)
'tizz al-muluk,
muhjyi al-din,
d. 440

jalal al-dawlah,
d. 435

(i) Khusraw Firuz
(Alu Masur)
al-malik al-aziz,
last heard of
490

(ii) Abu Nasr
amir al-umarah
(Alu Al-Fawar)

(iii) Khusraw-shah
(Alu Dulaf)

(iv) Rustam
(Alu Al-Imayn)

(v) 'Ali

(vi) Khusraw Firuz
(Alu Nasr)
al-malik
(Alu Al-Hajj)
d. 450

(vii) Fulad Sutun
(Alu Masur),
d. 454, m. 1st,
d. of jalal al-
dawlah, 2nd
d. of Dagh-
Chaghri-beg

(viii) Kamrawa
(Alu Talib),
last heard
of, 451

(ix) Bahram
(Alu Al-Muzaffar),
last heard
of, 442

(x) Fannu-khusraw
(Alu Al-
Majid),
m. Seljukid
woman

(xi) Khusraw-shah
(Alu Sade)
d. 447

Isfandiyar, son
of, 454

Buwayh, d. 447

daughter, m.
Qaim,
d. 440

daughter, m.
Tughrul-
beg
of one man: generally it was divided between three at least, each one of whom was jealous of, and often actually at war with, the others.

In the year 430 A.H. (A.D. 1038-9) there were two chief Buwayhid princes, between whom was divided what was left of the territories once in possession of the dynasty. For in 419 (1028-9) Mahmúd of Ghazneh had invaded the Jibál province and carried off the Majd al-Dawlah captive from Ray; whilst his son Mas'úd had shortly afterwards occupied Isfahán, so that the Buwayhid territories henceforward comprised only al-Írãq, Khúzistán, Fárs, Kirmán, and 'Umán. In 430 al-Írãq (except al-Bašrah) was controlled (nominally) by the Emir of Emîrs, Abú Tâhir Shírzîl, entitled jaláí al-dawlah. Al-Bašrah, and the other provinces mentioned, were controlled (more really) by his nephew Abú Kálíjár al-Márzubán, entitled 'ízz al-mulûk, and later muḥyî al-dîn and/or al-'imád li-dîn allâh.¹

Abú Kálíjár, or Kálízár, is perhaps a Persian rendering of the fairly common Arabic kunyah Abú 'l-Hayjá. For kálízár is, or was, apparently a Gílání dialect word for "war", or "fight".² The name is nowhere spelt Kálízár but in the zíj, as far as I know; elsewhere it is always spelt either Kálíjár or Kálínjár, forms that perhaps represent "standard" as opposed to dialect Persian. The Gílání origin of the word would, of course, account for its first being used under the Buwayhids, and for its being a favourite kunyah of theirs (Huart gives a list of seven eminent persons of the period bearing it—all of whom are

¹ The first of these titles is given in the zíj, and by Ath., the f.n. making no mention of a title. The second is given by t.g. and Kh.A., the latter of whom adds, moreover, busám al-dawlah.
² See Encyclopaedia of Islâm, i, 95. I find since writing that these kunyahs have already been identified—by Professor Ross (see "On three minor dynasties in northern Persia"., Asia Major, vol. ii, 210, note), and also that in the rábat al-judâr (Gibb Memorial New Series, ii), p. 105, our Abú Kálíjár is actually called Abú 'l-Hayjá. In this passage the word ibn has been omitted after the word Abú'l-Hayjá, so that it reads as if sultan al-dawlah were Abú 'l-Hayjá's (Abú Kálíjár's) title. This omission has also caused the author of the article, sultan, in the Encyclopaedia, iv, 543, to assert that al-Malik al-Rahím was entitled sultan al-dawlah. Cf. the confusion in H.A., noted below. But there is no other instance of a Buwayhid's taking a title already used, and no other mention of this as a title of al-Rahím's.
either connected with the Buwayhids, or themselves from the Caspian coast). The form with Bá (for Abú), invariable in Bayhaqí and the fárs-námeh, shows it, of course, as still more characteristically provincial Persian.

The Jalál al-Dawlah had been created emir in 416 (1025–6); but from the beginning of his emirate his hold on the government had been exceedingly weak. Baghdád was at this time the scene of interminable sectarian riots, complicated by the racial rivalries of the garrison, which was composed of Arabs, Daylamites, and Turks. Moreover, a section of the latter had from the first favoured the claims to the emirate of Abú Kálimjár, who was the son of a former emir, the Jalál’s elder brother, the Sultán al-Dawlah: three attempts had actually been made to displace the Jalál in Abú Kálimjár’s favour; and during the early years of the Jalál’s emirate warfare between them was almost continuous. The anarchy at the capital reached its climax in the years following 423 (1032), during which the Jalál was three times obliged to flee for his life. But in 428 (1037) uncle and nephew at last made peace; and the position of both improved. Abú Kálimjár had always been stronger than his uncle, however. When the Jalál died, in 435 (1044), it was to be expected, therefore, that Abú Kálimjár should dispute the succession with his heir.

The zij shows the Jalál al-Dawlah and Abú Kálimjár as having five sons apiece; but as the compiler professes in

1 Encyclopaedia, i, 95.
2 ta’rikh-i ál-i sabuk-tigin, ed. Morley (Bibliotheca Indica). Náşir-i Khusraw uses the odd mixture Abú Kálimjár: see safar-námeh, ed. Schefrer (text), 85, 91 (trans.) 236 (here the all-important word písur is not translated, so the passage reads as if Abú Kálimjár were still alive—in 443), 248, 249.
3 Encyclopaedia of Islám, i, 94–5, 1003–4—accounts based on Ath. and M.Kh.
4 In f.n., xiv, note, the fact has escaped the editor that the five sons of Abú Kálimjár are shown as well as those of the Jalál al-Dawlah, doubtless because their names are separated from their father’s name by a column written at right-angles. But there is no doubt that these are the names of Abú Kálimjár’s sons. For one thing his name is written specially large as a “heading” to theirs, so that one should not take them (as from their position one might) for the names of the Majd al-Dawlah’s family; and, for another, the zij is borne out in naming them as it does by Ath.
the heading under which their names are placed only to show such sons as were known to him by name, they may each have had, as Abú Kálíjár certainly had, more.¹

The Jalál al-Dawlah's sons (as shown in the zíj) were:—

Abú Maqsúr Khusruh Fírúz, entitled al-malik al-'azíz (i).

Abú Našr, entitled amír al-umará (ii).

The emir Abú 'l-Fawáris Khusruh-sháh (iii).

The emir Abú Dulaf Rustam (iv).

The emir Abú 'l-Ḥusayn 'Alí (v).²

Only the first two of these are mentioned (as far as I know) elsewhere in histories.

Abú Kálíjár's sons (also as shown in the zíj) were:—

Khusruh Fírúz, entitled al-malik al-raḥím (vi).³

The emir Fúlád Sutun (vii).

The emir Abú Tálíb Kám-rawá (viii).

The emir Abú 'Alí Fanná-khusruh (ix).

The emir Abú'l-Muẓaffar Bahrám (x).

Ibn al-Athír ⁴ reproduces the above list, only adding the kunyah of (vii), viz. Abú Maqsúr, reversing the order of (ix) and (x), and writing Khusruh for Khusruh, Fulá Sutún for Fúlád Sutun, Kám-rú for Kám-rawá, and Kay-khusruh for Fanná-khusruh. But he also names another son, about whom we know otherwise a certain amount: the emir Abú Sa'd ⁵ Khusraw-sháh (xi); and states that Abú Kálíjár had still three other sons, not yet grown up when he died—one of whom is named by the Sibt, Buwayh, and another, Isfandiyár.⁶

¹ It is a curious coincidence that the f.n., 172, should also attribute only five sons to Abú Kálíjár.

² In f.n., xv, note, the editor reads three of these kunyahs differently. For my Abú Našr he reads Abú Shujiá', for Abú Dulaf Abú Dáma, and for Abú 'l-Ḥusayn Abú 'l-Ḥasan. The zíj lacks, except in the bigger headings, nearly all vowel, and a great many diacritical, points: hence the spelling intended is sometimes uncertain.

³ Correct Kh.A., 119, where the text has Khusraw ibn Fírúz.

⁴ Ath. (B.), ix, 204.

⁵ M.Kh., and Kh.A. have Sa'id for Sa'd.

⁶ S.J. ff. 81a and 82b.
Abú Kálijár had also at least two daughters, of whom one married the caliph al-Qá’ím and died in 440 (1048–9),¹ and the other married sultan Tughrul-beg,² whom she fascinated enough to provoke the jealousy of his other strong-minded wife, the widow of the Khwárizm-sháh.³ Something is known, as I propose to show, about all the six sons of Abú Kálijár named by Ibn al-Athír.

I may here note that the zíj is somewhat confusing in one place, namely the line dealing with the princes al-Malik al-Azíz (i) and al-Malik al-Raḥím (vi). It suggests at first sight that these two titles are to be applied to one and the same man (hence the difficulty in the fárs-námeh note, p. xv); but that this is not so is shown by the fact that each title has its own figure—18 and 19 respectively (in “abjad” notation)—in the first column (headed “tartí-buhum”). In the “kunyah” and “name” columns all reference to al-Malik al-Raḥím is omitted, the zíj showing simply “Abú Mašúr” in the first and “Khusru Firúz ibn Jalál al-Dawlah” in the second. In the last column, on the other hand, the remark “sultan Tughrul-beg arrested him, and their kingdom came to an end” does without any doubt apply to al-Malik al-Raḥím. If the compiler himself was confused about the two princes, it was probably first because of the similarity of their titles, and secondly because they both had the same name, Khusru Firúz—though different kunyahs.

The Jalál al-Dawlah designed to succeed him his eldest son, i.e. Abú Mašúr Khusru Firúz (i), who had been born in 407 (1016–17), and so was now twenty-eight years of age. During his father’s lifetime this prince had been given first the governorship of al-Baṣráh, as long as that province remained in the Jalál’s possession, and later the governorship of Wáṣīṭ. But he had no taste for public affairs, and devoted

¹ S.J., l. 2b.
² Ath. (B.), ix, 199.
³ S.J., l. 47b. What Khwárizm-sháh?—possibly Ismá’il ibn Altántásh, who, on being driven from his capital in 432 (1040–1), had sought refuge with the Seljuqids. See Bayhaqí, op. cit., 866–7, and Ath. (B), ix, 189.
himself to dissipation on the one hand, and on the other to literature, history, and grammar, becoming in time a very fair poet. His title al-malik al-‘azîz is said to have been the first to contain the word malik\(^1\); but whether, like that of his cousin, al-malik al-raḥîm, it provoked the caliph’s disapproval on account of its being a “name of God”\(^2\) we are not told.

Al-‘Azîz (as I shall call him for convenience) was in Wâsîṭ when his father died. The all-powerful garrison at Baghdađd wrote to him proffering their allegiance in exchange for a swift payment of the gratuity customary at an accession. But al-‘Azîz had only slender means; a long delay ensued; and this Abû Kâlijâr turned to good use by offering, for his part, an ample and immediate payment. He also presented the caliph al-Qâ’im with gifts: with the result that his name was inserted in the khûbah at Baghdađd (as well as in the Ḥulwân district, the Euphrates territory, and Diyâr Bakr) in Ǧafir 436 (September, 1044), either before or after that of al-‘Azîz\(^3\); and that the caliph bestowed on him the title mentioned above, muḥyî al-dîn. Abû Kâlijâr set out for Baghdađd from the south early in this year, and arrived there, after visiting, like a good Shi‘ite, the shrines of the imâms at Najaf and Karbalâ, in ramaḍân (April, 1045), being careful to humour the garrison by restricting the number of his escort. On hearing of his approach to the capital, al-‘Azîz hurriedly left Wâsîṭ, intent on reaching Baghdađd before him. But his troops mutinied half-way (at al-Nu‘mâniyyah), turned back to Wâsîṭ, and declared

\(^1\) Dh., f. 197a. M. Kh., 52, states that the Jalâl al-Dawlah was given the laqab malik al-mulûk, but possibly this is merely an Arabic version of shâhânumshâh, which had been used by several of the earlier Buwayhids. Cf. chahâr magâleh (Gibb Memorial, xi, trans.), 19, note 4. The word malik is also found on many earlier Buwayhid and Sâmânîd coins, but only in what may be called “prefatory” titles, which were used by provincial potentates during the fourth century in describing themselves, and were not officially conferred.

\(^2\) Ath. (B.), ix, 204.

\(^3\) Dh., f. 176a.
for his rival. The power of Abū Kālijār, was now, in fact, established. Al-'Azīz spent the next five years moving from one provincial court to another, begging assistance wherewith to assert his rights—but always in vain. He visited in turn the Mazaydite Nūr al-Dawlah, the 'Uqaylid Qirwāsh ibn al-Muqallad, with whom he travelled to Mosul; Abū 'l-Shawk, the lord of Ḥulwān, the Seljuqīd Ibrāhīm Yināl (Ṭughrul’s half-brother), and finally the Marwānid Naṣr al-Dawlah. He twice led an expedition, in attempts to set himself up, once on Baghdād, and once, after Abū Kālijār’s death, in 440 (1049), on al-Baṣrah. He died, aged 34, while still with the Marwānid, at Mayyāfāriqīn, in rabi’ al-awwal 441 (August-September, 1049).1 His host bought from his heirs a famous jewel—al-jabal al-yāqūt—which he subsequently presented to Ṭughrul, who in turn presented it to al-Qā’im.2

Abū Kālijār lived four years after his establishment as sole Buwayhid sovereign. Most of the details of his life recorded during them illustrate his relationship with the expanding Seljuqīd power, which he so feared as for the first time in its history to wall the city of Shīrāz.3 Thus in 436 and 437 (1044–6) the “Kākawayhid” of Iṣfahān twice withdrew in his favour the mention of Ṭughrul’s name in the khutbah. Then, late in the latter year, when Ibrāhīm Yināl pushed his raids into the south-western Jībāl and Lūristān, Abū Kālijār prepared to challenge him, but was incapacitated by an outbreak of disease among his transport animals.4 In 439 (1047–8), on the other hand, he resolved to ally himself with the Seljuqīds; Ṭughrul welcomed his advances and instructed Ibrāhīm Yināl to encroach no further upon Buwayhid

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1 Ath. (B.), ix, 192–3, 195, 203, 209; Dh., ff. 194a, 197a: M.Kh., 52–3. Dh., f. 176a (notice of Jalāl al-Dawlah) states that al-'Aziz yielded up his sovereignty of his own accord to Abū Kālijār.
2 S.J., f. 78b.
3 f.n., 133. He began building in 432 (1040–1), and finished in 440 (1048)—see Yāqūt: mu’jam al-buldān, iii, 349.
4 Ath. (B.), ix, 196–7.
territory. The pact was cemented by two marriages: Tughrul married a daughter of Abú Kálijár (as mentioned above) and Abú Kálijár’s second son, Abú Manšúr Fúlád Sutún (vii), married a daughter of Tughrul’s elder brother, Dá’úd Chaghri-beg. We learn from the fārs-námeh that in Abú Kálijár’s days the Ismá‘īlī, or “Sevener”, propaganda—“what,” says the author, “they nowadays call the Bátini”—was pushed among the Daylamite troops in Fárs by an able missionary, who even succeeded in converting the prince himself. His religious convictions were not so strong, however, as to blind him to the political dangers of this movement; and, when they were pointed out to him by a sagacious qádí, he did not scruple secretly to banish the missionary, forbidding him on pain of death to return. Abú Kálijár died on 4th jumádá’l-úlá 440 (15th October, 1048) at Khannáb, in Kirmán, probably from poison. He was on his way to vindicate his sovereignty over that province, which his governor, having been defeated by the Seljuqid Qâwvûrdî, had sacrificed by allying himself with the invader. On Abú Kálijár’s death his army retired into Fárs; and henceforth Kirmán formed part of the Seljuqid empire.

It soon became clear, after Abú Kálijár’s death, that the alliance between the Buwayhids and the Seljuqids was to have consequences important for both of them. For as time went on it effectually divided the Buwayhids into two groups, one of which Tughrul was able to use in defeating the other. Abú Kálijár was succeeded as sovereign by his eldest son, Abú Naṣr (vi), who now took his title, al-malik al-raḥîm, in spite, as I have mentioned, of the caliph’s displeasure. His reign lasted seven years, during the whole of which he

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1 Ath. (B.), ix, 199; M.Kh., 53; t.q., 432. Ḥ.A., f. 95a confuses Abú Kálijár with his father, the Sultán al-Dawlah.
2 f.n., 119.
3 Ath. has Jannáb.
4 Ath. (B.), ix, 203-4: Recueil, i, 2-3; M.Kh., 53; Ḥ.A., loc. cit. S.J., f. 26 states that it was near al-Ahwáz that Abú Kálijár died, and on 15th jumádá’l-úlá.
was in untrammelled possession of al-ʿIrāq; up to the very end, however, he and his next brother, Abū Maṃṣūr Fūlād Sutūn (vii), disputed between them the rule of both Fārs and Khūzistān. This opposition was brought about owing in the first place to the circumstance that whereas al-Raḥīm (as I may now call him) was in Baghdād when his father died, Fūlād Sutūn was with Abū Kālījār in Kirmān. In spite, therefore, of the insubordination of the Turks in his force, Fūlād Sutūn was able to set himself up at once in Shīrāz, to which, afterwards, he never relinquished his claim. In asserting it, it was natural that he should look to his powerful Seljuqīd connection; and Tughrul, of course, was far from loath thus to undermine such opposition as the Buwayhid power still offered to his ascendency.

With the exception of Abū ʿl-Muẓaffar Bahram (x), who became governor of ʿUmān, perhaps in his father's lifetime—and who, by leaving the direction of affairs in the hands of an incompetent eunuch, provoked there in 442 (1050–1) an insurrection in which he was captured and imprisoned in a mountain stronghold 1—all the elder sons of Abū Kālījār took part in these disputes. To begin with all the others were against Fūlād Sutūn; but first, in 443 (1051–2), Abū ʿAlī (ix), who until that date had held al-Bagrah, fell out with, and was evicted by, al-Raḥīm, 2 towards whom he was henceforth inimical; and later, in 447 (1055–6), Abū Saʿd (xi), who was at first his most formidable enemy, temporarily allied himself with Fūlād Sutūn against a local rebel. 3 The remaining brother, Abū Tālib Kām-rawā (viii), was perhaps the most closely attached to al-Raḥīm. But he, too, seems later to have made his peace with Tughrul. 4

Fūlād Sutūn had lorded it in Shīrāz only a few months when he was attacked, defeated, and captured, with his

1 Ath. (T.), ix, 387.
2 Ibid., 403–4.
3 Ath. (B.), ix, 226.
4 S.J., f. 296.
mother, the lady Khurásúyeh,\textsuperscript{1} by al-Raḥím’s troops, commanded by Abú Sa’d (shawwád 440: March–April, 1049). Next year al-Raḥím appeared in Fárs in person, but was soon obliged to retire, owing to the quarrels of the Turks in his army. He left Abú Sa’d and Abú Ṭálib behind to represent him; but in the meantime, Fúlánd Sutún had escaped from his confinement and collected a large force, with which he easily possessed himself again of the whole province. In dhú’l-qa’dah (March–April, 1050) al-Raḥím made another attempt against him; but was so badly beaten that he and his two allied brothers were obliged to abandon not only Fárs but Khúzístán as well.\textsuperscript{2} The loyalty of Fúlánd’s men was so uncertain, however, that he was unable to obtain any firm footing in Khúzístán. Al-Raḥím re-occupied al-Ahwáz four months later, and in 443 (1051–2) a detachment of his army, after heavily defeating Fúlánd Sutún, retook Shíráz, which Abú Sa’d, who was again in command, continued to hold till the end of 445 (beginning of 1054).\textsuperscript{3} In the meantime, however, al-Raḥím, with his main force, had once more been driven back into al-ʿIráq by Fúlánd and certain local allies, who were now, for the first time, supported by reinforcements supplied by Ťughrul.\textsuperscript{4}

At the beginning of 444 (May, 1052), therefore, whilst Abú Sa’d was in possession of Shíráz and its district (having so effectively routed Fúlánd’s men that they were hiding in bands in the mountains), Fúlánd himself was in precarious

\textsuperscript{1} Her name is given in the f.n., 166, and by S.J., f. 81a. It is stated in the introduction to the f.n., p. xiv, that she is referred to in the zij. But I think it is clear that the sayyidah there mentioned is really a much more famous lady, the mother of the Majd al-Dawlah, who did, in fact, as the zij adds, reign twenty years and die in 418 (1027–8)—the date, which is much too early for our sayyidah, being again given in “abjad” notation: tá-ya-bá.

\textsuperscript{2} Ath. (B.), ix, 207, 208–9; M.Kh., 54.

\textsuperscript{3} Ath. (B.), ix, 210.

\textsuperscript{4} It was these skirmishes that caused Násir-i Khusrwān, then on his way home, to write: “I stayed in Mahríbán because they said that the roads were unsafe on account of the sons of Abá Kálimjá, who were fighting and quarrelling with one another...” see sofār-náme (text), 91 (trans.), 249.
occupation of Khúzístán, and al-Raḥím confined to al-ʻIráq. It was at this point, however, that al-Raḥím fell out with Abú ʻAli, whom he drove from al-Basrah in shaʻbán of the same year (December, 1052–January, 1053), after which he advanced on al-Ahwáz and obtained by a treaty with their respective lords the towns of Tustar and Arraján. Abú ʻAli, on his expulsion, fled by sea to the coast of Fárs, through which he made his way, accompanied by his mother, to ʻIsfahán, where he sought Tughrul’s support. Tughrul (just recovered from what all had supposed a fatal illness) received him with enthusiasm, gave him a Seljuqid lady to wife, presented him with fiefs, and promised to help him against his overweening brother.¹

This was the beginning of the end for al-Raḥím. Towards the end of 445 (beginning of 1054) Abú Sa’d, whose rule had become exceedingly unpopular, was evicted from Shiráz by Fúlád Sutún, who, as soon as he had re-established himself, caused Tughrul’s name to be inserted, for the first time, before al-Raḥım’s and his own in the khulfbah.² Then, in 446 (1054–5), Tughrul, as good as his word, supplied Abú ʻAli with a force of Turkmáns, with which he invaded Khúzístán and occupied al-Ahwáz. And with this al-Raḥím, although in 447 (1055) he was momentarily recognized by a local rebel as sole sovereign in Fárs,³ was finally driven back into al-ʻIráq. This was the year of Tughrul’s first famous entry into Baghdád and his final recognition by the caliph. Al-Raḥím, seeing that his cause was hopeless, agreed, before the sultan’s arrival, to acknowledge his suzerainty, and put his case for negotiation into the hands of al-Qá‘ím. This did not save him, however. Although Tughrul at first undertook to “change nothing” in al-Raḥím’s state,⁴ a riot that broke out in Baghdád on the morrow of the Seljuqids’ entry was attributed to

¹ Ath. (B.), ix, 219–20, 222.
² Ibid., 222; M.Kh., 54.
³ Ath. (B.), ix, 225–6; M.Kh., loc. cit., states that al-Raḥím occupied Fárs in person this year.
⁴ S.J., f. 10v.
al-Raḥím's machinations. Tughrul thereupon arrested him, together with many of his supporters; and the Buwayhid khutbah was finally abolished in Baghdád at the end of ramadán (December, 1055). Al-Raḥím was first confined in the fortress of al-Sirawán, capital of the district of Másabadhán in the southern Jibál. But in rábi' al-awwal 448 (May-June, 1056), he was translated to Ray, to the castle of Ţabaraks; and there he remained until his death, which occurred in 450 (1058-9), or, according to Ḥáфиз Abrú, in 455 (1063).

The rule of the Buwayhid dynasty is generally reckoned, as in the zīj, to have come to an end with the arrest of al-Malik al-Raḥím, because he was the last of the house to reign in Baghdád. Nevertheless, it continued a few years longer in Fárs. In 447 (1055), as I have noted, Fúlád Sutún and Abú Sa'd, after having fought ever since their father's death, combined against a rebel, the warden of the citadel of Iṣṭakhr, who for some months actually defied them in Shíráz. But after his defeat and the arrest of al-Raḥím, they soon fell out again; and in the end Abú Sa'd was betrayed and killed, together, it would appear, with one of the younger sons of Abú Káljíjár, by name Buwayh. With this, Fúlád's sovereignty was at last established in Fárs; he had no rivals of his family to fear, and enjoyed the support of the Seljuqids. Yet he soon succeeded in undermining his own position.

1 See Le Strange, The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, 202; Ath. (B.), ix, 227-9; M.Kh. 54-6.
2 S.J., f. 14a.
3 Ath. (B.), ix, 244; t.g., 433; Ḥ.A., loc. cit. (this may be merely a copyist's error, however).
4 The f.n., on the other hand, being concerned only with the affairs of Fárs, ignores al-Raḥím practically altogether, stating that he died soon after his father (which is misleading); and makes Abú Káljíjár's effective successor Fúlád Sutún, p. 172 (Abú Naṣr = al-Raḥím, Abú Mansür = Fúlád Sutún).
5 Ath. (B.), ix, 226.
6 M.Kh., 56; Kh.A., 120.
7 S.J., f. 81a.
Fúlád Sutún owed such successes as he had had to the vizier that he had inherited from his father: Abú Maṃṣūr Hibat Allah ibn Aḥmad al-Fasawi, entitled muhaddhīb al-dawlah, and generally known as al-ʿāḍil, or sāhib-i ʿāḍil.1 Abú Káltijár had appointed this man to succeed his former vizier (Bahram ibn Máfannah, also known as al-ʿāḍil) on the latter’s death, in 433 (1041–2) 2; and he had proved himself a very able minister, “possessed of sagacity, capability in affairs, and courage.” 3 Ibn al-Athīr makes two further references to the sāhib. In 434 (1042–3), he writes, the sāhib was sent to withstand a Seljuqid attack on Kirmán 4; and in 444 (1052–3) he tried to come to an understanding with certain Turkmán insurgents in Fārs, only to be imprisoned by them for his pains and robbed of three castles 5; the fārs-nāmeh also mentions him as the founder of an incomparable library at Fīrūzábād.6 That Fúlád Sutún had been able on each occasion to recover his position as he had was due entirely to the sāhib, who, as is stated by the Sibt, made absolutely his own the cause of Fúlád Sutún and his brother, Abú Saʿd.7 It was perhaps natural, therefore, that once his security was assured, Fúlád should look upon his benefactor with jealousy and resentment. His mother, Khurāsūyeh, who was a lady of irregular life, instigated him against the minister. One day in 449 (1057–8), accordingly, Fúlád Sutún entered the sāhib’s house in Shíráz with his Daylamites, and killed him, his son,8 and his

1 The identity of the al-Fasawi of Ath. with the sāhib-i ʿāḍil of the f.n. is established by S.J., ff. 27b and 81a.
2 Ath. (T.), ix, 344.
3 f.n., 166.
4 Ath. (T.), ix, 349.
5 Ath. (T.), 401. By an error in the index to Tornberg’s edition, this reference is attached to Ibn Máfannah—owing probably to the fact that both he and al-Fasawi were called al-ʿāḍil Abú Maṃṣūr. But that it should really be attached to al-Fasawi is clear, since Ibn Máfannah had died ten years earlier.
6 f.n., 139.
7 Possibly this means that he had striven to reconcile them.
8 S.J., f. 81a, names him Burmúzeh (?).
attendants, as they sat at work, after which he pillaged his money and effects. 1

"This folly and childishness" on the part of Fúlád Sutún brought chaos into the affairs of Fárs, which now remained without any effective ruler. 2 And in the end they were his own undoing: for a certain powerful chieftain of these parts had been advanced by the murdered minister, and now bided his time to avenge him. This chieftain was named in full Abú'l-Abbás Faḍlawayh (al-Faḍl) ibn 'Alawayh ('Ali) ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Ayyúb; he was of the Rámání clan of the Shabánkárah, a group of Kurdish shepherd tribes, reputed to have been settled in Fárs since Sasanian times, and much given to fighting. 3 Faḍlawayh had been brought to the šdhůb's notice by a commander named Jábí, of whom the minister had a high opinion, and had attained a prominent place in the Buwayhid service. 4

Faḍlawayh was provoked into actual rebellion, it appears, by learning of the Fúlád's intention of putting him also to death in order to have no rival in his realm. We learn nothing of the course of their contest; but in 454 (1062) Faḍlawayh was finally victorious, when he captured both Fúlád and his mother at the gate of Shíráz. He imprisoned and killed Fúlád in the fortress of Pahan-diz; the immoral Khurásúyeh he destroyed by shutting her up in a waterless bath and causing it to be heated. Faḍlawayh then set up in Fúlád's place another of the younger sons of Abú Kálífjár, by name Isfandiyár. But he now became himself the real ruler of Fárs, and rewarded his fellow-tribesmen for their support with pay and the gift of some castles. 5

1 S.J., f. 27b; f.n., 166; M.Kh., 56; Kh.A., 120.
2 f.n., 172.
3 Encyclopaedia of Islám, iv, 241.
4 f.n., 166.
5 Ibid.; S.J., f. 81a; M.Kh., 56; Kh.A., 120. t.g., 433, followed by M.Kh. and Kh.A., puts Fúlád Sutún's death in 448, saying that he had reigned eight years. But the authority of S.J. is, of course, far superior: his whole account of the subsequent contest between Faḍlawayh and
His triumph was ephemeral, however. For although the notables of the province had supported him in his conflict with Fúlád Sutún, the Turks and Daylamites of the army resented his usurpation, and secretly invited the ruler of Kirmán, Qáwurd-bég, Thughrul’s nephew, to invade Fárs and displace him. In rajab of this year, accordingly (July–August, 1062), Qáwurd advanced on and laid siege to Shíráz. He had been warned to expect a show of resistance; but after three days the garrison capitulated, and he entered the city. Faḍlawayh had fled on his approach; and though Qáwurd followed him, and in a fight killed some of his supporters, he made good his escape to the mountain stronghold of Jahram.1 Qáwurd then installed himself in Shíráz, caused Thughrul’s name and his own to be inserted in the khutbah, and sent the young Isfandiyár and his mother prisoners to Kirmán.2 This was the end of the Buwayhid power in Fárs. I may here ignore, therefore, the further contest of Qáwurd and Faḍlawayh for the province, only touching on it again below to explain how Fúlád Sutún was eventually avenged.

As for the other two sons of Abú Kálijár, Abú Ṭálib Kám-rawá (viii) and Abú Άlí Fanná-khusraw (ix), the first seems to have followed the example of the second, and, after the arrest of al-Raḥím, to have made up to Thughrul, for we find them both present on the brilliant occasion of Thughrul’s first interview with al-Qá’im, in dhúl-qa’dah 449 (January, 1058).3 After this, however, Abú Ṭálib must have incurred the displeasure of either the sultan or the caliph, possibly by Qáwurd follows convincingly on this beginning, and is dated in detail. Perhaps the error is due to a reckoning of Fúlád’s reign as from the death of Abú Kálijár instead of from the arrest of al-Raḥím. The editor of the tabaqát-i násiri (Bibliotheca Indica), 174, note, states that it was in 459 that Faḍlawayh killed Fúlád Sutún, but he cites no authority for the statement.

1 Jahram was famous for the castle of Khurshah (see Le Strange, op cit., 254), where Faḍlawayh was later besieged by the Nişám al-Mulk (f.n., 131; S.J., f. 117b).
2 S.J., f. 82v; f.n., 166. In Recueil, ii, 31, it is stated that Qáwurd took Shíráz in 455 (the next year), perhaps because it was not, in fact, till then that he first decisively beat Faḍlawayh.
3 S.J., f. 296.

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an ill-timed display of his Shi‘ite sympathies, with the result that he was imprisoned in a house in west Baghda‘d, where he remained in confinement till early in dhul-qa‘dah 450 (December, 1058–January, 1059), the month of the entry into Baghda‘d of the Shi‘ite champion, al-Basasiri. Abü Ta‘lib was then released by a detachment of al-Basasiri’s men, who thereupon hoisted a standard for him opposite the dār al-mamlakah. They had been ordered ahead to spy out the land, and now, since the Shi‘ite population of al-Karkh had received them with acclamation, sent back word to the general urging him to advance on the capital. Then, when it was evening, they carried Abü Ta‘lib in a litter to the village of ‘Aqarqūf, where next day al-Basasiri met them. The interview between the prince and the general was unsatisfactory, however; and Abü Ta‘lib found himself in the general’s train with “neither his affairs regarded nor his deserts recognized”. 1

Al-Basasiri determined, nevertheless, to make use of him. In sa‘far of the following year (March–April, 1059), having occasion to send a letter to Egypt, he chose Abü Ta‘lib as his envoy. “But,” writes the Sibt, “he sent only Abü Ta‘lib Kām-rawā, 2 son of the prince Abū Kālijār ibn Buwayh, and the small she-elephant; he sent no money or anything . . .”. 3—this because he was on bad terms with al-Mustansir’s vizier. And that, I believe, is the last we hear of Abü Ta‘lib.

Abū ‘Ali, on the other hand, prospered under the Seljuqid régime, although Tughrul’s triumph involved, in the first place, a disappointment for him. In 448 (1056–7) the vizier al-Kundurī arranged a fiscal contract with a former ally of

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1 S.J., f. 48b.
2 S.J. has Kāfūr here, but—apart from the consideration that this would be a most unlikely name for a Daylamite (being usually reserved, facetiously, for negro slaves)—elsewhere he has Kām-rū and Kām-rawā, which latter, since it agrees with the sīj’s, I have taken to be the correct version of this name.
3 S.J., f. 55b.
Fúlád Sutún (the Táj al-Mulúk Hazárasp ibn Bankír) for al-Baṣrah and Khúzistán. This move annoyed a number of Daylamites from these parts that had come to court, but it annoyed none more than Abú ‘Alí, who had hoped with the defeat of al-Raḥím to have al-Baṣrah restored to him. He appealed to Tughru'l through his Seljuqid wife and the son that she had borne him, reminding Tughru'l also that he was his brother-in-law. Tughru'l did not respond. He did, however, grant Abu ‘Alí the city and district of Qirmísín (Kirmánsháh) in fief.¹

During the rest of Tughru'l's reign Abú ‘Alí appears to have been a frequent visitor at the headquarters camp. Thus in al-muḥarram 448 (March–April, 1056) he witnessed the marriage of al-Qá'im with Tughru'l's niece Khadijáh (Arslán Khátún)²; in 449 (1057–8), as I have mentioned, he was present at the first meeting of Tughru'l and al-Qá'im³; in šáfar 452 (March–April, 1060), after the defeat of al-Básásírí, he came back to Baghdad with Tughru'l⁴; and finally, in 455 (1063), he was in Tughru'l's train when the sultan returned from his last tour in Adharbayján.⁵

Abú ‘Alí's relations with Alp Arslán seem to have been equally amicable. After the new monarch's first triumphant campaign in Georgia and Armenia, he returned at the end of 456 (1064) to Hamadán, and was there met by a concourse of minor potentates. Abú ‘Alí was among them, and now, presumably because he asked for it, Alp Arslán granted him a revenue contract for the province of al-Baṣrah, in return for which Abú ‘Alí surrendered the fiefs of Qum and Qáshán (for which he had perhaps exchanged that of Qirmísín in the interval ⁶). Abú ‘Alí hastened to al-Baṣrah; but Hazárasp,

¹ S.J., f. 115; Ath. (B.), ix, 229.
² Ath. (B.), ix, 231.
³ S.J., f. 296.
⁴ Ath. (B.), x, 3.
⁵ S.J., f. 876; Ath. (T.), x, 15.
⁶ Unless qumm wa qáshán has here been written in error for qirmísín or qirmásín.
in whose hands it still was, objected, on learning of his approach, that the sultan had no good reason for evicting him. And he went on to argue that Abú ‘Alí’s appointment was ill-advised; both he and his father, Abú Kálîjár, had lorded it in the province: he would be too hazardously popular with the inhabitants. So Abú ‘Alí was again disappointed—though it is not stated explicitly that Alp Arslán revoked his order, it is to be presumed that he did, since Hazárasp remained in possession. However, Alp Arslán gave him, perhaps in compensation, the fief of Nawbandaján in Fârs.

After this we learn nothing more of Abú ‘Alí till 461 (1068–9). Alp Arslán devoted the whole of that year to a campaign in Fârs and Kirmân against his brother Qâwurd-beg and Faḍlawayh, now allied in revolt. Soon after the sultan’s arrival in Fârs, Faḍlawayh’s brother al-Ḥasan (Ḥasanawayh) came to him claiming to have broken with the rebels, and undertaking to obtain for him some of Faḍlawayh’s castles and treasure. After a time, however, when he failed to fulfil this promise, Alp Arslán suspected that he was acting as Faḍlawayh’s spy. One day, accordingly, after a carouse, he summoned Ḥasanawayh and, in spite of his excuses, decreed his death. He first handed him over to Abú ‘Alí, who was present, saying: “Take him and kill him, for his brother killed yours.” But Abú ‘Alí pointed out that a son of Fûlād Sutún, who was also present, had a better right of vengeance. Ḥasanawayh was therefore placed before the young man, who, with a knife that the sultan gave him, cut his throat. As for Faḍlawayh, he was captured in this same year, and in the next was killed in an attempt to escape from the citadel of Iṣṭâkhhr.

1 S.J., f. 99b.
2 M.Kh., 57.
3 Ath. (B.), x, 26–7, places the campaign against Faḍlawayh in 464 (1071–2), and calls him Faḍlún—possibly confusing him with the Shaddádid of Arrân, against whom, though he does not mention it, Alp Arslán had moved in 460 (1067–8), see S.J., f. 111b. But S.J.’s time-table of Alp Arslán’s reign is in general far more detailed, and I think, more convincing in passages where they disagree, than Ath.’s.
Abú ‘Alí lived almost another thirty years, for the most part, it appears, “in ease and freedom from care” at Nawbandaján. Whenever he came to court the sultan entertained him honourably, seating him by his side. He was a favourite, indeed, with all the Seljuqids, and enjoyed the privilege of a standard and kettle-drum. He died in 487 (1094).¹

Abú ‘Alí is the last of the sons of Abú Kálíjár of whom, as far as I know, anything is recorded. Three years after his death, however, in 490 (1097), the second son of the Jalál al-Dawlah, Abú Naṣr (ii), distinguished himself by incurring sentence of death for heresy (ilḥād). He was obliged to flee for his life, and sought refuge, only to be repulsed, with the Mazyadite Sayf al-Dawlah, after which he wandered from place to place. Abú Naṣr had held al-Madā’in (Ctesiphon) and Dayr al-Áqul in fief from Malik-sháh. He also owned two houses in Baghdád, in the darb al-qubbár (?). The caliph (al-Mustaẓhir) gave orders after his flight that these houses should each be converted into a mosque, one for the Hanafites and one for the Sháfi’ites; and he appointed for each an imám and a mu’adhhdhin. What happened to Abú Naṣr in the end is not known. He may well have been, as the Sibt says he was, “the last of the Banú Buwayh to ride a horse.”²

Postscript.—With regard to note 3 of page 244, I find that Fadlawayh and the Shaddádid Faḍlún of Ganjah are explicitly identified by the author of the zubdat al-tawáríkh (B.M. codex, Stowe 7, ff. 24b–25a). Perhaps this is the source of Ath.’s confusion.

¹ t.q., 433; M.Kh., 57; Kh.A., 120–1.
² S.J., f. 230b.
A Visit to an "Astronomical" Temple in India

BY GIUSEPPE TUCCI

In Assam, near Gauhāṭi, on the southern bank of the Brahmaputra, there is one of the most famous places of pilgrimage in India, I mean the temple of Kāmākhyā. Kāmākhyā is one of the names for the Indian devī, Kāhī, or Durgā; in fact, Kāmākhyā is the devī herself in one of her most jolly aspects, as may be gathered from the Paurānic and the Tāntric literature connected with her cult, as for instance the Kālikā-purāṇa, the Yoginī-tantra, the Kāmākhyā-tantra, the Kāmarūpa-tantra, etc. The temple and all its neighbourhood for twelve krośas is considered one of the pīthas, or holy and consecrated places: the hills and rivers near it have been identified with some of the most renowned tirtha-sthānas of India, with the purpose of associating with that revered spot some of the most sacred religious traditions of India.¹

One of the hills is called Citrācala, and on it is a temple dedicated to the nine planets (grahas).

"Astronomical" temples are rather rare in India; and therefore during my last visit to the Kāmākhyā hills I tried my utmost to see the Navagraha temple of Gauhāṭi.

The temple must have been built before the definite redaction of the Kālikā-purāṇa, which prescribes the Citrācala as one of the places to be visited by pilgrims during their

¹ A description of all the places near the Kāmākhyā temple which are visited by pilgrims can be found in the Yoginī-tantra or in the Kālikā-purāṇa (ed. in Bengali type, Baṅgabāṣa Press, pp. 491 ff.). My friend, Professor Bhūyān, who is in charge of the Assamese Museum founded in Gauhāṭi and is himself an enthusiastic research worker in the field of Assamese history, has found in one of the Buranjis or Assamese chronicles a list of all the sacred places as recorded in the Yoginī-tantra, with their vernacular names and the exact distances from each other. The chapter will, when published, be of the greatest importance for the study of the topography of the Kāmākhyā hills. For other references see the Kāmākhyā-māhātmya (in Sanskrit and in Bengali) compiled from various sources by the pāṇḍas of the temple (Śivakṛṣṇa Śarmā and Viṣṇukānta Śarmā).
yātrā to Kāmākhya. It is situated on the top of a beautiful hill covered with very thick jungle, and the only person living there is a pāndā (temple guide); but a Brahmin priest (purohita) sometimes resides there for a few months, and, as I am told, he is a very good astrologer (jyotishī) and horoscope maker. It is a pity that when I visited the temple he was out on tour in the Assam valley.

The temple, which is surrounded by a big wall, consists of a small rectangular pronaos, where a liṅga is worshipped, and of a large circular room, where the nine planets are placed. These are represented by nine cylindrical pieces of black stone, each one of which has been erected on a wide elevated base. This is circular, but with a prominence, in which a small channel, which surrounds the cylinder also, is cut. The central pillar is supposed to represent Śūrya, the sun, and around it there are the other eight planets, Candra (Moon), Maṅgala (Mars), Rāhu (the dragon's head, or ascending node), Śani (Saturnus), Ketu (the dragon's tail, or descending node), Brhaspati (Jupiter), Budha (Mercurius), Śukra (Venus). They are placed according to the following scheme:

1 Each one of these planets has many names. The most common are given in the Rāja-mārtanda, a book on astrology attributed to the famous king Bhoja, but quite different from the work of the same title and ascribed to the same author (Winternitz, Gesch. Ind. Lit., iii, p. 461) (Venkatesv. ed., p. 1):—

(a) sun: Ādityaḥ savitā śūryo bhāsakaḥ rktō divākaraḥ,
tigmāṃsū tapano bhānuḥ sahasrāṃsau prabhākaraḥ.
(b) moon: Śitāṃśuṣa candramāḥ soma mrgāṅkas tu niśākaraḥ,
istaraēmir niśāṅṭāḥ śaśāṅkāḥ śaśalāṅchanaḥ.
(c) maṅgala: aṅgārakaḥ kujo bhaumo lohitāṅgo mahisutaḥ,
ārāh kṣitisuto vakrah krūrākṣaḥ ca nigradyate.
(d) budha: budhaś candraśuto jñeyo vibudho bodhanas tathā,
kumāro rājaputraś ca tārāputras tathāva ca.
(e) brhaspati: suramantri surācāryo gurur jivo brhaspatib,
aṅgiromśaḥ smṛtas tajjñair girisovacasāṃ patīḥ.
(f) śukra: bhrgujo daityaamantri ca daityādhyakṣaḥ purohitab,
usāna bhārgavah kavyaḥ śukro daityagurus tathā.
(g) śani: saurib śānaścaraḥ pāṅguḥ koṇaḥ śūryasutas tathā;
mandāḥ śaṇiś ca mātaṅgi chāyāputrośitāmbarab.
(h) rāhu: upaplavas tamo rāhuḥ surāriḥ śiṃhākṣaṇaḥ
(i) ketu: ketur brahmasuto jñeyo dhūmravarṇaḥ śikḥi tathā.
Rāhu (4) Śani (5) Ketu (6)
Maṅgala (3) Sūrya (1) Bṛhaspati (7)
Candra (2) Śukra (9) Budha (8)

All the cylinders are of the same shape and size, and, so far as I could see in the darkness of that room, there is no inscription anywhere; so that, for their identification, I had to rely completely on what the pāndā told me. I was rather surprised when the pāndā, who accompanied me, began to make his pranāma and to recite his formulas to the various grahas, because he followed an order quite different from that of the real disposition of the various cylinders around sūrya. As far I can recollect and after comparing the notes which I took as soon as I went out from the temple, he followed this order:—

Sūrya, Śoma, Maṅgala, Budha, Guru, Śukra, Śani, Rāhu, Ketu, that is to say, the order of the grahas (except Rāhu and Ketu) as presiding divinities of the seven days of the week. This order, which does not always correspond with that given in the astronomical or astrological works, is the same as that which we find in Tāntric ritual, as well as in the Vedic sacrifice of the graha-yāga. How then can we explain the difference between the disposition of the planets in the temple and the pranālī or method followed by the priest in his pūjā? The reply is to be found in the fact that the temple represents the maṇḍala,¹ or sacred circle, the construction of which is subject to certain rules and must

¹ The vedī is always an elevated altar: the rules of its construction are rather complicated, as may be gathered from the various rituals connected with it. The maṇḍala or sacred enclosure which is designed upon it is quite different from the yantra or symbolic image of the various gods; in fact, the maṇḍala is a sāḍhāraṇāsana, as every divinity can be adored upon it, while the yantra is a viśeṣāsana, viz., it is particular to each god. I have dealt very largely with all these points, specially so far as the Paurāṇic and Tāntric rituals are concerned, in my forthcoming book on the Dūryā-pūjā.
follow a special order, which is different from the series of the planets as they appear when the mandala has been completed.

The rules for the construction of a mandala of the nine planets have been laid down in various works connected with the graha-yāga, as, for instance, the Matsya-purāṇa (adhyāya 93) the Graha-yāga-tattva of Raghunandana, etc. These books prescribe that after the building of a vedā or square altar, the height of which must be half its length, the mandala is to be made upon it. That is to say, the space on the surface of the vedā must be divided into nine equal parts: first of all, in the central space (kṣetra or kośtha) the sun is to be designed: he must be red and circular; then in the south-eastern corner (dakṣiṇa-pūrva-kona) the moon, white, in the shape of a half-moon; in the south (of sūrya) Mangala, red and triangular; in the north-eastern corner Budha, yellow and in the shape of a bow; at the north (of sūrya) Bhāraspati, yellow and in the shape of a lotus with eight leaves; in the east Śukra, square and white; in the west Śani, black and in the shape of a snake; in the south-western corner Rāhu, black, in the shape of a dolphin; in the north-western corner Ketu, in the shape of a sword and smoke-coloured. If we remember that in Tāntric ritual the pūrva is always the upper side of a mandala, we have the scheme as shown on the next page.

It is evident that the disposition of the planets in the nava-graha temple of Gauhāti corresponds to the above mandala, while the method of the pūjā is in full accordance with the usual order of the grahas in the various Vedic, Paurāṇic, and Tāntric rituals. This follows the daily rotation of the planets.

I said before that the planets are represented in the temple

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1 Cf. Yājñavalkya-smṛti, 290-303. The Graha-yāga-tattva by Raghunandana has recently been critically edited in Bengali type and with a very useful introduction in Bengali by Pandit Satīścandra Siddhāntabhūṣaṇa in the Samskṛta-sāhitya-pariṣad-grantha-mālā, No. 10, Calcutta, 1925. Fig. 1 has been reproduced from that book.

2 The door of the temple must face the pūrva or prācī dig of the mandala (cf. Pūjā-prakāśa, by Mitramiśra, p. 240).
of Gauhāṭi by nine cylinders of stone of the same size and shape; but we are told by various sources that in the navagraha-yāga the nine planets were represented by real images, made of materials varying with the different planets; according to the rules laid down in the Yājñavalkya-smṛti (i, 292) the pratimās must be made of the following substances: Sūrya of copper (tāmra), Candra of crystal (sphatika), Maṅgala of red sandal, Budha and Brhaspati of gold, Śukra of silver, Śani of iron, Rāhu of lead (śīsa), Ketu of lead or brass (kāṁsya). But it is evident that, if one’s wealth does not allow such costly statues, simple earthen images will do. I must add that according to the Matsya-purāṇa (adhyāya 93, v. 15) each graha has its own adhīdevatā and praty-adhīdevatā, that is to say a presiding and sub-presiding divinity.
Sūrya.  
Candra.  
Maṅgala.  
Budha.  
Bṛhaspati.  
Śukra.  
Śani.  
Rāhu.  
Ketu.  

Adidevātā.  
Īśvara.  
Umā.  
Skanda.  
Hari.  
Brahmā.  
Indra.  
Yama.  
Kāla.  
Citragupta.  
Pratyadidevātā.  
Agni (fire).  
Āpah (water).  
Prthivi (earth).  
Viṣṇu.  
Indra.  
Śacī.  
Prajāpati.  
Sarpa.  
Brahma.

I did not succeed in grasping the formulas that the pāṇḍā who accompanied me recited before each planet; he was illiterate and had no knowledge whatever of Sanscrit, though he had been trained to repeat the few mantras that he recited in the daily services. But I know some of the mantras to the nine planets; they are preserved in Tāntric texts such as the Kāli-tantra, or in smṛti works such as the Tatvās of Raghunandana (here the mantras are those prescribed for the graha-yāga only). Other mantras are preserved in the chapter of the Matsya-purāṇa already referred to, and in anthologies like the Stava-kavaca-mālā, where they have been collected from various sources, Tāntric as well as Paurānic. Many of these mantras are followed by the dhyānas of the different planets, that is to say, by the description of the forms under which they must be meditated upon by the devotees. As these dhyānas are in general very interesting even from the iconographic point of view, I think that the translation of them as they appear in Tāntric works will prove useful to students of Indian religion.

"He (the devotee) must meditate upon Sūrya as having four arms and two lotuses and in the varada and abhaya mudrā; upon the moon as with the hands in the dāna.

1 There are many editions of the Stava-kavaca-mālā. One of the most popular in Bengal is that collected by Kālīprasanna Vidyāratna, where stotras, dhyānas, and mantras to the various grahas may be found in the third khaṇḍa. Other anthologies, such as the Stotra-ratna-mālā (Venkatesvara ed.) and Bṛhat-stotra-ratnākara (id.), must also be mentioned here.

2 The abhaya-mudrā consists in stretching the arm in front of oneself in an almost horizontal direction so that the top of the hand is as high as the head. The thumb is bent upon the palm; the palm of the hand
mudrā and holding the ambrosia; upon Maṅgala as a little hunchback and with a stick in his hands. He must meditate upon the son of Soma (Buddha) as a young boy with his curled hair moving on his forehead; upon the guru (of the gods, Brhaspati) with the sacrificial thread, a book, and the rosary (ākṣa-mālā); upon the guru of the demons (Śukra) as blind; upon Śani as lame, and upon Rāhu and Ketu as having deformed bodies and heads and being in terrific posture. The sun must be meditated upon as having a red body, the moon as white, Maṅgala as tawny, Buddha as yellowish-white, Śukra as yellow, Śani as black, Rāhu and Ketu as of various colours. These are the colours of the planets” (Kāli-tantra, ed. by Kāliprasanna Vidyāratna. Another Kāli-tantra is edited in the Sanskrit Sāhitya Parisāṭ, 18th Ullāṣa).

A more detailed dhāyāna of the planets, with the exception only of the sun and the moon, can be found in the chapter of the Kālikā-purāṇa already referred to:—

“Maṅgala wears a red garment; he holds the pike (śūla), arrows, and a club. He has four arms; his car is drawn by goats. He is in the attitude of the varada-mudrā.

“Buddha wears a yellow garment and holds the pike; he is adorned with a yellow garland and (anointed) with yellow anointment. He holds in his hands a sword, a shield, and a club. He stands on a lion, and is in the varada-mudrā.

“Brhaspati is fair as gold, wears a yellow garment, and stands on a golden bench. He holds in his left hand the ākṣa-mālā, the pot used by ascetics (kamandalu), and the stick. He is in the attitude of the varada-mudrā. He must be meditated upon as having four arms and possessed of omniscience.

“Śukra must be meditated upon as continually adored by the gods, as having a beautiful aspect, wearing a white garment, of white complexion, sitting on the snake Śaṅkha, looks towards the earth. Varada-mudrā or simply vara-mudrā: arm stretched as before, but a little inclined towards the earth; thumb as before, the back of the hand towards the earth. There are very many mudrās: cf. Pūjā-prakāśa, p. 123, Brhat-tantra-sāra, 391.
with four arms. He holds in the right hand the *akṣa-mālā* and the noose; the left hand is in the *abhaya* and *varada-mudrā*.

"Śani is blue, like sapphire: he holds the pike and is in the attitude of the *abhaya-mudrā*; his vehicle is a vulture. His weapons are the noose and the bow.

"Rāhu is on one side in the attitude of the *abhaya* and the *varada mudrās*, but on the other side he holds the sword and the shield; he sits on a lion, and is of black colour.

"Ketu is smoke-coloured with wide eyes, a tail, and four arms. He sits on a corpse and holds in his hands a sword, a shield, and arrows."

According to the *Matsya-purāṇa* (adhyāya 94) the *dhyāna* of the *nava-grahas* is somewhat different:

"Sūrya: His car is drawn by seven horses; he sits on a lotus, and holds a lotus in each hand. His colour is like that of the central part of a lotus. He has two arms.

*Caṇḍra*: White horses, white car, and white garment. Two arms; in one the club, and the other in the attitude of the *varada-mudrā*.

*Maṅgala*: Red garland, red garment. Four arms; three hands, holding arrows, a pike, and a club; one in the attitude of the *varada-mudrā*.

*Budha*: Yellow garland and garment; colour like that of the *karnikāra* flower; four arms, three holding sword, shield, and club, the other in the attitude of the *varada-mudrā*. Standing on the back of a lion.

*Bṛhaspati*: Yellow colour, four arms, one in the attitude of the *varada-mudrā*, the others holding the stick, the *akṣa-mālā*, and the *kamanḍalu*.

*Śukra*: Like *Bṛhaspati*, but of white colour.

*Śani*: On a vulture, four arms, one in the *varada-mudrā*, the others holding a pike, arrows, and a bow. Colour like sapphire.

*Rāhu*: On a lion; of blue colour. Four arms, one in the *varada-mudrā*, the others holding a sword, a shield, and a pike. Terrific aspect.
Ketu: Smoke-coloured; two arms; one hand in the varada-mudrā, the other holding a club. Deformed aspect."

In the Graha-yāga-tattva of Raghunandana other small differences may be met with. According to the dhyānas quoted in this book the moon sits on a white lotus. His horses are ten in number. The vehicle of Maṅgala is a goat. He has four arms; in the upper right hand he holds arrows, the lower is in the varada-mudrā attitude; in the upper left hand he holds the club; the lower is in the abhaya-mudrā attitude. Brhaspati sits on a lotus. Šukra, id. Śani, black colour, black garment. Rāhu, id.

Other dhyānas can be found in some recent compilations (nibandha), as, for instance, the Dhyāna-kalpa-druma (by Gurunāth Vidyānīdhī), or the Purohit-a-darpana, by Surescandra Mohan Bhaṭṭācārya, 20th ed., p. 127), which are generally followed by the priests and believers in Bengal.

Śūrya: Must be meditated upon as belonging to the kṣatriya caste, and to the Kāśyapa-gotra, red, as born in the Kaliṅga country, holding a lotus in each hand. He looks towards the east; his car is drawn by seven horses. The measure of his body is of twelve fingers (aṅguli). His presiding god is Śiva, his sub-presiding god Agni.

Candra: Must be meditated upon as belonging to the vaiśya caste and to the Āstreya-gotra, as born from the ocean, wearing a white garment, with one hand in the attitude of the varada-mudrā, the other holding the club. His car is drawn by ten horses; he sits on a white lotus; his presiding devatā is Umā, the sub-presiding devatā the water. His face looks towards the sun, and the measure of his body is of one hand (hasta).

Maṅgala: He must be meditated upon as belonging to the kṣatriya caste and to the Bhāradvāja-gotra, as born in the Avanti country, red, supported on a goat, wearing a red garment and a red garland, with four arms; he holds in the upper right hand an arrow and with the lower left arm a club; the
lower right arm is in the varada-mudrā attitude, and the upper left arm is in the abhaya-mudrā. He is the son of the earth, his presiding divinity is Skanda, his sub-presiding divinity is the earth. He looks towards the sun, and the measure of his body is of four fingers.

Buddha: Must be meditated upon as belonging to the vaisya caste, as born in the Magadha country, red, wearing a red garment, looking towards the sun; his vehicle is a lion, and he is born from the moon. He has four arms, holding in the upper left hand a shield, in the lower left hand a club, in the lower right hand a sword; the upper right hand is in the varada-mudrā. Measure of his body, two fingers. His presiding divinity is Nārāyaṇa, his sub-presiding divinity is Viṣṇu.

Byhaspati: Must be meditated upon as belonging to the Brahman caste, and to the Āngirasa-gotra, as born in the Sindhu country, yellow, wearing a yellow garment. He has four arms and sits on a lotus. He holds the rudrākṣa-mālā the stick, the kamanḍalu. The lower right arm is in the attitude of the varada-mudrā. He looks towards the sun. His presiding divinity is Brahmā, the sub-presiding divinity Indra.

Śukra: Must be meditated upon as belonging to the Brahman caste, and to the Bhārgava-gotra, as born in the Bhojakāṭa country. He stands on a lotus, looks towards the sun, is white and wears a yellow garment. He has four arms, in which he holds the akṣa-mālā, the kamanḍalu, and the stick. One hand is in the varada-mudrā attitude. Measure of his body, nine fingers. His presiding divinity is Śakra, and the sub-presiding divinity is Śacī.

Sani: Must be meditated upon as born in the Surāṣṭra country, as belonging to the Śuddra caste, and to the Kāśyapa-gotra; black, wearing a black garment. His vehicle is a vulture. He is born from the sun. He has four arms and holds bow and arrows. His presiding divinity is Yama, and the sub-presiding divinity is Prajāpati.

Rāhu: Must be meditated upon as born in the Malaya
country, as belonging to the Taithina-gotra, and to the Śūdra caste. His vehicle is a lion; he is black, and wears a black garment. He has four arms, in which he holds a sword, a pike, and a shield; one arm is in the varada-mudrā attitude. He looks towards the sun; his presiding divinity is Kāla, the sub-presiding divinity is a snake. Measure of his body, twelve fingers.

Ketu: Must be meditated upon as born in the Kuśa-dviḍa, belonging to the Śūdra caste, and the Jaiminīya-gotra, smoke-coloured. He wears a garment smoke-coloured, and looks towards the sun: his vehicle is a vulture, and he has a deformed aspect. He holds a club; one hand is in the varada-mudrā attitude. His presiding divinity is Citragupta, and his sub-presiding divinity is Brahmā. Measure of his body, six fingers.

According to the Kālī-tantra the special mantras or mystical formulas for the various planets are the following ¹:

Sūrya: praṇava māyābīja tigmarasminē ārogyādāya vahnivalabhaḥ, that is to say: Oṃ hṛīṁ tigmarasminē ārogyādāya svāhā. "Oṃ hṛīṁ unto the sun whose rays are pungent and who bestows health."

Soma: kāmabīja māyā vānibīja amṛta karaṅgṛta plavaya, twice: vahni-priyā; klim hṛīṁ āim amṛta-karaṅgṛta plavaya plavaya svāhā. "Klim hṛīṁ āim; let the ambrosia of the moon overflow."

Maṅgala: vānī gagana repha ā bindu māyā sarvadūṣṭān nāśaya, twice, vahnipriyā: āim, hram, hṛīṁ sarvadūṣṭān nāśaya nāśaya svāhā. "Āim hṛīṁ hṛīṁ destroy, destroy all the wicked."

Buddha: māyā lakṣmī saumya sarvān kāmān pūraya vahnipriyā: hṛīṁ śrīṁ, etc. "Hṛīṁ śrīṁ; O gentle one, fulfil all (my) desires."

Bṛhaspati: tārā vānī suraguro abhiṣṭam yaçaḥ yaçaḥ

¹ In order to give an idea of this kind of literature I reproduce the mantras as they appear in their esoteric language, adding, however, a translation of those passages which convey some meaning.
agnivallabhā: oṃ aṁ, etc. “Oṃ aṁ; O guru of the gods, bestow upon me what I desire.”

Śukra: six ś with long vowels: sāṁ śiṁ śūṁ sāṁ śauṁ śa. 

Śani: gagana repha with four long vowels, sarvaśatrūn vidrāvaya twice: mārtandasūnave namah. hrūṁ hrūṁ hrūṁ hrūṁ hrāum, etc. “Hrāum, etc., dispel all enemies; namas unto the son of the sun.”

Rāhu: ra ā bindu hrāum bhraum soma śatro śatrūn vidhvamsaya, twice rāhu in the dative case, namah: rāṁ, etc., rāhave namah. “Rāṁ, etc., O enemy of the moon, destroy the enemies; namas unto Rāhu.”

Ketu: kṛūṁ hrūṁ ketave namah. “Kṛūṁ, etc., namas unto Ketu.”

For other formulas used in the worship of the nava-grahas, which is very common in every Tāntric pūjā, cf. Bṛhat-tantra-sāra, by Kṛṣṇānanda, 2nd Pariccheda.

I do not need to quote here the mantras used in the Graha-yāga; they can be found in smyti works like the manual of Raghunandana already referred to. Moreover, these mantras are taken in their totality from the Vedic literature.

Addendum.—When I wrote this article the volume of C. R. Kaye, Hindu Astronomy (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, N. 18), was known to me only by name. Recently I saw it and found that it deals also with the iconography of the Nava-grahas. It should therefore be referred to in my article. To the sources concerning the Nava-grahas we may add Agni-purāṇa (A.S.S.), p. 62, Bhaviṣyā-purāṇa (Venkaṭeśvara Press), p. 503, Nāraḍiya-purāṇa (ibid.), p. 122, Viṣṇudharmottara (ibid.), p. 62, Meru-tantra (ibid.), p. 492.

Giuseppe Tucci.
Akbar II as Pretender: A Study in Anarchy

BY R. B. WHITEHEAD

(PLATE VI)

Akbar Shāh, son of the Mughal emperor Shāh ‘Ālam II, was elevated to the throne of Delhi as pretender eighteen years previous to his accession as Akbar II, and money was struck in his name. The addition of another claimant to the dynastic list was communicated in a joint paper by Mr. S. H. Hodivala and myself, which appeared in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for the year 1922, and to which I invite reference. I had found a copper coin of Ahmadābād mint bearing the name of Akbar Shāh and date a.h. 1203, which made me conjecture whether Ghulām Qādir Khān, the “unspeakable Rohilla”, raised another prince to the Mughal throne after the puppet Bedār Bakht (a.h. 1202–3), who might or might not be identical with the Akbar Shāh, eldest surviving son of Shāh ‘Ālam II, who succeeded his father in the regular way as Akbar II in the year a.h. 1221 (a.d. 1806). I put the matter to Mr. Hodivala, a leading authority on Mughal history, and his reply was that “it has not yet been possible to find an absolutely complete and satisfactory solution of the problem connected with the Akbar Shāh coins of a.h. 1203, but there would seem to be fairly good grounds for answering the question in the affirmative”. The fullest account of the transactions which led to the deposition and blinding of Shāh ‘Ālam II is in the ‘Ibratnāmah (Book of Warning) of Faqir Khairu-d-dīn Muḥammad, but this work closes soon after recounting the terrible cruelties practised on the Emperor Shāh ‘Ālam and his family by the infamous Ghulām Qādir, whose atrocities the author describes

1 Read at the Oriental Congress, Oxford, on 31st August, 1928.
2 Bedār Bakht, “of wakeful fortune.” He was a son of Ahmad Shāh Bahādur, and grandson of Muḥammad Shāh.
at length. Mr. Hodivala's search through other contemporary histories was infructuous, but he discovered a clue to the solution of the puzzle in Seton-Karr's Selections from the Calcutta Gazettes.

Since the appearance of the above paper I have discovered more material, both documentary and numismatic, and I propose to make a connected story of it all.

**Ghulām Qādir Khān.**—His grandfather Najibu-d-daulah, a Rohilla chief, was Paymaster General, then Chief of the Nobility in the reign of ʿAlamgir II. The town of Sahāranpūr and surrounding districts were bestowed on the Rohilla; this fief included Meerut and the fort of Ghausgarh. Najibud-daulah was succeeded in 1770 by his son Ẓābitah Khān, and the latter by Ghulām Qādir Khān in A.D. 1785.

**Akbar Shāh.**—Akbar Shāh, the eldest surviving son of Shāh ʿĀlam, became heir-apparent after the death in June, 1788, of Prince Jahāndār Shāh, Jawān Balḵt.

This contribution is concerned with a lurid episode in the decay of the Mughal Empire. It was the year A.D. 1788 (A.H. 1202–3). Shāh ʿĀlam II had been on the throne for nearly thirty years. The house of Taimūr had long ceased to exercise any effective rule outside the walls of the palace-fort at Delhi, and the emperor was merely a figure-head under the control of the latest upstart power. A popular rhyme current at the time of a former ʿĀlam Shāh of Delhi was equally true of his namesake three hundred years later.²

*Bādshāh i ʿĀlam
Az Dīhli tā Pālam.*

The emperor of the world,
(Whose dominion extends) from Dihli to Pālam.³

Peace and security had vanished, and the countryside was the prey of contending factions. Shāh ʿĀlam, destitute of

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1 See H. G. Keene's *Fall of the Mughal Empire.*
3 Pālam is now a station on the Rajputana–Malwa Railway, about seven miles from Delhi.
energy, weak of will, and infirm of judgment, "the pageant of every successful party," soon had the mortification to perceive his authority totally annihilated. Not only was the capital helpless to defend itself against threats from outside; there was unceasing party violence within, owing to the unrestrained dissensions and jealousies of the Mughal nobles. The unfortunate emperor called upon Mahratta aid, and Madhava Rao Sindhia, Rajah of Gwalior, took possession of Delhi in January, 1785. Sindhia's resources were amply sufficient to restore law and order, and to enforce respect towards the emperor.

Towards the end of 1785 died Zābitah Khān, ruler of Sahāranpūr; he was succeeded in his territories by his eldest son Ghulām Qādir Khān, "a youth proud, cruel, and ferocious. To him it was reserved to disgrace the house of Timoor, and to add the last outrage to the miseries of a long and most unfortunate reign" (W.F., pp. 139, 140). The first act of Ghulām Qādir Khān was to appear in open rebellion, and his example was followed by the Rajah of Jaipur. Sindhia lost a pitched battle in the year 1787, and the check was so severe that the Mahratta retired as far as Gwalior, where he awaited reinforcements. A force under Ismail Beg, a leading Mughal noble, started to reduce the fort of Agra which was still in the hands of the Mahrattas.

These events deprived the emperor of his protector, and the stage is now set for the ensuing tragedy. Ghulām Qādir Khān had arrived before Delhi with an armed force, and had fired upon the palace from the opposite bank of the river Jumna. There are lucid accounts in letters written to Warren Hastings in England, where he was undergoing his impeachment, by his friends and correspondents in India.¹ Major William Palmer, British agent with Sindhia, reports to Warren Hastings by a letter dated Sindhia's Camp near Gwalior,

¹ Warren Hastings Papers, vol. xi, British Museum Library. I am indebted for this reference to the kindness of Mr. T. G. P. Spear, St. Stephen's College, Delhi. I have modernized the spelling of personal names.
30th December, 1787, that Sindhia has no present prospect of retrieving his affairs. "Ghulâm Qâdir Khân, son of Zâbitah Khân, is making a rapid progress in the reduction of forts subject to Sindhia in the Doab (region between the Ganges and the Jumna). He commands about two thousand desperate Rohillas and has a good train of artillery. Ghulâm Qâdir is exceedingly obnoxious to the Shah whom he lately cannonaded in his palace, which the old King will never forgive, although he was forced into an accommodation by the chiefs who dreaded the return of Sindhia to power. The country had a better prospect of repose from the rule of Sindhia than from the chiefs who have dispossessed him."

Major Palmer wrote on the 5th March, 1788. "The situation of the Shah in this scene of distraction is truly deplorable. No person being yet appointed to the conduct of his affairs in the room of Sindhia, nor any of the competitors powerful enough to assume it, no revenue is allotted to his support and he suffers the severest personal distress."

Ghulâm Qâdir had already made one attempt on Delhi where he arrived with a small but efficient force in the autumn of the year 1787. With the connivance of Mansûr ‘Alî Khân, the imperial Nazir (Comptroller of the Household), he entered the palace and petitioned the emperor for the vacant office of Amîru-l-Umrâ. But on this occasion he was foiled by the arrival of the Begum Somroo's disciplined troops, and had to retire to Sahâranpûr (W.F., pp. 148f.) Subsequently Shâh 'Alam displayed some show of energy, and occupied the early months of the year 1788 in reducing turbulent chiefs in the neighbourhood of Delhi. There was a successful action against the fort of Gokulgarh in which the Begum Somroo behaved with great gallantry, and was rewarded with the title of the emperor's "most beloved daughter" (W.F., p. 169). Shâh 'Alam then returned to his capital.

1 The title figures on the Begum's seal. Gokulgarh is near Rewari, now in the Gurgaon District of the Punjab; coins were struck there in the name of Shâh 'Alam.
Meanwhile Ghulām Qādir had been playing fast and loose with his associate Ismail Beg, and the latter had sustained a severe defeat by the advancing Mahrattas under the walls of Agra. The Mahrattas could have taken immediate possession of Delhi, but Sindhia tarried at Muttra, and the unfortunate Shāh 'Ālam was left exposed to the treachery of his servants and to dethronement, plunder, and loss of sight. Ghulām Qādir had joined forces with Ismail Beg, the two had occupied Delhi, entered the palace-fort, and seized the persons of the emperor and the royal household. These events happened in July, A.D. 1788.

Ghulām Qādir's object was to extort all he could in the time at his disposal from the citizens of Delhi in general, and in particular to force the emperor to disclose the whereabouts of the hidden treasure which was said to exist in various parts of the palace. His occupation lasted ten weeks; it was a large-scale dacoity of a prolonged and horrid nature. What Ghulām Qādir's contemporaries found unpardonable was the fact that he did not even respect the honour of the Haram. I propose to avail myself of three parallel narratives: Jonathan Scott's account published only six years after the event, the authoritative announcements in the Calcutta Gazette, and letters written at the time to Warren Hastings.

The Calcutta Gazette for Thursday, 21st August, 1788, announces "Revolution at Delhee. On the 2nd instant, Ghoolam Cadir Khan and Ismail Beg Khan deposed the King Shah Aalum, and placed on the throne of Hindostan Beidar Bukht, son of Ahmad Shah, and grandson of Mohummud Shah. The circumstances of this revolution extracted from the authentic Delhee papers are as follows". In brief, the confederates having extorted mandates from the king, and desiring the neighbouring chiefs to join them and a prince of the blood Sulaimān Shikoh \(^1\) for the expulsion of Sindhia, confined every person in the metropolis suspected of possessing wealth. Great alarm was excited, and the

\(^1\) "As magnificent as Solomon."
king summoned Ghulām Qādir to the presence. The latter represented the great want of money for the troops, and concluded a long parley by the ultimatum that if His Majesty desired peace, he must pay ten lakhs of rupees, otherwise Ghulām Qādir would take what he could. The king replied that had he possessed any money, he would not have been reduced to his deplorable position. Thereupon the confederates summoned a young prince from the seraglio named Bedār Bakht and made him king. The deposed emperor, with Akbar Shāh, the eldest prince, and seventeen other princes, were sent to a place called the Asad Burj (Lion Tower)\(^1\); the conduct of Ghulām Qādir was most insulting to the king and his family. According to a journal of the “monstrous transactions of the unfeeling Gholaum Kaudir” quoted at length by Jonathan Scott, the deposition took place on the 26th July (J.S., pp. 285 f.). The utmost menaces were employed to force Shāh 'Ālam to produce money and jewels. Private apartments were searched, floors dug up and ceilings pulled down, ladies stripped and whipped; the palace was filled with cries and lamentations. On 10th August, Shāh 'Ālam was blinded (J.S., p. 293). “The mode in which they deprived the king of his eyes appears to have been peculiarly cruel. The instrument used was a short sharp-pointed dagger, the use of which must have made this horrid act of barbarity agonizing to the last degree. The old man is, however, said to have survived the torture and to be alive, although he refuses assistance, and it is thought he cannot live long”\(^2\) (C.G., 4th September).

By the middle of August the Mahrattas were outside the city walls. On 26th August, Bedār Shāh requested Ghulām

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\(^1\) To prevent rebellions, all scions of the royal family, male and female, passed their lives in confinement within the precincts of the palace-fort.

\(^2\) The philosophic side of Shāh 'Ālam's nature came to his aid. Contemptible as an autocrat, he could yet endure with fortitude and survive a great physical calamity. W. Francklin gives the translation of a lament said to have been written by the king after the loss of his sight (W.F., pp. 180, 250).
Qādir to dethrone him as he was weary of a dignity which did not afford him and his family the most common necessaries of life. By this time the confederates had quarrelled over the division of the booty; Ismail Beg withdrew and made overtures to the Mahrattas. Ghulām Qādir's affairs had grown desperate and he prepared to evacuate the palace. Early in October he crossed to the east bank of the Jumna, taking with him the titular emperor Bedār Shāh, Akbar Shāh, and other sons of Shāh 'Ālam, together with two aged Begums. A detachment of Mahrattas took possession of the city and palace, and Shāh 'Ālam was released from his confinement. "New coins were ordered to be struck in the name of Shah Aulum, who was again treated as emperor; but he wished to decline the throne in favour of Akbar Shah, whom he had always intended for his successor" (J.S., p. 304).

"Gholaum Kaudir a few days after his departure from Dhely, disgusted at some behaviour of Bedar Shaw, or hoping to obtain an accommodation with the Mahrattas by regaining the favour of Shaw Aulum, dethroned his newly made sovereign, and acknowledged as emperor Akber Shaw. Such was the affection of Shaw Aulum to his son that on hearing of his exaltation he wrote to Gholaum Kaudir and the treacherous Nazir, assuring them of his pardon for the injuries he had sustained by their conduct, and thanking them for placing his son on the throne. He entreated Rana Khan, the Mahratta general, to acknowledge Akber Shaw; but that chief refused, saying that he could not do so while the prince was in fact only a prisoner in the hands of Gholaum Kaudir Khan" (J.S., p. 304). This evidence that Akbar Shāh was enthroned by the execrable king-maker in succession to Bedār Shāh is corroborated by the Calcutta Gazette of the 30th October. According to this issue "the latest papers received, dated 17th October, mention that Golaum Cadir had in his camp proclaimed King Meerza Akber Shah, the favourite son of Shah Aulum, and that the latter was highly pleased with this intelligence". Further proof is contained
in a letter from John Hollond, Madras, to Warren Hastings, dated the 31st January, 1789 (Hastings, p. 269). "You will no doubt be informed by some of your correspondents in Bengal of the Revolutions that have lately taken place at Delhi, Ghulam Cawdir's seizing the Person of the King, his depriving him of sight and setting his son Mirza Akbar on the throne will most probably be particularly detailed to you and with more minuteness than it would be possible for me to attempt. By the latest advices received from that quarter we are informed that Scindia after suffering great reverses of fortune had recovered his former Power, that he was in possession of Delhi, and had replaced the old King upon the throne. That celebrated capital of the Empire seems to have been doomed to be a scene of perpetual convulsion, anarchy and distress."

Jonathan Scott, author of the History of the Dekkan from which I have already quoted, writes to Warren Hastings from Netley on the 20th May, 1789 (Hastings, p. 414). "I have a dreadful account of the unfortunate fate of Shaw Aulum and his family. The poor old thing had his eyes put out, wanted common necessaries, and was often beaten by the abominable Golaum Kadir, who made the young Princes sing for his amusement. Upon the approach of the Mahrattas, Golaum Kadir evacuated Dhely, carrying with him nineteen of Shaw Aulum's Sons and the poor aged Empress Mallekeh Zummaneh ¹ to his Camp threatening to murder them, but some days after, having a quarrel with his King Bedar Shaw, who had displeased him by going into the Bazar to fly a Kite, he deposed him and proclaimed Akber Shaw the favourite son of Shaw Aulum. . . . Perhaps you may have these and later accounts. If you have, I shall esteem it a great favour if you will let my Brother send them me, as I wish to make use of them in my history."

I will now finish with Ghulâm Qâdir. He was pressed back

¹ Widow of Muḥammad Shāh.
by the Mahrattas and their allies to Meerut, where he stood a siege; he had great fighting capabilities. The Calcutta Gazette for 4th December, 1788, observes: "Nothing particular has of late transpired at Delhi; the last accounts from that quarter announce the continuance of Golaum Kadir Cawn accompanied by his new elected King Mirza Akbar Shaw, his late King Bedar Shaw, and several other Princes at a place called Meerut, about four days march from his Capital Saharanpoor. His army experiences every distress from the scarcity kept up by the Mahratta army who cut off all his supplies and have hitherto prevented him from proceeding into Ghousghur." On 1st January, 1789, is this item of news: "We understand Golaum Cadir Kawn has at length met a fate which will probably lead to a due return for his cruelties. On the 18th ultimo (December) the Fort of Meerat was stormed by the Mahratta chiefs, and Golaum Cadir fled with three hundred horse. He was probably taken. The Princes were all found safe in the Fort of Meerat." According to Scott (J.S., p. 304) the assault took place on 21st December, 1788. Ghulām Qādir escaped, but his horse fell under him and he was brought in a prisoner to the Mahratta camp; there he was placed in an iron cage, his nose, ears, hands and feet were cut off, and in this mutilated condition he was sent to Delhi, but died on the road. His accomplice, the treacherous Nazir, was trodden to death under the feet of an elephant (W.F., p. 184). The princes were escorted back to the capital, where they returned to their former confinement.

Akbar's short-lived assumption of imperial honours was known to certain well-informed people—John Hollond had heard of it in distant Madras, Jonathan Scott knew about it, the Calcutta Gazette had it—but apparently it has yet to be discovered in indigenous chronicles. William Francklin was familiar with Delhi, and had an audience of His Majesty Shāh 'Ālam and Mirza Akbar Shāh on 11th March, 1794 (W.F., p. 211), yet his otherwise fully informed and lucid narrative,
published only ten years after it, fails to mention this event. 1 Why did Ghulām Qādir choose Bedār Bakht? 2 We are told that the favourite amusement of this poor puppet king was to fly kites in the streets of the metropolis. Ghulām Qādir wanted a pliant tool, but he was soon dissatisfied with his titular's stupidity and childishness, and the idea of replacing Bedār Shāh by Akbar Shāh soon occurred to him. On 7th August, Ghulām Qādir told Shāh 'Ālam that "he was sorry for his treasons, but would make amends by seating his son Meerza Akber on the throne" (J.S., p. 292). What is the approximate duration of the reign of each pretender? According to the journal quoted by Scott, Bedār Bakht was raised to the throne on 26th July; Keene says 29th July; the Calcutta Gazette, 2nd August. His coins are of the first regnal year, and of Hijri years 1202 and 1203. The first day of Muḥarram (New Year's Day), a.h. 1203, corresponded with 2nd October, 1788. Jonathan Scott does not give the exact day of Ghulām Qādir's final departure from Delhi with the princes (J.S., p. 303), but Keene says 11th October. The unique rupee of Akbar Shāh as pretender struck at Shāhjahanābād (Delhi) mint is dated a.h. 1202; the other known coins 1203. The Shāhjahanābād rupee appears to have been issued before Ghulām Qādir abandoned Delhi, yet we are told that Akbar was made king in Ghulām Qādir's camp after leaving the capital. Of course, the rupee may have been coined in intelligent anticipation of the event. It is safe to say that Bedār Bakht's deposition and Akbar Shāh's accession took place in the first fortnight of October, 1788. The latest date for the conclusion of Akbar Shāh's pretendership is that on which the Mahrattas stormed Meerut, 18th or 21st December, 1788.

1 The List of Authorities includes three indigenous chronicles of Shāh 'Ālam's reign.
2 What share chance played in the choice of a prince under similar circumstances is dramatically told by W. Irvine with regard to the accession of Rafi‘u-d-darjāt, a consumptive youth of twenty, who succeeded Farrukhšiyyar ("The Later Mughals," J.A.S.B., 1904).
The Coins of Bedār Bakht

In Francklin's history of Shāh 'Ālam we read that "Bedar Shah was saluted by the rebels as emperor of Hindostaun under the title of Jehaun Shah" (W.F., p. 176). The diary used by Jonathan Scott records that on 30th July, 1788, "thirty thousand rupees were found buried in the floor of a room, besides some plate. The Rohilla sent the latter to the mint and commanded coins to be struck in the name of Bedar Shaw, with the following inscription: The supporter of the true religion of Mahummud, Bedar Shaw, by the grace of God stamped coins throughout the world" (J.S., p. 288). According to the Persian chronicle called Miftāḥu-t-tawārīkh, the coin couplet of Bedār Bakht was:

حامي دين نبي بيدار شاه
سكه زد در هند از فضل اله

The supporter of the religion of the Prophet, Bedar Shāh,
By the grace of God stamped coins in Hind.

This is a variant of Scott's couplet. But the distich as found on all existing gold and silver coins of Bedār Bakht is:

سكه زد بزر وارت تاج وتخت
شاه جهان محمد بيدار بخت

Struck coin on gold, the heir of crown and throne,
Shāh Jahān Muḥammad Bedār Bakht

Bedār Bakht's 'alam was Muḥammad, and his imperial name Shāh Jahān; this confirms Francklin's statement.

On the reverse side of the gold and silver coins are the usual formula Sanah aḥad julūs ma'imānat mānūs zarb, "struck in the first regnal year associated with prosperity," the Hijri year 1202 or 1203, and the name of the mint which is either Aḥmadābād or the capital Shāhjahānābād, the latter being
associated with its honorific epithet Dāru-l-khilāfat, “seat of the Khalifate.” These coins are very scarce, silver being even rarer than gold.

The legends on the unique copper coin, of Aḥmadābād mint, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, with the rest of Mr. H. Nelson Wright’s coins of the later Mughals, are سنہ احمد سب احمداباد فلوس یادار شاهی with a sword as mint-mark. Perhaps Ghulām Qādir Khān had a partisan in power at the distant capital of Gujarat. The fact remains that not only were coins struck at Aḥmadābād bearing the names of both pretenders, but the local series issued in the name of Shāh ‘Ālam under Mahratta and British auspices was interrupted just at this time by money of Shāh ‘Ālam of imperial type in all three metals, which is identical in style with the coins of Bedār Bakht. I invite a comparison of the reverse of P.M. Cat. 2858 with the reverse of 3248.

THE COINS OF AKBAR SHĀH AS PRETENDER

The coins of Akbar Shāh as pretender are quite different from those struck by him as emperor (P.M. Cat., Nos. 3250 f.). The unassigned silver coin P.M. Cat. 3277, of date A.H. 1203, which bears the name Akbar Shāh, can now be assigned with certainty to the reign of Akbar Shāh as pretender. I found a duplicate of it in the Jullundur City bazar in 1920, which shows that the mint is Sahāranpūr, Ghulām Qādir’s capital,¹ with its honorific epithet Dāru-s-surūr, “abode of pleasure.” The coin couplet is:

\[
\text{زد سکے درجهان به فضل الله}
\]

\[
\text{حاجی دین محمد أكبر شاه}
\]

Struck coin in the world by the grace of God,
The supporter of the religion of Muḥammad, Akbar Shāh.

¹ There is an allusion to “Seharunpore, the capital of the late Gholaum Cadir Khan” on p. 46 of W. Francklin’s Military Memoirs of Mr. George Thomas, Calcutta, 1803.
This couplet is a slight variant of that said by the author of the *Mukhtasar-i-Siyar-i-Gulshan-i-Hind* to have been stamped on the coins of Akbar II (C. J. Rodgers, *J.A.S.B.*, 1888, p. 32).

In my paper "Some Notable Coins of the Mughal Emperors of India", part ii, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1926, I published a newly discovered and unique couplet rupee of Shâhjahânâbâd mint, bearing date 1202.

Copper coins of Akbar Shâh as pretender were struck at Sahâranpûr, Shâhjahânâbâd, and Ahmadâbâd mints—see the contribution just mentioned. Both silver and copper issues of Sahâranpûr mint bear the mark $\downarrow$ on the reverse side. There are thus five known issues of Akbar Shâh as pretender, and apart from the coin in the Punjab Museum, each issue is represented by a single specimen. All five were in my collection and went with it to the British Museum in April, 1922.

REFERENCES

A.D. Anno Domini.
A.H. Anno Hijri.

C.G. The Calcutta Gazette or Oriental Advertiser. Published by Authority.

File in the India Office Library.


EXPLANATION OF PLATE VI

LIST OF COINS

Fig.

1.—Rupee of Akbar Shâh struck at *Dâru-l-khâlafta* Shâhjahânâbâd in A.H. 1202, first regnal year.

2.—*FULS* of Akbar Shâh struck at Shâhjahânâbâd in A.H. 1203, first regnal year.

3.—Rupee of Akbar Shâh struck at *Dâru-s-sulâr* Sahâranpûr in A.H. 1203, first regnal year. Mint mark $\uparrow$. 
4. — *Fulūs* of Akbar Shāh struck at *Dāru-s-surūr* Sahāranpūr in the first regnal year; Hijrī date off the coin. Mint mark 〒.
7. — Gold coin of Bedār Bakht struck at Aḥmadābād in the first regnal year; Hijrī date off the coin. Mint mark a sword.

All the above coins are in the British Museum; a duplicate of 3 is P.M. Cat. 3277. Issue 8 in gold is P.M. Cat. 2858. The legends on the reverses of P.M. Cat. 2858, and of 7 and 8 above are similar in type and style.
Coins of Akbar Shah as Pretender, and of Bedar Bakht.
Hippokoura et Satakarni

By J. PRZYLUSKI

QUAND on cherche à décomposer les noms des villes indiennes énumérées dans les Tables de Ptolémée, on constate que plusieurs d'entre eux sont formés d'un nom grec et d'un mot indien signifiant "ville". 1 Hippokoura (Ptolémée, vii, 1, 83) est un bon exemple de ce type de composés. Ce nom, formé du grec hippos "cheval" et de l'indien kura "ville", signifie "ville du cheval". Mais de quel cheval s'agit-il ? Et pourquoi servait-il à désigner la cité ?

* * * * *

Les rois Andhras portent souvent un nom : Satakani en prâkrit des monnaies, sanskritisé en Śātakarnī. On veut y voir le nom d'une seule dynastie, mais cette opinion est douteuse, car on trouve des Śātakarnī pendant une durée de cinq siècles et il est peu probable qu'une même famille se soit maintenue au pouvoir pendant une période si longue et si troublée de l'histoire indienne.

Dans la littérature sanskrite, Śātakarnī alterne avec Śātavāhana et Śālivāhana et on trouve dans les inscriptions : Śātakani, Sadakani, Śāda°, Sati°. Aucune étymologie satisfaissante n'a été donnée de ces formes et une explication, pour être valable, n'en devra négliger aucune.

"On est tenté, dit M. Barnett, 2 de rapprocher (les Satakani) des Śātiyaputa (Asoka, Inscription II), des Setae que Pline décrit aussitôt après les Andhras et de la tribu des Śātaka ou Śātaka." Cette remarque indique la voie que nous allons suivre.

Si l'on pose Śātiyaputa = Satakani, il reste, après avoir retranché Sata et son dérivé Sātiya, l'équivalence puta =

2 Cambridge History of India, i, p. 599.
kani. Il faut donc examiner si kani peut être un mot andhra ayant le même sens que puta “fils” en moyen-indien.

En munda, on a kon “fils” et cette racine est commune à un grand nombre de langues austroasiatiques. La voyelle o de kon est très ouverte et voisine de a. Kani paraît bien être la notation d’un ancien mot austroasiatique réduit à kon dans la plupart des langues modernes. Un i final se rencontre encore en juāng où koni a le sens de “fils”. Satakani signifie sans doute “fils de Sata” et Śatakarni est une sanskritisation de ce nom tribal qui peut avoir été porté par plusieurs dynasties.

Les langues mundas ont en outre han et hapan “fils”. Le premier provient de *kan par amuisssement de l’initiale 2 et le second est analogue au premier avec, en outre, un infixe pa. Cet infixe est utilisé en munda pour former des noms collectifs et le P. Schmidt a montré 3 que les infixes sont parfois d’anciens préfixes introduits dans le corps du mot. Il est donc possible que hapan < *pahan. Si l’on pose un mot andhra tel que *Satapahana on conçoit aisément qu’il ait été sanskritisé sous la forme Śatavāhana.

Enfin la forme munda sans infixe han “fils”, aurait pu donner *Śātahana. Un nom analogue est précisément attesté par Hemacandra 4 qui cite le patronymique Śālāhaṇa, lequel se relie à Śātahana comme Śālivāhana à Śatavāhana. Les équivalents mundas de Śātiyaputa sont donc susceptibles d’expliquer non seulement le Śatakani des inscriptions, mais, en outre, une série de formes plus ou moins sanskritisées: Śatakarnī, Śatavāhana, Śālāhaṇa.

Puisque, dans Śatakarnī, Śatavāhana, etc., le second élément se ramène à un original munda, il reste à examiner si le premier terme peut s’expliquer de la même manière.

1 Les Langues du Monde, p. 396.
3 Grundzüge einer Lautelehre der Khasi-Sprache, p. 708.
On trouve dans les inscriptions Sāta° et Sāda°. Voici le nom du “cheval” dans un certain nombre de langues mundas :

- santali : sadām
- mahle : sādam
- mundari : sādam
- birhar : sādam
- dhanger : sādam

Sātakani = Sādakani pouvait donc signifier “fils du cheval”. Il apparaît ici que les résultats de nos analyses se confirment réciproquement. Hippokoura, nom de la capitale des Andhras, signifie “ville du cheval” et le patronymique des rois Andhras peut s’interpréter “fils du cheval”. Le même dieu, vénéré sous la forme du cheval, aurait donné son nom à la ville royale et aux princes considérés comme ses descendants. D’autres faits viennent à l’appui de cette interprétation.

Les recherches récentes de M. Dumont sur l’āsvamedha ont mis en lumière le rôle procréateur du cheval dans les familles princières. Les rois Andhras, nous le savons, ont célébré le sacrifice du cheval. Or, le rite final de cette cérémonie consacrait une union magique, et partant féconde, entre la première reine et le cheval sacrifié. Les princes issus de cette union pouvaient donc s’appeler “fils du cheval”.

Le doublet Sātiyaputa/Sālivāhana est enfin susceptible d’expliquer deux formes qui paraissaient s’exclure dans les manuscrits de Pline. Au VIe livre, § 104, de l’Histoire Naturelle, la lectio vulgata est Cœlobothras. Mais certains manuscrits, et parmi eux les plus anciens, ont Celebothonas. Sous ce dernier mot, M. Sylvain Lévi a proposé de restituer une forme Çālavādhana ou Çālavāhana. “Une modification très légère et parfaitement autorisée par la paléographie, permet de substituer au groupe th le groupe ch avec lequel il est confondu souvent dans la graphie du Xe siècle ; on arrive ainsi directement de Celebothonas à Çālavāhana, le
étant la transcription la plus exacte du ḍō indien." 1 Celebechonas est en effet voisin de Čālavāhāna. Mais il ne suit nullement que la lecture Cœlobothras soit à rejeter. 

"bothras est évidemment la transcription du mot sanskrit putra que nous avons trouvé dans Sātiyaputra. Il semble bien que Pline ait consigné dans son œuvre deux variantes d'égale valeur entre lesquelles les copistes ont cru légitime de choisir.

*A*  *  *  *  *  *

A. Cunningham a décrit une série de monnaies des Andhras, parmi lesquelles deux portent l'image d'un cheval. Sur plusieurs monnaies de cette série, on lit, à côté d'un nom royal, un titre terminé en "kura." M. Rapson, qui a corrigé les transcriptions de Cunningham, lit les deux titres : Viḷivāyakura et Sivalakura. 3 M. Sylvain Lévi, dont l'attention s'est portée récemment sur ces inscriptions énigmatiques, a dû répéter à son tour ce que disait déjà M. Rapson en 1908 :

"No satisfactory explanation has yet been given of the forms Viḷivāyakura and Sivalakura." 4

Si kura est un mot anaryen signifiant "ville", Viḷivāya et Sivala doivent désigner la ville où résidaient les rois qui inscrivaient ces noms sur leurs monnaies ; autrement dit, ces princes ont dû prendre pour titre le nom de leur capitale. Un tel usage est attesté dans l'Inde ancienne. Le roi que les historiens grecs appellent Taxilēs portait le nom de sa ville Takṣasilā, et Strabon (XV, i, 36) nous apprend que le roi des Prasi devait "ajouter à son nom de famille le surnom de Palibothros, comme fit par exemple Sandrokottos auprès de qui Megasthène fut envoyé comme ambassadeur.".

Comme l'avait déjà suggéré Cunningham, Sivalakura doit être en relation avec Śīva. Sivala paraît bien être un dérivé moyen-indien de Śīva. Il semble que le roi Ġivalaîte

1 Journ. As., 1890, ii, p. 549, n. 4.
2 Coins of Ancient India, p. 108.
3 Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra dynasty, p. xxxvii.
Mādhārīputra ait donné à sa capitale et pris pour lui-même le nom du dieu.

Quant à Vīlīvīyakura, il ressemble singulièrement au titre royal Beleokouro noté par Ptolémée. M. Sylvain Lévi qui lisait Beleokouroos ¹ a déjà observé cette ressemblance. La leçon Beleokouroos adoptée par M. Renou ² laisse encore mieux apercevoir le parallélisme des formes.

Dans les Tables de Ptolémée, la capitale du roi Beleokouroos est appelée Hippokoura. Il semble que

Hippokoura
*Beleokoura
Vīlīvīyakura

soient trois noms d’une même capitale. Ceci admis, si l’on isole l’élément kura “ville” commun à ces trois noms, il reste : vīlīvī(ya) = beleo = hippos = cheval.

On a précisément en sanskrit vaḍārā “jument” et vaḍāva “cheval qui ressemble à une jument” auxquels correspond en pali vaḷavā “jument” ou “cheval”. Il est possible que dans Hippokoura hippo° soit la traduction grecque de l’indo-aryen vaḍāvā, vaḷavā. Examinons de plus près cette conjecture.

Phonétiquement, l’équivalence baḍava°/vaḷavā° = beleo° suppose, d’une part, une contraction de vā en o et, d’autre part, un changement de timbre des deux premiers a. Le premier phénomène n’a rien de surpréhant ; toutefois, dans les transcriptions grecques de noms géographiques indiens o < va est généralement noté o : Peukelaoûs = Puṣkalāvatī, Hydðaotês = Irāvatī. Le changement de timbre des deux premiers a de *vaḍavākura/*vaḷavākura > *vaḷavākura sous l’influence de l’ u de kura serait une conséquence de la loi d’harmonie vocalique. Cette loi s’applique précisément dans les langues munda et j’ai montré ailleurs que le mot indien kura “ville” appartient au vocabulaire ancien de ces

¹ Journ. As., 1925, i, p. 56.
² La Géographie de Ptolémée, l’Inde, vii, i, 83.
langues. Il est donc vraisemblable qu’un nom de ville tel que Valavâkura ait été prononcé *beleokura par les populations anaryennes de l’Inde ancienne.

Beleo⁰, noté par Ptolémée, était sans doute une forme populaire en usage chez les marchands et les marins, tandis que ViḷiṆāya⁰, gravé sur les monnaies, était probablement emprunté à la langue administrative, c’est-à-dire à un autre niveau linguistique. Viḷi⁰ correspond à Bele⁰ ; vā tend à restituer l’ancienne forme sanskrite dont la syllabe vā s’est contractée en o ; la terminaison -ya rappelle vaḷāhaya du prâkrit jaina. Il semble, en somme, que ViḷiṆāya soit un compromis entre une forme populaire transcrite par Ptolémée : Beleo⁰ et une forme littéraire en -vāya, plus voisine du sanskrit vaḷavā que le prâkrit vaḷāhaya.

Cette discussion n’a pas uniquement servi à établir l’exacte concordance des témoignages indiens et grecs. Elle projette également quelque clarté sur l’histoire politique et religieuse des Andhras. Le titre ViḷiṆāyakura, rapproché du texte de Ptolémée, indique que la capitale de ce peuple portait le nom du cheval mythique. C’est dire que dans la religion des Andhras, de même que dans le Vishnouïsme, le cheval était l’incarnation d’un grand dieu. Sous Māḍharīputra, le titre du roi change : lui-même et sa capitale empruntent leur nom à Śiva ; ce doit être la conséquence d’une réforme religieuse. Sous le roi suivant Vāsiṣṭhiputra, l’ancien titre royal et par conséquent l’ancien culte sont restaurés. Observons en outre que les monnaies de Māḍharīputra sont parfois d’anciennes pièces de son prédécesseur qui ont été frappées de nouveau. Le même fait se reproduit sous le roi qui succède à Māḍharīputra. Ce procédé irrespectueux est la négation de l’autorité du roi précédent. La réforme

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1 Les transcriptions grecques de noms indiens, qui reproduisent sans doute des formes populaires, sont riches en faits d’harmonie vocalique : Ambulima > Embolima, Hiranyabāhu > Erannobeas, Puṣkalāvatī > Peukelaōtis.
religieuse paraît donc avoir été accompagnée d’une révolution politique. Tout se passe comme si la tradition vishnouïte avait été brusquement rompue par l’usurpation d’un roi çivaïte, puis renouée par son successeur.

Enfin les suggestions qui précédent sont susceptibles d’éclairer certains aspects de l’histoire littéraire de l’Inde. On sait que la tradition indigène associe au nom de Hâla, qui est un roi Śatakarni, la floraison de la littérature prâkrite, de même qu’elle rattache au souvenir de Vikramāditya le renouveau de la littérature sanskrite.1 Quand on voudra mesurer la part des influences anaryennes dans le développement de la littérature prâkrite, on ne devra pas perdre de vue que l’onomastique des Andhras contient un important élément austroasiatique.

1 Garrez, Journ. As., vi série, xx, p. 199 et suiv.
Fragment of an Expiation-Ritual against Sickness

By the REV. C. J. MULLO-WEIR, M.A., B.D.

The text here published occupies part of the Reverse of British Museum tablet Rm. 2,160 and includes part of two prayers, with the accompanying ritual. The first prayer is addressed to some goddess, the second is to the stone šadanu. Of the Obverse, only a few signs remain. My thanks are due to the Trustees of the British Museum for their kind permission to publish this text, and I have to acknowledge gratefully the help accorded to me by Professor Langdon in interpreting and restoring it, and by Mr. C. J. Gadd in collating for me some of the lines.

Rm. 2,160

Reverse

1. . . . . [i]lānī (?) . . . . . . ištar[āti (?)] . . .
   . . . gods . . . . . . . . goddesses . . .

2. [ana-ku annannu mār annanni šā 1l-i] annannu ištar-ī
   [annanni-tum]¹
   I am so-and-so, son of so-and-so, whose god is so-and-so,
   whose goddess is so-and-so,

3. . . . . [ša] lib-ba-šu-nu išti-ša šu-zu-zi-in-ni
   . . . . . . . . with whom their heart has been made angry (?),

4. ša (?) egirrū-ša lum-mu-nu² la šu-te-šu-ru p[a-da-ni (?)]³
   Whose thoughts have been made wicked, whose way has
   not been made straight.

5. . . . -ni-iš ū-še-mu-nin-ni pi-rit-tam gi-lit-tam a-d[ir-tam
   iš-ku-nu-ni (?)]⁴
   Like . . . they have made me; terror, panic (and)
   melancholy they have prepared for me;

¹ This formula has usually iš-šu and ištar-šu. The formula is fully
discussed by Langdon, R.A. 16, 49 ff.
² Cf. Ebeling, Quellen, i, 30, 31.
⁴ Cf. Ebeling, Quellen, i, 29, 8–10.
6. [pa-a]r-da šunāti-ja lum-mu-na id[āti-ja]
   Horrible are my dreams, disastrous are my omens;
7. [ik (?)]-ka-pap ka-bit-ti ba-šu-ú i-na . . . [ja (?)] . . .
   Bent is my stomach, there are in my . . . .
8. ša ilu-ti-ki rabī-ti tiḏu-ma ana-ku lá idu-[ú]
   Which thy great divinity knows, but I know not.
9. ila zi-na istar zi-ni-tum šul-li-me-im-[ma]
   Make thou the angered god and angered goddess to be at
   peace with me,
10. ki-mil-ti ili u istar šu-p-ti-ri ja-[a-ši]
   The wrath of god and goddess relax for me;
11. hi-ti-it ār-ni abi ummi ahi aḥati mārī mārti ardi u [amti]
   The sin of the wrongdoing of father, mother, brother,
   sister, son, daughter, man-servant, or maid-servant,
12. tap-pi-e it-ba-ri ru'-u-a ru-util-ti u lub-bu-ru . . .
   Of comrade, associate, male friend, female friend, or . . .
13. wa-ak-ta-nar-ru-ma dalili-ki lub-lu-[ul]
   . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . (?), and I will sing thy praises.
14. III-šu iman-nu-ma idē-šu ana arki-šu tutār(?)-ma a-du
   murša-šu . . .
   Thrice he shall recite (it). His arms behind him thou
   shalt turn (?), and as long as his sickness [lasts]
15. ana pan kakkābāni mē ū šikara ša-du-nu tanak-ki-ma
   lá tuš-ki-[en]
   before the stars water and . . . beer libate and do not
   kneel.
16. inā úri inā ha-a-me uttēl 5 ma inā šir-ti X šiklé aban
   šad[āni 6] . . .

1 Cf. Ebeling, Quellen, i, 30, 31.
2 Cf. RA. 16, 68, 7.
3 Cf. Šurpā, viii, 51.
4 Cf. Šurpā, viii, 41.
5 Or read perhaps tuttel, "thou shalt sleep."
6 Cf. Geller, ATU. i, 303, 15-38, especially lines 22 and 32, and see ibid,
   p. 339, note on line 15, for a note on the šadānu stone, which seems to have
   been some kind of sparkling jewel.
On the roof . . . he shall sleep, and in the morning ten shekels of šadānu-stone thou shalt . . . .

17. mé tu-ra-ma-ak šamna taptaššaš . . . . . .
With water wash thyself and anoint thyself with oil . . . .

18. ina pan 4 Šamši niknakka burāši tašakkan aban šadāna šu-a-tū tanāšši
Before Shamash a censer of cypress thou shalt place, and this šadānu-stone thou shalt remove.
19. ina pan ṣaṃši ta-da-an-ši ana ēli kīām iša[bbi]
   Before Shamash thou shalt put (give) it. Over it he shall speak as follows:

20. šiptu aban ka-gi-na šad-da-an-nu na-ra-am ṣaṃši dajāni
   š[i-ri (?)] ²
   Incantation. O kagina-stone, šadānu, darling of Shamash
   the far-famed judge,

21. ki-ma abi a-lid [-ja (?) ³ ár-nu(?)]-ú-a ....
   Like my father, my begetter, [forgive] my wrongdoings;

22. ki-ma ummi šup-[tir (?)] .............
   Like my mother, dissolve [my sins (?)];

23. ki-ma ṣu [šaṃši (?) ⁴] .............
   Like Shamash, [enlighten my darkness (?)]

24. za- ......... (The rest of the tablet is missing.)

¹ For tanaddanši.
² Cf. Ebeling, Quellen, i, 25, 2 and 40, 1.
³ Cf. King, Magic, No. 11, l. 38.
⁴ Cf. King, Magic, No. 12, ll. 34 f.
A Prayer to Ea, Shamash, and Marduk

BY THE REV. C. J. MULLO-WEIR, M.A., B.D.

THE fragment K. 2784, published by Langdon in his OECT. vi, pl. xxii, belongs to the same tablet as K. 7593, which was edited by King, Babylonian Magic and Sorcery, No. 62. We now have, therefore, an almost complete text of the earlier part of a hymn to Ea, Shamash, and Marduk. I have to thank Dr. H. R. Hall and Mr. C. J. Gadd, of the British Museum, for permission to collate the reunited tablet, and Professor Langdon for his kindness in helping me with the interpretation of the text.

K. 2784 + K. 7593

Obverse
šiptu ʻtu E-a ʻtu Šamaš u ʻtu Asar-[lù]-duḫ ʻiš-im-ri rabātī
da-i-nu di-en mati mu-šim-mu [š][i]māti mu-uš-ši-ru ʻušurātī
mu-ùsu-ši-ku is-ki-e-ti šā šămē-e ʻu irši-tim at-tu-ma
šimāti šā-a-mu ʻušurātī ūš-su-ru šā ša-ša-ku-nu-ma

5. šimāt balāṭi at-tu-nu-ma ta-šim-ma ʻušurāt balāṭi at-tu-nu-
ma tu-uš-sa-ra
purus balāṭi at-tu-nu-ma ta-pār-ra-sa šipat-ku-nu balāṭu
si-ı̂t pī-ku-nu šā-la-mu e-pīš pī-ku-nu ba-la-tu-um-ma
da-i-nu di-en mati ku-bi-su irši-ti rapiš-ti
e-ma šamū-ú ir(!)1-bu ka-bi-su ki-rūb šamē-e rūšūti
at-tu-nu-ma

10. mu-nak-ki-ru lum-ni šā-ki-nu dum-ki nu-pa-si-su idāti
iṭṭāti limnēti
šunāti p[ar]-da-a-ti2 limnēti la tābāti mu-šal-li-tu ki-e
lum-ni
mu-pa-aš-ši-ru aršāšē e-ma iṭṭāti ma-la ba-ša-ša-
ana-ku annanna mār annanni šā ɪl-šu annanna ɪštar-šu
annanni-tum
šā iṭṭāti iṭṭāti limnēti iṭṭa-nab-ša-nim-ma

1 The sign seems rather to be Û, or KIT, or KAL.
2 Cf. iv R. 60, Obv. 44 (= Langdon, Bab., iii, 25, 44); iv R. 17, Rev. 16; Ebeling, KAR. 76, 3, and see Zimmern, OLZ. 1917, 104, note 3.
15. pal-ḫa-ku-ma ad-ra-ku u šu-ta-du-ra-ku

[ina] lumun attalē ʾīnu Sin ina lumun attalē ʾīnu šamši
ina lumun kakkabānī šā šu-ut ʾīnu E-a šu-ut ʾīnu A-nim
šu-ut ʾīnu Enlil
ina lumun kak[kab]ānī(?) šā ana kakkabānī ḫarrānī
is-ni-[ku (?)]
ina lumun [kakkab]ānī(?) šā ana a-ḫa-mēš it-te-ḫ-
ḫ[u-ū]

20. [ina lumun mati (?) . . . ] ina lumun ali . . . . .
. . . . . (Remainder broken off) . . . . .

Reverse
. . . . . (Beginning broken off) . . . . .
. . . . . ʾīnu E-a [ʾīnu šamaš u ʾīnu Asar-lun-šig (?)]
[da-lil ʾīlu-ti-ku-nu?] rabīti ana pan ni[šē (?) rapsāti
lud-lul (?)]

. . . . [g]ul dū-a-bi . . . .

Translation

Obverse
Incantation: Ea, Shamash, and Marduk, ye great gods,
Ye are they who judge the cause of the land, who
appoint fates, who fashion destinies,¹
Who divide the portions for the heavens and for the
earth;
To appoint fates and to fashion destinies¹ is in
your hand;

5. Ye are they who decree the fates of life; ye are they
who fashion the destinies of life;
Ye are they who ordain the decree of life; your incantation
is life;
The utterance of your mouth is peace; the speech² of
your mouth is life;

¹ Literally "forms".
² Literally "work".
Ye are they who judge the cause of the land, who tread upon the wide earth,
Who, when the heavens enter (?), tread in the midst of the distant heavens,

10. Who oppose evil, who provide welfare, who blot out unlucky prodigies and signs,
Shivering dreams, evil and not good; who sever the threads of evil,
Who perform expiations for prodigies and signs, how many soever there be;
I, so-and-so, son of so-and-so, whose god is so-and-so, whose goddess is so-and-so,
Upon whom evil prodigies and signs have come,

15. Am afraid, melancholy and cast into gloom.

On account of the evil omen of an eclipse of the moon;
on account of the evil omen of an eclipse of the sun;
On account of an evil omen in the stars of Ea, or of Anu, or of Enlil;
On account of an evil omen of stars (?) which block (?) the paths of (other) stars;
On account of an evil omen of stars which have approached one another,

20. On account of a disaster to the land; on account of a disaster to the city;

Reverse

Ea, Shamash and Marduk,
The praise of your great godhead before the wide-dwelling peoples I will sing.

Incantation against all kinds of evil (?)
Lines 16 ff. of the Obverse appear to be a citation of various forms of evil portents, which might be inserted, in whole or in part, into the body of the prayer, as occasion demanded. I have attempted to restore the lines on the Reverse, assuming that these form the end of the prayer on the Obverse, but this assumption may be wrong. The remainder of the Reverse is occupied by a ritual and the colophon of Ashurbanipal's library. The tablet formed part of a series, and the catchline for the next tablet runs: [šiptu bēl] bēlē šar šarrāni.¹

¹ Possibly a prayer to Enlil; cf. Langdon, PSBA. 1912, 153, 7 (= King, Magic, 19, 4 = Ebeling, KAR. 68, 14).
An Unknown Turkish Shrine in Western Macedonia

BY MARGARET HASLUCK

THE Turkish shrine to be described below lies in Greek Macedonia, where there are now no Turks. But the paper will describe the shrine as it was in 1923, a year before the Turks were removed from Greece to Asia Minor under the terms of the Lausanne Convention for the Exchange of Populations between Greece and Turkey.

The shrine has remained unknown because it is so remote from the ordinary routes even of scientific travel. To reach it one must journey seven hours west from Salonica along the Monastir railway line to Sorovitch, motor 56 kilometres south to Kozani in two and a half hours, ride four hours eastwards past Sari Gueul, the Yellow Lake, to the village of Ineobasi, and finally climb an hour and a half up the mountain above Ineobasi. The shrine is thus fifteen hours distant from Salonica, the nearest point of access for western travellers.

Pilgrims may go to the shrine on any day that they choose, but as usual in Turkey, Friday, the day of juma, is the best day for making the pilgrimage. Accordingly I started from Ineobasi early in the morning of Friday, 13th April, 1923. The village watchman came with me as my guide and escort. We began to climb at once, and from the first our pilgrimage was difficult. The gradient was considerable, and the path was littered with fragments of the limestone of which the mountain is composed. These fragments shifted their position under our feet or sent their sharp edges through our boots at every step. After half an hour the sun was high enough, and therefore hot enough, to distress us. Those who have travelled among treeless limestone mountains, where the rock is practically bare of soil, will recall what

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happens in such circumstances. The limestone sucks in every ray of the sun, grows burning hot underfoot, and sends up waves of heat round the unfortunate traveller.

When the watchman and I had climbed for about an hour, an interesting scene made us forget our toil and trouble. Some Turkish women who were climbing just ahead of us, stopped at a detached boulder by the wayside. One of them moved towards it and laid her brow and lips to it three times, murmuring "Bismillahi", "in the Name of God", as she did so. Then she turned and scratched her back against the stone, for all the world like a cow that scratches its tail against a gate. The stone was a bel tashi, waist stone, and it cured pains in the backs of those who went through the ritual just described. No reason for its powers was known. It was not associated then or ever with any holy man. It simply stood on the Sacred Way, an isolated, upright, somewhat rectangular rock as broad and half as tall again as a man.

Passing the bel tashi, the watchman and I turned into a singularly narrow gulley, with steep limestone sides and a dry torrent bed at the bottom. For a quarter of an hour we climbed along the side of this gulley under appalling conditions. Not a breath of air stirred, the limestone chips were fiery hot to our tread, and the glare was intense. Such difficulties suggested that the sanctity of many natural sites of pilgrimage may be partly due to the effect on the human organism of the effort to reach them. Any natural phenomenon that is beyond the understanding of ignorant people must be particularly impressive if it can be reached only after an exhausting, nerve-racking journey. And a striking phenomenon lay ahead of us, as an exhausting journey lay behind us.

This striking phenomenon was nothing less than a spring of icy-cold water that rose in a shallow cave. Its coolness could not but seem miraculous to people who saw only that the bare and blistering mountain-side was within a few feet
and did not realize that the slope of the mountain was so sharp that a huge mass of rock protected the water from the sun's rays.

As we arrived, a group of women were sitting at the mouth of the cave, while inside a small child was undergoing treatment. An old woman, the recognized attendant of the cave, dipped a jug into a pool of water that lay on the left, poured most of the water over the child's head, hands, and bare feet, and then held the jug to the child's lips for the child to drink the rest of the water. Next she scraped her fingers along the roof, where drops of water slowly gathered. With her wet fingers she touched the child's brow, cheeks, and feet. Then she filled a pitcher at the pool and in return for a silver coin gave it to the child's grandmother. The latter was to take the water home to give to the child or any other of her household who might fall ill. Both on the way and at home she had to be careful not to spill any of it, and all of it must be drunk. It would be a gunah, a sin, not to drink it.

The spring was a lija, a curative spring, of cold, not hot, water, be it noted, and it was presided over by Lija Baba. It worked its cures for patients who drank its water or who washed in it, that is to say, for patients who came into intimate contact with it. It was particularly potent against headache and stomach ache. It was all the more sacred for rising in a cave, since caves tend naturally to be regarded with awe.

The spring was not the only attraction of the cave. There were other objects of interest, as the old woman presently went on to demonstrate. With her grandchild she crossed to the opposite side of the cave. There earth covered the floor and also a ledge a little above it. First of all the old woman took earth from the floor and rubbed it on the child's head, kel olmasin, to keep it from becoming scurvy, as so often happens in these regions. Then she took earth from the ledge and rubbed it on the child's brow, bean olsun, "for the sake of appearances," one might say, probably as
a simple tonic or prophylactic. Finally she scooped up a little water with her hand from a low pool below the ledge and washed the child's cheeks and her own face with it. This pool, however, was of secondary importance. The other was the more important. The earth in both places was sacred only because of its proximity to the first and more sacred pool. And the earth from the ledge was infallible in cases of headache.

All this time one of the women outside held a cock. The old grandmother was to kill and eat it a little later in front of the cave. Without such a sacrifice, *kurban*, her pilgrimage would be *nafîle*, null and void. A sheep would have been a more acceptable offering, but a cock was as much as she could afford.

Meanwhile the women we had left at the "waist stone" had arrived. Among them was a young woman with her infant son in her arms. Moving forward to a hole like a natural arch in the rock adjacent to the cave, she passed her infant three times through the hole. Four other children she had borne had died, but she hoped to change her luck and to save this last child by passing it through the holed stone, the *delikli tash*, at Lija Baba's shrine, by bringing it, that is, into contact all round with the rock, the symbol of strength.

No more "cures" were visible or reported as existing in Lija Baba's domain, but there were two interesting places down in the gulley, some 30 feet from the cave. Under our very eyes a woman took her daughter's child down to a heap of ruined, but definitely rectangular, masonry that lay beside the bed of the torrent. The old woman led the child three times round this heap, and then she bent herself, and made the child bend, to kiss the last corner with her brow and lips three times. She hoped this circumambulation of the ruins would make the child stronger than it was.

The form of the ruins suggested a rectangular building, perhaps a tomb-chamber, but their outline was not distinct
enough for me to identify their purpose and the Turks could give me no information. They knew the place only as a nishan yer, a vakuf, a holy place where signs and portents might be expected. Perhaps it was once the hut of some forgotten attendant of the cave.

The ruins themselves did not appear to be used for divination, but a tiny patch of green and level ground beside them gave omens. That very morning the turf had been turned up at two different points with a knife or other small instrument. A childless woman, said the watchman, must have dug each little pit to see if she was doomed to remain childless. As she dug, she was sure to have repeated some simple Moslem prayer, mingling religion and superstition in the usual fashion of backward people. If a worm had appeared as the result of her digging, she would bear a son. If an insect had appeared, she would have a daughter. If neither worm nor insect had appeared, she would remain barren. Apart from her natural grief at the last suggestion, its consequences might be very serious for her. Turks believe so strongly in omens that the woman's husband might act on the omen and marry another wife in order to beget children.

As to the origin of the sanctity of this patch of ground, I can only suggest that its greenness in such bare surroundings had struck the Turks as miraculous. Probably nothing more than accident had determined the superstition which they had attached to it. It would be only natural to poke about in such a place with a stick or a knife, and if a childless woman had done so and had later had a child, the superstition would spring into life as a matter of course.

Remounting to the cave from the bottom of the gulley, the watchman and I passed a short distance round the shoulder of the hill and so came to an immense cave with two entrances, the home of In Baba, Cave Baba. Lija Baba was apparently a colourless saint, but In Baba had a considerable personality. He lived somewhere inside his cave, and had done so since the world dried up and men were created, as the watchman put
it in his Turkish phraseology. But In Baba was invisible, and his exact whereabouts in the cave were unknown. Hence the candles that were lit in his honour every Friday and Monday evening, were set in the middle of the cave to ensure his realizing for whom they were intended. Invisible though he was, he could make his presence disagreeably felt. Human beings were permitted to sleep in his cave, but if a sinner took advantage of his permission, In Baba would visit him during his sleep and slap him soundly. Sometimes too, he appeared to sleepers in their villages, demanding candles or a kurban from them. On such occasions he gave precise instructions about his wishes, and if his victim disregarded his orders, he punished him with sickness or other disaster. He had his whims, too. He welcomed sheep in his cave and could shelter as many as three or four hundred of them. Goats, however, he declined to receive, for they are destructive animals. Though now invisible, he seems once to have been visible, since he is said to have "disappeared". With him "disappeared" his horse and mule. A hoofprint of each, turned to stone, may be seen at one entrance to his cave.

In this veracious life-history there is nothing that could not be paralleled elsewhere in Moslem hagiology. Moslem saints frequently appear to men in dreams, and other cases where they have "disappeared" are recorded. I need cite only Khidr (Khizr), the Mahdi, and Christ Himself. Stones with curious natural markings are commonly enough interpreted as sacred hoofprints or footprints. The invidious distinction drawn by In Baba between sheep and goats is due to the Bektashi sympathies of the watchman who was my informant. As Shias, the Bektashi dervishes and their sympathizers abhor the Caliph Yezid and all his relatives because of the Caliph's treatment of the Imam Husain. Now Moawiya, the father of Yezid, was bearded, and Bektashi relate the beard of goats to Moawiya's beard and hate the animals accordingly. For this interesting Bektashi
belief I am indebted to Monsieur Ekrem Bey Vlora, the present Chargé d’Affaires for Albania in London. As already said, the watchman of Inebasi attributed In Baba’s ban on goats to their destructiveness.

Like Lija Baba, In Baba had a holed stone in his cave. It relieved the sick or the childless who passed three times through it. He also owned a nishan yer where omens, isharet, were given. This spot was well inside the cave, where a number of stalactites hung from the roof. The watchman said there were forty of them, but forty being a common mystic number in the Near East, I counted them and found but thirty-seven. The omens they gave appeared to be all of peace or war. Thus, when Macedonia was at peace, water dripped from them. When Macedonia was at war, no water dripped from them. Moreover, in 1912 a great stone fell from the roof, terrifying the Turks. Their terror was justified, and the omen proved true, some months afterwards, when the Balkan war, with its disastrous consequences for Turkey, broke out.

Most of this information the watchman gave me as we sat outside In Baba’s cave. In itself it was good to sit and talk there, and that was the best place for pilgrims to offer kurban. But there was still something to see. Rising, the watchman led me farther round the hill, first to an enormous natural arch and then to a small cave. Both arch and cave were sacred to In Baba. The arch was almost an animals’ hospital. If foals and calves died year after year, the run of death could be checked by passing their mothers through this arch. Only big animals were supposed to be passed through it, but the watchman had passed a ewe through a few months before. He had done so more as an experiment than anything else, for sheep were not supposed to benefit here, but the ewe had a flourishing lamb this year, whereas the two she had had before had died at birth.

In the small cave a holed stone had an interesting property. The hole is so small that passage through it is always difficult,
but should a sinner essay the passage, the rock contracts miraculously and prevents her from passing through. Its sole mission is to relieve childless women. Just before our visit some one had achieved a successful passage. This was evident from the scraped condition of the earth on the floor of the arch. Probably the successful woman was one of those who had dug for an omen down in the gulley.

So far as I am aware, there was no other form of cult at this shrine. Summing up, therefore, we note that within a very small area we have two sacred springs, three sacred caves, four holed stones, one of them with an ordeal attached, two sacred footprints, two saints, both with the characteristic vagueness of Turkish saints, and sacred earth. Most of these sacred objects worked cures, some, like the springs, being general practitioners, others, like the waist stone or the last delikli tash, being specialists. After prayer and kurban they worked their cures by such forms of contact as drinking, rubbing, circumambulation, and passage. And as might be expected from Moslems who in some ways rate animals very high, animals shared the benefits of the shrine with their masters. Finally, two of the sacred spots gave omens. The range of the shrine's activity is the widest known to me outside the great centres of Moslem population.

Since 1924 the Turks have been gone from Macedonia, but the shrine is not yet completely deserted. Greek, Bulgar, and Vlach Christians from the surrounding district still frequent it for healing as they did in Turkish times.

[The frequentation of Moslem shrines by Christians and the principles underlying the practices above described are treated exhaustively in Christianity and Islam under the Sultans (Oxford, 1929) by the late P. W. Hasluck.]
Some new Vannic Inscriptions

BY A. H. SAYCE
Nos. XCIII-C

ONE of the most important Vannic inscriptions—or rather series of inscriptions—yet found in Armenia was discovered and excavated in 1916 by Professor Marr and Mr. Orbeli immediately under the walls of the citadel of Van. Here they found steps and niches cut in the rock, at the back of one of which was the monument in question. Under its vaulted roof was a rectangular stone stela standing on a pedestal. The sides of the stela were inscribed, as also was the pedestal; while two other inscriptions were engraved on either side of the stela on the wall of the rock behind it. Exceptionally good photographs were taken of the inscriptions, which have been edited by Professor Marr with transliteration and translation as well as an elaborate commentary. The volume containing them, *Archaeological Discoveries at Van in the year 1916* (Petersburg, 1922), is a very sumptuous one and more than equal in matter and appearance to any of the previous volumes of the Archæological Society of Russia.

The upper part of the stela is broken, and consequently a few lines have been lost at the commencement of each of the texts on its sides, while the text A on the north side of the pedestal stone is, with a few variations, the same as that of Sayce XLIX on a rock near the gate of Tabriz.

At the foot of the monument a Christian interment was discovered, an Armenian inscription below the east wall of the western niche indicating that it belonged to the middle of the ninth or tenth century. Up to that date, therefore, the monument can have been only partially covered.

In continuation of my old numeration I have numbered the new inscriptions XCIII m, etc., the Topzawa inscription (*JRAS*. July, 1906) being LII r and the Kelishin inscription LVI k.
XClII m

A. On the north side of the pedestal stone

1. AN Khal-di-[ni]-ni us-ta-bi ma-ši-[i]-ni-e gis-su-ri-e
   To the Khaldis-gods I prayed, the beings multitudinous,
   ka-ru-ni MAT Ma-na-ni
   who have subjected the Mannians'

2. MAT-ni-e la-qu-ni D.P. AN RI-du-ri-ka-i
   land to the rule (?) of Sarduris
   D.P. Ar-gis-te-khi-ni-e AN Khal-di ku-ru-ni
   son of Argistis; to Khaldis the giver;

3. AN Khal-di-ni-ni [gis]-su-ri ku-ru-ni us-ta-bi
   to the Khaldis-gods the multitudinous, the givers, I prayed,
   D.P. AN RI-du-ri-i-ni
   on behalf of Sarduris

   son of Argistis. Sarduris says:
   us-ta-a-di MAT Ba-bi-lu-ni-e
   On approaching of Babilus

5. MAT e-ba-ni gi-di kha-[u-bi]
   land the wall, I conquered
   MAT Ba-bi-lu-u MAT e-ba-ni-a ku-dha-a-di
   the people of Babilus, after marching
   pa-ri
   from

6. MAT Ba-ru-a-ta-i-ni-a AN Khal-di-ni-ni al-šu-i-si-ni
   the land of Baruatainia. To the Khaldis-gods, the powerful,
   D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s
   Sarduris

7. a-li-e kha-u-bi III E-GAL-MES a-gu-nu-ni-li ma-nu-li
   says: I took 3 palaces: all their spoil
   gu-nu-sa-a kha-u-bi
   by force I seized;
8. XXIII  ALU-MES  I  UD-ME-ni  as-gu-u-bi
   23  cities  in  one day  I  captured;
   E-GAL-MES  khar-khar-su-bi  ALU-MES  SARAP-bi
   the palaces  I  destroyed;  the cities  I  burned:
   MAT-ni-a  tu-bi
   the people  I  removed;
   ha-se-MES  SAL  lu-tu-MES  is-ti-ni-ni  pa-ru-bi
   the men (♂)  women  of  them  I  carried off;
   VIIIIMCXXXV  TUR-se-MES  na-khu-bi
   8,135  children  I  took,

10. XXVM  NISU  u-e-di-a-ni-[MES]  VIM
   (♂) 25,000  old men,  6,000
   NISU  gu-nu-si-ni-i  HIMCCCCC
   mighty men,
   ANSU-KUR-RA-MES  pa-ru-bi
   horses  I  carried away;

11. XIIMCCC  GUD  pa-[khi-]ni  XXXIIMC  LU  su-se
   12,300  oxen,  32,100  sheep;
   i-na-ni  nu-e  nu-na-a-bi  me-i-a-li
   the city of the king  I  went  as far as;

12. NISU  a-śi-MES-se  pa-ar-tu-s  pa-ar-tu-[u]  i-u
   the infantry  were carried off as captives:  thus
   MAT  e-ba-ni  as-u-la-a-bi
   the country  I  desolated (?).
13. i-ku-ka-ni  MU  ta-ra-ni  us-ta-di
   The same  year  the second time  on approaching
   MAT  E-ti-u-ni-e-di  MAT  Li-qi-u-e-
   the land of Etius,  of Liqius

14. e-di-a  MAT-e-di-a-ni  ALU  MAN-nu-śi
   the people,
   D.P.  A-bi-a-ni-i-ni-i  a-gu-nu-ni  ma-nu  gu-nu-sa-a
   of Abianis,  all the spoil  by force
   kha-u-bi
   I  took;
15. ALU Ir-u-i-a-ni ALU MAN-nu-si D.P. Ir-ku-a-i-ni-i the city of Iruias, the royal city of Irkuais, a-gu-nu-ni ma-a-nu all the spoil

16. gu-nu-sa-a kha-u-bi [ALU] Ir-ma-a-ni by force I took; [the city of] Irmas, ALU MAN-nu-si D.P. U-e-da-i-ni-i a-gu-nu-u-ni the royal city of Uedais, the spoil

17. ma-nu gu-nu-sa-a kha-u-bi MAT-ni in full by force I took. Over the land ALU Bu-i-ni-[i]-al-khi NISU bu-ra-as-tu-bi me-si-ni pi-i His name of Buis I appointed a governor.

18. ha-al-du-bi me-e-s D.P. AN RI-[du-ri]-e a-ri-e-ne I changed. He to Sarduris gave i-na-ni-li IV E-GAL-MES the city; 4 palaces

19. MAT e-ba-ni-a-tsi-e kha-[u]-bi ha-se-MES SAL in his country I took; the men (&) lu-tu is-ti-ni-ni pa-ru-bi women of them I carried off;

20. HIMCCCCC TUR-se-MES XMCCCCC NISU u-e-di-a-ni 3,500 children, 10,500 old men, IVM NISU-MES gu-nu-si-ni-i 4,000 mighty men

21. pa-[ru]-u-bi VIIIIMCCCCXXV GUD pa-khi-ni I carried off; 8,525 oxen pa-ru-bi XVIIIIM LU su-se-MES I carried off; 18,000 sheep pa-ru-bi I carried off.
22. i-[ku-ka-]a-ni MU si-is-ti-ni us-ta-di
   The same year for the 3rd time on approaching
   MAT Ur-me-u-e-e-di-a XI E-GAL-MES kha-u-bi
   the land of Urmes 11 palaces I took,
23. khar-khar-su-bi ha-se SAL lu-tu is-ti-ni-ni
   I dug up. the men (♂) women of them
   pa-ru-u-bi MC TUR-se-MES na-khu-bi
   I carried off; 1,100 children I seized,
24. VIMCCCC SAL lu-tu-MES IIM NISU-MES gu-nu-si-ni-i
   6,500 women, 2,000 mighty men,
   IIMCCCCXXXVIII GUD pa-khi-ni
   2,538 ozem,
25. VIIIIM LU su-se-MES D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s
   8,000 sheep.
   D.P. Ar-gis-ti-[khi-]ni-s a-li-e a-li
   son of Argistis says: the sum
   NISU tu-khi
   of the captives
26. III MAT e-ba-na I MU a-du-bi PAP
   of the 3 lands in one year I counted: in all
   XIIIMCCCCCCCXXXV TUR-se na-khu-bi
   12,735 children I took;
   XLVIMCCCCC SAL lu-tu-MES pa-ru-bi
   46,600 women I carried away;
27. XXIIM NISU-MES gu-nu-si-ni-i pa-ru-u-bi
   22,000 mighty men I carried off;
   IIMCCCC ANSU KUR-RA-MES pa-ru-bi
   2,500 horses I carried away;
28. XXIIIMCCCCXXXV GUD pa-khi-ni LVIIIIMC LU su-se
   23,335 ozem, 58,100 sheep
   pa-ru-bi AN Khal-di-i-a is-ti-ni-e
   I carried off. For this people of Khaldis
29. i-na-ni-li ar-ni-u-si-ni-li I MU
these (?) conquests (?) in one year
D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s D.P. Ar-gis-ti-khi-ni-s
Sarduris son of Argistis
za-du-ni
made.

1. Ma-šē "existences" in lxxxvi, 39, shows that
D. H. Müller was right in deriving ma-ši-ne from ma
"to be".

The new inscription, No. XCVI m, 46, seems to show
that karu has no connection with kuru "to give", and
consequently my old translation of the formula in which it
occurs must be revised. In F 22 (XCVIII m) it must signify
"to subject" or something similar, and we must assign a
meaning like that of "rule" or "power" to laquni (or tequni).

5. Gi-di makes it clear that my old rendering of gis, gēs
as "wall" was right. The campaign against Babilus is
described in XLIX, where I have suggested its identification
with the Babysrs of Strabo. As it was apparently in the
country of the Minni it could not be Babylon, though the
mention of "the wall" would suit Babylonia, which was
defended on the north by the "Median Wall", the Kar-Dunias
of the Kassites.

9. M. de Morgan and subsequently Professor Nikolsky
found that in the Atam-Khan inscription (No. LIII) the
first syllable (ar) of the name of Argistis (l. 2) is expressed
by the ideograph of "son" or "child", which consequently
must have had the phonetic value of ar.¹ Nikolsky further
found that in l. 1 usma-si-ni "the gods" or "spirits" must
be corrected to ba-o-si-ni which will thus be a synonym of
alsuisini "powerful".

10. SAL takes the place of NISU in No. XLIX. Uediani
has no connection with ueli-dubi, as I supposed formerly,
and the passages in which it occurs, where the determinative

¹ This was pointed out by Dr. Belck as long ago as 1904 in the
Z.D.M.G., lviii, p. 165.
is sometimes "man", sometimes "woman", indicate that it signifies "old". Gunus(e) is translated by the Ass. litu "force", "strength", in the Topzawa texts; hence gunusi-ni will be "the able-bodied", "the warriors", rather than "slaves" or "captives" as I once proposed, taking the word in a passive sense. Gunusā "by force" would correspond to the Ass. "with weapons".

11. Meiali appears to signify "as far as", "up to." But perhaps we ought to divide the words mei ali and translate: "of him all the troops as captives were carried away." See note on XCVm, 44, 45.

12. The passive 3rd pers. form partū is interesting. The root is that of parubi, parbi. In XLIX, 12, we have partus [s]eri partu. The photograph gives as-u-la-a-bi, not as-ga-la-a-bi.

17. Literally "I placed a governor over the inhabitants of the land of Buis".

18. In aré-ne I now read ne, supposing it to be equivalent to the usual -ni (see xxxix, 5). But, since the character has the value of dha (ṭa) in the name of Malatiyeh, my old reading may be the more correct, aré-ṭa having the same 3rd pers. suffix as partū, tērtu, etc. (JRAS, 1906, p. 621). If so, -ṭa (or -ṭi ?) would represent the singular and -tu the plural.

19. In this line the signification of the suffix -tsē (-zē) is clear and my old explanation of it must be corrected.

20. The number of women is not 6,600 as in the older copies.

22. The 12,000 of the older copies must be corrected to 22,000.

29. The true interpretation of arniusini-li is given by lxxvii, 10, and lxxix, 20. But we have still to determine the shade of difference between the two forms arniusini-li and arnisini-li. With the first we can compare ebani-u-kē "part of the country". We should expect inili "these"; inanili is difficult to explain.
XCIVm.

B (IX). On the east side of the stela in the west niche.

Face A (first column)

The commencement of the inscription is lost.

1. ka-ru-ni . . . . . . (to the Khaldises) who have subjected of . . .

2. MAT-ni-e te-qu-a-li
   the country to the power (?)

3. [D.P.] AN RI-du-ri-ka-[i]
   of Sarduris

4. [D.P.] Ar-gis-ti-khi-ni-e
   son of Argistis,

5. AN Khal-di ku-ru-ni-e
   to Khaldis the giver,

6. AN Khal-di-ni gis-su-ri-[e]
   to the Khaldis-gods, the multitudinous,

7. [ku]-ru-ni-ni us-ta-bi
   the givers, I prayed

8. [D.P.] AN RI-du-ri-i-[ni]
   on behalf of Sarduris

9. D.P. Ar-gi-is-ti-e-[khi]
   son of Argistis.

10. D.P. AN RI-du-ri-i-s
    Sarduris

11. a-li-e is-ti-e-di
    says: In this

12. us-ta-di MAT Ma-na-i-di
    campaign to the land of the Mannians

13. [MAT] e-ba-a-ni kha-u-bi
    the country I captured;

14. ALU-MES SARAP-bi khar-khar-su-[bi]
    the cities I burnt, I dug up;
15. [MAT] e-ba-a-ni-a tu-[bi]
   the people  I took;
16. ha-se SAL lu-tu pa-ru-[bi]
   men  (&) women  I carried away
17. MAT Bi-a-i-na-i-di
   to Biainas.
18. ALU Da-ar-ba-ni E-[GAL]
   Of the palace of the city of Darbas
19. a-gu-nu-u-ni ma-a-[nu]
   all the spoil
20. gu-nu-u-sa-a kha-u-[bi]
   by force  I seized.
21. [NISU ?] ir-di-MES is-ti-ni
   The workmen  of them
22. [kha-]su-u-bi MAT e-ba-a-ni
   I acquired.  The country
23. [MAT] e-ba-ni-u-ki-e-di
   in parts of the country
24. a-bi-li-du-bi i-ku-ka-ni
   I burnt.  The same
25. sa-a-li si-is-ti-i-ni
   year  a third time,
26. ki-e-i-da-nu-u-li
   after mustering
27. [NISU] khu-ra-di-ni-e-li
   the soldiers
28. MAT E-ri-a-khi-ni-e-di
   in the land of the son of Erias,
29. MAT e-ba-ni kha-a-i-[tu]
   the country  they overmastered.
30. ALU-MES khar-khar-si-tu-li
   The cities  having been dug up
"JrAS. April 1929."
31. MAT e-ba-a-ni-a TI-[MES]  
   the people alive,
32. ha-se-MES SAL lu-tu-MES  
   men (&) women
33. MAT Bi-a-i-na-di pa-ar-[tu]  
   to Biainas were carried off.
34. AN Khal-di-i-ni-i-ni  
   To the Khaldis gods,
35. al-śu-u-i-si-ni  
   the powerful,
36. D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s a-li-e  
   Sarduris says:
37. a-li NISU ta-u-tu-khi (?)  
   The sum of the captives
38. is-ti-ni za-du-u-bi  
   of them I made (was as follows)
39. HIMCCXXV TUR-se  
   3,225 children
40. is-ti-ni-ni na-khu-u-bi  
   belonging to them I took;
41. IVMIXCXXVIII SAL lu-tu-MES  
   4,928 women;
42. PAP VIHMCLIII NISU UN-MES  
   in all 8,153 persons
43. a-li-ki za-as-gu-u-bi  
   partly I killed,
44. a-li-ki TI a-gu-u-bi  
   partly alive I brought away;
45. CCCCXII ANSU KUR-RA-MES  
   412 horses,
46. VIMCCCCCCLXV GUD pa-khi-ni  
   6,665 oxen,
47. XXVMCCCCCXXXV LU su-se
   25,735 sheep

48. D.P. AN RI-du-ri-i-s
   Sarduris

49. D.P. Ar-gis-ti-khi-ni-s a-li-e
   son of Argistis says:

50. AN Khal-di-a is-ti-ni-e
   For this people of Khaldis

51. [i]-na-a-ni-e-li
   these (?)

52. ar-ni-u-si-ni-li
   conquests (?)

53. [su]-ši-ni sa-a-li za-du-bi
   in one year I made.

54. D.P. AN RI-du-ri-i-s
   Sarduris

55. D.P. Ar-gis-ti-khi-ni-s a-li-e
   son of Argistis says:

56. i-nu-ka-ni-e BALADH na-khi-di-ni a-dhu
   Of a long life the leading may they decree!

21. The ideographic MES suggests that irdi is a foreign word. Perhaps it represents the Ass. ardu "slave" (for which see G 3, No. XCVIII).

30. Kharkharsi-tuli is a compound of kharkharsu and tu.

37. The signification of tautu(khi) is given by the context. It seems to be a compound of tu as in tukhi "prisoners" and a root tau which is new.

56. The signification of nakhi-di-ni is given in the Kelishin text (No. LVI), where nakhuni is rendered by the Ass. nasi "raised", "brought". For inukané cf. lxxxvii, 4-11: inukâni esini-ni D.P. Gilurâné GIS-TIR-ni-kai pari D.P. Ispilini D.P. Ba-tu-khi-ni-ni GIS-NU-KHIR-ni-di IXCL |U "the length of the place to the wood of Giluras from the
garden of Ispilis son of Batus being 950 cubits”. A-dhu for a-tu will be the 3rd pers. pl. of a “to speak” (whence the common a-li “he says”).

XCVm

C (10). The second column of the stela (Face B) on its north face.

The commencement is lost.

1. MAT Qu-ul-kha-i-di AN Khal-di-ni-ni al-[su]-u-i-si-[ni] In the land of Quldis to the Khaldis gods, the great ones,

2. [D.P.] Kha-kha-a-ni SARRU MAT Khu-sa-a-al-khi Khakhas king of the Khusians, NISU UN-MES-ra-[ni] [his] people

3. e-di-ni ta-as-mu-u-bi pa-ru-bi on behalf of, I devoted as a slave. I carried away e-ir-tsi-du the earth (?)

4. MAT e-ba-ni-u-ki-e D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s a-li-e from a part of the country. Sarduris says:

5. i-ku-ka-a-ni sa-a-li NISU a-si-MES us-ta-a-li The same year the cavalry having entered

6. D.P. A-bi-li-a-ni-khi-ni-e-di AN Khal-di-ni-ni the land of the son of Abilianis for the Khaldis-gods, al-su-si-[ni] the great ones,

7. IV YUME MAT e-ba-ni-i as-gu-bi in 4 days the country I subdued,

khar-khar-su-bi

I dug up;

1 Line 3 in this inscription is still a puzzle to me. Perhaps we should read [GIS?] KAK ti-ma-ku-lu-[ni ?] “has erected a boundary-pillar” or something similar.
8. ALU-MES SARAP-bi MAT e-ba-a-ni-a tu-u-bi
   the cities I burnt; the people I carried off;
   ha-a-se
   the men

9. [SAL] lu-tu is-ti-ni pa-ru-bi D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s
   (&) women of them I carried away. Sarduris
   a-li-e
   says:

10. AN Khal-di-a is-ti-ni-e a-li NISU tu-khi is-ti-ni
    For this people of Khaldis this number of captives
    za-du-bi
    I made;

11. ...MVIICXC TUR-se na-khu-bi HIMCCCCXCVI
    ...890 children I took; 3,496
    NISU TI-MES
    living men (&)

12. VIMCCCCVIII NISU u-e-di-a-ni pa-ru-u-bi
    6,408 old men I carried away;

13. PAP IXMIXCIV NISU UN-MES a-li-ki za-as-gu-bi
    in all 9,904 men partly I killed,

14. a-li-ki TI-LA-MES a-gu-bi LXV ANSU KUR-RA-MES
    partly alive I took; 65 horses
    pa-ru-bi
    I carried off;

15. ...MXC GUD pa-khi-ni XMVIICXCVII
    ...090 oxen, 10,897
    LU su-se-MES
    sheep.

16. D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s a-li-e AN Khal-di-a is-ti-ni-e
    Sarduris says: For this people of Khaldis

17. i-na-ni-li ar-ni-u-si-ni-li I MU za-du-bi
    these (?) conquests (?) in one year I made.
18. AN Khal-di-ni  us-ta-bi  ma-ši-ni-e  gis-su-ri-e
   To the Khaldises  I prayed,  the multitudinous beings,
19.  ka-ru-ni  SARRU  D.P.  E-ri-a-khi  MAT  e-ba-ni-e
    who have subjected  the king  of the country  of the son of Erias,
    ka-ru-ni
    who have subjected
    the country of the son of Abilianis  to the power (?)
21.  D.P. AN  RI-du-ri-ka  D.P.  Ar-gis-ti-khi-ni-e  AN  Khal-di
    of Sarduris  son of Argistis,  to Khaldis
    ku-ru-ni
    the giver,
22.  AN  Khal-di-ni  gis-su-ri-ni  ku-ru-ni
    to the Khaldises  the multitudinous,  the givers,
    AN  Khal-di-ni-ni  al-šu-si-[ni]
    to the Khaldis-gods,  the great,
23.  us-ta-a-bi  D.P. AN  RI-du-ri-ni  D.P.  Ar-gi-is-ti-e-[khi]
    I prayed  on behalf of Sarduris  son of Argistis.
24.  D.P. AN  RI-du-ri-s  a-li  us-ta-di
    Sarduris  says:  On approaching
    MAT  E-ri-a-khi-ni-di
    the land of the son of Erias
25.  kha-u-bi  MAT  E-ri-a-khi  MAT  e-ba-ni-e  su-ši-ni
    I conquered  the country of the son of Erias;  in one
26.  YUME  as-gu-bi  BIT-mu-ri-li
    day  I got possession  of the house of Muris;
    a-li  NISU  AT-se
    NISU  AT-AT-se  the whole of the ...
    ...
27.  [za-]du-a-li  a-u-i-e  ku-i  ku-ul-me-e  ma-ni  NISU
    after consigning  to the water,  the fortress of him,  the man,
28.  u-i  a-i-se-i  SARRU-MES  se-kha-ya-la-a-ni
    along with the foundations  of the existing (?)  kings
29.  AN  Khal-di-ni-ni  ba-u-si-ni  EN-ši-ni-ni  i-e-s
    for the Khaldis-gods,  the powerful,  the lordly,  I
30. YUME (?) L BIT-mu-ri-e kha-u-bi
in a day? 50 of Muris's house(s) captured;
ta-as-mu-u-bi
I enslaved

31. ha-se SAL lu-tu ni-ir-bi di-id gu-si
the men (&) women; of the gates the bronze-work (?) is-ti-ni-ni
belonging to them

32. si-u-bi ALU-MES SARAP-bi MAT-ni KÚ-bi
I removed. The cities I burned; the country I devoured;
ha-se SAL lu-tu
the men (&) women

33. pa-ru-bi MAT Bi-a-i-na-di D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s
I carried away to Biainas. Sarduris
a-li-e says:

34. bi-du-ya-s us-ta-di MAT A-bi-li-a-ni-khi-ni-e-di
A second time on approaching the land of the son of Abilianis

35. ALU-MES SARAP-bi MAT-ni a-tu-bi nu-na-bi
the cities I burned; the land I devoured. I marched, D.P. Mu-ri-i-ni-ni
from Muris

son of Abilianis having exacted (due) to Sarduris

37. ku-ri-li šu-lu-us-ti-bi ši-lu-a-di ma-ku-ri
tribute I received homage. On the receipt of the gifts

38. e-ir-tsi-du be-i-ši ha-al-du-bi me-si-ni pi-i
of the land ... I changed his name.

Sarduris son of Argistis says:

40. AN Khal-di-a is-ti-ni-e i-na-ni
For this people of Khaldis the following (?)
tu-khi is-ti-ni
captives of them
41. za-du-bi VIIMCL NISU UN-MES I MU
   I made: 7,150 men in one year
     a-li-ki partly
   ANSU KUR-RA pa-ru-bi horses I carried off;

42. za-as-gu-bi a-li-ki TI-MES a-gu-bi CCCCC
   I slew, partly alive I took; 500
   GUD pa-khi-ni XXVMCLXX oxen (_ctl) 25,170
   LU su-se sheep.

43. VIIIIMCCCCCLX
   8,560

44. i-na-ni SARRU-e nu-na-bi me-i-a-li NISU a-ši-MES
   The king's city I marched as far as. The cavalry
   ir-bi-tu se-ri pa-ar-tu i-u
   . . . ; to the wild beasts they were carried off; so
   MAT-ni-i as-u-la-bi
   the land I desolated.

45. D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s a-li-e AN Khal-di-a is-ti-ni-ni Sarduris says: For this people of Khaldis
   i-na-ni-li ar-ni-u-si-ni-li I MU za-du-bi
   these (?) conquests (?) in one year I have made.

46. AN Khal-di-ni us-ta-bi ma-ši-i-ni-e gis-su-ri-e To the Khaldis I prayed, the multitudinous beings,
   ka-ru-ni D.P. Ra-su-u-ni SARRU who have subjected Rasus king
   MAT Ru-i-si-a-ni-e-i
   of the Ruisianian

47. MAT e-ba-ni-i-e ka-ru-ni D.P. Di-u-tsi-ni-ni lands, who have subjected Diutsinis

50. MAT e-ba-ni-i-e ka-ru-ni D.P. Di-u-tsi-ni-ni

51. D.P. I-ga-ni-e-khi-[ni] ALU . . u-khi MAT e-ba-ni-e son of Iganis of the land of the city of . . ukhis

53. D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s [a-li-e] [ulgusia-jni e-di-ni Sarduris says: For the sake of [my life?]

54. a . . . si . . . . . . ra-i-e . . . . . . .

3. Tasmubi is the verb corresponding to the noun (D.P.) tasmus (xxx, 17). The signification is made clear by l. 30, and my old translation of tasmus as “nobles” must be given up.

Eirtsitiu must be the Ass. irtsitii; the prefixed e makes it probable that it is a borrowed word, and l. 38 appears to fix its meaning. From it we have the verbal form eirtsii-dubi, XCVI, 29, on which see note.

5. The gerundial ustā-li “approaching”, “entering”, must have the force of an ablative absolute in this passage.

19. For karuni see above, XCIIX, 1.

26. The natural interpretation of NISU AT-se NISU AT-AT-se would be “fathers (and) grandfathers”. Cf. XCIIX, 2.

Muris must be a proper name since in the next line it is described as “him, the man”, and the name itself occurs in l. 35.¹

27. For kui see the bilingual LVII. In xlix, 26, the squeeze shows that we must read zadubi, not adubi. Here, therefore, the literal translation would be: “all the fathers and grandfathers (?) I made the possession of the water.” Does it mean that they were made water-carriers or that they were drowned?

28. Sekhalayani seems to have the same root as sekhiris “living”, but the natural rendering would be “former”. Cf. sekha-di, Ixxxvi, 25.

¹ Or has the expression “house of Muris” the Semitic sense of “family of Muris”?
30. The numeral is attached to BIT, not to the preceding word.

31. The bilingual texts have given us the signification of the Assyrian loan-word 

32. The ideograph gives us the meaning of its phonetically written equivalent *atu* in line 35.

35. The context makes the signification of *biduyas* pretty clear and thus explains the compound BIT *baršudi-biduni* (xix, 4, etc.). This will have been a double building, consisting of two chambers or two blocks. Hence in xxx, 16–18, *arûni mēs ali* D.P. *tasmus bedi-mānu biduni ibirāni* will be: "he gave a multitude of slaves in bodies in two divisions. Cf. also xix, 11.

36. In lxxxvi, 13, *satūuli* must signify "demand"; ALU *sukhe istini satūuli pili* D.P. *Ildaruniiani agûbi* "for this city which I have built requiring (it) I brought the water of the river Ildarunias ".

37. *Satūali* is a gerund rather than a substantive and consequently my old translation of *šulustibi* ("imposed") must be amended.

The photograph shows that we must read *makuri* and not *nakuri*; the latter reading must be corrected in the passages in which it occurs. The word appears to be a compound of *ma* and *kuri* ("give").

40. Or *inani* may signify "for the city" as in I. 44.

44. The formula is found in xlix, 11, 12. *Meiali*, literally "to the border", must be used as a postposition corresponding with the Assyrian *ādi*; "as far as the royal city." But see note on xcv, 11.

45. *Irbitu* looks like the borrowed Ass. *irbittu* "to the 4 (quarters)". The signification of *seri* was discovered by D. H. Müller, who pointed out that it had the same root as *se-khi-ris* "living". The discovery of the 3rd personal form in *-tu* is due to Dr. Belck. The photograph shows that we must read *asulabi* and not *asgalabi*. 
XCVIIm

D. Column III of the great stela (Face C)

The commencement is lost.

1. . . . is-ti-[ni ?] . . .
   . . . these . . .

2. [D.P.] AN RI-[du]-ri-s a-li-e
   Sarduris says:

3. us-ta-[a-di] MAT Qu-ul-kha-i-di
   On approaching the land of Qulkhas

4. [MAT-ni kha-u-bi ?] ALU . . sa-ni
   [the land I took?] Of the city of . . sas

5. ALU SARRU nu-śi . . . sa bi (?) SARRU . .
   the royal city . . . . .

6. MAT Qu-ma-kha-kha-li-e-[ni]
   in the country of Qumakh-Khalis,

7. [a]-gu-nu-[ni ma]-a-nu gu-nu-sa-[a]
   all the spoil by force

8. kha-u-bi UN-MES-ra-ni SARAP-bi
   I seized; the . . men I burned;

9. NISU ir-di-a-li MAT Bi(?)-kha-i
   the workmen of the land of Bi(?)khas

10. is-ti-ni ma-nu za-as-gu-bi
    all of them I killed.

11. DUP AN-BAR za-du-bi DUP-TE
    A tablet of iron I made; a tablet

12. ści-il-da MU-SA te-ru-bi
    śilda its name I set up.

13. E-GAL-MES ALU-MES SARAP-bi
    The palaces (&) cities I burnt,

14. khar-khar-su-bi MAT-ni a-tu-bi
    I dug up; the land I devoured;

15. ha-se SAL lu-tu pa-ru-bi
    the men (&) women I carried away.
16. [D.P.] AN RI-du-ri-s a-li-e
   Sarduris says:

17. i-ku-ka-ni MU si-is-ti-[ni]
   The same year for the third time

18. us-ta-di MAT O-i-khi-ru-khi-e-di
   on approaching the land of the son of Oikhirus

19. [I]I NISU EN-khu-i-MES su-ku-ri
   2 governors for the district (?)

20. ma-nu-li III a-e-ir-MES (?)
   the whole (of it) (&) 3 deputies (?)

21. us-ti-ib-te za-du-u-bi
   for the government I appointed.

22. AN Khal-di-ni-ni al-šu-si-ni
   To the Khaldis gods the powerful

23. MAT e-ba-ni ba-ad-gu-lu-bi
   the country I devoted,

24. [I] UD-ME as-gu-bi MAT-ni a-tu-bi
   in one day I took; the land I devoured;

25. ha-se SAL lu-tu pa-ru-bi
   the men (&) women I carried away.

26. ALU U-ra-ya-ni E-GAL
   In the city Urayas the palace

27. si-di-is-tu-bi NISU ir-di
   I restored; workmen

28. is-ti-i-ni a-su-u-bi
   to it I sent.

29. MAT O-i-khi-ru-khi-ni-i NISU-si-a
   The people of the land of the son of Oikhirus

30. is-ti-ni e-ir-tsi-du-bi
   there I settled (transported).

31. D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s a-li-e
   Sarduris says:
32. a-li NISU ta-tu-khi za-du-bi
   The sum of the captives I have made:
33. VIIIMC TUR-se na-khu-bi
   8,100 children I have taken;
34. IXMCX SAL lu-tu pa-ru-bi
   9,110 women I have carried away;
35. PAP XVIIMCC[X] NISU UN-MES
   in all 17,210 persons
36. a-li-ki za-as-gu-bi
   partly I have let die,
37. a-li-ki TI-MES a-gu-bi
   partly alive I have carried off;
38. IMCCCCC ANSU KUR-RA pa-ru-bi
   1,500 horses I have carried away:
39. XVIIMCCC GUD pa-khi-ni
   17,300 oxen,
40. XXXIMVIC LU su-se
   31,600 sheep.
41. D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s a-li-e
   Sarduris says:
42. AN Khal-di-a is-ti-ni-e
   For this people of Khaldis
43. i-na-ni-li ar-ni-o-si-ni-li
   these (?) conquests (?)
44. su-ši-ni MU za-du-u-bi
   in one year I made.
45. AN Khal-di-ni us-ta-bi
   To the Khaldis I prayed,
46. ma-ši-ni-e gis-su-ri-i-e
   the beings multitudinous,
47. ka-ru-a-li IV SARRU-MES
   after the subjugation of 4 kings,
48. MAT U-e-du-ri -e-ti-o-ni-i  
    to the Ueduretians'
49. MAT e-ba-a-ni-a-tsi-e  
    land belonging,
50. SARRU D.P. Ar-gu-qi-u-ni  
    king Arguqius,
51. SARRU D.P. Ka-a-ma-ni-u-i  
    king Kamas also,
52. SARRU D.P. Lu-e-ru-ni-u-i  
    king Luerus also.
53. i-nu-ka-ni-e BALADH MAT-ni  
    Length of life to the land may they decree.

6. Qumakha is the Assyrian Qummukh, classical Commagene. The further specification of the district as Qumakha-Khalis, i.e. "Qummukh of the Halys", is interesting. The Qummukh of the Assyrian texts extended a good deal to the East; the western portion of the country is here defined as stretching to the Halys and as being under separate government.

9. Line 26 makes it clear that irdial is must mean "workmen". Perhaps it is the Ass. ardu; see XCIXM, 11.

12. Is bilda the word for "iron". The Greek σίδηρος, borrowed from Asia Minor, may be an example of metathesis In (Caucasian) Ude zido signifies "iron".

21. The signification of uslim is fixed by lv, 3.

23. The general sense of badgulubi is settled by the context; what its specific meaning may be is uncertain. It seems to be a compound; cf. gabqaru-lub (xli, 17).

30. Eirtsidubi appears to stand for the compound eirtsidi- 
    dubi "I gave to the land ".

51, 52. These two lines give us a new fact in Vannic grammar; the conjunction ui can be postfixed like Greek τε, 
    Latin -que, Lydian -k, and Etruscan -k and -m.

53. For the form in -dhu, see note on XCIVM, 56.
XCVII\textsuperscript{m}

E. The fourth column of the stela (Face D), south side.

The commencement is lost.

1. \ldots\ldots\ldots si us-tu-u-ri
   \ldots\ldots he has dedicated.

2. \ldots [D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s D.P.] Ar-gis-ti-khi-ni-s a-li-e
   \ldots [Sarduris] son of Argistis says:

3. [khu-ti-a-\ldots]di AN Khal-di-e-di EN-di AN IM-di
   By the grace (?) of Khaldis the lord, Teisbas

4. AN UD-di AN-MES-as-te MAT Bi-a-i-na-as-te
   (\&) Ardinis, the gods of Biainas,

5. a-la-u-i-ni-ni al-\dot{u}-i-si-ni a-li-a-ba-di
   of the bull-like spirits, the mighty, the assemblage,

6. MAT-MAT-MES-\text{-}tsi KISSAT-ya-tsi-e
   who belong to all countries,
   kha-si-al me-e AN-MES
   may the gods hear me.

7. IV (?) UD-ME kha-a-ri-e is-te-e-di us-ta-a-di
   In 4 (?) days in that campaign on approaching

8. MAT Bu-lu-a-di-e-di si-a-bi ka-u-ki-e
   the land of Buluadis I contended against

9. gu-nu-si-i-ni-e \dot{u}-u-i-du-lu-u-bi .
   powerful forces; [what] I seized

10. a-su-u-bi pa-ri-e ALU Li-ib-li-u-ni-e[khi ?]
    I sent from the city of Libliunis.

11. ALU Li-ib-li-u-ni-ni ALU SARRU nu-\ddot{s}i
    Of Libliunis the royal city
    a-gu-nu-ni ma-a-nu
    all the spoil

12. gu-nu-sa-a kha-u-bi DUP-TE is-ti-ni te-ru-u-bi
    by force I took. A tablet there I set up.
13. ALU-MES SARAP-bi MAT e-ba-ni KŪ
The cities I burnt; the country I devoured;
ha-se SAL lu-tu-MES
the men (♂) women
14. is-ti-ni-ni pa-ru-u-bi E-GAL-MES is-ti-i-ni
belonging to them I carried away. The palaces there
15. si-di-is-tu-u-bi MAT Bi-a-i-na-a-u-e us-ma-a-se
I restored for the Biainian gods.
16. MAT Lu-lu-i-na-a U-i-na-a pa-khi-a-i-di
To the Luluian pasturage where the cattle are
17. MAT-ni MAT e-ba-ni-u-ki-di a-bi-li-du-u-bi
in (certain) parts of the country I set fire.
Sarduris says: The same year
19. si-is-ti-ni us-ta-a-di MAT E-ri-a-khi-ni-e-di
the 3rd time on approaching the land of the son of Erias
20. [MAT] e-ba-ni kha-u-bi ALU-MES SARAP-bi
the country I conquered; the cities I burnt,
khar-khar-su-u-[bi]
I dug up;
21. MAT e-ba-ni a-tu-u-bi ha-se SAL lu-tu-MES
the land I devoured; men (♂) women
pa-ru-[bi]
I carried away
22. [MAT] Bi-a-na-i-di E-GAL-MES is-ti-ni si-di-is-tu-bi
to Biainas. The palaces there I restored.
23. MAT e-ba-ni MAT e-ba-ni-u-ki-e-di a-bi-li-du-[bi]
The country in (certain) parts I set on fire.
24. AN Khal-di-ni-ni al-šu-i-si-ni D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s
To the Khaldis gods, the mighty, Sarduris
25. a-li-e a-li NISU tu-khi is-ti-ni za-du-u-[bi]
says: The sum of the captives of them I made (as follows):
26. VIMCCCCXXXVI TUR-se is-ti-ni-ni
   6,436 children belonging to them
na-khu-u-bi
I took;

27. XVMCCCCCLIII SAL lu-tu-MES pa-ru-u-bi
   15,553 women I carried away;

28. PAP XXIMIXCLXXXIX NISU ta-ar-su-a-[ni]
   in all 21,989 healthy persons (adults)

29. a-li-ki za-as-gu-bi a-li-ki TI-LA a-gu-[bi]
   partly I let die, partly alive I took.

30. MVICXIII ANSU KUR-RA-MES CXVI
   1,613 horses,
ANSU A-AB-BA-[MES]
   116 camels,

31. XVIMCCCCXXIX GUD pa-khi-ni pa-ru-u-[bi]
   16,529 oxen I carried away;

32. XXXVIIMVICLXXXV LU su-se-MES pa-ru-u-bi
   37,685 sheep I carried away.

33. D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s a-li-e AN Khal-di-a
   Sarduris says: For the people of Khaldis
   is-ti-ni-e
   there

34. i-na-ni-li ar-ni-u-si-ni-li I MU za-du-u-bi
   these (?) conquests (?) in one year I made.

35. AN Khal-di-ni us-ta-bi ma-si-ni gis-su-ri-e
   To the Khaldises I prayed, the beings multitudinous,
   ka-ru-ni
   who have subjected

36. MAT Qu-ma-kha-kha-li-e MAT-ni te-qu-ni
   of Qumakh-Khalis the land to the power (?)
   D.P. AN RI-du-ri-ka-i
   of Sarduris

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37. D.P. Ar-gis-ti-khi-ni-e AN Khal-di ku-ru-ni
son of Argistis, to Khaldis the giver,
AN Khal-di-ni to the Khaldises
38. gis-su-ri ku-ru-ni us-ta-a-bi
the multitudinous, the givers, I prayed
D.P. AN RI-du-ri-[ni]
on behalf of Sarduris
son of Argistis. Sarduris says:
40. D.P. Ku-us-ta-as-pi-li SARRU MAT Qu-ma-kha-al-khi-e
Kustaspil king of the people of Qumakh
41. a-ni-ya-ar-du-ni ma-nu-i a-i-ni-e SARRU is-ti-ni
gave bribes (?) to every other king thereunto
42. us-tu-ri D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s D.P. Ar-gis-ti-khi-ni-s
neighbouring. Sarduris son of Argistis
43. a-li-e khu-ti-a-di AN Khal-di-e-di EN-di
says: By the grace (?) of Khaldis the lord,
AN IM-di
Teisbas
44. AN UD-di AN-MES-as-te MAT Bi-a-i-na-as-te-e
(&) Ardinis, the gods of Biainas,
45. a-la-u-i-ni-ni al-šu-i-si-ni a-li-a-ba-a-di
of the protectors mighty the assemblage,
46. MAT-MAT-MES-tsi KISSAT-ya-tsi kha-si-al me AN-MES
who belong to numberless lands, may the gods hear me.
IV UD-ME KAS
The 4th day in that
47. is-te-di us-ta-di MAT Qu-ma-kha-kha-li-ni-e
campaign on approaching of Qumakha-Khalis
48. MAT e-ba-ni-e-di ALU U-i-ta-ni ALU SARRU nu-ší
the land, of the city of Uitas, the royal city,
49. a-gu-nu-ni ma-nu gu-nu-sa-a kha-u-bi
   all the spoil by force I took.
   ALU Kha-al-pa-ni
   Of the city of Khalpas,
50. ALU SARRU nu-si tsu-i-ni-i-si-ni ma-nu kha-u-bi
   the royal city, all the canals I took.
51. si-a-bi ka-u-ki šu-lu-us-ti-bi te-ru-lu-bi
   I attacked; I exacted homage; I confirmed (his rule).
52. a-ru-u me me-e-s L ma-na-e GUSQIN tu-a-gi
   Gave to me he 50 manehs of gold pure,
53. VIIC ma-na-e BABBAR HIM TUG-MES HIM
   800 manehs of silver, 3,000 dresses, 2,000
   a-se-MES URUD
   ingots of copper,
54. MCCCCXXXV ki-ri URUD a-li i-nu-ka-a-ni
   1,535 vessels of copper; the length of sacrifices
55. e-di-ni a-gi bi-e-da-ni kha-ra-ri
   for the sake of, good-luck to the next campaign (?)
   a-dhu
   may they decree.

5. The Sumerian ala “divine bull”, “the protector” of
   a building, was borrowed by the Babylonians under the form
   of alu and by the Hittites under that of alas; here we have
   evidence that it was also borrowed by Vannic with the help
   of the suffix -ui.

   In aliaba-di I am now inclined to regard -ba as a suffix
   rather than as part of a compound word.

6. The signification of the suffix -tsi is clear here.

   We now know that mé denotes the objective cases of the
   first personal pronoun and must be distinguished from
   mei “of him”. In khasi-al I now see the 3rd pers. pl. of
   the precative. We learn from the bilingual lvi, 33, that
   khasu-li (for khasi-u-li?) is “cause to hear”. In Mitannian
   also khasi = “to hear”.
7. The signification of khārie is given by its ideographic equivalent in 1. 46. Cf. the Sumerian kharran.

8. For kaukie see the bilingual LIT, 13. It fixes the meaning of siabi. In xxxvii, 11, accordingly, siadi will be "on attacking".

16. Pakhia can hardly be separated from pakhi-ni "oxen" and ought to signify "the place of oxen". Hence in U-i-ná, with the territorial suffix-na, we must see the ideograph U, for which cf. note on lxxxvi, 9. Lulu was the district in which Armavir stood.

28. D.P. tarsua[ni] represent the non-combatants as well as the fighting men and must mean "the adults".

40. The Kustaspi of the Assyrian annals. He was (perhaps unwillingly) an ally of Sarduris in his war with Tiglath-pileser IV and subsequently attended the "durbar" of that king at Damascus after the capture of the city by the Assyrians in 732 B.C. The final -li seems to represent the Mitannian nominative -l.

41. Aniyardani seems to be a compound of an otherwise unknown ani and aru "to give".

The signification of ainie is given by the bilingual lvi, 30.

42. The specific signification of ustu-ri, from the same root as usta-bi, is fixed by the context.

48. Uitas is the Uetas of the Assyrian texts.

49. Khalpa is the Khalpi of the Assyrians, in the southwestern part of Kummukh, where the Vannic army was defeated by Tiglath-pileser IV.

50. For tsuini "temple", Ass. bit-ili, see the bilinguals lvi and Topzawa. There was another tsuis which apparently means a "canal" or "reservoir".

52. Possibly arū is precative and we should translate "I established (i.e. ordained, teru-lubi): let him give". Cf. askhu-me, xxiv, 6.

The last syllable of tu-a-gi is clear in the photograph. On the other hand, in xlv, 20, 24, the reading is tuaie (if it is
correct). I have supposed that the word was the phonetic representative of the preceding ideograph, but the suffixed -gi suggests the epithet "pure". At any rate it is "pure gold" that is meant. Since agi in l. 55 appears to be "good luck", perhaps tu-agi is a compound signifying "good gold." (tu-a).

54. Kiru is the Ass. kiru.

55. ṭ 32 concludes: [h]ali edini RAK-KUR-khini kharari (kharani is an error) ter-agi "for the sake of the sacrifices to the frontier marches (?) good-luck!" The opening words of the great inscription of Argistis attached to the sepulchral chambers of the rock of Van (xxxviii, 2) are: alie ini ... nie azibie inaini teragi "It is said: to these [sepulchral] chambers of the city good luck!" Then comes the long historical text. Ter-agi is a compound like ter-duli, and would be literally: "good ordainment".

Biedani seems to be connected with biduyas "a second time".

Kharari is a derivative in -ri like sekhi-ris, etc., the stem apparently being kharie "road", "campaign". "Kharani" in LIIr (Vannic text) is a misprint for "kharari".

XCVIII

F. On the pedestal on which the stela stands.

1. AN Khal-di-ni-ni us-ma-si-ni D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s
   To the Khaldis gods the divine Sarduris
   D.P. Ar-gis-ti-khi-ni-s a-li-e Ka-ma-a-ni ARAKH-ni
   son of Argistis says: In the month Kamas

   at the beginning (?) the soldiers I mustered.
   khu-ti-a-di AN Khal-di-e-di EN-di AN IM-di
   By grace (?) of Khaldis the lord, Teisbas
3. AN UD-di AN-MES-as-te MAT Bi-a-i-na-as-te (&q) Ardinis the gods of Biaïnas,
a-lu-sî-ni-nî al-šu-u-i-sî-nî a-li-a-ba-a-di
of rulers mighty the assemblage,

4. MAT Lu-lu-i-na-tsi kha-si-al me AN-MES
belonging to the land of Lulus, may the gods hear me.
D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s a-li-e u-la-di
Sarduris says: In the midst
MAT E-ti-u-ni-e-di
of the country of Etius

5. a-li as-ta-a-di MAT E-ti-u-ni-a is-ti-ni-i-e
and the mountains (?) of the Etiunians there
an-da-ni MAT E-ri-a-khi ha-al-du-bi
the road to the land of Erías I changed:
sal-ma-at-khi
on the frontier

6. MAT Qu-ri-a-ni-ni us-ta-di MAT I-ga-ni-i-e-di
of the land of Qurias, on approaching the country of Iganis,
AN Khal-di-ni us-ta-bi ma-ši-ni-e gis-su-ri-i-e
to the Khaldises I prayed, to the spirits multitudinous,

7. ka-ru-ni D.P. Qa-bu-ri-ni SARRU
who have subjected Qaburis king
MAT I-ga-ni-i MAT e-ba-ni-e AN Khal-di-i ku-ru-ni
of the country of Iganis, to Khaldis the giver,
AN Khal-di-i-ni-ni
to the Khaldis gods

8. gis-su-ri ku-ru-ni us-ta-bi D.P. AN RI-du-ri-ni
multitudinous, the givers, I prayed on behalf of Sarduris.
D.P. AN RI-du-ri-i-s a-li-e XXXV E-GAL-MES
Sarduris says: 35 palaces,

9. CC ALU-MES I UD-ME as-gu-bi E-GAL-MES
200 cities in one day I took; the palaces
khar-khar-su-bi ALU-MES SARAP-bi MAT e-ba-ni
I dug up; the cities I burnt; the country
a-tu-u-bi ha-se-MES
I devoured; the men

10. SAL lu-tu-MES is-ti-ni-ni si-u-bi
(&women belonging to them I carried off
MAT Bi-a-i-na-di D.P. AN RI-du-ri i-s a-li-e
to Biainas. Sarduris says :
i-ku-ka-a-ni
The same

11. KAS us-ta-di MAT Bu-ba-ni-a-i-ni-e
campaign on approaching the country of the
MAT e-ba-ni-e-di ALU Al-qa-ni-a-i-di
Bubanaians (&) the city Alqaniais (&)
ALU Tsu-da-la-di
the city Tsudalas

12. E-GAL-MES khar-khar-su-bi ALU MES SARAP-bi
the palaces I dug up, the cities I burnt;
MAT-ni a-tu-u-bi bi-du-ya-s us-ta-di
the land I devoured. A second time on approaching
MAT E-ri-a-khi-ni-e-di
the land of the son of Erias

13. ALU-MES SARAP-bi ha-se SAL lu-tu-MES
the cities I burnt; the men (&) women
is-ti-ni-ni si-u-bi i-sa-a-ni bi-di-i-a-di
belonging to them I carried off. On the second occasion
us-ta-a-di
on approaching

14. MAT Is-te-lu-a-ni-gi-di MAT Qa-di-a-i-ni-e-di
the wall of the land of Isteluas, the land of Qadiais,
MAT A-bu-u-ni-ni-e MAT e-ba-ni-i-e-di
the land of the Abunians
   belonging to the son of Abilias Sarduris says:
   i-e-s NISU a-ši-MES ni-ku-u-li
   I the cavalry commander (?)

16. u-i-e a-i-ni-e-i NISU EN-khu-i-MES su-ku-u-ri 
   along with the other officers of the army (?)
   ma-nu-u-ri us-ta-di NISU u-e-li su-ši-ni-e 
   in its entirety on the approach of a single regiment

17. MAT U-e-li-ku-ni-gi-di kha-u-bi 
   to the wall of the land of Uelikus captured;
   MAT U-e-li-ku-ni-ni MAT-ni XXII E-GAL-MES 
   in the land of the Uelikuians of 22 palaces
   a-gu-nu-ni ma-nu
   all the spoil

18. gu-nu-sa-a kha-u-bi E-GAL-MES khar-khar-su-bi
   by force I took. The palaces I dug up;
   ALU-MES SARAP-bi MAT e-ba-a-ni a-tu-bi
   the cities I burnt; the land I devoured;
   ha-se SAL lu-tu-MES
   the men (&) women

19. pa-ru-bi MAT Bi-a-i-na-i-di D.P. AN-RI-du-ri-i-s
   I carried away to Biainas. Sarduris
   a-li-e nu-na-bi ka-u-ki D.P. Ni-di-i-ni
   says: I marched against Nidis

20. SARRU MAT U-e-li-ku-khi šu-lu-us-ti-bi
   king of the Uelikuians, I exacted homage
   NISU bu-ra-as-tu-u-bi me-si-ni pi-e-i
   I appointed (him) as governor; his name
   ha-al-du-bi
   I changed.

21. me-s D.P. AN-RI-du-ri e a-ri-ne D.P. AN-RI-du-ri-s
   He to Sarduris gave (gifts). Sarduris
   a-li-e i-ku-ka-a-ni MU si-is-ti-i-ni
   says: The same year for the third time
22. us-ta-di D.P. Ar-gu-qi-ni-e MAT-ni-di
on approaching the country belonging to Arguqis
ka-ru-bi D.P. Ar-gu-qi-i-ni MAT-ni-e
I subjugated Arguqis's land,
D.P. A-da-khu-ni
Adakhus's

23. MAT-ni-e D.P. Lu-ur-ru-ni MAT-ni-e D.P. E-su-mu-a-i
land, Lurrus's land, the land of
MAT-ni D.P. Ka-am-ni-u-i MAT e-ba-ni
Esumuais, the land of Kamniuis,

24. MAT Qu-ha-al-ba-ni MAT U-khu-ni-ni MAT-ni-e
(of) the countries of Quhalbas (of) Ukhunis
MAT Te-ri-a-ni MAT-ni-e XX E-GAL-MES
(of) the country of Terias. Of 20 palaces
a-gu-nu-ni ma-a-nu
all the spoil

25. gu-nu-sa-a kha-u-bi CXX ALU-MES I UD-ME
by force I took; 120 cities in one day
as-gu-bi E-GAL-MES khar-khar-su-bi ALU-MES
I captured; the palaces I dug up; the cities
SARAP-bi MAT-ni a-tu-u-bi ha-se
I burnt; the country I devoured; the men

26. SAL lu-tu-MES is-ti-ni-ni si-u-bi
(of) women belonging to them I carried off.
D.P. AN-RI-du-ri-s a-li-e a-li NISU UN-MES
Sardurus says: All the persons
GIS sur-gi-ni-ka-i-ni
the altar for libations

27. ku-lu TUR si-bi sa-tu-ni
the holy place of the . . . youths who guarded,
MAT Us-ki-a-ni MAT Ba-am-ni
in the countries of Uskias (of) Bam.
ba-ad-gu-lu-bi za-as-gu-bi a-li-pi ku-lu
I devoted (to the gods), I slew, while all the altar
TUR si-i-bi
of the ... youths

28. AN IM-s SARAP-ni D.P. AN-RI-du-ri-s a-li-e
the Air-god burnt. Sarduris says:

se-e-ri ha-se SAL lu-tu
To the wild beasts the men (&) women
NISU a-qi-MES-u-e a-ru-bi
belonging to the infantry I gave.

29. D.P. AN-RI-du-ri-s a-li-e a-li NISU tu-khi
Sarduris says: The sum of the captives
is-ti-ni za-du-bi XM TUR-s(e) na-khu-bi
there I made: 10,000 children I took;

IVMVIC NISU TI-MES pa-ru-u-bi
4,600 men alive I carried off

30. XXIIIIMCC SAL lu-tu-MES PAP XXXVIIMVIIIC
(&) 23,200 women, in all 37,800
NISU UN-MES a-li-ki za-as-gu-bi a-li-ki
persons partly I put to death, partly
TI-MES a-gu-u-bi
alive I took;

31. IIMCCCCAC ANSU KUR-RA-MES XLMCCCLIII
3,500 horses, 40,353
GUD pa-khi-ni XXI a-ti-bi IVMVIIC
oxen, 21 myriads 4,700
LU su-se-MES D.P. AN-RI-du-ri-s a-li-e
sheep. Sarduris says:

32. AN Khal-di-a is-ti-ni-i-e i-na-ni-li ar-ni-u-si-ni-li
For this people of Khaldis these(?) conquests (?)
su-si-ni sa-a-li za-du-u-bi
in one year I made.
1. *Usma-sini* is a compound of the substantive verb *ma* and *us* which I have hitherto identified with *us* in *ustabi*, etc. *Us* is found in *us-gini*, which is translated by the Ass. *panipani* "sanctuary" (LVIκ 20), and is clearly a compound of *us* and *qi* "a temple-wall"; also in *us-lani*, possibly "oracle" (LVIκ 21). In lxviii, 3, we have *inani use us-ulnus* which perhaps signifies "the stated offerings of the gods of the city". At any rate, *us- (is)* must mean "divinity", "god", "spirit", or the like. Dr. Belck (ZDMG. lviii, p. 181) would make *aste* the complete word for "gods" and not merely its termination. Support for this would be found in CT. 25, 11, 31, where Astuwinu is stated to denote the twin deities Zamama and Mas in the language of Subari; the termination reminds us of the Greek dual -ov. *Kamas* is the first Vannic month the name of which has become known to us.

2. Professor Marr reads the first character as *ta* and connects the word with *taranis* "second".

5. With *astā-di*, cf. *asta*, lxviii, 6, and *astiu* used in connection with the Etuianians, xliii, 42. The latter word, however, can hardly be separated from *astiu-iuni* (xxx, 21), which must mean "magazines" or something of the sort as they were captured along with horses and chariots.

6. For the country of Iganis see xxxvii, 11; xlv, 39. The photograph has *ga*, not *u*.

12. This passage gives us the signification of *biduyas*.

13. We find *bidia-di-bad-MES* in 1, 18, "I obtained (?) the . . . of the fighting-men" (gunusi-ni-ni). Does the word mean "weapons"? *Isāni* does not occur elsewhere. In lxviii and xci, 7, *bidī* might signify "sacrificial instruments".

20. For *buras-tūbi* see below lv, 3, *sušinē ustibtini magūlanī buras-tuli* "appointing a governor over this country under (?) a single administration".

22. This line fixes the signification of the verb *karu*.

26. GIS *surgini-kai-ni* is borrowed from Assyrian; it is literally "the (altar) for libations" (Ass. *surqinu*).
27. Kulu usually appears as kulu-di borrowed from the Ass. kiludi, but regarded, it would seem, as a native Vannic formation in -di.

For satu- "to keep", "guard", see my note JRAS. Oct., 1901, p. 650.

Badgu-lubi is a compound of badgu- and lu-. The context determines its sense.

The suffix -pi (or wi) in ali-pi was discovered and explained by Lehmann-Haupt, ZDMG. Iviii (1904), pp. 844–6.

31. Ati-bi is probably related to eti-bi "more than", "exceeding".

XCIX

G (VI). On the southern wall of the western niche, at the back of the stela.

1. AN Khal-di-i-ni-ni al-ṣu-i-si-ni D.P. AN-RI-du-ri-i-s
   To the Khaldis gods the mighty Sarduris
   D.P. Ar-gis-ti-e-khi-ni-s a-li-e
   son of Argistis says

2. i-u AN Khal-di-is me XX tu-khi a-ru-u-ni
   thus: Khaldis to me 20 captives has given
   na-kha-a-di NISU AT-ṣi-ni e-ṣi-i XX tu-khi-ni
   when I took the place of the . . men. The 20 captives

3. a-li ar-da-i-e-i-ni i-ṣi-u-s MAT Su-ra-a-ni-e-di-ni
   and slaves, chattels (?) from all the world
   tu-ru-u-bi XCII GIS GIGIR-MES
   I collected (?) ; 92 chariots,

4. HIMVICIV BIT-KHAL-LU-MES XXXV a-ti-bi
   3,604 war-horses, 35 myriads
   HIMXI NISU ZAB-MES e-ha
   2,011 soldiers as well as
   BIT-KHAL-LU-MES-e-i
   war-horses
5. e-ha NISU ZAB-GIR-MES-e-i i-na-ni ar-da-i-e as well as camp-followers for the service of the city na-ni-e-di-ni tu-ru-bi together (?) I collected (?),

6. a-li i-śi-u-s ma-a-nu khu-su-bi CXXI NISU UN-MES & all the chattels I acquired; 121 persons, XMCCCCVIII ANSU KUR-RA-MES 10,408 horses

7. CXXXII ANSU GIR-NUN-NA-MES XIIMCCCXXXI 132 mules, 12,321
GUD-MES IXMXXXXVI GUD pa-khi-i-ni-e-MES oxen 9,036 draft-oxen,

8. PAP [X]XIMCCCLVII GUD pa-khi-i-ni-e-MES in all 21,357 draft-oxen, XXXVMCCCCCLXVII LU su-se-e-MES 35,467 sheep,

9. IIMCXIV til-li-MES gu-nu-si-ni-e-i MCCXXXII 2,114 troops, powerful ones, 1332 GIS-BAN-MES XLVIIMIXCLXX GIS-KAK-ti-MES bows, 47,970 arrows,

10. CHI a-ti-bi IIMCXXXIII ka-pi-se SUK-MES [I]CXI 102 myriads 2,133 kapis of rations, 111 a-qar-qi KARAN-MES LXXXVI a-qar-qi VII aqarqi of wine, 86 jars 7 ne-ru-śi XX ka-li NI-MES neruśi 20 kali of oil,

   for Sarduris          son of Argistis,
SARRU DAN-NU        SARRU al-šu-u-i-ni
   the mighty king,    the great king,
13. SARRU su-ra-a-u-e  SARRU MAT Bi-a-i-na-a-u-e
   the king of multitudes,  king          of Biainas,
   SARRU SARRU-MES a-lu-ši ALU Dhu-us-pa-e-ALU
   king             of kings,    lord of Dhuspas.

2. Or is it “has given to him”? The ideograph AT seems to be used here in the sense of “prince” or “judge”; but see XCVM, 26. Cf. Ass. (D.P.) AT-LIL “caulker”.

3. Ardaiei-ni is the borrowed Assyrian word ardu. Išius would appear from the context to be “chattels” or something similar. It would be related to iši “with” in the sense of “appurtenance”.

Suras interchanges with the Ass. MAT-MAT-MES (JRAS. xx, p. 32), and consequently signifies “the world”. Hence we cannot translate: Surani edini “for the sake of Suras”; cf. nani-edini, 1. 5, and Ururduinedini, 1. 11.

4. Nāni is found in xli, 19, where the squeeze proves that it is correct. There it is preceded by muru-muria-khi-ni which may be the phonetic reading of NISU ZAB-GIR-MES. Nanuli in li (i), 5, is a misreading for manuli.

9. Tilli is borrowed from Assyrian.

10. With kapis cf. the Ass. kuppusu “grain-jar”. The land measurement kapi must be the same word: see Lehmann-Haupt, ZDMG. lviii (1904), p. 843.

For aqargi and its subdivision khirusi see Lehmann-Haupt, Materialien zur älteren Geschichte Armeniens und Mesopotamiens (1907), pp. 111–12. Khirusi is here written nerūsi; but since ne had the value of tī (dhi) in Vannic and kī (ι) had the same value in Assyro-Babylonian it is possible that the two words are identical.
11. Possibly we should translate: "for Ararat". If so, in l. 3 it would be "for Suras".

C

The following inscription was discovered by Professor Marr at Dash-Kerpi, near Lake Chaldir, north-east of Alexandropol, and published by him in the Mémoires du Musée du Caucase, 1919.

1. AN Khal-di-ni-ni al-šu-i-si-ni
   To the Khaldis gods the mighty
2. D.P. AN RI-du-u-ri-i-s
   Sarduris
3. D.P. Ar-gis-ti-khi-ni-s a-li-e
   son of Argistis says
4. i-u MAT U-khi-me-a-qa kha-u-bi
   thus: The land of Ukhimeaqa I have conquered.
5. bi-(du)-ya-s i-ku-ka-ni KAS
   For the second time in the same campaign
6. kha-u-bi ALU Ma-qa-al-tu-o-ni
   I took the city of Maqaltus;
7. ha-se NISU u-e-di-a-ni
   the men who were adults
8. pa-ru-bi MAT Bi-a-na-i-di
   I carried away to Biainas.

5. Professor Marr’s reading is bi-li-ya-s. But the corresponding form biduyas (XCVim, 34, and XCVIIIm, 12) indicates that $du$ should be read. If $li$ is right, it would have to be explained by the interchange of $d$ and $l$ in many of the Asianic languages which presuppose a sound similar to that of the Welsh $ll$.

KAS (kharran) is phonetically rendered kharic in XCVIm, 7, compared with XCVIIIm, 8.
Nos. LV, LXXXII, LXXXIV

Not long before his death Professor Nikolsky was able to take photographs and squeezes of these three inscriptions with the result that the reading of them has been corrected and amended in several places.

No. LV. In l. 3 the reading is:

su-ši-ni us-ši-ib-ti-ni ma-gu-u-la-ni bu-ra-as-tu-li
one government under (?) having appointed a governor
In magulani we may have a compound with ula "middle".

l. 5. MAT Ar-qu-qi-i-ni IV SARRU-MES i-pa-ni
of the land of Arququis the 4 kings ipani
ap-ti-ni tsu-i-ni-a
who were called, the people of the lake.

l. 6. MAT Sa-na-dhu-a-i-ni.

l. 10. The country of Piruainis is identified by Nikolsky with the modern Aparan, Melainis with Mola, and Useduinis with Ushakan.

l. 12. i-pa-ni ap-ti-ni [D.P.] Ri-i-du-a-i-ni
ipani who were called, belonging to Riduais
MAT ba-ba-ni-a
distant peoples

l. 18. AN IM ALU MAT-[MAT]-MES ...
For Teisbas the city countries ...

No. LXXXII. There is no lacuna between ll. 3 and 4. For Siriquiné read Arququiné.

No. LXXXIV. l. 3: ... me-a-šu [BIT] ha-ri su-u-i-ni.
See No. lxxxv, 2.

l. 7. ba-di-ni-e AN [Khal]-di-[ni]
To all the Khaldises.

l. 14. .. šu-u-ni kha-dhu-bi is-ti-[ni]
... I cut off the boundary.
MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

EXHIBITION OF CHINESE ART IN BERLIN

On the 23rd January, 1926, there came into being the Gesellschaft für Ostasiatische Kunst with headquarters in Berlin. The success of the Society is measured by the fact that on its third birthday it numbered no less than 1,000 members. The aims of the Society are to promote lectures and exhibitions, and to issue periodical and other publications. From the beginning of this year the periodical became merged with the Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, which is now the official organ of the Society. The president is Dr. William Solf, German Ambassador at Tōkyō, the vice-president Dr. Herbert von Klemperer, and the chief secretary Professor Otto Kümmel. Among the officers and supporters of the Society are the leading German scholars and collectors interested in Asiatic art.

The most ambitious enterprise of the Society is the Exhibition of Chinese Art which opened on the 12th January and will close on the 2nd April. In this it is associated with the Preussische Akademie der Künste, and the loan of the Academy’s galleries allows of a display on magnificent lines. Most of the famous collections in Europe and America are represented in the Exhibition, and there are some 1,300 objects drawn from more than 170 sources in thirteen countries. A catalogue is issued at the wonderfully cheap price of 3 marks, and it contains descriptions of 1,125 objects, each of which is represented with a miniature photograph. To an enlarged and revised edition, now in preparation, the later accessions will be added. The cosmopolitan scope of the enterprise extends to a series of lectures which are attracting large audiences. As at present arranged, the list is as follows:—

J. G. Andersson (Stockholm), "Prähistorische Kulturbeziehungen zwischen Nordchina und dem näheren Orient."

JRAS. APRIL 1929.
G. Boróvka (Leningrad), "Die russischen Grabungen in der Mongolei."

J. Hackin (Paris), "Die buddhistische Kunst in Afghanistan."

R. L. Hobson (London), "Ceramics of the Period Sung to the End of Ming."

B. Rackham (London), "The later Chinese Ceramics."

W. P. Yetts (London), "The Technique of Bronze Casting in Ancient China."

All mediums of artistic expression, except architecture, receive adequate representation in the extensive galleries of the Academy. The main basis of arrangement is chronological, and the ample space at the disposal of the organizers permits schemes of grouping without crowding and without prejudice to archaeological and aesthetic standards. In fact, the difficult task of setting out the numerous and diversified exhibits has been achieved with signal taste and discrimination.

The range covered by the Exhibition is too wide for detailed discussion in a short notice; but one highly important feature must be mentioned. It is the presence of objects excavated from tombs in Northern Mongolia by the Kozlóv Expedition. A review of the report on these finds appeared in *JRAS*. for 1926, pp. 555–8, and I wrote a longer and illustrated account in the *Burlington Magazine* for April, 1926. Among the finds, few of which may be attributed to local origin, are products of Hellenic, Iranian, Scythian, Sarmatian, Chinese, and ancient Siberian art. Their prime importance as clues to channels of cultural contacts between China and foreign countries has been generally recognized, as also their probable period. But not till July of last year was documentary proof discovered to support the surmise that the tombs dated from about the beginning of our era. An inscription scratched on the edge of the base of a lacquered bowl was then for the first time noticed by Professor Otto Kümmler, although the bowl had been repeatedly examined since it was excavated several years before. The inscription,
as deciphered by Professor Kümml, is as follows: 建平五年九月工王潭經畫工獲工宜天武省
The ninth moon, fifth year of the chien-p'ing period [2 B.C.] Craftsman Wang T'an-ching; painter Huo; craftsman I; supervisor T'ien-wu." Few are able to travel to Leningrad, and the opportunity afforded in Berlin of seeing these well-preserved relics of 2,000 years ago is therefore specially welcome. They offer an illuminating supplement to the Han objects discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Eastern Turkestan and by Japanese archaeologists in Corea.

W. PERCEVAL YETTS.

BERLIN,
31st January, 1929.

(1) ON KUR. GI. HU, KURKÛ = THE CRANE

KUR. GI. HU, kurkû, about which we know the following details: (1) it has been compared to the Syr. ךע "crane" (Amiaud, ZA. iii, 46); (2) it occurs as far back as the Drehem texts, where it is mentioned with UZ. BANDA (duck ?), and doves (Delaporte, RA. 1911, 189),¹ and occurs in the later Assyrian texts of everyday life (e.g. Johns, Ass. Deeds, 1003 ff.) and late Babylonian contracts (see SAI. No. 5369). It is a bird proper to be offered to the gods (cf. Sargon, Khorsabad, 168), and so from this we may account it a bird valuable for the table; (3) its name perhaps comes from its cry, or possibly is connected with kurkanû, "turmeric," from its colour; (4) the medical receipts of CT. xxiii, 49, 2, and KAR. 182 (see Ass. Med. Texts, 102, 3) recommend practically every part of the young kurkû-bird to be used as a salve after being rendered down, which shows that it must be a fairly large bird and important as a source of grease.

We can thus define kurkû as a fairly large fat bird, sought after for the table, an ancient inhabitant of Mesopotamia, with a cry like kurk, or possibly related to the colour (saffron) of turmeric (kurkanû), and presumably from לְעַנָּה a crane.

¹ Cf. Scheil, R.A., 1925, 50, period of dynasty of Ur.
This old identification is apparently correct. Either *Grus communis* or *G. virgo* (the demoiselle crane) are probable candidates for the word, and I have often seen cranes (of some species) flying high over Mosul in the winter.

The Arabs told me they were excellent eating, and this is said of the common crane in the Middle Ages in England, as "furnishing a dish fit for the table of princes" (*Penny Cyclopædia*, xii, 171). Both kinds of crane are in general appearance greyish, and this is the case of the exterior of the turmeric root (*Rhind, Veg. Kingdom*, 518), the interior being a deep, lively yellow. The cry of the common crane is said to be coor, sufficiently near to *kurk*.

*.lbl* is used in Jer., viii, 7: Post (*Dict. Bible*, i, 516) says that in the absence of evidence in its favour, we must drop the crane from the fauna of the Bible. Payne Smith (*Thesaurus*) gives the meaning as *Grus* or perhaps *Hirundo*, mentioning the Gk. κιρκη, κιρκος. Dozy (*Supp.*) gives "cicogne" for קְרֵכֶה, but there is no doubt that the Mesopotamian Arab means "crane" when he uses this word.

The goose, with its cackle, and the use made of its grease, certainly rather suggests itself for *kurkū*, and I had, I confess, thought that *kurkū* might be some bird such as the ruddy sheldrake (*Tadorna casarca, L.*), with a usual note kark or kape (Howard Saunders, *Manual of British Birds*, 410), thus connected with *kurkanū*, or even the Brent Goose (*Bernicla brenta*, Pallas), with a call-note cronk or honk (Saunders, 400). But on my revisiting Mosul in 1927, the striking appearance of the cranes together with the Arab view of their delicacy as food, went some way towards convincing me that there was every reason to accept *kurkū* as "crane".

(2) *šikkū = "cat"

None of the words *šikkū*, *piazu*, *aiṣu*, *humširu*, has as yet been satisfactorily settled, although Ebeling in his translation of the text *KAR*. 174 (*Die bab. Fabel*, 42) suggests "Maus (?)"
for piazu, which is right, but unnecessarily cautious. For šikkē he says: "was šikkē, das mehrfach vorkommt (vgl. z. B. MA. 1025b) für ein Tier bezeichnet, ist noch nicht mit sicherheit zu sagen. Es scheint in Bewässerungsrohren zu leben, s. ebenda, also eine Ratte?""

I confess I see no difficulty in determining at least two: piazu, which can go down the snake's hole must be a mouse, and the šikkē, from which it flees must be the cat (not a rat): piazu lapan šikki ina hurri širi eruba umma mušlahhu ispuranni šulmu, "The mouse went into the snake's hole with the cat at its heels, saying 'a snake-charmer has sent me (with ?) Greeting'."

Again, on p. 44, AN. NIN. PIŠ lapan kalbi ina namšabi ..., kalbu ki īšhit-ma ina bāb namšabi ..., AN. NIN. PIŠ ištu namšabi u-ša(?) ... "The cat [fled] before the dog into the gutter; when the dog leapt up ... at the opening of the gutter the cat laughed (?) from the gutter [at him]." It can hardly be "rat (?)" as Ebeling suggests. The two passages are clear: the translation for šikkē is clearly "cat", the idea of hostility between cat and dog being as common in the East as with us: cf. the late Hebrew magical charm (PSBA. 1907, 287). "For hate: take the egg of a black hen and boil it in urine and give half of it to a dog and half of it to a cat, and say: 'As these hate one another, so may hatred fall between N., son of N., and N., son of N.'" For the cat going into a pipe (hallalaniš), cf. Sarg. Ann., 336. Interesting, therefore, is the Sumerian AN. NIN. PIŠ = šikkē, "cat," in relation with PIŠ = piazu "mouse" (as above): AN. NIN. PIŠ will mean "Mistress of the Mouse", an amusing title; equally so AN. NIN. PIŠ = šarru ša imki (Br. 11103) "king of wisdom", the traditional view taken of the cat. In my Devils, 1, 155, l. 216, kima šikkē asurra usšanu šunu "(the devils) make the wall to stink like cats" (like cats all over the world, not "mice", as I had it); and still more K. 3200, Haupt, Nimrodepos, 51, 14, the protecting deities of Erech (i.e. the lion-colossi) turn to šikkē (cats, smaller editions of
themselves), and go out through the gutters. Interesting is the animal šikkū sammatum rabītum (Gadd, CT. xxxix, 27, 15) "a great odorous cat ", and the omen ibid., l. 16, " If a cat ša ḫu-[p]-pi šaknut(at) (I am indebted to Mr. Gadd for deciphering the broken character) appears in a man's house " (general harm to the house will follow). Ḥu-up-pat ēnä II (KAR. 182, r. 10, which explains ḫup-pi eni of CT. xviii, 24, 4, Holma 17) at once shows what is meant by ḫuppi : it is the "blindness" of the new-born kitten, merely the closed eyelids (ẖup- texit, occaeacavit). Another kind is the šikkū kišti "cat of the woods ". " If Adad lets his voice resound like a cat of the woods " (K. 2619, Del. HWB., 50), presumably a panther or similar.

In a medical text, AM. 34, 1, 17, we have šikkū EDIN.NA ("of the field "), for which both šikkū and aīsu (SAI. 396) are the equivalents. In CT. xxxv, 5, ʾi-ik-ku-u, nam-maš-tu nam-maš-su-u, ḫa-ma-aš-si-ru, pi-a-zu are all given as equivalents of the sign PEŠ, PIŠ. Humsiru (Br. 11936) must be a variant of ḫamassiru. Šikkū, however, is not given elsewhere as a value for PIŠ, PEŠ, or equivalent of the others (I take it, of course, that piazu is not the same as aīsu), and I think it must be a mistake; PIŠ so definitely = piazu ("mouse"), humsiru, while it is AN.NIN.PIŠ which is šikkū ("cat "). The remaining values must be for mice and such small deer.

Nammasētu, nammaššētu are generally accepted as ʾenēm "creeping things "; nammašētu is defined in Gadd, CT. xxxviii, 44, as n. of the field (šerī), of the land (kidī), of the hills (šādī), of the water (mē), which suggests a rat, if some definite animal is required. Ṣimūn "ichneumon," is a possible comparison. PIŠ.*UR.RA "mouse of the roof " occurs AM. 66, 6, 3 (No. 419) : 73, 2, 7 (No. 182); 90, 1, 4, and 11 (No. 244), and it is tabu to eat its flesh on the seventh day lest the eater fall sick of ahḫazu (KAR. 147, rev. 8). PIŠ ekēlī "field-mouse", KAR. 194, 2. The gall of the mouse s prescribed AM. 4, 1, 3.

† These numbers refer to my forthcoming translations.
(3) **KAMUNU = “RED WORMS”**

It is proper here to discuss *Uzu dir* (= kamunu), lit. “red flesh”, for which “mouse” (Hunger, *Tieromina*, 106) has been suggested, a view with which I cannot agree. There are three kinds, kamunu simply, kamun šadi, and kamunu šeri, and an omen is taken from the appearance of the first two in the land (Viroletteaud, *Adad*, iii, 19). “If kamunu appears in a desert place,” that desert will be inhabited: if one appears in an inhabited house, that house will be ruined (Boissier, *Choix*, 2). The word occurs near “snake” and *anzuzu*: and in other omens kamun šeri may appear in a house, street, or latrine. Kamunu appeared in the court of the Temple of Nabû (Harper, *Letters*, iv, 367).

Its use in medicine in *AM. 57*, 3, 10, No. 89, with alkali, roses, and salt, as well as in a similar fashion in *KAR*. 186, rev. 22, kamunu with *arzalu* (*Crataegus Azarolus*) and *Solanum* as ointment, and ib., obv. 9, kamun šadi with gall-apples (?), also an ointment, is indicative. If it were so large an animal even as a mouse we should have been told what particular part to use. It is clearly some living thing which is of a nature to be pounded up whole with these vegetable drugs, and from this and from its name “red flesh” I suggest the ordinary red worm, as distinct from *tultu*, the white maggot of corruption.

In the birth omens “if a woman bears *ibi ša kamuni*” (K. 8274, 17, Dennefeld, 33), *ibi* may perhaps be connected with *lumcrassus, tumidus* (i.e. a bunch of worms?).

R. Campbell Thompson.

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**NOTES ON THE PHILADELPHIA AND YALE TABLETS OF THE GILGAMISH EPIC**

In the *Publications of the Babylonian Section* of the University Museum, Philadelphia, vol. x, pp. 211–20, and plates lxiii–lxviii, I published and edited Tablet II of the old Babylonian edition of the *Gilgamish Epic*. From the same
source the Yale Babylonian Collection obtained Tablet III, which was published and edited by Jastrow and Clay, *Yale Oriental Series, Researches*, vol. iv, 3. Both tablets carry three columns on the obverse and reverse respectively. Inasmuch as Jastrow with the help of Professor Chiera claimed to have found a good many errors, and their corrections were unfortunately accepted on their face value by some scholars, it appears to be necessary to indicate the corrections which are correct and those which are incorrect. I have re-examined the Philadelphia tablet by means of the photographs and a collation of all disputed points by Dr. Legrain, Curator of the Babylonian Section of the University Museum. I am bound to confess that I fail to understand how so many erroneous corrections could have been made, after the correct copy was before these two scholars, and even when the corrections make impossible grammatical constructions. The following notes reveal the true condition of the text.

Col. I, 5. *id-da-tim* is right. J. and C. *it-lu-tim* is wrong. Also Ebeling in Gressmann's *Alt-orientalische Texte zum Alten Testament*, 186, 5, erroneously "zwischen den Mannen".

I, 6. *ka-ka-bu* is probably right, against my *ka-ka-'a*.

I, 7. The reading *ki-iš-rum* is impossible. Text exactly like my copy. Correct also Ebeling, *ibid.*, 1. 7.

I, 10. Text probably *UNU-ki*, against my *ad-ki*.

I, 15. *mu-di-a-at* is right, but *BA* above *DI* has the perpendicular shaft extending downward between *DI* and *A*.


I, 22. At end my copy is right, but *šu* should be shaded. Jastrow and Chiera's text false, also Ebeling's translation.

I, 23. Text *ta-tar-ra-aš-šu*. *SU* of J. and C. false.¹

I, 24. Text as in my copy. Most likely *u-ti-lam-ma*, from *na-ālu*.

¹ Ungnad's suggestion, *ZA*. 34, 17, to read *tutarrassu* from *тарду* is equally false. The verb is *arū*. See Dhorme, *Choix de Textes*, 198, 36.
I, 32. Reading is ah-ta-du against my copy.


II, 5. Text as in my copy. am is clear, J. and C. wrong.

II, 11. a-na-tal-ka not a-na-tal-ka as Jastrow reads.

II, 13. ta-at-ta-na-al-la-ak as my copy.

II, 19. No traces of gi or ma on the tablet. My copy is right. J. and C. wrong.

II, 20. Last sign as my copy. ma not šu. Copy of line is right.


II, 32. ki-ma LU ? i.e. immerim ? In no case AN. My copy is correct.

Col. III, 21. No sign legible between šu and ta or it. Traces as I gave them.

III, 30. My text is right, iš not uš. J. and C. wrong. išsakpu SIB-me-eš mu-ši-a-ti (not tim). Read re'i "shepherds". In no case is the plural re'úti ! Lines 28–31, "He seized his weapon, attacking the panthers (labî uqirri), which fall upon 1 shepherds in the night, and he gave respite to the wild mountain goats." uttapis probably from napāšu. In no case can Jastrow's interpretation be correct. See Ungnad, ZA. 34, 18 ; Ebeling, ibid., 188, 1. 111.


III, 35. My copy is probably right; wa-ru-um. In no case giš-ru-um. Legrain thinks the sign may be pa-(ru-um).

Reverse I, 11. The first word is mi-nu not lim-nu. Copy right. The last sign ka ? against my copy, but uncertain. According to Legrain, the text is mi-nu a-la-ku-ka (?) na-ah-[ ]-ka (?) "How is thy way (of life) . . ." Also Ebeling, ibid., 188, 141 is wrong.

I, 14. After tim, ik most uncertain.

1 Cf. sukîp mûša-šu, R.A. 16, 92, No. 54, 6.
I, 16. Text uncertain. Copy right so far as possible, but kal-lu-tim is most probable.

I, 18. Second sign is la, not ad. e-mi-sa (J. and C.) is erroneous. uk-la-at may be right (J. and C.), but my copy is otherwise right. Jastrow's translation and text impossible. Ebeling's rendering of I, 16–18 = Gressmann, ibid., 188, 146–8, is certainly false.

Rev. II, 11. My copy is right. si-ma (J. and C.) is false. A reading e-ši-[im-ta], with Ebeling, ibid., 188, 181, probable. All traces precise in copy.

II, 12. i-pa-ak-ka-du is probably right against my copy. Legrain, . . . ak?-du.

II, 18. ip-ša-nu is right. J. and C. uršanu "leader", Ebeling, uršanu "bed", all false.


Rev. III, 31. Last sign is possibly ka, with J. and C. My copy su is erroneous.

šu-tu-ur e-li . . . at the end may well be part of the old Babylonian title of the Epic, "He is made more excellent than . . .", as Ebeling renders it. In no case is Jastrow's interpretation correct.

THE YALE TABLET

1. 21. ru-ḫu-tam is for ru'-tam "friendship". (Also Ungnad.)

1. 87. dadamiša "my muscles". (Also Ungnad.)

II. 107 and 194. nu-ma-at kištitum "The forest stretched far away (for 10,000 double hour marches)"; with Ungnad. numat is naturally from מ, Arabic nawá.

1. 265. Read ku-uš-da, Imp. of kašardu. (Also Ebeling.)

1. 268, i-na mit-lu-ti-ka ? and 1. 269, nádu "leather pouch" (with Ungnad).

1. 271. Supply [û] "and" ? i.e. û taḥasas.

1. 274. [a'i'-]a-[h] lib-ba-ka du-ug-la-ni.

S. Langdon.
OBITUARY

R. de Kérallain

Le 5 septembre 1928 est mort, dans sa 79e année, M. René Prigent de Kérallain qui, plus que tout autre, a utilement travaillé à faire connaître en France des écrivains qui sont parmi les plus distingusés de la Grande Bretagne. Il a traduit, avec un rare bonheur de vocabulaire et de syntaxe, le livre de Frederick Pollock, Introduction à l'étude de la science politique, les ouvrages de H. Summer-Maive, Essais sur le gouvernement populaire, Études sur l'histoire du droit, Le droit international, La guerre. Mais son livre de prédilection fut les Asiatic Studies d'Alfred Lyall avec lequel il entretint une longue et intime amitié. Sa traduction, sous le titre Études sur les mœurs religieuses et sociales de l'Extrême-Orient, contient des introductions et des notes du plus grand mérite.1 M. de Kérallain laisse beaucoup d'ouvrages et de notes sur l'histoire ancienne et moderne du droit et de la navigation : il était le neveu de Bougainville. Personne en France n'a mieux connu l'anglais et l'Inde ; personne n'a mis, au service d'idées plus saines, un esprit plus incisif. La mort de Barth, dont il fut longtemps, en sa Bretagne, le compagnon, avait été pour lui une perte cruelle.

L. V. P.

1 Tous ces ouvrages dans Bibliothèque de l'Histoire du Droit et des Institutions, E. de Boccard, 1 rue de Médicis, Paris.
NOTICES OF BOOKS


With the exception of Vol. I, Part III (by Professor Turner), which will contain a comparative dictionary of the Indo-Aryan languages, the Report on the Linguistic Survey of India on which the author has been engaged for upwards of thirty years is now complete. The necessity for such a work was urged by the Congress of Orientalists held at Vienna in 1886. Twelve years later the Government of India decided to undertake the linguistic survey of the whole Indian Empire except Burma and part of the peninsula area. Sir George (then Mr.) Grierson, who was pre-eminently qualified for the task, was placed in charge of it.

His first concern was to obtain an exhaustive list of all the languages and dialects current in every district and state in the area dealt with. His next was to collect specimens of all these forms of speech. These included (i) a translation into each vernacular of the parable of the prodigal son and a standard list of words and test sentences and (ii) a piece of local folklore taken down verbatim from the lips of a native speaker of the language and translated word for word into English. Everything possible was done to ensure the complete accuracy of these specimens, which formed the raw material on which all the subsequent work was based. The specimens of each speech-form were subjected to close analytical study in order to arrive at a conclusion as to its status (as a language or dialect) and the linguistic family or sub-family to which it appertains. A classified scheme of linguistic families, sub-families, languages and dialects was then prepared; and the

1 As a matter of fact all the more important languages in the peninsula area were eventually dealt with. An independent linguistic survey of Burma is now in progress.
specimens were arranged accordingly, and edited with the necessary notes, bibliography and explanatory memoranda, a skeleton grammar, and a review of the mutual affinities of the component parts of each group. The magnitude of the task is shown by the fact that in all 179 languages and 544 dialects (belonging to four distinct linguistic families) were dealt with. For three years Sir George Grierson had as his collaborator Professor Sten Konow, who is responsible for about six of the twenty bulky volumes forming the Report. The rest, with the exception already mentioned, is from Sir George's own pen. The whole work discloses remarkable powers of analysis, deduction, and classification; and it may be regarded as having settled finally all questions regarding the status and classification of the languages and dialects dealt with.

Part I, with which we are here concerned, and which had necessarily to be left to the end, opens with a review of the work done by previous workers in the field of Indian philology. The author then describes the way in which the Survey originated and the methods followed in the collection, verification, classification, and editing of the linguistic specimens. Finally he gives a remarkable clear and comprehensive review of the ascertained facts. In the scheme of classification adopted in the final review two important changes have been made from that in the previously published volumes. The first is the recognition of the Tai and Tibeto-Burman languages as cognate branches of a more comprehensive organism known as the Tibeto-Chinese family. The second is the definite separation of the Munḍā from the Dravidian languages, thereby confirming the views of Max Müller which had been called in question by Hahn.

The Dravidian languages have no known affinity with those of any other family, but the Munḍā together with the Môn-Khmēr languages of Further India are branches of the Austro-linguistic family. The recognition of this family is due to the genius of Pater Schmidt. Its speakers, though not
now very numerous, are found diffused over an exceptionally wide area, stretching from Madagascar to Easter Island, off the coast of South America. The mutual relationship of some of these languages is, at first sight, not very obvious. Thus the Munḍā languages, like the Dravidian, are agglutinative; they have three genders and three numbers, and an extraordinary wealth of suffixes, while Khāsi (of Assam) is monosyllabic; has only two numbers and genders, and its help-words are invariably prefixes.

Though the Munḍā languages are now spoken only in a small tract in the heart of India, they formerly extended northwards into the Himalayan area, from Kanāwar on the west to Darjeeling on the east. Many of the Tibeto-Burman languages now current in this extensive tract show clear signs of a Munḍā substratum, which is specially noticeable in the extensive use of pronominal suffixes in the conjugation of the verb. There is also a Munḍā substratum in the Dravidian Telugu of North Madras.

It is in regard to the Tibeto-Burman languages that the Survey has broken most new ground. Of 132 languages examined, grammars and vocabularies had previously been compiled only for about twenty; most of the others had never previously been put in writing. All the Tibeto-Chinese languages were once agglutinating, but some of them are now isolating—the old prefixes and suffixes have worn away, and each word is now a monosyllable, the modification of which can be made only by the addition of some other word which has a distinct meaning of its own. In some of the languages these secondary words are losing their significance as separate vocables, and are becoming mere prefixes and suffixes; and thus the agglutinating principle is again superseding the isolating. Many Tibeto-Chinese languages are characterized by the use of tones—the same monosyllable may have as many as six different meanings according to the acoustic pitch given to it. These tones may be the survival of prefixes which have disappeared.
The three linguistic families already mentioned, though they claim about four-fifths of the total number of languages dealt with, are spoken only by one-fifth of the population. The remaining four-fifths speak Indo-Aryan languages: these predominate everywhere except in the South and certain hilly tracts in the centre and on the northern and eastern borders.

Though the number of Aryan languages is small, there is a great wealth of dialects. In the past, the difference between one language or dialect and another had often escaped notice, as, in spite of great divergencies of idiom and construction, the vocabularies are generally very similar. Thus, the term Hindi was formerly regarded as connoting a single language spoken throughout the Gangetic valley from Bengal to the Punjab. Sir George shows that it really includes three distinct languages: (1) Bihāri, which is more nearly allied to Bengali, Assamese, and Oriya than it is to the more westerly forms of speech; (2) Eastern Hindī, which is highly synthetic with a complicated system of conjugation; and (3) Western Hindī, which has "hardly any grammar at all, and the verb has but one real tense and two participles". Lahndā, which was formerly thought to be a form of Punjabi, is shown to be an entirely distinct language.

Hoernle had already pointed out that the Indo-Aryan vernaculars are divided into two main branches, an inner and an outer. He concluded that there must have been two separate invasions of tribes speaking Aryan languages and that the speakers of languages of the inner group are descended from the later invaders, who penetrated like a wedge into the area already occupied by the earlier. Sir George accepts the theory of an earlier and a later invasion, but thinks it uncertain whether the later invaders entered the central area, or whether, finding it already occupied by cognate tribes, they worked their way round them.

It is impossible in a brief review to mention more than a few features of a great work like this, but mention must
at least be made of the Dardic or Piśāca languages spoken in the neighbourhood of Kashmir. A flood of light has been thrown on the remarkable characteristics of these archaic languages, of which previously very little was known. Sir George holds that they were brought to India by a third group of invaders who came later than those already mentioned and whose speech had acquired certain Iranian characteristics before they left Persia.

Sir George's great work has brought him widespread recognition, culminating in the Order of Merit, an honour which had never before been conferred for service in the Indian sphere.

E. A. G.


This edition of the Saundarananda is extremely welcome, as much work that needed assimilating has been done since the editio princeps of MM. Haraprasad Shastri, and owing to the state of the MSS. still more will be wanted. Mr. Johnston has aimed at giving a complete description of the material available, so as to facilitate further work by others on the text, and to provide as good a text as possible. So far as one can judge, this work has been carefully and ably done, and criticism will depend upon a number of detailed points. The notes are not confined to critical questions, and they are sometimes so concise that it is not easy to follow the editor's thought. Cowell's Āṅgiras, he says, should be Āṅgirasa. As a matter of fact the text may be either. Would it not be as well to say why Cowell was wrong, not in his reading, but his interpretation?

There is a nest of problems in the list of disciples in xvi, 87–91. The editor says that he has only noted those not in
the Thera- and Therīgāthā. He has also used a list of nearly thirty mahāsrāvakas in the Saddharmapundarīka, from which further conclusions might have been drawn. In that list the first five are the well-known five disciples who were first converted. Four of them are here, and we should certainly expect the fifth, Bhadrika. Why should he not be Bhadrāyana, whom the editor says he cannot trace? The variance, natural in verse, would be parallel to Kappiya and Kappāyana in the Pāli. Nor can he trace Dhautakin. Why not Dhotaka? This looks a more likely guess than Dhammika or even than Dhautodhana, by which presumably Dhautodana is meant. The well-known Dravya (Dabba) is not even in the index. Nor is the name which is implied in saśaivala. But if the Pāli Sivali is sanskritized and vṛddhied we get śaivala, and this in the dual with the prefix sa- gives the required form. This also throws light on sa kapphinah in 90, where sa is not the article, but should be joined as prefix. The extraordinary Upāli gets no note, nor does the preceding Nandaka-nandamātā. What seems to be wanted is to join the two words again, and then we get a normal dual (-mātāv) and also the normal form of Upāli's name. Nandamātā may be corrupt. The difficulty is hardly removed by identifying him with a Pāli lady Nandamātā. The editor also thinks that Kṣema and Sujātavatsa are ladies, not because of anything in the Sanskrit, but apparently because all he could find in the Pāli are Khemā and Sujātā. And what sort of a compound is Kṣemājito? All other such compounds in the list are duals. He is probably right in not taking Vatsa (Pāli Vaccha) as a separate name, as the Calcutta edition does. Kondeya (Kaundeya?) he has not traced. It has every appearance of being not a separate name but a patronymic, and belonging to the following name Kāpya. One reason for this is that we then get exactly sixty names. Is it not significant that not long before, so the legend says, Buddha had sent out sixty disciples to preach? The editor is doubtful whether Kṛmila is the Pāli
Kimbila. But Kṛmila occurs here along with Nanda and Aniruddha, just as Kimbila in the Vinaya with Nandiya and Anuruddha. What makes it practically certain is that in the Pāli Kimbila also occurs as Kimila, and this makes the emendation Kṛmiśa, who is said to be a beneficent Yakṣa, still less likely. We can thus find all the names in the Pāli without, however, being certain that they always correspond, and a better knowledge of Aśvaghoṣa’s sources will doubtless give more light.

The editor hopes some day to supply a translation, to which we shall look forward as another stage in the interpretation of the poem.

Edward J. Thomas.


When the first edition of this work was reviewed in these pages, it was welcomed as a successful attempt to fill the gap in works on the iconography of Mahāyāna Buddhism. The present edition has been revised and some further divinities added, as well as illustrations. One of these is a fine coloured plate unfortunately termed “Bhaiṣajyaguru and his parivara”. There are three references to Bhaiṣajyaguru in the index, but this one has been overlooked in revising the index. A new divinity in this edition is said to be Mahā Māyūrī, “the deification of a magic formula called ‘the Golden Peacock Charm’”. It is not clear, however, why the author should try to link her with the Jātaka in which the golden goose gave a golden feather to his former family. In this tale there is neither peacock nor
spell, nor mention of a "sun-bird". Is not a more likely connection with the Peacock Jātakas (Nos. 159, 491), where the actual spell as uttered by the golden peacock to the sun is given? It would be interesting to know what relation it has to the Mahāmāyūrī vidyārājā in the R.A.S. collection, and the Kanjur. The illustration accompanying it shows a pinky-cheeked goddess dressed in green, though here and on p. 127 she is called Sarasvatī. Yet in the text Sarasvatī's colour is said to be white and Mahā Māyūrī's green. Is the author aware that Māyūrī is merely an adjective, and that her name is really Māyūrī Vidyā?

The illustrations still remain confined to those from the collection of Mr. H. H. Getty. Although it is a wonderful collection, it can hardly be said to be adequate to illustrating a work that claims to include all the fairly important deities, and to give their history and evolution. As the author disclaims a knowledge of Sanskrit it would not be fair to analyse her use of the texts or the spelling of words, but it would have been prudent to have had the aid of a Sanskrit scholar in revising the marking of the letters in the Sanskrit words used in the text.

Edward J. Thomas.


The first of these works deals with Buddha and his message, or, as Mrs. Rhys Davids prefers to call him, Gotama. There is no doubt of the seriousness of the criticisms contained in it, not only for professed Buddhists, but for all who look upon authoritative expositions of Buddhism as reproducing the
original teaching. Buddha speaks in the first person. "That the Man himself should, as living man, here tell his message, as well as all that tended to produce that super-growth may prove to be a way of showing the truer things that lie beneath." Whatever is to be understood by these words, the whole has to be taken as a restating and correcting of the usual views, and in some cases even of Buddha's own views. On the atman-doctrine he says: "Mainly I worded man negatively. I was wrong. But I wished to avoid, when speaking of 'the man', the implication of anything in him being unchanging, un-werden, such as the word attan (atman) in my day implied." As for Nirvāṇa, "I had the very horror of this teaching. I had a strong faith in the reality of other worlds." Instead of this final goal, to be "jumped into" at death or before death, "my Way was really and truly sangsāra; the way, all must go a-wayfaring; Magga (or marga [sic]) is how to walk in sangsāra. (As you know, magga is 'means', 'method,' as much as 'way', 'road.') Fully worded, Magga is 'the way one ought to walk in the way one must walk'."

The corruption of the teaching, due to the editing monks, began even in Buddha's lifetime. It was at Sāvatthi that the collecting and revising of the many sayings went on. "They well knew I differed from them in this or that. But even when I gave my wording, they displaced it, as I have shown you, by their own." Even his greatest disciples failed him. Kassapa the Great "did much harm with his ascetic values. He was very self-willed—you know that from the books—I had no influence over him." "Upāli respected me, but not as a manager." As for Ānanda, "I, too, liked his worthiness, but not his mind. His will was not very worthy; it ran too much on worldly things," and, worse still, poor Rāhula "was not a truth-speaker, cost truth-speaking what it might... He would speak things not true to gain effect. I did not move him much. He left the Order after many years." It now becomes clear why Buddha, settled in his old age at Sāvatthi, should have set off on a tour through some obscure villages at the
age of eighty. "I had never taken that last tour, had I not been in a fit of despair at the way in which men were wording my teaching not in the way I willed it should be worded." No wonder that on going to another world he found that "to look back on what I had just left caused me more worry than happiness. I was tasting a better world, yet it was as if I had failed on earth."

The chief emphasis of the book appears to lie in the condemnation of the anatta theory. This portion is a complete reversal of the interpretation of Buddhism according to the psychology of Spencer, Bain, and Croom Robertson. The view that Nirvana meant, for the monks, extinction seems to be retained, but it is vigorously denied that it was Buddha's teaching. This, however, verges on metaphysics, and we are told that "here is no system of metaphysic or of ethics; here is what we call religion". The last chapter, "Last words to earth," will give the Buddhists much to think about. It is an indictment of the ideals of Buddhism as now understood both in the East and the West. "Men cannot value as I valued in my teaching so as to have values worthy for all time. The values were worthy then. A more-value is needed now. The right values are not the values that were Buddhist." It remains to be seen how the defenders of the faith, the Dharmapalas of London, Ceylon, and Japan, will welcome new light.

This new edition of the Milindaapañha has been brought out on the initiative of the Pali Text Society, which asked the Forlong Trust for a grant, undertaking to make up any deficit. The study of this work ought to receive a renewed impulse through the care and labour now bestowed on it by Mr. Rylands and Mrs. Rhys Davids, for which all students of this important text will be thankful.

Edward J. Thomas.

The title of this book may suggest the question what relation it has to others with an almost identical title, but quite unnecessarily. Not only are Vedic works, the epics and purāṇas, excluded, but the classical drama as well. The result is that it has been possible to discuss the real literature, the kāvya, the lyric, and the literary prose of fables, tales, and romances with a wealth of detail and illustration that makes the whole a fascinating volume. It also includes chapters on the aims and achievements of Sanskrit poetry, Indian theories of verse and literary criticism, and the relation of the literature to the West on a scale never attempted before. This forms the bulk of the work. A further section deals more concisely with the scientific literature—lexicography, grammar, law, politics, philosophy and religion, medicine, astronomy, astrology, and mathematics. It is treated much more concisely than the rest, but it is evident that to deal with the subject matter would have meant writing a history of science and philosophy. Some of it has a rather truncated appearance, especially Jainism and Buddhism, owing to the fact that only Sanskrit works are included in the plan. Jainism gets a page and a half and Buddhism less than six.

The absence of the earliest stages of the literature is to some extent compensated for by an introductory portion, which deals with the history of the language, the origin of Sanskrit, the extent of its use, its development as literature, and also (we are told) its relations to the literary Prakrits and Pāli and to the vernaculars. Pāli is only twice mentioned in the index, and we find it referred to as an artistic creation by the Buddhists made by recasting their own Prākritic speech with the aid of the Vedic language. Perhaps more discussion and definiteness will be wanted to dislodge the theories that have clustered round this subject for over half a century. In all these questions of linguistics and literary criticism it is
inevitable that much that is contentious and disputable should be raised, and it is likely that scholars who find their views set aside as implausible, clearly unsuccessful, quite unwarranted, or without probative force will have something to say. But all are not treated so curtly. Mironov’s view that the name Avalokiteśvara is from Avalokita-svara contaminated with lokeśvara is given without comment. Dr. Mironov has not told us what sort of a compound he thinks Avalokita-svara is, nor what it could mean to an Indian, and it would have been extremely interesting to know Professor Keith’s own view.

Not the least valuable portion is the long preface, which owing to the delay in publication has made it possible to notice the new discoveries and theories of the last two years, such as the date of Kālidāsa, new evidence for the connection of Greek with Indian fables, the plays of Bhāsa, the authenticity of the Arthaśāstra, and the date of the philosophical sūtras. There are two full indexes, but neither Amarakośa nor Bhaṭṭikāvyā is in them. The explanation appears to be that these are merely the usual names of those works, and they must be looked for under their proper names. Nine pages are devoted to Māgha, but throughout the section we are not told that the name of the poem being discussed is Śiśupālavadha.

Edward J. Thomas.


This welcome volume deals with the modern series of Indian coins. The War interfered considerably with the original project, but three sections were completed and have been produced under the editorship of Mr. John Allan, Deputy Keeper of the Coins, British Museum.

In the first section Mr. C. J. Brown, who is a master of the subject, writes on the coins of Awadh (Oudh); there are two
plates. The series of the kings of Oudh are straightforward; those of the Nawab-Wazirs present difficulties. Mr. Brown contends with good reason that the coins struck at Şūbah Awadh nominally in 1229 A.H., regnal year 26, were in reality issued by the rebel authorities in Lucknow during the Mutiny; this attribution has been confirmed in a note contributed by Sir Richard Burn to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1922. The collection is strong in the more abundant issues, but rarities are lacking.

The second section describes coins of Mysore and miscellaneous coins of South India, with six plates; the author is the late Dr. J. R. Henderson, C.I.E., formerly Superintendent of the Madras Museum. The bulk of the Mysore series belong to that capricious genius Tipū Sultan, who instituted a new era, devised strange and fantastic labels for the years and months, and changed the names of the current money, weights, and measures. The miscellaneous South Indian coins include samples of the issues of the French and British East India Companies.

In the third section it is the formidable task of Mr. W. H. Valentine to deal with the coins of Native States. The confusion and anarchy attending the disruption of the Mughal Empire were reflected in the nature of the money of the succession States. These unattractive pieces are often uncouth and illegible; in many cases local knowledge is indispensable to their correct attribution. Yet their study is important, and the material is quickly disappearing, so it is fortunate that Mr. Valentine had a vocation for this work. He did not live to see his valuable contribution in print, and we lament his loss. The coins are those struck in the States of Bombay Presidency and Western India generally, Rājputāna and Central India; the Native States of Bengal, the United Provinces, and the Punjab are absent. The section is complete in itself as regards the States described. In addition to an instructive general introduction, the coin-list of each State is prefaced by an adequate note of a
historical and numismatic nature. There are eighteen plates. The unelucidated issue illustrated at pl. xxvi, 7, exhibits the couplet of Muḥammad Shah's first year, which was at one time attributed to Nekosiyar; the mint-name begins with Sarkār.

The editor has added useful indexes of rulers, mints, ornaments, types, denominations, and legends, and a full glossary. The work is beautifully produced.

R. B. Whitehead.


This little book contains the first course of the Sir William Meyer Lectures delivered at the Madras University in 1928, and consequently, in those short limits, as the author states, can only consist of generalizations and give the broad features of the country's development. It practically confines itself to Northern India, and all the illustrations of the British period are taken from Bengal and Bengali literature. The causes which led to the spread of Buddhism, and to the transition from Buddhism back to Hinduism, are clearly and interestingly sketched; so also is the brief review of the growth of English Education in Bengal. Professor Sarkar writes without partiality or bias, and, from the special study that he has made of the Muhammadan period, is peculiarly fitted, for a Hindu writer, to give a just and appreciative view of the influence which Muhammadan administration and institutions have had on the evolution of India. The book gives an interesting and clearly written review of the successive factors which have contributed to the composite development of the India of the present day.

E. H. C. Walsh.

The object of this book is stated to be to assist those who wish to learn the spoken Bengali language, as well as to furnish new material to those who are interested in phonetics in general. It embodies the latest methods of phonetic teaching of a foreign language, and as such forms a fitting continuation to Bengali Self Taught by the same author. The extracts given from standard authors are entirely in the colloquial language. "The pronunciation is that of the author. It may be taken as being typical of the educated pronunciation of Calcutta, which is the recognized standard for Bengali."

There is also a vocabulary in which the words are alphabetically arranged according to their phonetic spelling under thirty-five "essential phonemes". The words are also given in Bengali character, which is very necessary where, for example, words so differently spelt as শাত্র, কৌকার, and মার্কণ্ড are all appear under the same pronunciation সি-. Assuming the correctness of the phonetic equivalents, the vocabulary would seem to show that a change of pronunciation is taking place in the case of some words. No difference is made in the pronunciation of the long and short vowels and, and, to take a typical example, gopôn is given for গোপন and goti for গতি. There used to be a distinct difference between the pronunciation of the first syllables of these two words. It is not possible to go into the subject further in the present notice.

The book should be of great assistance to any one learning Bengali, provided that the actual spelling of each word is carefully learnt at the same time as its pronunciation.

E. H. C. W.

The well-known author of this little book is to be congratulated on the careful study he has made of all available materials bearing on the history of the Marathas, from which he has produced an interesting study of the Maratha military system with all that it involved. Unlike one or two recent writers on the Maratha confederacy, he has avoided the temptation to twist historical facts into a basis for a political theory; and his criticisms of the weak points of Maratha statecraft and organization are on the whole fairly stated in accordance with the evidence adduced.

Dr. Sen concludes that the decline and fall of the Maratha military power was due firstly, to the revival of feudalism after the death of Sambhaji, which caused disunion and dissension from which Shivaji had tried to save his people; secondly, to the rejection of Shivaji's ideal of racial amity on a religious basis, and thirdly, to the failure of Maratha leaders to keep pace with the scientific progress in other parts of the world. It is perhaps unnecessary, after this summary of Maratha failures, to follow Dr. Sen in his speculation regarding the value of democracy in the West and in the East as a basis of dominion. It is clear that it is open to obvious criticism. We are not given any clear indication of the writer's views on the ethnic basis of the Marathas and their leading elements, the Kunbis and Dhangars of Western India. Dr. Sen's evidence regarding the origin of the levy of chauth, which has now been traced to a pre-Maratha origin in Gujarat is interesting and convincing. It is clear that the custom of levying chauth is of earlier origin than has hitherto been assumed.

Dr. Sen is also correct in his description of the part played by Berads or Bedars in pillaging in the rear of Mughal armies (p. 88). It will be recollected similarly that the capture of Vizayanagar by the Musalman powers of the Deccan was followed by wholesale depredations at the hands of the
Berads, who in their more northern settlement were known by the name of Ramosi, whom they resemble in many important particulars.

The reference on p. 95 to the burial of human victims below the walls of the fort of Lohagad in the Poona district (p. 95) might be strengthened by quoting similar traditions prevailing at Satara and Vizyadurg regarding the forts at those places.

Summing up, in his concluding chapter, the defects of the Marathas as a military power, the writer shows how dissensions, incompetence, and lack of military prowess were the causes of their failure. Sir Thomas Munro and Sir John Fortescue are quoted in support of the evidence of yet another authority, who described the Marathas as "fierce but not brave". The guerilla warfare conducted by hardy hillmen under Shivaji was one thing; the badly organized armies of mixed races, lacking artillery and skilled leadership, and devastating the plains with their camps swollen with women and followers out of all reasonable proportions, could hardly hope to maintain an efficient opposition to the properly led and disciplined troops of their adversaries.

The writer has made this abundantly clear in the conclusion to his excellent work. It may, perhaps, be added that the reason of the failure of the Maratha leaders to commit their theories on strategy and tactics to writing, which the writer deplores, may be similar to the well-known explanation of the omission from a work on Iceland of any description of snakes in that island.

R. E. E.


All students of Indian folklore will be grateful to Dr. Vogel for this work on the Nāgas as they appear in Indian literature and art. Stimulated by the result of personal observations in Kulu and the Western Himalayas, where remoteness favours the preservation of ancient beliefs and customs, Dr. Vogel
has aimed at collecting in this volume the legends found in Brahmanical and Buddhist literature relating to the Nāgas. We have in consequence the leading snake stories from the Vedas, the Buddhist birth-tales, and the early Greek travellers.

Dr. Vogel very rightly assumes that "Indian ophiolatry had its first cause in the dread inspired by the poisonous reptiles." This would, no doubt, be more obvious if snake worship were considered with other forms of primitive practices in India instead of being dealt with in his work as a single topic. Crooke and other writers on Indian folklore have shown that such cults as these are based originally on fear. Dr. Vogel, who (p. 7) quotes statistics, presumably from Government sources, in illustration of the high rate of mortality due to snake-bite in India, shares this view. Thus reinforced, Dr. Vogel's theory may readily be accepted. It is, however, questionable whether the statistics should have been advanced in support of the theory without the necessary caution that they cover many deaths that are not even remotely connected with snakes. Dr. Vogel's interesting pages deal with real snakes, snake demons residing in the water and the sky, and snakes in human form known as Nāgas. With the wealth of information now available, it might be less confusing to the student to deal with these three forms of Nāga cults in separate parts. The snake as a reincarnated ancestor guarding treasure or residing in the white ant-hill is a familiar feature of Indian popular belief at the present day. The worship of the Nāga demons and the traditions regarding the semi-human Nāga people seem to form part of a separate culture.

If a few minor criticisms of a most valuable record are permissible, it may be observed that the common name for the jewel in the snake's head (p. 25), i.e. the mohor or mani, has been omitted. Aivalli and Badāmi, noted as in the Kaladgi district (p. 270), are to be found in Bijapur, by which name this district was reformed many years ago. Belgām is by accepted usage Belgaum, and Kumptā (p. 272) is Kumta.
We are not told whether the svāstika on the snake is right- or left-handed, surely a point of some importance in view of the difference in significance. The Nāga people suggest the relevance of a study of snake totems as bearing on the plausible theory of their being a primitive tribe worshipping the Nāga as a marriage guardian and ancestral spirit. Here also we should expect a reference to tribes and castes such as the Marāthās, who have as their exogamous divisions the Suryavanshi, Somavanshi, Brahmavanshi, and Shesha- or Nāgavanshi. We should welcome at some future date a fuller treatise from Dr. Vogel of this very important subject.

R. E. E.


This book contains 309 Sumerian and Accadian inscriptions from the excavations of Mr. Woolley and his staff at Ur, and range from the monuments of Mesannipadda of the first dynasty of Ur (circa 3150 B.C.) to Cyrus the Mede in the sixth century. Down this long corridor of time no new important historical characters appear, but our knowledge of the reigns of certain well-known kings is greatly enlarged, especially those of Narām-Sin of Agade, Dungi,¹ and Ibi-Sin of Ur, Kurigalzu of the Cassite dynasty, and much is now known of the important work done by Sin-balatsu-ikbi, governor of the province of Ur under Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, who is referred to in the governor's inscriptions as Ashur-bān-apli, and not as Kandalanu. Particularly valuable.

¹ The editors adopt the reading Shulgi.
are the new date lists of Ibi-Sin and portions of the Ellasar corpus of date formulæ, Nos. 292, 265. There is also a large number of year dates taken from business documents of Bur-Sin, Ibi-Sin, and several kings of Isin and Ellasar dynasties. Of the twenty-six years of Ibi-Sin’s reign, No. 292, Obv. gives at least $4 + 6$ year dates in their historical order; the order of his first two years was already known. Eleven new dates, which mention his name, are published here, and consequently not many remain unknown, but their order remains unknown with the exception of the slight pied à terre afforded by No. 292. The most precious new contribution to history are the references to Mesannipadda on the seal of his wife, No. 268, and the monuments (not repeated here) from ‘Ubaid, which mention his son A-annipadda. These had, heretofore, been only names to us, entered in the dynastic list of the first dynasty of Ur, and we now possess four contemporary inscriptions, whose script, although among the earliest found at Ur, proves that this dynasty is not particularly early, and certainly much later than the period of the Shurappak tablets.

This book contains monuments of great literary and religious importance. Sumerian philology, especially, reaps here a rich harvest, and both its grammar and vocabulary are notably enriched, old errors are now corrected, and new aspects of deities are illustrated. The copies are admirable and I have on all these closely copied plates seldom been in doubt about the reading.¹ For example the copies of the excerpts from the inscriptions of Narâm-Sin, Nos. 274–6, show that this class of document can be legibly copied so that a scholar can read the text without referring to the photographs; the corresponding Nippur documents in Philadelphia were published in such illegible script that it is a sore trial on the patience of an assyriologist and wholly inexcusable.

¹ On No. 294, l. 27, $\delta u-ne-[\text{ib-ur-ra}]$; $\delta u$ does not appear in the text.
The editions reach a high standard in both Sumerian and Accadian, and if the reviewer has a long list of observations, it is largely due to the fact that a good many parallel passages and texts were apparently unknown to the editors. Sumerian is a particularly difficult field, demanding massive collection of references; specialists will be grateful for this valuable material.

No. 1, vi, 7, *gir-e-na-du* probably = *mahāṣu* of the Accadian parallel passages; cf. Chiera, *Nuzi*, i, 87, 10, *imhas*, with Gadd, RA. 23, 109, No. 31, 8, *mahīṣ*, both in the sense of to survey, delimit; *ina sīṣ ki mahīṣ*, it is limited by the street. The translation “portioned to” is reasonably correct. No. 8, Rimush king of Kish, or better *šar kiššati*. No. 50, 11-13, I would render “splendidly he glorified it; with elegance he filled it, and everywhere caused wisdom to prevail.” For *nig-ul-li-a pa-e*, cf. PBS. x, 188, 1, and for reading *ul-li-a* in sense of *ullu*, *ulṣu*, v. *nig-ul-la*, Langdon, *Paradis*, p. 242, 20; 244, 44. *nig-ul* = *maša ibassā* “what-so-ever is”, perquisites, *Nies*, ii, 75, 9. No. 71, 6, *šukum-ud šub-ba*, probably “whose daily food apportioned unto it was not” (*mi-me-a-na-an-na*). For *na* negative suffixed, see RA. 21, 123, n. 1; *geštu-ga-na* = *la ḫassu*, AJSL. 28, 222, 58; interrogative, *a-ba me-a-nu*, Gudea, Cyl. A 4, 23. *si-mu-un-si-sá-[na] = ša la uštepēlīu*, OECT. vi, 28, Obv. 4. So restore, against my ta. Line 35, *GIŠ-ŠU-KAR* has the value *šugra = naggarum*, craftsman in ZA. 9, 159, 18, but in Strassmaier, *Warša*, 91, 10 + 22 it takes the place of *garza*, benefice of a temple office; line 10, it is glossed *nig-ga = bušā*, property. Hence, whatever the phonetic value *šugra* or *nigga*, render “whosoever changes not the fixed income, or temple property, in its place.”

102, 9, on *ud-da-gub-(ba)*, v, PBS. x, 283, n. 1, end.

103, 5, *nam-nin-a tūm-ma* “made fit for queenly power”.

106, 20, the sign *KA* in sense of “prayer”, has certainly the value *sil. dug nam-sil-zī(d) DU*. Line 22, *gub* “to stand in prayer”, usually refers to a god who is present at (šū) a prayer, hence lines 20-22 undoubtedly refer to the deity Nin-eniga,
as the editors also may wish to imply. See OECT. vi, 2, 37 ;
24, 15 ; 13, 23. Hence in line 20 DU possibly in same sense
as OECT. vi, 2, 37, lağ, lag, a Syn. of gub. Render "who
stands faithfully with words of prayer (on behalf of man
in Gaburra)." This is important in fixing the character of
4-Nin-é-ni-qa, a deity in the court of Sin, RA. 20, 98, iv, 16 ;
CT. 24, 30, 16. The phrases here harmonize with an
interceding goddess. At the end of line 15 the translation
omits Ninsunzi.

No. 107, 6, the title KA-AB has AB-gunu here, but No. 240,
ab, and Clay, Miscel. KA-ab-ba. Read sîl-ab-(ba) ?

No. 111, 21–2; sùl nî-tuk ù-ma-ni sâ-sâ = išu nà-idu
mušaršid īrmitti-šu "The god-fearing man who establishes his
glory." See Studia Orientalia, i, 32, 9. Lines 34–5, I would
read é nam-egi-ka-ni á-nad-da, "house of her ladyship, bridal
coch of (Sin)". In line 31, uku ság-dûg-ga-bi = niše-šu
saphati, "its scattered people". 126, 17, and often, APIN =
uššu, foundation; read ūru. On the deity in line 14, see also
JRAS., 1926, 35, 15 and note.

127, 9, sag-LI-tar. Read sag-én-tar, with Poebel, ZA. 38,
81. l. 24, dag ? ne-qa = šubam neḫtam, CT. 27, 10, 6–8, et p.

128, 4, dingir-alim šin-šin-na gub, "powerful god who
stands fast in battle".

138, 25, mé-ba "in that battle", phonetic var. of Br. 2804.
See East India House Inscr., vi, 22; Hammurabi year
date 32.

140, 4, an-ta-gál ša unu-gal e-si-a. ša is here for šâ = šag =
libbu. Apparently "the lofty who fills with light the interior
of the vast sanctuary (= heaven) ".

140, 6, ukkin-ta ĝe-âm-bi; for ĝe-âm = magāru, v. JSOR.
i, 21, 5. Render malkatu ša ana puḫri mitgurta-ša khabat
"queen whose mercy upon the hosts (of mankind) is overfull."
1. 9, probably ēš gâlga šu-zi-an-na (= Gula) gar = šâkinat
šemi u parši ana Šuzianna.

1. 10, na-ri-maĝ = ăširu šîru "far-famed apparitor".
For na-ri = ăširu, v. Weissbach, Miscel., 37, 49; Epic Creat.
vi, 121; said also of Ninegal, SAK. 218d, 4. Ninsianna is always Ishtar as Venus. Hence āširat širu.

1. 13, silim-ma ki-til bar-kug, probably “giving peace to the living, cleansing the shameful”.

141, 4, muṭsalpit naphar mat raggi “Who casts down all the land of the wicked”, Clay, Morgan, iv, 9, 22.

1. 28, BI is the sign dug, duk, usually = karpatu, used here for dug. sá-je-ib-dug = lukšud.

142, 2, ZUR, read en-zur-zur = bél ikribi; see OECT. vi, 79, 9; BL. 126, 44, 48; CT. 15, 23 Rev. 8.

144, 35-7. Probably “Enlil his lord (omit ir) heard his prayer and supplication”. For geš-tuk construed with da, see PBS. v, 73, 5, “En-lil-da geš-tuk obedient unto Enlil, here with personal object; also King, LIH. 61, 9; 62, 7. With direct object, inim-bi geš-be-in-tu(k)-a, CT. 16, 45, 116. In line 38 and in 128, 15 occurs the earliest mention of the šu-il-la prayer.

145 is valuable for its characterization of Immer, the god of storms. Line 2 is obscure, but ri-a either “who dwells in the X-zi-maĝ, or “Who is clothed in ...” ; maĝ is not a likely adjective with abubu. 1. 2, te-es-dug-ga-ni-ta imi-dirig šuš (!) ka-sir-ri “at whose roar the overcast clouds gather”. te-es = UR (te-es) = ikkilu, RA. 18, 39, 10. te-es-dug-ga = ikkilu, ibid. 11. Cf. imi-dirig-[meš] uktašara “rain clouds will gather”, Thompson, Reports, 98, 2; imi-dirig-šu-us-ru = adāru, Delitzsch, AL², 84, 24.

1. 5, ubur ga-dug lam-lá-e “who fills the udders (god whose rains cause cattle to thrive) with sweet milk”. Cf. mušaznin muḥši, RA. 16, 74, No. 13, 2.

146 II 5, tarram, I² Inf. arû, to guide, conduct. See OECT. vi, 9, 49; CT. 17, 35, 46, li-ru-šu, may they conduct him. Br. 4876 is false. See RA. 10, 77, ii, 2. Ibid., iii, 8, iskim-tuk = uddā (ḥamtu), i.e. to discover, find out (active = ḥamtu); MAG. i, 2, p. 56, 24, iskim-dug; vadā, here clearly ḫāl ḫāl to know, learn, as also in tu-di-i, Langdon, Epic. Creat. 42, 41. This is the original Arabic root, and undoubtedly
original in Accadian also. There is no need to derive the active adj. múdū "knowing", from a hoph' al, with Ungnad and Jensen. I would render, "The Elamites, Guteans, etc. I learned to know on the spot (?)"; their disorderly schemes I put right."

Col. vi, 6, sāg-nu-di-dam = u-ul uš-tap-[pi], (word which I speak) changes not. Cf. sāg-nu-di = la šu-us-su-pi-[el], Meek, BA. x, 76, 37; ka-ta è-a-zu sāg-nu-di-dam, the utterance of thy mouth changes not, CT. 15, 11, 21 = Zimmern, Kultlieder 2 Rev. 42, ka-ba-a-a-zu múš-nu-di-di; cf. BE. 29, i, iii, 17; PSBA. 1918, 69, 6; et. p.

165, 16 f., ina išati i-šal-lu-ú a-na nári i-na-as-su-ku (drop it in a river). 1. 22, na-an-na-ab-[šu], his offspring. 1. 24, ša-ru-ba [li-lab-bi-is-su].

166, 4, read mussa = emu (šiḥru), ZA. 25, 302, 12.

169, 9, for NUN, value sir, zir, šir, see SBH. 27, 21, edin = NUN-rim, i.e. šir-rim = Langdon, BL. 66, 21. Cf. ši-ir-ri, AJSL. 31, 88, 7. Also zi-ir-zi-ir = ıḥšilša, CT. 16, 10, v, 1, with NUN-NUN = ıḥšu, CT. 19, 45, K. 2058 Rev. 12. 1. 17, šag-bizem; for sign, see JRAS. 1921, 581; RA. 18, 73, i, 12; OECT. i, 54, n. 4. I would render, "Within the box I laid its foundation inscription." 1. 26, á-suğ = ammatu, door post, after the Hebrew; better than "door sill" in my Epic of Creation, 66, n. 3. Acc. to AJSL. 39, 166, 9, á-suğ is to be read aštar; nu-kuš-ú in my opinion is the knob at each end of the door post.

210, 3 and 289, 14 is the sign RA? Rather ŠID. Note KA + ŠID—gí = šagāmu, Br. 817, and KA(dúg), only adds the idea of activity to a root, whether dúg is placed after the root, or the root is placed inside the sign KA.

260, Ramman-šum-naṣir, year 13th, is written clearly, and proves that I was wrong in reading Ramman-šum-iddin for the thirty year reign, in Venus Tablets of Ammizaduga, p. 90. The order is Ramman-šum-iddin, Ramman-šum-naṣir.

261 has Marduk-apal-iddin, 22nd year. Since the famous Merodachbaladan certainly reigned only twelve years, this
must be Marduk-apal-iddin I, whose reign is given as thirteen years in King List A, CT. 36, 24, ii, 13. Should List A be read 23 not 13?

No. 274, i, 13 has a most valuable gloss, which proves that ŠAH(ki) is Subartu, universally read erroneously as Šah(ki). Correct accordingly Thureau-Dangin, SAK. 22, vi, 17; 18, vi, 10; 24d, ii, 2. This very considerably enlarges our conception of the sphere of influence exercised by the early rulers of Lagash.


1. 20, svILA is rendered by mēlû, MVAG. 1913, 2, p. 30, 73; see also RA. 16, 19, ii, 22; Genouillac, TSA. 26, Obv. I. On me-li, v. RA. 18, 162, 9.

289, 26 and 62 has a valuable variant, muš-tum, for muš-tum, and elucidates Gudea, Cyl. B. 10, 6, where render "that oil and milk cease not in the house Eninnû". Also my note PBS. x, 148, on l. 12 and 183, 21 (sign tum there) is false. On lines 65-6, see iv, Raw. 12, Rev. 19, ša a-na i-di li-mut-ti u-ma'-ar-ru "Whosoever sends for evil purpose". The phrase also in 100, 19; 294, 24-5.

292, 4, sa-gar, probably for sá-gar, he ruled, became king, Br. 9568. Cf. PBS. v, No. 1, ii, 12.

293, 4, gü-lal = elû, rise up. Cf. me-bi an-ki-da gü-lal-a "Whose decrees extend to heaven and earth", Gudea, Cyl. A. 17, 19; é an-ki-da lá-a = bitu ša ana šamē u iršitim tarzu, KAR. 119 Rev. 19. gü-mu-un-lal-ēš = ittemi'lú "they go up", CT. 16, 44, 104; [gü]-]al-e = ittemi'lú, 16, 47, 209. Translate, "whose decrees extend to heaven and earth, who is unceasing (in care) for the desolate city." ság-nu-di same sense in 294, 5.

The various texts are uniformly annotated with good and trustworthy notes. It is a publication of great moment in the history of Assyriology and the results of the excavations at Ur are eminently satisfactory.

S. Langdon.

This is the first attempt to publish an encyclopædia of Assyriology, and is planned to include everything mentioned in Sumerian, Babylonian, and Assyrian inscriptions, together with those lands and peoples where the cuneiform script was in use, Cappadocia, Hittite lands, Palestine, and Elam. The material, therefore, covers a period of nearly 3,500 years, and concerns the history, religion, geography, archaeology, linguistics, law, and sciences of a vast region in which a mighty civilization of antiquity rose and passed away, and influenced profoundly the civilizations of adjacent lands in Asia, Europe, and Africa. The part here issued has 80 pages and 14 plates. The articles are concise and accompanied by all the important literature. There is a tendency to cite works which are not original sources; for example, the Sumerian dynastic list of early kings is cited from a resumé in ZDMG. lxxviii, and not the editio princeps, OECT. ii. See now also Langdon-Fotheringham, Venus Tablets of Ammi- zaduga. The geographical names, at present almost unusable in the scattered brochures on geography, appear here conveniently arranged, an inestimable boon to busy scholars. Among the longer articles, special mention should be made of "Adad" by Ebeling, "Adapa" by Jensen, "Ägypten und Mesopotamien" by Opitz, "Ahhijava = Achaia = Greece" by Forrer, "Akkak = Opis" by Unger (where Lane's book Babylonian Problems, entirely devoted to Opis, is not noted), "Altar" by Unger. The work represents the best modern scholarship, and is sure to become a standard reference book.

S. LANGDON.

During his residence as professor of Assyriology at Strassburg, Dr. Frank secured a small and heterogeneous collection of cuneiform tablets, mostly in fragmentary condition for the university library. The fifty tablets published here come from Warka, Semkerah, Abu Nachla near Nippur, Tell Ibrahim, Dschocha, Drehem, and Oheimir. The first three tablets are Sumerian hymns. In his edition of No. 1, a hymn to the deified king of Isin, Lipit-Ishtar, an edition of the similar text from Nippur in Poebel, PBS. v, No. 67, is given. Zimmern’s text in his Kultlieder, 199, is also compared, and no mention made of the edition is PSBA. 1918, 69 ff. Also Nies-Keiser, Nos. 24–5, is compared, but the edition in Haupt Anniversary Volume, 174 ff., is unknown to the author. No. 2, a Sumerian hymn to Sin, is arranged in distichs, not observed in the edition. Rev. 5, dū-ma-qi = dumugi is a title of Sin not dumu-ma gi “my son, cane break”, etc. No. 3, a hymn to Ningirsu with valuable Sumerian and Accadian glosses. A group of mathematical texts, Nos. 6–11, presents difficult problems in reckoning money payments, land surveys, multiplication and division, taken from school textbooks on mathematics, geometry, and commercial transactions. There are a number of fragmentary Accadian letters and contracts from the first dynasty. Nos. 49–50 are described as “in an unknown script”, but Frank believes them to be genuine and not forgeries as they seem to be. The collection possesses also a few inscribed cylinder seals, and a fine alabaster head of a Sumerian woman, period of the last dynasty of Ur, of which three views are given in the frontispiece. Professor Frank’s edition of this unpromising material reveals good scholarship, and it would be difficult to do more with it than he has done.

S. LANGDON.

Dr. Hall, Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum, has published here only a selection of the sculptures in the magnificent collection of our national museum, in order to illustrate chronologically the evolution of Sumerian, Babylonian, and Assyrian sculpture. The majority of the objects are old friends of Assyriologists, but produced and described in a manner unequalled in any preceding publication. The only serious criticism one can make about this fine volume is to deplore the cost, three guineas, for few objects which are not to be found elsewhere. But the previous publications of even the comparatively small selection in this book are widely scattered and one must be grateful for this convenient and well-ordered assembling of objects, many of which will be new even to those most well read in Assyriological literature. It is doubtful whether the authors of the standard books on this subject knew some of the objects produced here, for the first time in chronological series. The conical vase with two animal files in deep relief on Pl. II undoubtedly belongs to the same find as the similar one in the Ashmolean Museum, purchased in Baghdad, 1921. Our Oxford vase has only one row, rams in the same style as 116705 in the British Museum. This group of vases and bowls worked in deep relief, and having the animal file motif is unique, and not illustrated in any textbook, such as Meissner's Grundzüge der Babylonischen Plastik; Contenau, L'Art de l'Asie Occidentale Ancienne. Hall claims that they belong to an early Sumerian school of sculpture at Erech. Apparently there is no trustworthy information about their provenance. On No. 118465, pl. ii, there is a bird (raven?) standing on a bull, and described by Hall as the mythical bird demon Zû, but this is clearly impossible from all that is known of Zû in art and inscriptions. Most desirable would have been
views of 118361, 118465, showing the interesting portions described on pages 26–7. A number of marble figurines in the style of 114260 (Eridu) was excavated at Kish in 1928, Sargonic period.

On plates lvii–lx there are again some objects which have not been published before, at least not to my knowledge. Of particular power and beauty in 90954, base of a column in shape of a winged human headed cow, wearing the tiara characteristic of divinity. This is undoubtedly the lamassu, almost invariably feminine, a protecting genius in animal form, the Baṣtu of Assyrian texts and the Bōsheth of the Old Testament. See AJSL. 33, 199, 292–3; KAH. ii, 122, 6; King, Magic, 22, 64, Ebeling, KAR. 196, Rev. ii, 25 = Thompson, AMT. 67, iii, 15, speaks of the lamma (= lamassu) of heaven which descends to earth, hence winged, and compare the winged female (not theriomorphic) which descends from heaven, on the bas relief from Ur, Antiquaries Journal, v, pl. xlvi, 2. On p. 13, Nin-urta is spelled Enurta, and again, p. 51. According to Hall, ibid., the statues of Nebo, of which one is given pl. xxiv, are said to have been found in the temple of Ninurta at Nimrud. KB. i, 192, n. 2, states that they were found in the temple of Nebo, and King, Guide, p. 14, says that came from near the site of the temple of Ninurta (Ninib).

There is only one defect in the printing of this splendid book; on many plates the objects have no plate sub-numbers, and often no museum number. For example, pl. v, 1–2–3–4–5 should bear these numbers below the objects to which they refer, otherwise in referring to them one must consult the descriptions. The book is ably written, beautifully printed, and every archaeologist would like to own it.

S. Langdon.

Assyriologists are most grateful to Dr. Legrain, Curator of the Babylonian Section of the University Museum in Philadelphia, for publishing these valuable miscellaneous texts acquired by excavation at Nippur or by purchase from various sources. It obviously required a deal of patience to assemble the scattered residue of fragments left over by earlier curators and scholars who had worked on the great Nippur collection, and if the philological interpretation is woefully weak it must be remembered that the author has sacrificed several years of his valuable time at the excavations of Ur. Those of experience in that work know that time so spent is a dead loss to pure scholarship and there is consequently trace of it on every page of this book. However this may be, we are grateful for the volumes of texts and archæological material which he publishes. A severe review of this book at the hands of Professor Poebel appeared in Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, where there is a heavy list of corrections, mostly correct, some false, and sharp personal remarks which no one of Legrain's great service to Assyriology could possibly deserve.¹ It must be admitted that the philology, both Sumerian and Accadian, as well as the copies admits a terrific list of corrections, but there are few places which cannot be remedied and this does not affect the fact that this book is a very solid contribution to Assyriology.

¹ For example OLZ. 1928, 695, Poebel comparing Legrain 49 with the same text by Hilprecht, speaks of the latter's copy as bei weitem besser. Hilprecht's copy contains one mistake ≠ for às-me, perhaps two, ga-me-ri for ga-aš-ri (?). Legrain's one, is for é. Page 700, on Legrain, p. 37, i, 12, Poebel's i-tu-di is due to Legrain's erroneous copy, as he should have seen from Ball's copy, i-tu-ut. Page 701, note on giš ši-da-ra-a, clearly as erroneous as Legrain's rendering.
No 2, ga-tul-la-šú "that I may live". See Sumerian Grammar, p. 160, n. 3.

No. 41. This valuable fragment is joined to Poebel, PBS. v, 34, and most welcome photographs of the whole text are given, Pls. II–VII. Poebel’s review corrects many serious errors, and it is a pity that the copy and photo of Col. 7, 19, are so bad that the Accadian reading of 𒈻𒊩 cannot be established. nāru and šāru have been suggested, but Legrain’s da-wa-ar (clearly erroneous) does not help at all. i-ša-ar or i-na-ar seem to be excluded by the photograph. Col. 23, 19, a-A-mal. Legrain accepted Zamama from Poebel’s edition. For A-ma(l) as god of Sargonic period at Agade = mar biti (?), v. PBS. x, 94; Langdon, Epic of Creation, 186, n. 10.

No. 46, stamped brick of Ishme Dagan of Isin. L. 2, ra is the phonetic complement of the sign for Accad. Read ur-ra; cf. ur-ri, Hilprecht, Deluge Fragment, p. 3, n. 2. Ninurta is still read Nin-ib by Legrain. Poebel’s correction to the translation of ll. 4–7 is right. L. 8, the Sumerian readings for GAG + giš have been known for many years; ši-ta, udug, rig. See R.A. xiii, 3.

No. 58, l. 7, sag-us é-[Kur] = mukil reš Ekur. L. 12, copy lugal, transcription, mi-ni, which is right.

P. 32, n. 1, there is for the first time an attempt to translate OBI. 33, dedication of a stone vase to Ninankia by Nadinahē for the life of Burnaburiyash. L. 4, PA-GAN (sag)-di = naparkû, sag-nu-di = ša la naparkû, which cease not; v. PSBA. 1918, 69, 6, et p.

L. 12, na-di-in-ŠES-ŠES, Nadin-ahē, subject of the verb in line 27. The object is a mortar of white marble, but line 22, dāg-esi, commonly rendered "diorite", by Gudea. Also No. 68, slab of alabaster, is described as dāg-esi. Perhaps read dāg-kalla(g) = abnu ašartu, "precious stone," Gadd, Studia Orientalia, i, 33, 1. dāg-esi is certainly diorite.

L. 26, sikil, not el.

No. 69, brick stamp of an unknown governor of Nippur, Ninurta-šum-iddin. L. 1, dūl-lal = dullallû = bûr méšu
tābūti, JRAS. 1919, 190, 13 = RA. 19, 69, 7, a sacred fountain; see JRAS. 1926, 34, 4. Here it is further described as standing beside Esagrum, the ziggurat. But because of sin against Enlil the ziggurat was destroyed and epra-nu u-gan-ni-šu, "dust covered it". epra-nu, a new word; nu-ú-gan-nim¹ is an impossible form and I do not know how the meaning "filled" was obtained.

No. 79, a complete barrel cylinder of Nebuchadnezzar, for which the reviewer is particularly grateful. I was mislead by the information at my disposal, when I edited this text in VAV. iv, pp. 176-186. A small fragment of a duplicate of this cylinder, which undoubtedly came from Emeteursag, temple of Zamama in western Kish, was found by the Oxford-Field Museum Expedition on the surface of the temple ruins of eastern Kish. It carries lines iii, 74-80, with no variants.

There is a very large number of corrections to this edition, where the valuable new cylinders published by Gadd and Sydney Smith in C.T. 36-7 are not utilized at all. Corrections to the copy and translation would involve a new edition, to which I must defer the corrections.


pp. 47, 48. For la naškun (cf. VAB. iv, 106, 20 = PSBA. 1888, May, pl. iv, 20), Poebel wishes to read aš-šu naškun. Cf. VAB. iv, 162, 53 = Weissbach, Wadi Brisa, Taf. 31, 52 = ibid., p. 25. Legrain and Weissbach's copies permit both la and aš-šu, but Ball's copy la only. In no case is Poebel's harsh remark justified.

p. 46, 5. If itu“Za-kar, god of dreams, is the correct reading

¹ There are several misprints of r for n in this book.
(no photograph), then read surely, ša šu-na-a-ta “he of dreams”, he who sends dreams to all kings. Poebel reads "A-ru for Erua, and probably ša ba-na-a-ta as perm. fem. for bandāt.

Ibid. l. 2, ta-im for te-em. Is the copy right?

Ibid. l. 6, "itut "Mūati (Nabû) apīl Esagila nāš mithurtu, The chosen of Nebo, son of Esagila, bearer harmony (?)\(^1\).

Ibid., l. 7, azag is not the value of <\(\mathcal{N}\), but kug, ku, is alone permissible, as Zimmern proved. The reading is Nin-igi-kug = Nin-gi-kug-ga, KAR. 109, 7.

Ibid., l. 8, saddu means “light”, then “omen”. See VAB. iv, 130, 61. Cf. sag-me-gar = Jupiter = nāš saddu ana kalamu, v. Raw. 46 B 39 = RA. 8, 45, iii, 4. Cf. BA. v, 310, 42; Ebeling, KAR. 26, 19.

l. 9, iš-te-ni-bu-\(\)ú, rendered by “is filled with”, from šebû, iv\(^2\), “to satiate oneself”. Is the text right? For BU one expects the similar sign \(\Delta\rightarrow\) iš-te-ni-\(\)\-i “who seeks after” the fear (worship) of the gods.

ll. 14–16, read šu-tam-ra-ku “I made fat”; šākina-at? balatu; \(\Psi\) cannot mean kāšu. Has the next NIG-BA = kāšu ?; tu-ūk-ḥu-da-ku.

l. 19; “Its top trembled”; cf. rēšā-ša itura, Var. ikūpa, Weissner-Rost, Senecherib, p. 50, n. 3.

l. 19, išū means “to have”, not “to be”, and nimitta, “support”; also l. 20.


l. 23, uṣurtim te-na-a-ta, a plan which is a substitute (for the former plan). On tēnū “successor”, see Landsberger, ZA. 37, 81, n. 2. Hence tēnū also adjective, “replacing, substituting”, from ēnū “to change”, \(\text{غ} \) be satisfied with a substitute.

\(^1\) Supply this title of Nebo in V Raw. 43. B. 16? "Mū-a-ti = [Nābiûm ša mithursti ?]. Cf. ur = mitḥaru, and "Ur = "Nābiûm.
l. 24, darâ šundulu “lasting and enlarged”. šuddulu > šundulu is not a noun.

l. 25, e-di-rik “I spread out”; is impossible. Is the author thinking of I² arâku “to be long”? In no case can I² be active. After VAB. iv, 214, 14, read ki-ma dâru dan-nu e-di-il¹ pa-ni za-a-bi. za-a-bi cannot mean “enemy”; LeGrain has apparently read a-a-bi. Is this the text? From VAB. ibid. = CT. 36, 17, 14, a synonym of mātu “land” is expected. edēlu means “to bar”, “shut in”, not “ward off”, and za-a-bu ought to be some epithet for Babylon. Imgur-Enlil, the inner wall is here described as 20 uš long, i.e. 14,400 cubits, 7,128 metres, or 7·128 kilometres, or about 4½ miles.

ll. 22–II 2, “The wall Imgur-Enlil, the mighty wall of Babylon, for 20 uš, an everlasting circumference, a plan replacing the old plan, whose boundaries are new, everlasting and enlarged, like a mighty wall shutting in the face of the zâbu . . . I strengthened (udannin).” As to Rev. 1, there being no other reference to Imgur-Enlil in the Nabunidus inscriptions, it is impossible to suggest a solution without a photograph. ma-as-ša-ar-tu é-sag-ila ú kâ-dingir-ra-ki would agree with other passages.

p. 47, ii, 2, kinnâ mountain; see my Babylonian Wisdom, p. 58, n. 4; Clay, Miscel., 44, ii, 12; VAB., iv, 256, ii, 7, nîribî, kinnê; my rendering was false; naphar kinnê, Hinke, Boundary Stone, 144, 15. At the end some verb is to be read, ú-pat-ti-in? Cf. Babylonian Wisdom, 58, n. 3; 61, 3. “I fortified it like a rock”?

l 4, pâr-gu-mî-iš (?) u-šar-ši-id-ma (?) a-na tab-ra(?)-a-tu aš-tak-[kan]. Cf. pâr-ga-niš = aburriš, Clay, Morgan, iv, 13, 54. Is the text right?

l. 8, ku-[ra-du].

l. 10, etippušu (whatsoever) I have made. I² of epēšu is not passive.²

l. 12, Translation and syntax is, “Prolong the days of my

¹ For il, see Col. ii, 22.
² Cf. RA. 11, 112, 34, for restoration after etippušu [ellî].
life; may I be satisfied with posterity.” Cf. li-ri-ku úmé baláti lušáti littuti, RA. 11, 113, 36 (Nabunidus).

1. 13, šu-um-[k]-it a-a-bi-ja], RA. 11, 113, 37; or šu-um-[i-í]-d šanáti-ja], RA. 22, 60, 23.

1. 18, This line is difficult. It corresponds to ša kib-rat ar-ša'-i, i Raw. 7, F. 10. Is the text not ša la! me-nail! -šu-ú mi-e nakbi “Who have no number (like) the waters of the deep?"

1. 19, giš-nig-mudur = ħattu sceptre. “May I establish my sceptre over them.”

1. 21, uṣṣap active, “he shall increase”.

p. 48, No. 83, l. 8, má-gid is a kind of sailor, literally, “one who draws a boat up-stream”, šádīd elippi, cf. šádīd aslim, King, LIH. 34, 20; Reisner, ATU. 98, viii, 10; 154, iii, 38, etc. Also “ship going up-stream”, drawn up-stream, maḫirtum with má-dirig-ga down-stream boat, Contenau, Umma sous la dynastie d’Ur, No. 46; as title also CT. 10, 49, 12245, l. 7; Babylonica, viii, 37, No. 10. As a religious title (in connection with sacred boats), Gudea, St., D., i, 9, as here.

p. 49, No. 85, Col. ii, 1, me-te nam-en-na, ornament of lordship.


Photographs of the Nebuchadnezzar and Nabunidus cylinders are indispensable in controlling the copies, but unfortunately they are not given, with the exception of a general view of the large Kish cylinder.

No. 84 is a duplicate of the cone in Manchester, H. W. Hogg, “Inscribed Nail of Enlil-ba-ni,” Journal of the Manchester Oriental Society, 1911, pp. 1–26. Legrain and Poebel are not acquainted with this text. See Langdon. Excavations at Kish, I, 110, n. 1. Lines 14–6 read ba-ba 4 En-lil-ba-ni suqūš (Br. 4808) -ki-in, “Of this wall ‘Enlibani established the foundation, is the name.” S. LANGDON.


This important series, devoted to the publication of the very valuable collection of Dr. Nies, forms a worthy memorial to two scholars who have done Assyriology great service. The content of the first is very varied, royal inscriptions, amulets, incantations, and business texts of all periods being included. In addition to the texts, there is an interesting collection of antiquities, also of varied dates, including some early amulets, barrel weights, finely carved seals, and a stone vase which is not perhaps beyond all suspicion. The business texts have for the most part been translated by Ungnad in Hammurabi's Gesetz vi; they contain some incidental information which has yet to be properly appreciated, e.g. the administration of duplalmah at Erech, which must have been a counterpart of the court of justice at Ur, by priests (No. 75, l. 34), or the freeing of a slave in return for his performance of corvée, military service and business journeys, ilkam u haranam šlak (No. 76). Of the religious texts the bilingual No. 22, which belongs to the "Evil Spirits" series, contains some exceptionally difficult passages. The important duplicate of the Entemena text on the "net" cylinder has already been used in Mr. Gadd's reading book.

The second volume contains 233 texts from Kul Tepe, a most important contribution to the study of these documents, which throw such a full light upon the early trade conditions of Western Asia. Some points may be said to be definitely settled by this volume. The noun tamalakum (the accusative of which has been tortured in translation as a verbal form) denotes some kind of document, most probably an envelope, since it can be opened; datum is most often money paid for the accomplishment of a journey from one place to the other; bulatum and biulatum are alternative forms of a word which,
as it interchanges with *igri* (in the phrase *igri zaritum, bulati zaritum*) probably means "hire", so that *lalake bulati* means "let me do hired service"; the verb *bat(d)ū* means "to be distant", *ana ume batīutim* should therefore be translated "for a long period", and the word must be distinguished from *pitū; riksum* Akk. *riksum*, always refers to a special kind of bond often connected with marriage arrangements, and never, so far as I can see, to metal in the form of a chain, as Landsberger believes; *zaritum* is to be derived from Akk. *saradu*, to saddle pack-animals; *gazaru*, connected with Akk. *qaṣaru*, means simply "hireling". The new month-name, *aruh zibibi-berim*, and the place name *Tīšmurna*, which also occurs in the British Museum texts, though I failed to decipher it, are interesting. It is impossible to give here any account of the contents of these documents, from which it will ultimately be possible to understand the rudimentary credit system which seems to have resembled the Arabic *ḥawālah*, and the complicated officialdom of the bazaars, with the taxes for entry and exit and deposition of goods, and the set tariff of prices, *mahīrum*, which was set up on a gate to the bazaar. Of this particular branch of Assyriology at present it may be said *dies diem docet*: ultimately a rich store of knowledge will be available, thanks in no small part to Professor Clay's excellent copies, in which the slips will be easily corrected by the reader.

*Sidney Smith.*


Since the appearance of Burton's famous *Pilgrimage*, numerous works on the same subject have been produced by adventurous travellers; those who can read Arabic will find Ibrahim Bif'at Pasha's *Mirror of the Two Sanctuaries*, which was the sensation of the Cairene Press in 1925, the most exhaustive and the most richly illustrated treatise on Meccah
and Medinah. Mr. Rutter's volumes, which are less than half the bulk of the Pasha's, cover some fresh ground. Owing to the state of war which existed in the year 1925 between the Wahhabi and the Hashmite potentates he could not approach Meccah by the ordinary route: he had to get to Massowa and thence cross the Red Sea to a point on the Arabian coast called El-Gahm, and make his way inland. The result is some valuable additions to our geographical knowledge. From Meccah he went to Ta'if, thence back to Meccah, thence to Medinah, and thence to Yabbu', the war having by this time ended with the expulsion of the Hashmite dynasty. He has furnished valuable topographical details of the places visited, with descriptions of manners and customs.

Some of the European pilgrims have been so much afraid of betraying their identity that they scarcely dared make any observations worth recording; and, indeed, if it be true that "the Christian is more hated throughout the Islamic world at the present time than is Iblis himself" (i, 41), they had good reason to be afraid. We should not have gathered that Mr. Rutter had any occasion for alarm on this ground, had he not described his "outward appearance as a lifelong zealous Muslim" as "a mental adaptation", he being in fact "a bigoted believer in the doctrine of the towhid" (ii, 149), which is professed by the adherents of many creeds, as it means the Unity of the Divine Being. His knowledge of the Qur'an is unusually accurate; I have noticed only one misquotation (ii, 125, note, where the Surah *The Cow* is cited for a text which belongs to the Surah *Imran's Family*).

Part of the value of the work lies in what it records about the effect of the Great War and subsequent events on the condition of this portion of the peninsula. The two successive sieges reduced the population of Medinah from some 80,000 to some 6,000 inhabitants. Ta'if, after the Wahhabi massacre, has become "like a city of the dead". The historic graveyard of the former city, Al-Baki' "was like the broken
remains of a town which had been demolished by an earthquake”, nor had the tomb of the Prophet’s heroic uncle Ḥamzah, fared any better at the hands of the puritans. The persons employed in the destruction of the cemetery were of the sect called Nakhawilah, about whom Burton has a couple of pages, and Bif‘at Pasha a few lines. Since, according to these authorities, they “bedevil” the first two Caliphs, but not the third, they ought not to have been employed to destroy his tomb.

Mr. Rutter’s anecdotes are scarcely as thrilling as Burton’s and Keane’s; on the other hand, no one is likely to question his veracity, though some of the information given him seems questionable.

D. S. Margoliouth.


In this work the author of The Heart of Arabia furnishes a narrative of his journeys in Arabia in the summer and autumn of 1918. Starting from Riyadh he travelled in the company of the Wahhabi ruler as far as Buraidah, whence he returned to Anaizah, where he waited while Ibn Sa‘ūd was conducting a campaign against Ibn Rashīd. After Ibn Sa‘ūd’s return in accordance with instructions which he received from the Home Government, he withdrew to Kuwait. In order to utilize his travels for scientific observations he rode during the day, whereas Ibn Sa‘ūd preferred the night. The book which has resulted is a combination of an accurate diary with a “Book of Roads and Regions”, containing exhaustive information about distances, routes, wells, the size, populations, industries, and characteristics of villages and towns; size, materials, furniture, and decoration of houses; food, clothing, objects and methods of cultivation; careers and characters of prominent personages, etc. As the Qur’an says of itself, Mr. Philby might say
of his book, "it is a clear account of everything." His accuracy as an observer and recorder is supplemented by his skill as a photographer.

Hence this work is one of the most instructive that have appeared on Arabia, and may be regarded as abschliessend for the portion of the peninsula with which it deals.

There are some contributions to the Arabic vocabulary, but none, it would seem, to archaeology; the settlements, if not quite modern, are all of recent date. The general standard of living, at times approaching luxury, is higher than we should have surmised from earlier works of travel. It was pointed out to Mr. Philby that he travelled as a grand seigneur, whereas Palgrave and Doughty went as poor men; and this may account for the difference in the impression which their works leave. Palgrave, whom Mr. Philby attacked with some vehemence in his earlier work, only receives an occasional slap in this. Doughty is repeatedly mentioned with high honour. The worst knocks are aimed at the British Government, "whose counsels at this stage were directed by ignorance and prejudice," while with respect to another episode "Arabia, seeing and understanding, marvels not at our blushing, but at our blundering."

Occasionally we marvel at Mr. Philby, whose Arabic scholarship is justly admired, perpetrating the latter of these operations, not indeed in the political field, with which we are not concerned. On p. 66 the Qur'an is quoted for the precept, "Ride and shoot, but I prefer that ye shoot." There is no such text in the Qur'an. On p. 286 one of his associates "was still more delighted when I quoted again from the same source (The Tradition).—There is none born but is born within the fold, but their fathers make Christians of them or Jews or Mages". The Tradition (e.g. Bukhari, ed. Krehl, i, 341) has for "within the fold" in natural religion, and for "their fathers" their parents. On p. 300 we read: "Hail fell in the following August, and within three years Ibn Sa'ūd was practically master of all Arabia." There is
another power in Arabia, if not more than one, which might traverse this assertion. However, as Mutanabbi says, "Trouble is likely to befall every hero, unless he protects his heroism with some amulets of flaws."

D. S. M.

The Life of Charles M. Doughty. By D. G. Hogarth.
Oxford University Press. 1928.

The late keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, whose career was so rich in service to his country, his university, and learning in general, did not live to finish his biography of C. M. Doughty. It has been finished by his son, doubtless in the manner which the author would have approved. As a writer on the "Penetration of Arabia", Dr. Hogarth was well qualified to appraise the explorer's contribution to our knowledge of that country, and as he tells us, had practical experience of its value when he was in charge of the Arab Bureau in Cairo. The exploration of the peninsula occupied less than two years of Doughty's life: some forty-five years of it were devoted to the composition of poetry, on which Dr. Hogarth disclaims the right to speak as an expert. The biography, however, contains a sympathetic account of the poems, and a record of their reception: and though the description of the travels is based more on Doughty's original diaries than on the monumental Arabia Deserta, it serves as an admirable epitome of and introduction to that work.

Arabia Deserta met with a fortune comparable to that of Schopenhauer's Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung of which two editions were sold for waste paper, whereas with the third it became a classical work. Printed in 500 copies, Arabia Deserta was sold out in twenty years, after which an abridged edition appeared. Then came the Great War, and Arabia attracted attention. New editions of the original work were called for, and Doughty became a national hero, and his work a classic. Its value had indeed been recognized from the first
by experts in Arabic rather than in Arabia: but now the style, to which the author attached perhaps more importance than he did to the matter, won recognition.

The story of the mode whereby Doughty's copies of Nabataean inscriptions, and the two thick volumes of his travels, secured publication, was doubtless worth enucleating and narrating, but few persons connected with either emerge with real credit: among them are William Wright and W. Robertson Smith, who induced the Cambridge University Press to undertake the printing of the latter. Peter Burmann wrote: *viri docti famam sequuntur, non pecuniam*. They ought not, of course, to seek either: the advancement of knowledge should be their sole concern. Doughty made no secret of the fact that he *sequebatur* both, and disappointment made him querulous. We learn that certain societies to which he had looked for financial aid both in travelling and afterwards in publishing, declined to give it. Oxford University, of which he was not an alumnus, was the first public body to give his merits due recognition. Five years later (1912) the Royal Geographical Society awarded him a medal. Towards the end of his life honours were heaped upon him.

His financial fortunes were not dissimilar. Some readers of *Arabia Deserta* supposed him to be a wealthy man, who travelled as a poor one for choice, and to gain a more intimate acquaintance with local conditions than a wealthy traveller could acquire. The biography disproves this. Doughty according to this was financially straitened till near the end of his life, when an unexpected inheritance of a £2,000 annuity enabled him to resign the £150 Civil List Pension which Lord Balfour had obtained for him.

His residence in Arabia lasted in all twenty-one months. He rarely disguised the fact that he was a *Naṣrānī* (Christian), according to Dr. Hogarth more out of patriotism than devoutness, and this, which rendered him an object of hatred and contempt to the fanatical tribesmen, greatly inteffered with his
opportunities for observation and note-taking. It is extraordinary that he accomplished so much, and became, as a German critic designated him, "the profoundest expert" (der grundlichste Kenner) of Bedouin life, and Arabian geography. There is, however, an inference to be drawn. It is said that an American visitor to Angora, who had come there to study New Turkey, told a distinguished official of his purpose; that official said to him, "doubtless you are going to stay with us some seven years". The American replied, "No, perhaps seven days." The latter period was certainly too short for a profound study, whereas the former would scarcely be too long. If der grundlichste Kenner of Arabia had to acquire his information in nineteen months, perhaps our knowledge of the Peninsula is not yet as grundlich as would be desirable.

D. S. M.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF 'ALÎ IBN 'ĪSÂ, "THE GOOD VIZIER."

By HAROLD BOWEN. Cambridge University Press, 1928. 25s.

Mr. Bowen has essayed a task which is the first of its kind. Biographies of Caliphs and Muslim princes have been written from time to time, but no political figure of the second rank has hitherto formed the subject of an extended monograph. The reason is only too well known to students of Islamic history—the material at their disposal is both scanty and in many respects unreliable. It is only the fortunate preservation of such nearly contemporary sources as Hilâl aš-Šâbi's gossipy Book of Wazîrs and the histories of Miskawayh and 'Arib that has made the attempt possible in this instance, and the footnotes sufficiently indicate the debt of this book to them for many of its more intimate narratives. By his masterly use of these and other works, both printed and manuscript, and the further gift of a lucid and attractive style, Mr. Bowen has succeeded in the almost impossible task of giving for the first time a clear and intelligible account
of a most confusing period. For this service anyone who has had to deal with the intricate history of the decline of the Caliphate may well feel grateful to him.

A biography in the modern sense, however, this book is not. I hasten to add that the fault is in no way to be attributed to Mr. Bowen, but to his sources. He has done his best to give a picture of 'Ali ibn 'Īsā as a man, and has pressed into service probably every item of information that can contribute to it; yet in the end his real personality eludes us. We are told many anecdotes that illustrate his piety and impartiality, but the great bulk of the book is devoted to the never-ending palace revolutions. What would we know of Gladstone and Disraeli (and there are some curious analogies, mutatis mutandis, between them and the rivals 'Ali and Ibn al-Furāt) were our knowledge practically confined to their ministerial careers? Without charging the author with undue lenience—though a biographer may be excused some measure of partiality for his hero—one feels that the ineffectiveness of 'Ali's career cannot be explained simply on the grounds of piety and desire for self-effacement.

Mr. Bowen's thoroughness leaves little room for criticism of detail. As he has concentrated on 'Irāq and followed 'Irāqī sources, there are some pardonable slips in dealing with events on the circumference, for example in his accounts of Ibn Ṭūlūn (p. 10) and al-Uṭrūsh (pp. 307–8). Nor was Ibn al-Mu'tazz the author of the only attempt at an Arabic "epic" (p. 79). as he had both predecessors and successors in the art of rajaz narrative poems.

H. A. R. G.

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**DER DIWAN DES ABU DU'AIB. Herausgegeben und übersetzt von JOSEPH HELL. 9\(\frac{1}{4}\) × 12, xii + 91 + 47. Hannover, 1926.**

When, in 1884, Wellhausen published as one of the sections of his *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* an essay on the latter portion
of the ḍīwān of the Hudhailis there was no MS. known of the first portion. This contained, amongst others, the work of Abu Dhu‘aib, whom the anthologists and biographers considered the finest poet in the group. Wellhausen conjectured that a MS. of the complete ḍīwān of the Hudhailis, in the recension of al-Sukkari, was buried in one of the Cairo libraries. Herr Joseph Hell appears to have taken the hint, and instituted a search which led to the discovery, not only of that MS., but also of the ḍīwān of Abu Dhu‘aib, bound up in a composite volume between the ḍīwāns of Ḥasan b. Thābit and Labīd. It is the text of Abu Dhu‘aib’s ḍīwān that he gives us together with a translation, an introduction and a critical apparatus of citations.

Perhaps of these ancient Arabic verses even more than of others it is true that their interest lies in the sphere of lexicography and grammar rather than in that of poetry, and it is unfortunate therefore that Herr Hell has been unable to publish the commentary which accompanied the text in his MS. For the present we must be content with the few short notes which he supplies for the elucidation of the text. That the Hudhaili goat-herds of the barren hills south of Mecca should have produced any verse at all worthy of preservation is a fact remarkable in itself, and any great beauty of thought ought not perhaps to be expected. Yet it is not entirely lacking, particularly in the first long marthiya of Abu Dhu‘aib. Herr Hell in his rendering has confined himself to giving a straightforward version, of which the language is more literal than elegant. The translation might perhaps have made better reading if Herr Hell had been less cautious and had committed himself to one particular meaning of a word where the dictionary offered him a choice of several.

R. LEVY.
Khābe Shegeft. By Akhond Molla Fathali Isphahani.

Here is a graphic indictment of the present condition of affairs in Persia by a native of that country who, for obvious reasons, writes under a pseudonym and even has an obituary notice of himself inserted in the introduction. The author shows himself one of the company of modernists who recently have attempted with varying success to disturb the long indifference of the Moslem East towards the civilization of the West. Mainly his charge is that Persia has taken no notice of the advances which have been made in the scientific thought and material discoveries of the world since the Middle Ages. Economically the Persians are dependent even for necessities on foreign countries; leaving aside the fact that there is no machinery in their country and that not one of them has ever succeeded in building a motor-car which he could use, they have not even a weaving industry to supply them with clothing for their backs, nor any manufacture of modern drugs, let alone a medical school to train doctors.

On the intellectual side the country is equally backward, so that what were until yesterday regarded as the commonplaces of scientific knowledge in the West—e.g. the theory of gravity—have never been heard of in Persia. There are no scientists there, no physicians; but astrologers, fortune-tellers, romancers and charlatans of every description abound. Political offices still remain the storehouses from which their fortunate possessors feather their own nests, while the religious authorities continue to live in the past, indifferent to all modern influence. To speak of freedom of thought in Persia is a mortal offence; yet it is the natural heritage of mankind, and any religion which shuts the door in its face should be avoided like the plague, just as the man who, having the capacity, fails to think and concern himself with the problems of the world is unworthy to be included amongst men.
The author's thesis is one that merits attention, but recent events in Afghanistan show that reforms must be undertaken with caution. Even Turkey is not yet out of the wood. But it cannot be denied that some reforms in Persia are long overdue. Roads are too few, medical science is still at the stage when Avicenna left it, hospitals exist in only one or two large cities, and opium-taking is still the chief alternative to physical suffering.

And yet there are some features of civilization which Persia need not regret. It can live its life without malodorous, noisy haste, and even its discomfort is at any rate leisurely, though if recent proposals reach fruition, roads and railways will shortly put an end to Persia's leisureliness. One can only hope that the country will take warning by its neighbour and even hasten slowly on its path of reform.

R. Levy.


This volume, which is a "Festgabe" to celebrate the fourth German Orientalists' congress at Hamburg, is at the same time a memorial to the German traveller Herman Burchardt, who lost his life in a journey to Arabia in 1909. The fatal journey, begun at San'ā, went by Ga'taba and Ta'izz to the sea at Mocha, whence Burchardt in the company of the local Italian vice-consul retraced his steps to Ta'izz, intending from there to return by a different route to San'ā. They had only gone part of the journey when they were attacked by "brigands" at a spot between Ibb and al-'Udēn and killed. Burchardt's own diaries, if he kept any, appear to have been lost, and the present account of the journey is the work of his Arab teacher and secretary who accompanied him and escaped unharmed. It is this account, with a German translation, that we have before us. The narrative is bare and dry, but the work is redeemed by a number of excellent photo-
graphs which the volume contains, as well as notes on the geography and dialect of the Yemen, of which latter a number of specimens are given in Buchardt's transliteration.

The geographical notes are the work of Professor Eugen Mittwoch, who is responsible for the editing of the volume.

R. LEVY.

CHAJIM BLOCH. Lebenserinnerungen des Kabbalisten Vital.
Verlag der Asia Major. Sm. 8vo., pp. 179. Leipzig, 1927. 6s.

The author of this little book publishes here in German translation a selection from the autobiographical diary of Chayim Vital. It is a fantastic medley of brief memories of ghostly apparitions, of peculiar visions and dreams and other incidents which throw a special light on the character and spiritual disposition of Vital. Their importance lies not so much in these autobiographical notes, as in the fact that they may help us to understand the mentality, disposition, and the mystical tendencies of a man to whom the modern Kabbala owes exclusively all its information about the author of it, the famous Rabbi Isaac Luria. The latter left no written work behind; and the new system of metaphysical speculation with which his name is connected is found only in the writings of Chayim Vital. It is an unsolved problem how far they truly represent the teachings of the master, and how far they are due to the exuberant fancy of Vital. Be it as it may, they have been accepted as genuine, and these views found in the numerous writings of Vital have exercised a deep influence upon the whole current of mystical speculations from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards. Mr. Bloch gives also a brief sketch of the Kabbala, and pleads for a better appreciation of this yearning after the union with God, which found expression in it. He also includes in his introduction a short biography of Vital. At the end is appended an interesting bibliography.

M. GASTER.

The war has evidently made havoc also with the books which appeared during that period, and therefore I believe that sufficient attention has not yet been paid to a book which, in its various translations and abstracts, has had a great influence upon the literature of the Middle Ages, and which in its essence is of Oriental origin. I am referring to the famous romance, as we may call it, of Barlaam and Ioasaph, which, as Liebrecht—whose name, by the way, is not even mentioned here—has shown for the first time, was a Christianized form of the legend of Buddha. This legend has been made use of for theological purposes, and in order to inculcate the lessons a number of beautiful tales and parables has been introduced. These have made the fortune of the book. It has been ascribed to St. John of Damascus, who lived in the ninth century, and a thousand years had to elapse before Boissonard printed it in 1832. We have now included in the Loeb Classical Library not only a new and revised edition of the Greek text, but also for the first time an English translation, faithfully carried out. It is a boon to the student of that literature, and assists also investigation into the origin and date of the Greek composition. As mentioned before, the book is ascribed to St. John of Damascus, but a number of scholars have disputed this tradition. The authors of the present edition, however, are inclined to accept the traditional authorship. And yet their arguments do not seem quite satisfactory. Dr. Armitage Robinson and Professor Rendel Harris have succeeded in discovering that the author of the Greek text has embodied in his compilation the Apology of Aristides, without even mentioning his name. It is not likely that St. John of Damascus would have been guilty of such an act of plagiarism. It is much more likely that an obscure monk called John, who was a worshipper of the Icons, and therefore denounced vehemently the
Iconoclasts, should have collected his material from many sources, and, according to the custom of the time, should have compiled the book in the usual manner, not mentioning any of the sources from which he had taken his material. Besides St. John, there was a large number of opponents of the Iconoclastic movement, and this would be no proof of the book being ascribed to St. John of Damascus. It is compiled of both old and new matter. But the authors of this edition have evidently been swayed by a peculiar religious bias in accepting the tradition. But this does not in the slightest degree affect the value of the publication and the excellence of the translation. The book, moreover, is published with the usual care and typographical excellence characteristic of the Loeb Classical Library. One is gratified to find the present book among this set of publications.

M. Gaster.

Papyri Graecae Magicae die Griechischen Zauber-
Papyri. Herausgegeben und Übersetzt von Karl
Preisendanz. 8vo, pp. xii + 200. Leipzig, Berlin:

The dogmatic statement that East is East and West is West, and can never be reconciled, is distinctly contradicted by the literature of magic and superstition. No doubt it is very difficult for two higher civilizations to be blended harmoniously. But the masses of the people who live outside the sphere of that higher civilization recognize no difference of origin, of race or creed. Nowhere does this unconscious syncretism show itself more clearly than in the magical conjurations and charms in all forms of wizardry, old or new. The higher culture drives it underground, but it lives on in spite of all persecution, and the charms and conjurations of to-day in form and substance can be traced back to the ancient Babylonian incantations and to the Jewish-Egyptian
charms and magical operations. The soil of Egypt has happily furnished a number of papyri which formed the library of old-world magicians and conjurers. Some are as old as the second century C.E., but only as far as the writing is concerned. In all probability they are copies of much older formulae, and carry us back to some earlier century. These magical papyri have been scattered among the great libraries of Europe, notably Paris, London, Leyden, Berlin, and Oslo. They have been deciphered and published also in the same scattered form as they are now found. Many of these publications have become inaccessible, or were too costly for the student to acquire. The works of Kenyon, Wessely, Parthey, Leemans, and last not least Eitrem, appeared in London, Vienna, Leyden, Oslo, etc. Not a few fragments are still awaiting publication. It is impossible to exaggerate the value of these documents for the history of religion and for the deep influence which the Orient has exercised upon the mind and soul of the large masses of the populations of East and West. Dieterich was the first to draw attention to the special character of these papyri, and others, especially Wünsch and Deissmann, have followed in his footsteps. A vast field has been opened to the student of Oriental philology and psychology no less than to the man who is anxious to investigate the history of religion and popular beliefs. At first sight, these magical formulae, bordering on the absurd, frightened away the serious scholar. But much has become clearer, and the absurdity is more on the surface. A great many words occur there, or series of letters and vowels which are unpronounceable. These were declared to be "barbarous" words, and meaningless letters intended, as it is said, to terrify the demon. I believe, however, that I have found the key to these mysterious words and series of letters as well as to the single letters which appear on the tabulae defixionum. On these lead tablets single words occur which in themselves can be translated. But it is useless to attempt to combine them
in a sentence, for there is no sense in it. In my study of the Samaritan phylacteries, published first in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, 1915–17, and now reprinted in my forthcoming *Studies and Texts* (pp. 387–482), I believe I have found the solution. Originally these formulae were much more extended. Whole verses and even sections of the Bible were introduced into the formula. Even entire chapters, as I have shown in the *JRAS.*, 1901, and now in *Studies and Texts*, pp. 356–64, were introduced into this magical conjuration. The Logos Ebraicos, a characteristic feature of the Paris papyrus, consists as I have shown, of a complete section of the old Book of Enoch. Chapters and verses from the LXX appeared, e.g. in the papyrus published by Eitrem. This process is repeated in other papyri, and so it is found in the Samaritan extended phylactery. After a time, instead of a whole passage, only the characteristic verse is quoted, presuming that he who uses it would know the whole form. The next step was to reduce the sentence to a keyword, and in the Samaritan phylacteries and other Samaritan writings, the sentence is often referred to by this keyword. But this is not the end of the process of reduction. Instead of a whole word, only the initial letter is used. And thus we find all these stages of reduction in the various Samaritan phylacteries, depending on the size. This evidently has been the process followed also by the writers of the magical papyri. In some of them we find whole passages, in others they are reduced to single verses, again in others and in the lead tablets only the keyword is given, and finally they are reduced to strings of letters, the initials, no doubt, of such keywords and sentences. It must now be left to the ingenuity of scholars to discover the texts from which these sentences, words, letters, etc. have been introduced into these magical papyri. These may be Homer or Virgil, but this question must be left to others to follow up. The difficulty of investigation was the fact mentioned before, that these papyri appeared in many publications not easy to obtain. Thanks now to the
public spirited action of the firm of B. G. Teubner in Leipzig, Professor Preisendanz has been encouraged to undertake the publication of all the papyri extant in two handy volumes, of which the first has now appeared. Professor Preisendanz is being assisted by a number of well-known scholars in an undertaking for which all concerned have a right to claim full appreciation and thanks. All the old editions have been carefully collated again with the originals. Many wrong readings have now been corrected, and many lacunae filled up. The type was kept standing since 1913, and thus many emendations could be introduced. It is, moreover, a new and very pleasing cut. Above all, these papyri, of which only a few had hitherto been translated, have now been translated into a very lucid German, the translation facing the text. Critical and literary notes are given at the foot of each page. A publication of this kind appeals to a comparatively small circle. It is to be hoped therefore that enough scholars and libraries will be interested to support the publishers in their desire of accelerating the completion of the work. They as well as the scholars engaged in the work are sure to earn the gratitude of all students of magical literature. The book, moreover, is beautifully printed in the usual style of the Teubner firm. There are added also a few plates with illustrations taken from the magical papyri.

M. Gaster.

Contes, Légendes et Épopées populaires d'Arménie.

This book, No. XIII of the series "Les joyaux de l'Orient", is well printed, and is decorated with titles, head and tail pieces and initials by René Riolet after Armenian originals. References to the printed sources are given for each story. Five items are from Zeitun and Cilicia, seven from the Chorokh Valley, and eleven from various districts and dialects.
The name of the translator is sufficient guarantee for the
fidelity of the versions, though it seems a pity ever to "adapt"
a folk-tale, and they should be of value to students of the
language and to folklorists. Those who are acquainted with
the popular stories of that part of the world may not find
here anything that is strikingly novel, but they will be glad
to have variants of themes used in other languages. The
second half of the volume is more interesting than the first.
Among the more curious may be mentioned the tale of the
beardless man (pp. 69-80) including marriages of three sisters
to demons disguised as animals, who help their brother-in-law,
mounted on a flying horse, to find the palace of the Beardless
One and capture and marry a beauty, escaping with the
help of a stone, a comb, and a bottle of water. Another
story (pp. 110-14), tells of the "luck" (home-spirit or Russian
domovoi) of a house; this "luck" has a tiny head, gilded
hands, and no eyes, it flees when a wicked daughter-in-law
steals food and other things for her own folk. There are
two stories of giants of the Cyclops type (pp. 58-61 and
115-18), of which the latter, named Ezekiel, is used to frighten
Nicomedian children. The state of affairs in the ark before
it grounded on Ararat, and just afterwards, is described
in the story of the Serpent, the Wasp, and the Swallow
(pp. 119-24). The terminal formula about three apples that
fell from heaven is used on pp. 141 and 158.

O. W.


The preface is dated 1908, and the fact that M. Macler
has contributed to this new edition sixteen good full-page
plates (chiefly palæographic and architectural) shows its
value; it is, however, a pity that the list of illustrations

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(p. 335) is entirely wrong—only one of the sixteen will be found on the page indicated; the original intention may have been to collect all the plates at the end, and this would probably have been handier and cheaper. M. Arslan might verify the spelling of the name of the professor mentioned in the note to p. 212.

The book is written without any of that patriotic flamboyance sometimes seen in histories of all nations, especially those which have suffered much; in fact the author seems to take too modest a view of what his race has been and done. There are six chapters: I, The beginnings of the Armenian people; II, The Armenian Kings to the Accession of the Arsacids (190 B.C. to A.D. 193); III, The Arsacids of Armenia (A.D. 193–297); IV, The Christian Arsacids (A.D. 297–428); V, Armenia under Byzantine, Sassanid and Arab rule; VI, The Bagratids and Arzrounis (A.D. 840–1050), ending with the Dispersal.

Such a compilation would have been the better for an index, a map and some sort of concise bibliography. It is a useful summary of what is known, but the rapid advance of knowledge, due to archaeological exploration, will soon render its revision desirable, particularly in the early chapters where the facts are very doubtfully known.

The author insists on the ill-will of Byzantium, due to the unorthodox form of Christianity adopted by the Armenians; their neighbours the Georgians, however, have not in the course of their history gained very much politically by remaining strictly orthodox and fidelity to the Eastern Church facilitated that Russian dominance, beginning with the nineteenth century, which only ended when the Powers recognized the de facto and de jure independence of Georgia. The "orientation" of Armenia and Georgia through the ages has been westward and research tends to justify this instinctive feeling of a Western origin and sympathy.

O. W.

The study of Muslim painting is still in its infancy, but it is approaching adolescence. Persian, Indian, and Turkish paintings are more valued by European collectors to-day than ever before, to judge by sale-room prices. They are even becoming popular, and the recent publication by the Studio of the reproductions from the great sixteenth century Nizami in the British Museum is still selling almost as well as a detective novel. At least two ambitious books on the subject are promised in the fairly near future. A genuine admiration, in short, is felt for this art, or at any rate, for two special forms of it. Enjoyment of the gorgeous decorative splendour of the Persian romantic artists of the Timurid and Safavid periods is not diminished—perhaps rather the contrary—for modern taste, by the fact that they often deliberately avoided naturalism in colouring and expression; while at the same time the delicate portrait and illustrative art, in quite a different manner, of the early Mughal period in India has only to be known to appeal to us to-day as it did to Rembrandt and Reynolds.

For this growing appreciation we are indebted, as far as this country is concerned, to a small and devoted band of interpreters, among whom Sir Thomas Arnold must take a leading place. He is a scholar as well as an enthusiast, and is thus able, in a difficult field of study, to avoid many of the traps which often catch the unlearned. In at least two of the leading works on Muslim painting which have appeared in recent years the authors have made mistakes of attribution from some of which the ability to read Persian would have saved them. Several of these have been pointed out by Sir Thomas Arnold himself—we remember his article in the Burlington Magazine, for instance, on Rizā 'Abbasi—though many others await rectification. We can certainly admire these paintings for their universal qualities, but for
their fuller understanding, fuller knowledge, based on scholarship and research, is necessary. Sir Thomas Arnold is aware of this, and all his writings on the subject bear witness to this consciousness.

Painting in Islam is the fruit of many years' research among the public and private collections of Europe, as well as of wide reading in many languages. The result is a tribute to the author's industry and insight alike. The object of the book is "to indicate the place of painting in the culture of the Islamic world, and this general subject is attacked in a series of essays, treating, in order, of The Attitude of the Theologians of Islam towards Painting, Difficulties in the way of the Study of Muslim Painting, the Origins of Painting in the Muslim World, the Painters and their manner of working, the Subject-matter of Islamic Painting, Religious Art, Burāq (the Prophet's winged steed), Portraiture, and the Expression of Emotion. There is also a chapter of biography, which shows how lamentably meagre is the surviving material on the painter's lives.

Never before has the general background against which Muslim painting developed been traced in such detail, and the book gives a most vivid impression of the difficulties with which the art had to contend in the Muhammadan world, and of the strength of the artistic impulse which surmounted them. The theological prohibition of painting and sculpture, as a usurpation of the Creator's functions, arose originally from the Semitic aversion to idolatry: it was enforced with growing severity by Shi'ahs and Sunnis alike after the time of the Prophet and his immediate successors, and the result is that Muhammadan painting is really not Muhammadan at all, or hardly at all. That is to say, it was, from the first, almost exclusively secular, and such religious art as there was "came into existence in spite of the condemnation of the teachers of the faith, and represents rather a spirit of artistic self-expression that refused to be repressed than a normal outcome of the religious life of Islam". It is rather
extraordinary, in the circumstances, that the painters should
have dared, as they occasionally did, to depict the holy
persons of the faith, and even the Prophet himself, though
religious art naturally suffered for its audacity, and it shows
no continuity of development. Nevertheless, the chapter
which Sir Thomas Arnold gives to religious art is one of his
best.

Another extremely interesting chapter is that on the Origins
of Painting in the Muslim World. The Arabs, as would have
been expected, contributed little to the tradition, which owed
its inspiration to artists of subject races, Christian, Sasanian,
and Manichean, while, later, Chinese and Mongolian influences
impressed themselves strongly and enduringly. There can
be no doubt, however, that it was the native artistic genius of
Persia, inheriting, with a remarkable continuity in difference,
from Sasanian beginnings, that determined the character of
the art at its zenith. Limited in scope, just as Persian
poetry is limited—though the limits were different, mysticism,
for instance, is hardly hinted at in painting—it nevertheless
has unique and charming qualities, and it cannot be neglected
by any, even if the romantic spirit makes no appeal to them,
who would understand the genius of a pre-eminently artistic
race. The character of the art underwent a change when it
was grafted on to that of India; it lost in colour and com-
position, but gained in humanity, returning to earth from
a world of dreams. The present work is not much
concerned, however, with Indian painting.

The book is beautifully produced, paper and type are of
the finest, and the sixty-five carefully selected illustrations
(eight of them in colour) reflect the highest credit on all
concerned. There is not space here to go into much detail,
but among the most interesting, if not the most beautiful,
may be mentioned the series of examples of similar types
in Christian and Muslim MSS. (Plates VIII and IX) and the
religious paintings generally. The rare Nativity of Jesus
(XXV), illustrating the Kuranic version of the story, provokes
speculation as to the precise connection (for a connection of some sort there must surely be) between this story, that of the birth of Apollo, as told in the Homeric hymn, and that of the birth of Buddha.

J. V. S. Wilkinson.


It would be difficult to praise this book too highly. The series of sixteen beautiful plates, reproduced in facsimile from a Persian manuscript of the Khamsa of the great Nizāmī, justly described by Dr. F. R. Martin as "the finest sixteenth century Persian manuscript in existence", is a delight to the eye; and Mr. Laurence Binyon's comments on these pictures and on Persian pictorial art in general, are, as might have been expected, an aid to the understanding.

The student of Persian painting is, as Mr. Binyon explains, at a serious disadvantage owing to the inaccessibility of examples of the art, most of which are hidden away in valuable manuscripts, far beyond the resources of the ordinary student, and for the most part to be found only in museums and great libraries, where, for obvious reasons, they cannot be subjected to promiscuous handling. The publication of such works as this will go very far towards removing his disability.

Chinese influence is conspicuous in the best Persian paintings, among which those reproduced here must be numbered. China is regarded, in Persia, as the motherland of the pictorial art, whence Persian painters are proud to draw their inspiration. It would be presumptuous in the present writer to add anything to Mr. Binyon's masterly appreciation of Persian painting, or to his account of the leading masters, but he warmly commends both to all students, who, by studying them in conjunction with the examples selected by Mr. Binyon, will be enabled to acquire a very good grounding in his subject.
Perhaps the most pleasing of these pictures are those in which landscapes are accessory to the figures. In these the convention of the high horizon will be noticed. Plate VII, illustrating Shirin bathing, surprised by Khusraw, is singularly attractive, owing to its wonderfully delicate representations of foliage. Of the individual figures none can compare with that of the victor in the Physicians' Duel. The fiendish glee apparent in his face is a fine study in expression.

Mr. Binyon describes the preparations of the paper for the brush by polishing it with an egg-shaped crystal, but it was not for the brush alone that this preparation was necessary. The Persian calligrapher requires a smooth and polished surface for the exhibition of his art, and calligraphy, in the estimation of Persians, occupies among the arts a position little, if at all, inferior to that of painting.

It was desirable that the student of art should know something of the literary work on which all this art has been lavished. A pedant might easily have been betrayed into prolixity on the subject of the Five Poems, but Mr. Binyon has avoided this snare. He has given so much of their purport as will enable the reader to understand the artists' themes, and he has said neither too much nor too little. The book is excellent in all respects.

Wolseley Haig.


In this admirably produced and beautifully illustrated book the author seems to have set himself the difficult task of proving that the Persians are a maritime nation. At the end of the book he is constrained to admit that it is only the coastal Persian who takes kindly to the sea, and that the inhabitant of the great inland plateau is a landsman pure and simple. This is, of course, what we should expect, but the
admission gives the whole case away, for Persia's coastline—the northern shores of the Gulf and part of the Sea of 'Omân, and the southern shores of the Caspian—is so scanty that her coastal inhabitants bear an infinitesimal proportion to the whole population of the country. The book displays great industry and research, which, indeed, are necessary to him who would prove the Persian to be a seaman. It also contains some irrelevant matter. The legendary accounts of naval operations, for instance, are so confused and contradictory that it is only by referring them to a former geological age that it is possible to explain them. The Persian's claim to seamanship must, however, be examined by the light of history, not by that of geology. The author cites the power and influence of the Achaemenians and the explorations of Darius as evidence of Persian seamanship, but the explorations of Darius were carried out by the Greek Seylax, and naval operations in the Mediterranean by non-Persian subjects of the Great King. Among the 1207 triremes in the fleet of Xerxes there was not a single Persian ship. Had Mr. Hâdi Ḥasan been better acquainted with naval history he would have found little to support his theory in the fact that the four admirals were Persians, and that foreigners held no post higher than vice-admiral; for in that age, and for many centuries later, admirals and captains were more often soldiers with no knowledge of the sea than sailors. It was their business to direct or lead the fighting men, it was that of the vice-admiral or the master to direct the navigation of the ships. The manning of the ships also indicates the Persian's dislike of the sea. Each had a native crew of 200 men, and carried thirty Persian marines. That is to say, the native crews propelled and steered the ships, the Persians were merely fighting men. The bridge over the Hellespont and the Athos canal were proofs of engineering rather than of naval genius. They were not naval operations, but the devices of landsmen to avoid the perils of the sea.

Coming to the history of navigation in Sasanian times
Mr. Hádi Hasan too readily assumes that the ships in the expedition against the Himyarites were worked by Persian crews. From the allotment of no more than a hundred Persians to each ship it would appear more probable that the vessels were troopships manned by Arab sailors. Again, there is no evidence that the "Shírázi" emigrants to the East Coast of Africa were sailors. It is equally likely that they were adventurers or colonists carried in Arab ships. The statement that "the Sasanian navigator was essentially a merchant" begs the question. Persian merchants have not been backward in braving the perils of the sea in pursuit of their calling, but it is not clear that they were in the habit of navigating the ships in which they and their goods were carried. Again, it does not follow that because Bahrain was subject to Persia and 'Omán "was not destitute of a Persian population", "the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea were exclusively Persian." The names of the Sasanian king's marzubāns prove that they were not Persian in population, wherever their political allegiance lay.

There does not seem to be sufficient evidence to prove that the Persians were the pioneers of maritime communication with China. Even if it be granted that Persians appeared in China before the Arabs, we have no proof, as the author is constrained to admit, of the priority of Persian travel by sea. There was an overland route to Mongolia and China, as Persians of a later generation were to learn to their cost.

References to river navigation and to expeditions to Hurmuz, only seven miles distant from the mainland, are beside the point, except as an indication that the author is at a loss for evidence to support his theory. It may, however, be remarked that the Safavids were unable to expel the Portuguese from Hurmuz without the help of an English fleet.

The population of the Gulf is, as all who have visited its shores know, mixed. It has probably always been mixed, and the element in it which loves the sea has probably always been as it is now, the non-Persian element.
It is not clear why the historians mentioned by the author in his preface should have been biassed. It will need much stronger evidence than he has been able to collect to convict them of bias.

WOLSELEY HAIG.

THE MODERN CIVIL LAW OF CHINA. Part I. By V. A. Riasanovsky, Professor of the Harbin Faculty of Law. Harbin: Printed by "Zaria". 1 Skvosuaya. 1927.

At the present time law in China, both criminal and civil, is a subject of immediate importance in view of the question of extra-territoriality, on the abolition of which China naturally lays great stress. Any work, therefore, which helps to throw light on the present position of law in China cannot fail to be of great interest to all foreigners who have hitherto enjoyed the privilege of extra-territoriality. With regard to criminal law, as the author points out, the old code of the Ch'ing Dynasty, the Ta Ch'ing Lü Li, which was translated into English by Staunton in 1810 and into French by Father Boulais in 1923-4, was repealed, so far as its provisions dealing with crime are concerned, by the temporary criminal code of 1912. But, as has been laid down by the Supreme Court of China, "though the laws of the Ch'ing dynasty are "called 'The Penal Code', they contain besides properly "criminal provisions, a considerable number of provisions "relating to civil and commercial matters," and those provisions have not been repealed but are still regarded as in existence, and form part of the material which has to be considered in a study of the modern civil law of China. In addition to the provisions of the so-called "Penal Code" dealing with civil matters, the author has availed himself of the following materials, which, he says, "make it possible to give a "systematic outline of the Chinese civil laws at present "in force".
(1) Special laws and regulations issued during the last ten years, e.g. "Mining Enterprises Regulations, 1914 ", "The Law of Copyright, 1915 ", "The Trade Mark Law and Regulations, 1923 ".

(2) Draft civil code which has been published, but which still awaits a complete translation.

(3) Summary of the decisions of the Supreme Court, 1912–18: Supplement, 1919–23. The summary has been translated into French by Professor Jean Escarra under the title Receuil des sommaires de la Jurisprudence de la Cour Suprême de la republique de Chine en matière Civile et Commerciale, 1912–18. 2 t. 1924–5) and partly into English by Mr. F. T. Cheng, under the title The Chinese Supreme Court Decisions, 1923.

The Supplement has been translated into Russian by Messrs. Gomboyeff and Ouspenski, but has not been published.

In addition to the above materials, the author has also studied the works in European languages on Chinese civil law, which he states "are rather few and do not give a proper "notion of the state of that law ". He mentions the names of Père Hoang, Franke, Jamieson, Bryan and Mollendorf, but those who, like the writer, have studied the works of those named by him as well as the well-known work of Parker, whom he does not even mention, will certainly not agree with his disparaging criticism of their labours. Notwithstanding his poor opinion of them, he does not hesitate to make use of Jamieson's translations from the Ta Ch'ing Lu Li, which appear in his excellent work on Chinese Family and Commercial Law!

Professor Riasanovsky has made good use of the materials he has used, and has produced a work which cannot fail to be of assistance to those who are interested in law in China. The two sections dealing with Family Law and the Law of Succession are especially interesting.

The English text, which is a translation from the Russian edition of 1926, and seems to be a good one, has not a few
misprints and mis-spellings which should be corrected in a future edition.

It would greatly enhance the value of the work if the Chinese text were given as well as the translation from it into English.

J. H. S. L.


With this volume, under the expert guidance of Mr. Yetts, is presented the first instalment of the treasures of the Eumorfopoulos Collection not included in the Ceramics, Frescoes, and Paintings.

No doubt the aesthetic challenge, the appeal to the eye, of the objects pictured and described in the Plates and Catalogue of Vol. I, will be less to the majority of connoisseurs than was that of the series of Ceramics with their engaging charm of colouring and of form. But to a minority of collectors and students there lies within the sections of this catalogue material splendidly illustrated, and introduced and explained by a cautious but masterly hand, which is bound to prove invaluable to them, and fruitful.

The scheme of the present volume is as follows. After a Foreword by Mr. George Eumorfopoulos describing how, when, and under what circumstances this part of his collection came to be made, and a short Preface by the Editor, we have in succession one page of Chinese dynastic periods; next a long essay of some 32 pages on Inscriptions on Bronzes (but it is really much more than that); then a short study of the technique of bronze casting, 6 pages; this is followed by 12 pages devoted to the Classes and Uses of Ancient Vessels. After this we have the actual Catalogue itself,
filling 17 pages. This is succeeded by a peculiarly valuable Bibliography of Works, Chinese, Japanese, and Western, dealing with the subjects discussed. It will prove of the greatest value to the smallest number—if I may put it so—and fills 14 pages. The reader can cast one shuddering glance at a finely printed list in Chinese characters of Chinese and Japanese Works, and then comes an Index to the Text. The rest of the volume is occupied by the 75 superb plates.

The Catalogue is very cautious in attributing dates, and no piece in the collection is assigned to an earlier time than the Chou dynasty.

These plates, many of them rendering in beautiful tints the present aspect of the massive bulk of the originals, suggest something (so it seems to me) that eludes us. Why, for instance, do they from time to time recall or anticipate the strange ideals of Scythian or Siberian culture? Again, the very skilful decorative treatment of bronze surfaces, has it been really understood and explained by the Chinese exponents of the Han and later times, or have they read into it a didactic symbolism of their own, but perhaps alien to the primitive art of which these vessels seem a matured and final expression?

And that leads on to another topic, I mean the nature of the writing that many of them display. This has been most searchingly examined by Mr. Yetts in his introductory essay on Inscriptions on Bronzes, which could quite justly have been headed On Archaic Chinese Writing. The writer seems to have spared no pains in mastering the existing relevant literature, including the most recent Chinese and Japanese. To it he has applied a fresh mind and a sound judgment, and what I would particularly point out, since it will not be so obvious to all, is the rare merit of his numerous illustrations in the text derived from the collection and elsewhere. These illustrative copies of inscriptions are of admirable fidelity, and could only have been executed by one who is both an artist and a specialist in this branch of inquiry.
Figures 32 and 33—very dissimilar in mannerism—are two I should appeal to to justify what has been said above. These reproductions of an ancient script are not, like the modern Chinese texts at their sides, matters of course as it were, but are truly works of art.

Possibly the author in his enthusiasm for his subject has gone here and there into too great detail. Even a student hardly needs to be dragged into the dusty recesses of the chuan chu controversy, to which most of p. 7 is devoted.

Another group of doubts and difficulties is presented by the different terms used in Chinese literature for the various vessels of capacity and otherwise required in the service of ancestral worship. These points are fully gone into in the section on Classes and Uses of Ancient Vessels. Discussing one of these types, hitherto known as tui, or container of cereals, Mr. Yetts puts forward the arguments of a living Chinese author who maintains that this term is a misnomer and that the real name should be chiu (or kiu), and accepts them.

In terminating this notice on the initial volume of this part of the collection, I cannot refrain from making an earnest appeal, to whatever quarter it should be directed, regarding that part of the Introduction headed Inscription on Bronzes. For students of Chinese Mr. Yetts essay will be not merely valuable, but indispensable. But, as things are now, it will be to all intents and purposes inaccessible. Few scholars and still fewer students can buy books costing £12 12s. a volume. And a sepulchre may be beneath a splendid mausoleum, but it remains a tomb notwithstanding.

The only erratum I have noted is that the Bronzes A. 134 to 139 are all on Plate LXVII, not LXVI, as printed in the Catalogue.

L. C. HOPKINS.
NOTES OF THE QUARTER
(January–March, 1929)
GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY
15th January

Lord Ronaldshay, President, in the Chair.
The following were elected members of the Society:—
Moulvi Farzand Ali. Mr. Seth G. Modi.
Mirza Ghulam Jilani Baig. Mr. Radhika Narayan Mathur.
Mr. Hazari Lall Gupta. Mr. M. L. Motial.
Mr. Mohammad Ishaque. Mr. Sundar Lal Singhal.
Mr. Mohammad Unwar-ul-Hakk. Raja Sri Ravi Sher Singhji,
Mr. Abdul Mahit. Raja of Kalsia.

Eighteen nominations were approved for election at the
next General Meeting.
Mr. D. Harcourt Kitchen read a paper on "The Bega Races
of the Eastern Sudan", of which an abstract is appended.

ABSTRACT OF LECTURE
The Bega Races of the Eastern Sudan

The Bega races of the Eastern Sudan inhabit an area
bounded roughly by the tropic on the north, latitude 15° on
the south, the Red Sea in the east, and the Nile and Atbara
in the west. Their chief representatives are the Bisharin,
Hadendoa, and Beni Amir. They are distinguished by their
long hair, bushy above the temples and tied into plaits and
ringlets below; they lead a nomadic life and are very warlike
and independent. Anthropological evidence shows fairly
clearly that they are aboriginals. During the insurrection of
the Sudanese tribes under the Mahdi they came into conflict
with Egyptian and British troops on the Red Sea Coast and
excited great admiration for their aggressiveness and fearlessness. Kipling has immortalized them as the "Fuzzy-wuzzy".

The Bisharin inhabit the vast desert plain between the
Nile and the Red Sea; they are the biggest Bega tribe and are chiefly known for their magnificent camels, which are the best riding-camels in Africa. They trade to a certain extent with Upper Egypt. The Ababda live on the Nile itself and are more or less settled. They have always maintained an understanding with the Government and have thus kept a superiority over the more numerous Bisharin. They are good policemen and soldiers, and although they have a dubious reputation keep good faith if duly paid. They were invaluable during the re-conquest. The Hadendoa and Umar-ar live in the Red Sea Hills and the former come as far south as Kassala. They have the same characteristics as the Bisharin, but are more of mountaineers and stay more in one place. On the East Baraka they have built villages and become cultivators. The Beni Amir live mostly in the Italian colony of Eritrea; about half of them speak Tigre, a dialect akin to Amharic, but are nevertheless of pure Bega stock. Other smaller groups are the Arteiga, Ashraf, Samarindoab and Bedawib.

The language, Ti-bdawy, bears no perceptible relation to any other tongue spoken in Africa. Its agglutinative syntax makes it difficult to acquire; relatives, conjunctions, and prepositions are expressed by throwing the subordinate sentence into an adjectival form. The verbs are conjugated in a manner reminiscent of Semitic languages, but there the resemblance stops.

The nomad Bega are likely to retain their manner of life indefinitely, but those who have settled may find themselves pushed aside by more industrious people. It happens that much of their land is capable of growing valuable cotton, and is also on the main route of the Haussa pilgrims from Nigeria to Mecca; Haussa settle freely in fertile parts of the Sudan and are industrious and expert cotton cultivators. The exception to the general mediocrity of the Bega as settled citizens is provided by the Halenga, who live in the neighbourhood of Kassala and are well reported on by their Governor.
12th February

PUBLIC SCHOOL GOLD MEDAL PRESENTATION

At a meeting of the Society on 12th February, the President, the Lord Ronaldshay, presented the Public School Gold Medal to Mr. A. J. Hobson, of the Nottingham High School. He said: I am afraid we cannot congratulate ourselves upon the interest which is at present being taken in our Indian Empire amongst our public schools, judging from the amount of competition the Gold Medal attracts. For some years past the number of essays which have been sent in for competition has been unpleasantly small. Last year no essays were received, and this year only four have been sent in. I sometimes feel inclined to exclaim in the words of the late Lord Curzon: "Oh, how many people in this country know of or care about British dominion in India; and yet it is the miracle of the age!" If we cannot congratulate ourselves upon the amount of interest which is taken in the Indian Empire, we can at least congratulate Nottingham High School upon providing us with a scholar who has written an admirable essay. The period chosen was that of Lord Cornwallis. I think the essayist has been eminently successful in picking out those characteristics of Lord Cornwallis which enabled him to carry through his great and onerous duties with such success. Mr. Hobson has said much upon the internal reforms which were brought about under Lord Cornwallis' administration, and he has very properly laid special stress upon the changes which Lord Cornwallis introduced in the conditions of public service in India; notably upon his arrangements for civil servants receiving adequate remuneration in lieu of their taking part in trade, a practice which had led, as we all know, to great abuses. The essayist has also very naturally made considerable reference to the Permanent Settlement in Bengal, which, if it was not Lord Cornwallis' idea, at any rate received his sanction. There are many opinions as to the wisdom of the Permanent Settlement. I notice that the essayist skates
rather delicately over that particular piece of ice. He leaves it at this: that the Permanent Settlement at any rate maintained Bengal as the wealthiest province of the Indian Empire. I am not sure that I can agree with him altogether in that view. I think the wealth of Bengal, such as it is, has been due very largely to the great investment of British capital and enterprise in that country and in particular in the two great industries of jute and tea. It is a rather interesting fact that it was only one or two years after Lord Cornwallis left India that Dr. Roxburgh first brought to the attention of the authorities at home the possibilities of Indian jute as a commercial product. We all know what an immense industry has grown out of such small beginnings. Before the war the exports of manufactured jute from Bengal were valued at something like £19,000,000, and in one of the years of the war they reached the high figure of £27,000,000. The tea industry is responsible for exports to different parts of the world valued at something like £10,000,000 a year. It is enterprises such as these which are responsible, I think, for the wealth of the Presidency of Bengal. Recently when I was Governor I found the Permanent Settlement a considerable hindrance to urgently needed developments. When the Meston Committee formulated a scheme for the readjustment of financial relations between the provinces and the Central Government, it left the provinces, as their chief source of revenue, the land tax. That may have been a very excellent proposal from the point of view of those provinces which are not burdened with a Permanent Settlement, but in Bengal we were not so fortunate. Land revenue has not been growing as elsewhere from the great successive rises in the value of land under settled government which has been going on for one and a quarter centuries, and consequently the Government are unable to secure any of those increases which are of such service to other provinces.

Sir William Foster, one of the examiners for the Fund, said that he supposed he had been asked to speak rather
than his colleagues of the judging committee, because he was familiar with the circumstances in which the Gold Medal was founded nearly a quarter of a century ago. The President had voiced their general regret that it had not been a greater success in producing a larger number of competing essays; while one of the chief features of the original scheme had not been carried out at all. The late Sir Arthur Wollaston, to whom the credit of founding the scheme and collecting the money for the establishment of the Fund was due, was anxious to correct the general ignorance of the British schoolboy as regards Indian history and geography by arranging that the chief public schools should provide a course of lectures on those subjects. It was anticipated that the boys would send in essays and that the best of these would be selected for submission to the Medal committee. The head masters, however, while in cordial sympathy with the objects in view, said that time could not possibly be given in the crowded curriculum for the separate and special study of Indian history: they must be content for it to come into general courses, such as modern English history, in which it was impossible to omit outstanding events in connection with the British Empire in the East. They said that all they could do was to introduce Indian subjects into the school debates, place suitable books in their libraries, and encourage the boys to write essays thereon. So the Public School Medal, instead of being the apex of a series of competitions, had to be merely a prize for the best essay sent in from the public schools. While they regretted this, they had to recognize that they had received very much support from the head masters of some of the most important public schools in the country. It was true that no essay was submitted in 1927, but he thought that that was due to an unfortunate choice of subject. Altogether twenty-three competitions had been held, and in these Eton had taken the Medal five times. It was particularly appropriate to recall that fact that afternoon, since Lord Cornwallis himself was a pupil at Eton, and there got a knock on one eye that made him
squint for the rest of his life. The two Wellesleys were at Eton, and also Lord Irwin, the present Viceroy. Merchant Taylors School had tied with Eton with five successes. Denstone had won the medal three times, and Westminster twice. Harrow was rather behind in the competition, but perhaps, having given Lord Ronaldshay to India, they thought they had done their part. Nottingham High School with this year’s success had had the medal twice. Rugby, Dulwich, Marlborough, Shrewsbury, and Bishop’s Stortford were each represented on the list. This year there were four essays sent in from Eton, Marlborough, Exeter High School, and the winning school. The level of ability was high, and in one of the essays—not the winning one—there were some brilliant passages with which the examiners were duly impressed until they discovered that they had been taken straight from a textbook.

Lord Ronaldshay then presented the medal to Mr. Hobson.

The General Meeting followed:—

Lord Ronaldshay, President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society:—

Sheikh Md. Abdullah.
Khan Sahib C. Nahi Ahmad.
Dr. Purna Gopal Basu.
Pandit R. M. Bhagade.
Mr. Charan Jiva.
Maulvi Feroz-ud-din.
Mr. Radha Krishna Goel.
Mr. Popotlal D. Kora.
Mr. Edward Khin Maung.
Mr. Wali Md. Naiyar.

Miss Lachhi Bai Jagoomal Narsian.
Miss Sita Bai Jagoomal Narsian.
Dr. Lal Dastur Cursetji Pavry.
Mr. Jwala Prasad.
Mr. T. S. D. Pillai.
Mr. S. Y. Reza Rizwi.
Mr. Thakur Rudrasimha Tomara.
Professor Hutton Webster.

Eleven nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Dr. Gaster joined in the discussion that ensued. The following is an abstract of the paper:—

The Genii of the Romans and the corresponding tutelary spirits worshipped by the Greeks, forming a proletariat of the gods, are survivals from the old IE. conception of the wars of the gods as powers of light against the powers of darkness. The original picture is most fully preserved in the Avesta, where the Fravāšis appear as tutelary spirits of every being and class of being in the Order of Light, warring in hosts as the rank-and-file of the gods against the forces of darkness and evil, and enabling the creation of Ahura to proceed on its beneficent course. Their activities in bringing fertilizing rain and river-waters, in bestowing offspring, and in healing diseases are especially noteworthy. In all but one of the Fravāsīs' functions the Maruts of Vedic religion are remarkably similar, indeed to a large extent identical, as is shown by analysis of their cults; but the Maruts do not present a parallel to the individual Fravāšī. This gap is filled by the Puruṣas. In late Vedic and Upaniṣadic thought we find a Puruṣa or spirit dwelling in the universe as a whole, Puruṣas of various departments of nature (also styled dēvataś), and the microcosmic Puruṣa residing in the heart of every being, which the Upaniṣads deliberately confused with Ātman and Brahma. Really the individual Puruṣa corresponds to the Avestic Fravašī, and Ātman to Av. urvan. Traces of the connection of Maruts with Puruṣas survive. It may be inferred that the old Guardian Genii of the Indo-Aryans included both Puruṣas and Maruts, together with a large number of miscellaneous tutelary spirits attached to places, trees, etc., which have in the main survived (with a considerable admixture of aboriginal deities) in the modern dēvataś of India.

20th February

At a Joint Meeting of the Society and the Central Asian Society held at the Royal Society of Arts, Lord Lamington presiding, Professor J. G. Andersson, Keeper of the East
Asiatic Collection at Stockholm, gave a lecture on "The Highway of Europe and Asia", illustrated by lantern slides, of which the following is an abstract:—

**The Highway of Europe and Asia**

Dr. Andersson opened his lecture by saying that he was aware that in certain quarters exception was taken to the use of the word Eurasia as a scientific term, but that he and many scholars felt that the term was a useful one as emphasizing the unity of the two continents and the fact that there had been an interchange of cultural influences between them from the earliest period across the great belt of steppe country, which ran East and West roughly speaking from Manchuria to the Baltic and Hungary, and which he had ventured to call the "Highway of Eurasia". He proposed in his lecture to deal with some classes of archæological evidence for the existence of this highway.

The first class contained those objects which were commonly known to the learned world as "Scythian bronzes". These objects, which first became known in large quantities in South Russia in the areas North of the Black Sea, possessed a very distinctive style. The main features of the designs were animal forms, frequently interlaced and more or less conventionalized. The animals represented were those characteristic of the steppe country, the fox, the deer, the elk, the goat, and so on. Similar bronzes had been known to native Chinese archaeologists for some time past, by whom they were regarded as typical specimens of Western barbarian art. Together with the bronzes in animal style were found knives of a peculiar shape, sometimes with a rattle in the pommel, buckles and other small bronze objects.

As long ago as 1885 Reinecke had noticed the resemblance of the bronze knife-hilt's found in Hungary to the bronze knife-hilt's of approximately the same age found in Honan, but the intermediate steps in the cultural chain had hitherto been lacking. However, archæological material had now
accumulated, and it was now possible to divide these bronzes geographically into four groups according to their provenance, viz. those coming from (1) the Euxine area, (2) an area near the Urals, (3) an area in Southern Siberia, (4) a large area in North-West China and Inner Mongolia centring round Sui-yuan. All these areas lay on the Highway and, as might have been expected, the objects from the two central districts showed a pure and undiluted style while the objects from the Euxine showed traces of Greek and those from Sui-yuan traces of Chinese influence. The term "Scythian" begged the question of the origin of the style and he therefore proposed that it should be called "the Eurasian animal style".

An interesting question was the reason for the manufacture of these bronzes. Were they made for purely artistic motives or were there some other reason? He was inclined to think that Salamon Reinach's discovery that the palaeolithic cave-paintings of Western Europe were primarily magical in nature was applicable to these objects. Some represented mating scenes and one in particular, which in form closely resembled a "bâton de commandement", showed an elk hind pursued by three males. He was disposed to think that the reason for their manufacture was at any rate partially magical and that their object was to ensure plentiful supplies of game and success in hunting.

The date of the objects was generally regarded as lying between the 6th and 1st centuries B.C., but there was one exceedingly interesting bronze mirror with a handle in the form of an animal in the Musée Guimet in Paris which bore a Hsi-hsia inscription. If, as was alleged by some authorities, the inscription was cast on the mirror, the style must have survived to the 12th or 13th Century A.D.

Representations of the human figure were exceedingly rare in these bronzes, but one had been discovered which closely resembles those rude stone funerary effigies known as "babas". Dr. Andersson showed a map of the sites at which such effigies are found which demonstrated that they too
are scattered along the Highway from Eastern Mongolia as far west as East Prussia. The *babas* were generally regarded as dating from the Christian era with the maximum period of development in about the seventh century and some survivals as late as the thirteenth.

He now proposed to retire a good deal further into the past and to discuss the question of "painting pottery". Wares of this kind were commonly regarded as being characteristic principally of the chalcolithic period of civilization, in particular the fifth, fourth and possibly third millennium B.C.

Such pottery was found over a wide area and, though there were marked variations in local characteristics there was sufficient family resemblance between the various fabrics to justify a belief in relationship between, and possibly a common origin of, all the local techniques. Pottery of this kind had been found at Tripolye on the Volga (with linked fabrics extending as far South even as Macedonia), in Mesopotamia at Jemdet Nasr, Kish and Ur, in South-West Persia at Susa, recently in North-West Persia by Dr. Herzfeld, in Seistan by Sir Aurel Stein, at Anau in Russian Turkestan by Pumpelly, and in Kansu and Inner Mongolia by himself.

As regards the Chinese fabrics, there was no stylistic relationship between the painted pottery and that of the Chou Dynasty, the earliest native pottery previously known.

His principal work in connexion with painted pottery in his last expedition had been the excavation of a number of sites in a certain valley in Kansu which had been continuously inhabited since the neolithic age, and was a paradise for archaeologists. In this valley he had found a whole series of dwelling and funerary sites and had succeeded in breaking them up into periods and finding a type site for each period.

The dwelling sites were for the most part on isolated hills which had been cut away from the main body of the walls of the valley by river action and had thus been made natural fortresses easily defensible. The burial sites, on the other hand, were generally on ledges or hill tops above the valley, in some
cases on the highest ground available for some distance round. In some cases it had been possible to link dwelling and burial sites.

The various styles of pottery were of course related but distinct and in many cases very beautiful both in shape and in ornamentation. The funerary pottery was easily distinguishable from that for household use and was marked by the employment of a particular pattern so distinctive that they used to call it the "death pattern" (its principal characteristic being an indented edge) and also of a particular colour, red ochre, which was apparently regarded all over Eurasia in the neolithic period as possessing valuable magical qualities of revivification. The reason for this was no doubt the close resemblance of the liquid pigment to blood.

Another common article of magical significance in the period was the cowrie shell and a number of these was also found in the graves, although they must have been brought all the way from the sea. The supply, however, must have been inadequate as a representation of the shell was another favourite decoration of funerary pottery. There were also certain other designs on this fabric, for instance one which appeared to be a representation of a headless frog.

The designs on domestic pottery were also beautiful but quite distinct.

Very nearly 200 skeletons had been discovered in connection with this pottery and examined by expert anthropologists. The type represented was uniformly Mongoloid.

Before closing his lecture, Dr. Andersson said that he wished to show what appeared to be evidence of the existence of the Highway in about 50,000 B.C., and displayed a map of the sites at which the eggs of a particular species of gigantic extinct ostrich had been discovered. Four such sites were known all lying on the Highway.

Mr. Clauson spoke: I do not think I need waste the time of the Societies by emphasizing the interest of Dr. Andersson's
discoveries, but I think there are some features of their importance to which we might call attention. To the world at large the most important thing is that Dr. Andersson has broken the spell which hitherto has made it impossible to conduct archaeological exploration in China. It is well known that, as the Chinese philosopher Kai Lung once said, the difference between the Middle Kingdom and the outer barbarian countries is that whereas in the outer barbarian countries dragons indubitably do not exist, in China they do; and there is a particular breed of generally friendly but potentially malevolent earth dragons which objects to archaeological exploration and prevents the peasants from excavating the earth. But Dr. Andersson has exorcized the earth dragons, and will perhaps pass on the secret of how he has done it to other professors. To us in the Royal Asiatic Society the interest in his work is that he has at last given us some link between archaeology and history. There is a very extensive Chinese history of interchanges with these Western countries in the earlier periods, particularly from the Christian era onwards, but we have had nothing to pin it to the ground. We have got, of course, a certain amount of collateral evidence, probably many of us are familiar with the works of de Saussure, who I think has proved conclusively that Chinese astronomy is closely connected with or derived from Iranian or Babylonian astronomy. When we talk of migration I think we have got to remember there are four kinds of migration on these routes. In the first case you may get a material object handed from one hand to another. Then there is the wandering artist who starts from one place and goes elsewhere. Then you get a style migrating, people of various countries getting a style from another area; and finally you get a whole people pulling up their sticks and moving across the country. These four imply different conditions. When an object or an artist moves, that implies roads and a settled country. When a certain style is copied there is probably not a road. The people
are in contact with their neighbours; but you do not copy something yourself when you can get the object itself in any desired quantity. When a whole people move about it indicates that there is very little population in the area, because if many people lived there they would not be allowed to go through. Dr. Andersson has covered such an enormous area and time that it is very difficult to say much about it. Going backwards I think we should agree that the Hsi-hsia inscription has nothing to do with the animal style. Most people would ask "Why don't you read it and find it out?" It is a sore subject, not very much is known of Hsi-hsia. Then we go back to the Babas. Dr. Andersson said they are almost certainly connected with the Turks and I entirely agree: after all, they followed the route which the Turks followed, and "Baba" is a Turkish word meaning "father". Or it may have been balbal "a funerary monument". They no doubt must have moved from east to west. When we come to the Eurasian animal style, of course that presents a rather more difficult problem: it may have moved from east to west, west to east, or started in the middle and gone both ways. I should be very sorry to dogmatize myself—and I think anybody would be. It was not a Chinese style and must have started from somewhere other than the east end. I think it may very well have been connected with the Scythians, because the Iranians are the only people that we know of that ever moved from west to east in early periods: you get the Sogdians who started from Samarkand, and settled on the Chinese wall in the middle of the second century. I think that, perhaps, taking the animals and the astronomy together, there is something to be said for an eastern move. When we get back to the painted pottery I think none of us can say anything at present. It is far too early to dogmatize at all. All we can say is that there is a connexion, but what that connexion is I do not think we can say.
12th March

Professor Langdon, Vice-President, in the chair.

The following were elected members of the Society:—

Mr. Paul R. Carr.  Mr. H. Khan Mohammad.
Mr. Himanshu Chandra  Mr. Peter Noble Scott.
Chaudhury, M.A.  Mr. S. S. Ramaswami.
Miss Edith E. Clements,  Mr. S. Vadivelu.
L.R.A.M.  Mr. Hari Pal Varshni, M.A.,
Mr. Chaudhri Abdul Ghani,  LL.B.
B.A.  Mr. Ram Rakhle Mal
Mr. M. N. Hāshmi.  Malhottra, B.A., LL.B.

Six names were laid before the meeting for nomination.

Dr. R. Campbell Thompson and Mr. R. W. Hutchinson lectured on their excavations on behalf of the British Museum at Nineveh in the winter of 1927–8. These excavations, financed by the British Museum, Merton College, Oxford, the Percy Sladen Memorial Fund, and Dr. Thompson, were carried on for four months on the site of the Temple of Nabû, with the result that the clearing of the whole of the Temple on its eighth century platform of unburnt brick was completed. This temple was discovered during the British Museum excavations of 1903–5, conducted by Dr. L. W. King and Mr. Campbell Thompson, and then partly cleared. In Assyrian times it had been restored first in 788 B.C., the name of the original founder being now lost. In the seventh century its area was some 190 × 170 × 190 × 150 feet, and it consisted of a large inner courtyard of earth, doubtless partly used by the priests for their vegetable garden, and an outer rectangular platform of libn or unburnt brick, on which had been set the main buildings. These, however, being built also of walls of unburnt brick, had vanished under stress of weather and the destruction of Nineveh in 612, but there were still left (1) the remains of a good limestone pavement of Sargon (722–705 B.C.), almost every slab containing the whole or part of his inscription recording his restoration of the Temple, praying for long life, the welfare of his seed, the destruction of his
enemies, and the prosperity of the crops; (2) a well ninety feet deep and a latrine in the central court both also containing Sargon's bricks; (3) a magnificent pavement some $200 \times 15$ feet along the front of the Temple, restored with inscribed slabs of Ashurbanipal, which were so numerous here and elsewhere that they must have originally numbered about 400; (4) the remains of four gateways, that on the north-east having a massive slab as threshold, also inscribed with Sargon's inscription.

Beneath the long pavement was found a new prism of Ashurbanipal in pieces, but nearly complete when put together, the text being an account of his various buildings, some of the matter old, but some new. From here, too, came a large piece of sculpture of Sennacherib's campaign in the marshes. Unfortunately only a limited number of cuneiform tablets was discovered, so that the Library (which is well known to have existed) must have been long ago cleared out from the Temple.

In another part of the site of Nineveh a * sondage* resulted in the discovery of a house built by Sennacherib for his son, and about four score pieces of historical prisms, and above all a magnificent prism of Esarhaddon, perfect except where the pick struck it.

During this last week the excavators had the good fortune to come on the outer chambers of a palace of Ashurnasirpal (ninth century B.C.), the oldest known palace-site in Kouyunjik, with bricks of this king and his son Shalmaneser in place. In it was a large slab with an inscription of Tukulti-Ninurta, the father of Ashurnasirpal, and better still a beautifully written piece of tablet (in minute characters, almost fourteen lines to the inch) giving in semi-poetic style the history of Ashur-uballiṭ and Tukulti-Ninurta I and their troubles with the Kassites.

It is this palace, practically virgin, which Dr. Thompson and Mr. Hutchinson hope to excavate next autumn, but it may take more than one season's work, as it lies twenty-six
feet below the level. It is hoped, however, that subscriptions may augment the sums in hand sufficiently to allow of adequate exploration of this site which may contain material of great value, either in sculpture or cuneiform tablets. The lecturers have just brought out an illustrated book, *A Century of Exploration at Nineveh*, published by Luzac and Co., 7s. 6d. n., describing the explorations made there from the time of Rich to the present day. It may be added that half of the edition is on sale at the British Museum, and the whole of the proceeds of all copies retailed actually at the Museum go to swell the funds of the Nineveh excavations.

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Will any member give or sell to the Society Bengal Past and Present, vol. ii, pt. i, pt. ii, 1908, complete with coloured plate to pt. i. Title pages to both vols. and the index, which were published in a supplement.
Exportation of Manuscripts from Persia

Libraries and private collectors of Persian and Arabic manuscripts may find this information useful. It is based on personal experience, and is concerned with the procedure of obtaining a licence for the exportation of MSS. from Persia, in accordance with the new rules.

Every MS., rare or common, valued at thousands of pounds, or worthless, is treated officially as an ‘atīqa, i.e. “antiquity” if its age exceeds fifty years.¹ The licence for the exportation of a modern MS. may be obtained without any duties from the local branches of the Educational department (idāra-i-Ma‘ārif) in every large town.²

The licence for the exportation of MSS. which are older than 50 years requires special application to the Central office of the Educational Department, to which the MSS. themselves must be submitted. They may be handed over to the local branch of the Ma‘ārif, or sent directly to the Central Office, if the purchaser does not want to go personally to Tehran.

A complete list, in quintuplicate, should accompany the MSS., showing the titles, names of the authors, subjects, dates of copies, prices, size, length, width, etc., and all should be sent to Tehran at the expense of the owner.

¹ See the circular letter of the Wazārat-i-Māliyya, No. 31057, dated Aban, 1304.
² Since the introduction of printing the most valuable MSS. only are copied by hand, and besides these, amongst the MSS. the age of which is less than 50 years, there are chiefly autographs of the modern Persian writers. Both usually command a fairly high price. It is exactly the MSS. of these classes which may be exported with ease. There are, however, a large number of very common school books on grammar, theology, logic, etc., which although being manuscript copies some two or three hundred years old, are valued lower than lithographed copies of the same works, and often are practically worthless. But these MSS. must be treated as ‘atīqa, and their exportation is complicated with the procedure described here.
In Tehran the procedure is as follows: The Central Office of the Ma'ārif, after having received the books, forwards them with a covering letter to the Finance Ministry (Wazāarat-i-Māliyya) in the department of Buyūtāt. The latter submits the books and the list to the Idāra-i-Khazāna, which also has the charge of the property of the Shah’s court. The books are examined with a view to find out whether or not any of them have been pilfered from the Court library, and, should that be so, they are confiscated. After this the books are returned to the Idāra-i-Buyūtāt, where they are stamped, signed, packed, sealed, and, with a covering letter, sent again to the Central Office of the Ma'ārif. This office examines the books finally, verifies the prices, fixes a proper value with the help of a special muqawwim, or estimator, and receives a payment from the owner constituting 20 per cent of the declared value. After this the books are again sealed, packed, etc., and with another covering letter dispatched to the Central Customs Office. Here, after an extremely lengthy and complex procedure, 10 more per cents on the value is taken, plus some obscure "extras" under the names of road-tax, storage, etc., constituting about 2 per cent. After this the parcel is sealed, this time with lead, and is then ready to be carried away by the owner.

Thus it costs 32 per cent on the original outlay of the MSS. The time required to complete the procedure varies very much. If the owner will attend personally, this takes from two to three weeks. If the books are simply sent to the Office, the procedure may take several months.

I may add that it is practically useless to apply to the

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1 As I was assured in different institutions in Tehran, pilfering from all government libraries is going on briskly. Even the most optimistic Persian officials would not assert, indeed, that the frontier of Persia is perfectly proof against smuggling, or that thieves are necessarily fools who will bring their books for getting an exportation licence. Therefore the elaborate procedure of all these precautionary measures affects chiefly that class of MSS. which present little market value, but may be important later if saved from inevitable destruction.
provincial branches of the *Ma‘ārif*. They often are afraid to issue a licence for the "modern" MSS., although officially they can do so. The reason is that the Central Offices in Tehran often forget, or simply do not give themselves the trouble, to keep their provincial branches informed of their continual changes, and officials in remote corners do not know exactly what the present rules are. Another reason why they would always try to put off the responsibility is that they very often are completely helpless with the MSS. The changes in the educational system of Persia render the new generation almost entirely ignorant about Old Persian and especially Arabic literature. Besides, according to the rules, the offices of the *Ma‘ārif* must issue licences with the consent of the financial office, which deputes a representative, usually a man who knows little or nothing about books at all, but puts many obstacles in the way of his clients simply to show his energy.\(^1\)

All this shows how difficult it has become to do collecting on a large scale in Persia now, although there are thousands of valuable MSS. rapidly decaying due to neglect, used as waste paper for making cardboard, for bags in druggist shops, or for fixing the windows instead of glass.

W. IVANOW.

*Calcutta.*  
*January, 1929.*

\(^1\) In my case (Shiraz, October, 1928) the representative of the Finance office (a man called Khalwati) kept the director of the local *Ma‘ārif* and myself busy for more than a week, raising absurd objections, before he got courage to confess that he did not understand Arabic and never had anything to do with manuscripts. But he was not as bad as many others, and was regarded as an educated man.
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PART III.—JULY

Farah-nāma of Shaikhi

By Nicholas N. MartinoVitch

Turning over the sheets of some of my old books I found a very complicated question in the field of Ottoman poetry which I wish to discuss below.

The late Russian orientalist, V. D. Smirnov,1 in the second edition of his Turkish Chrestomathy,2 published a number of extracts from a Turkish (Ottoman) poem mathnawi entitled فرح تامه. In the preface he makes the following explanatory note concerning this poem 3 (the square brackets are mine):

“the extracts (pp. 433–437) are from فرح تامه, Budapest manuscript No. 24, dated 928/1522. And in the title of the codex we read هذا كتاب فرح تامه ابن خطيب and in the text the author, many times mentioning himself, names himself حطيب أوغلي (f. 13v., 120r., 210r.), ابن خطيب (f. 107v.); thus it is certain that this work, written in 829/1425 is by مهmanın ban شاليه بیجان (+ 1449), the author of the famous Turkish religious poem محمد. But neither in the European catalogues, nor in [the book of] Ḥajji Khalifa is there mentioned such a work with the name of Yāzīji


Oghli. The last [Hajji Khalifa] remarks quite vaguely that فرح نامه is a Turkish work in verses, belonging to Shaikh Zada, who wrote it in the reign of the Sultan Yildirim (H.Kh., iv, 412, No. 9007). The poem of Ibn Khatib is extremely interesting because of its archaic language and orthography, as well as because the religious-didactic thoughts of the author, which are contained in it, in the spirit and style of the Mawlawi works, like, for instance, غريب نامه of 'Ashiq, but, perhaps, with a little greater fanatical Moslem passion and enmity towards non-Moslems, especially Christians (for example, f. 128r., 209a–210)." In this statement of Professor Smirnov we have, unfortunately, five evident mistakes.

The editor says that the author calls himself either Ibn Khatib (Arabic) or Khatib Oghli (Turkish). These names are absolutely different from those of the author of the Turkish religious poem Muhammadiyya, whose names (or nicknames) were Ibn Katab (Arabic) or Yasiji Oghli (Turkish). It is well known (and it is even unnecessary to quote dictionaries) that khatib means "preacher, reader of prayers, priest, clergyman", and katab—"scribe, writer, copyist, clerk, secretary, civil officer." The seeming homophony of two words khatib and katab was the cause of this mistake.

Further the editor says that this work (the original text and not the copy) was written in 829/1425. But from the text published in the Chrestomathy ¹ we know that it was finished in the month Rabii' al-Akhir a.h. 829, i.e. February–March, 1426.

It seemed to the editor that the work, fragments of which he published, was by the author of the Muhammadiyya—Muhammad b. Salih Bijan. Muhammad b. Salah ad-Din Yasiji Oghli really was the author of Muhammadiyya, but the nickname of Bijan (the Lifeless) was that of his brother Ahmad. In the epilogue of his poem the poet says: "I had

a brother, named the Lifeless, who used to encourage me . . . " etc.¹

Moreover, the death of the above-mentioned Muḥammad took place not, as the editor thinks, in 1449, but in either 1451 or 1453.²

As to the Moslem fanaticism of the Mawlawis, and especially that of ʿĀshiq Pāshā, the author of Gharīb-nāma, it is easy to perceive that the dervishes Mawlawis, being non-orthodox Moslems and mystic pantheists, were well known for their tolerance; these ideas of tolerance we can find exactly in the Gharīb-nāma and even in a story published by V. D. Smirnov himself.³

Thus it is very evident that Yāzzījī Oghlī is not the author of the poem under discussion, and we have before us an open problem: whose is it?

There is a well-known Ottoman poem with the same title Farah-nāma which was written by a certain Shaikh Oghlī (Turkish) or Shaikh Zāda (Persian). A wonderful coincidence! Shaikh Oghlī is equivalent, by meaning, to the Arabic Ibn Khaṭīb, because shaikh means not only "old man, chief, superior of dervishes", but also, like khaṭīb, "preacher, priest, prior, abbot." But, to our regret, his Farah-nāma is not our poem for many reasons. Its contents are absolutely different. It was completed at the end of the month Rabīʿ al-Akhir (like our Farah-nāma) but of a.H. 789, i.e. A.D. May, 1387—thirty-nine years earlier. And, finally, its real title is Khurshīd-nāma.

An interesting dispute arose about its name. Hammer mentioned it under the name of Khurshīd-nāma on the basis of a manuscript which is preserved in the Berlin Library.⁴ Pertsch quoted it under the same name in his description

² Gibb, op. cit., p. 392.
³ Chrestomathy, pp. 418–21.
of this Berlin manuscript, and says also that its author is Shaikh Oglî or Jamâlî Zâda, that the Berlin copy was finished in 807, i.e. 1404 (even the copy is earlier than our poem), and that other copies of this work, which are in Munich (173), Paris (314, 315, 355), and Upsala (190), have the same title.

Among the Turkish historians 'Âshiq Chalabî (+ 1572) in his Tadhkira calls this work Farrukh-nâma, but Muṣṭafâ 'Âlî (+ 1599) in his Kunh al-Akhbâr and Hâjjî Khalîfa (+ 1657) in the Kashf az-Zunûn (see above the quotation of Smirnov) name it Faraḥ-nâma. Gibb in his History, speaking twice about this poem, agrees with the opinion of 'Âshiq for the following reason. Faraḥ-nâma would mean “The Book of Gladness”, and Farrukh-nâma “The Book of Farrukh” ; but the hero of this poem is Farrukh, and the heroine is Khurshid, whence another title of the poem is Khurshîd-nâma.

It is quite logical, but, unfortunately for the late famous English Turkologist, Professor J. Deny, in the Encyclopaedia of Islam showed clearly that the second title of Khurshîd-nâma is Faraḥ-nâma. By citing some passages he showed that the reading “farrukh” is impossible metrically (the metre of this poem is hazaj). Consequently this poem was entitled either Khurshîd-nâma “The Book of Khurshîd”, the heroine, or Faraḥ-nâma “The Book of Gladness” of Farrukh, the hero, because of his marriage, at the end of the poem, with his beloved Khurshîd.

Moreover, in the same article, J. Deny stated, this time together with Gibb, and contrary to the generally adopted opinion, that Jamâlî Shaikh Zâda, the writer of the epilogue of “Khusraw wa Shîrîn”, the unfinished poem of Shaikhî, and Shaikh Oglî (his other name also Jamâlî), the author

3 The Encyclopaedia of Islam, article “Sheikhzade”.
4 Gibb, op. cit., p. 428.
of Khurshid-nâma and the nephew of the said Shaikhî, are
two different individuals and must therefore be distinguished:
"Sheikhî who wrote under Murad II was still alive in 1421,
and it is difficult to believe that he could have for his continuer
a nephew born in 1340." The conclusion of Deny is perfectly
right from the chronological point of view. A few words
about this "continuer". J. Deny did not remark that the
name of this continuer Bâyazîd b. Muştafâ, mentioned in the
Paris manuscript, ¹ coincides with Bâyazîd b. Muştafâ, the
continuer, in the manuscript, which belongs to the collection
of Gibb ²; besides we have not these names amongst those
of Jamâli Shaikh Zâda, the author of Khurshid-nâma.

Now let us return to Smirnov's Fara'h-nâma and its author
Ibn Khatîb or Khaṭîb Oghlî. Any person with this name is
absolutely unknown among the Ottoman poets. But we have
already said that this name is equivalent to that of Shaikh
Oghlî or Shaikh Zâda. There are many Turkish authors
called Shaikh Zâda, but they cannot be identified with our
poet because of the age when they lived. Apparently one
exception is an author ³ who wrote in the time of Murad II
and a little later (circa 1446) than the date of our Fara'h-
nâma (1426). But he cannot have composed this poem,
for we know nothing about his poetical capacity. Some
scholars (Belletête) think that he was the author of the Arabic
original text of the famous prose work The Stories of the Forty
Vezirs, some others (Gibb, Fleischer, Behrnauer) take him
for the Turkish translator of this work.

Nevertheless, it seems to me, that we can identify Smirnov's
Khaṭîb Oghlî. Between 1420–30 the great Ottoman poet
Shaikhî began his celebrated poem "Khusraw wa Shîrîn".
We do not know the date of his death, but it cannot be later
than 1451, the year of the death of Murad II, for this Sultan
is mentioned as reigning in the epilogue of the poem, which
was written by the continuer, because the poem remained

¹ See the article "Sheikhî" of J. Deny in the Encyclopaedia of Islam.
² Gibb, op. cit., p. 304.
³ The Encyclopaedia of Islam, Sheikh-zâde the 2d.
unfinished, when Shaikhī died, as we have said above. Thus the time of our Faraḥ-nāma agrees with that of Shaikhī.

Moreover, his name also coincides quite well with Khatīb Oghlī. The Arabic ending ḗ, nisba, is not rarely used in the meaning as "son, descendant" (like Arabic ibn, Persian zāda, and Turkish oğlī). From several examples it will be enough to indicate the following: the Oriental historians add to Asad, son of Sāmān (the Samanid dynasty), the name Sāmānī; the world known Persian poet 'Omar, son of Khayyām, is called in Arabic Khayyāmī; and, especially, a Turkish historian of the beginning of the eighteenth century Muḥammad, son of Shaikh Ḥasan, was known under the nickname Shaikhī.

We have many other reasons to identify Shaikhī with the author of Faraḥ-nāma. He was a learned man; doctor; famous poet, author, besides "Khusraw wa Shūrin", of "Khar-nāma" and a diwan of small poems; one of the earliest introducers of mathawi poems into the Ottoman literature; a great Turkish mystic of the school of Jalāl ad-Dīn Rūmī and pupil of Ḥājjī Bairām. At the same time he was reproached by the later Turkish critics for the "vulgar" (i.e. simple, naïf) language of his works. And from the fragments published by Smirnov, and from his words in the preface to his Christomathy, we see that Faraḥ-nāma is one of the earliest Turkish mathnawis; full of mystical elements; composed in the type of the 'Āshiq’s Gharīb-nāma, the poem written under the evident influence of Jalāl ad-Dīn; and the language of Faraḥ-nāma must be named "vulgar" from the point of view of the Turkish lovers of the pretentious, artificial, high style.

Consequently, we have many reasons to suppose that Faraḥ-nāma is really the poem of Shaikhī.

4 Gibb and Deny, loc. cit.
Buddhist Logic before Diśnāga
(Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Tarka-śāstras)

By PROFESSOR GUISEPPE TUCCI

I

We must admit that very little is known about the first development of Indian logic and particularly about Buddhist logic before Diśnāga. If we take the best manuals of Indian logic now available, such as those by Suali, Vidyābhūṣāṇa, Keith, or the most comprehensive Histories of Indian philosophy like those of Dāsgupta and Rādhākrishna we shall easily recognize that the data contained therein are far from being satisfactory; more than that, they are also very often wrong. In fact, almost the only source from which their statements are derived is the book by Sugiura,\(^1\) who certainly had the merit of giving the first account of Indian logic as preserved in Chinese sources, but, being himself absolutely without knowledge of orthodox nyāya and of Sanscrit, is in his statements and in his translations very often misleading.\(^2\)

On the other hand, it is evident that a better knowledge of the logical schools before Diśnāga might settle many a vexed question, including those of the originality of Diśnāga himself, his indebtedness to previous masters, and the relation between his theory of the syllogism and that expounded in the Praśastapāda-bhāṣya.

Unfortunately the largest part of the texts on logic anterior to Diśnāga seems to be lost.

We have, it is true, two fragments preserved in Chinese; one is the so-called Upāya (?)-hṛdaya—not Upāya-kauśalya-

\(^1\) Hindu Logic as preserved in China and Japan, Philadelphia, 1900.

\(^2\) On the other hand, a great deal of information can be gathered from Ul’s book on the Vaibhāṣika philosophy. Cf. also his Studies on Indian Philosophy, 印度哲學研究, Tokyō. The classical book of Stecherbatsky, Erkenntnistheorie und Logik nach der Lehre der späteren Buddhisten, deals chiefly with Dharmakīrti’s thought.
hrdaya as suggested by Nanjio and accepted by Bagchi; the other is a fragmentary treatise in three chapters, attributed by some catalogues of the canon to Vasubandhu. By Nanjio, Ui and Bagchi it is called Tarka-śāstra. The first was translated by Ki Kya Ye; the second by Paramārtha. Although the statement of Takakusu that all the works translated by Paramārtha are anterior to A.D. 500 is too dogmatical, we are at any rate confronted here with a fairly ancient book.

So far as the first text is concerned, there are no grounds either for affirming or for denying its attribution to Nāgārjuna; but there is no doubt that it represents fairly ancient theories which are very nearly akin to those contained in the Caraka-samhitā.

These two treatises have been retranslated into Sanscrit by me and will shortly be published in the Baroda Sanscrit Series. As they are certainly the most ancient fragments of the Vivāda-śāstras that we possess, their bearing upon the problem of the relations between pure heuristic and later Nyāya doctrines is very great. But we should like to have other texts of indubitable authorship, in order to fix a terminus a quo and to ascertain which school must be credited with an original contribution to logical theories.

Fortunately, such texts have been preserved. We may divide them into three categories, (a) Chinese sources; (b) Tibetan sources; (c) Sanscrit sources.

The first category includes the translations of the following books:—(1) Yogācārya-bhūmi-śāstra, 瑜伽師地論, by Asaṅga. Of this monumental work we have also the Tibetan translation (Bstan ʰgyur, mdo dsi, foll. 1–332)—Cordier,

1 On Ki Kia Ye (fifth century A.D.) see Chavannes, *Cinq cent contes*, iii, n. 1, Démieville, *BEFEQ*, xxiv, 1924, pp. 65–6, n. 4. We know from the K’ui yüan shih kiao lu, 開元釋教錄, that before Ki Kia Ye another translation of this work had been made by Buddhahadra of the Eastern Tain. Cf. Bagchi, *Canon Bouddhique en Chine*, p. 346.

2 *BEFEQ*. 1904, p. 3.

3 See Ui’s *Studies in Indian Phil.*, vol. ii, p. 428.

(3) Mahāyānābhidharma-saṅgīti-sāstra, 大乘阿毘達摩集論. The theories expounded in this work differ very often from those contained in the two preceding texts. Its doctrines are explained in the commentary written upon it by Sthiramati ¹ and called (4) Mahāyānābhidharma-samyukta-saṅgīti-sāstra, 大乘阿毘達摩雜集論. Then we can collect a great deal of information from the commentaries written by K'uei Chi, the disciple of Yuan Chwang. I have used the Commentary on the Nyāya-praveśa, which has been partly translated by me in a previous study ² which may complete in some way the statements contained in the present paper. I am aware of the fact that K'uei Chi wrote also a commentary upon the Yogācāryabhūmi-sāstra, called 瑜伽師地論略纂, and another on the Abhidharma-samyukta-saṅgīti; ³ but I could not here in India get copies of these two texts. On the other hand, I have used the commentary of Shén T'ai, another disciple of Yuan Chwang, on the Nyāya-mukha. ⁴ The second category is represented by the Pramāṇa-samuccaya-vṛtti, by Diṇṇāga. ⁵ It contains, as we shall see, much precious information about the logical activity of the schools that preceded him.

¹ On Sthiramati see Péri in BEFO, 1911, 348 and 378.
² Notes on the Nyāya-praveśa in Bollettino della Scuola di Studi Orientali, 1928.
³ This is called 大乘阿毘達摩雜集論述記, usually quoted under the abridged form 對法論疏.
⁴ The Nyāya-mukha (not Nyāya-tarka-dvāra-sāstra; see JRAS, 1928, p. 7) has been translated into English by me and compared with the corresponding portions of the Pramāṇa-samuccaya. It will shortly be published in the Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus of Professor Walleser.
⁵ The Pramāṇa-samuccaya is preserved in Tibetan, together with two translations of the vṛtti of Diṇṇāga himself (Bstan 'gros rgyur, mdo, ce, Cordier, p. 434). I have used the copy of the University of Calcutta, which has been kindly put at my disposal by the authorities. This copy belongs to the Narthang edition.
In the third category we may include those quotations and allusions which can be found in Uddytakara's Nyāya-vārttika and Vācaspati Miśra's Nyāya-vārttika-tātparya-śīkā.

It is evident that the second and the third category can supply us only with fragments, while in the first we are confronted with complete texts or commentaries, which, through the intermediacy of Yuan Chwang, are likely to go back to a tradition of exegesis current in the Indian monasteries at the time of the travels of the great pilgrim. In any case, by combining all these references, we can attain a better knowledge of Indian logic before Diṅnāga than we have had up to the present. We shall begin by studying the Chinese translations which belong to the so-called Yogācāra school started by Asaṅga and developed by Vasubandhu. The teaching of this school, in its dogmatical structure, seems to be more related to the Sautrāntika doctrines than to the ontological theories expounded in the Laṅkāvatāra or in the Mahāyāna-śraddhotpāda.

The contents of the chapters that are of interest to us were made known by Sugiura, and after him by Vidyābhūṣaṇa, who based himself upon the resumé given by the Japanese scholar. But even this summary is far from correct or complete. Moreover, there is in the books referred to many a detail which has been passed unnoticed by the Japanese and Indian scholars. Even the attribution of the Yogācārya-bhūmi-śāstra to Maitreya is wrong, although it is generally accepted and repeated by Indologists. This fact is rather important because, accepting the attribution of the text to Maitreya, we should be compelled to admit ipso facto an earlier date for it; but there is no doubt that it is by Asaṅga and represents perhaps one of the last and most complete products of the wonderful activity of the great master.

In the exposition that follows we shall indicate by A the group Yogācārya-bhūmi-śāstra and Prakaraṇārya-vācā and by B the group Saṅgūti and Saṃyukta-saṅgūti.
The first classification that we meet is that concerning "speech", vākya, 論, smra.ba. There are seven heads, viz.:—

I. vākya in itself, 論體性, smra.ba.
II. The place where speech is made, the pariṣat, 論處所, smra.ba.žal.e'e.
III. The basis or the support of speech, 論所依, smra.bai.gži, vākya-mūla or vākyāśraya.
IV. Adornment of speech, 論莊嚴, smra.bai.rgyan, vākyālaṅkāra.
V. The defeat of a speech, i.e. in argument, 論堕負, smra.bai.c'ad.pas.gcod.pa., vākya-nīgraha.
VI. That which derives or comes forth from a speech, 論出離, smra.ba.las byun.ba., *vāda-saṃbhava.
VII. Those characteristics which are the causes of a speech being appreciated (by the hearers), 論所作法, smra.ba.gces.spres.la.dgos.pai.c'os.rnams.

We shall later discuss the third point, which has the main interest for us, and give here a mere summary of the various subdivisions of the other six items, as they have not the same bearing on the history of logical theories in India.

I. vākya. This can be of six kinds—

(a) Vākya in itself.

(b) Excellent words, that is words with which the world is pleased.

(c) Disputation-words, which are uttered when two men engaged in a discussion maintain quite different opinions about a particular object or a particular thesis. It is worthy of notice that, while B simply states that it consists in holding opposed views, A insists at length upon the various causes of the dispute. It asserts that these are to be found in the abhinivesa, "attachment," of the creatures belonging to the kāma-dhātu or in the criticism that human beings are inclined to express about the sinful deeds of body, mind and speech of others, or in the discussion of the various drṣṭis, e.g.
those of eternity or of uccheda, at a time when the disputants are not yet free from passion.

(d) Rebuke-words (apavāda-vākyā), 毀謗論 or (B) 毀論, ts'iṅ.ṇaṇ. pa. sṃra.ba. It includes unpleasant words or the teaching of false theories.

(e) Accordant speech, 順正論, mt'un. pa. sṃra.ba.: any speech which is in accordance with the dharma and aiming at producing a right knowledge in the mind of the hearers.

(f) Teaching, 敎導論, gdam. pa. sṃra.ba.

The first two items can be either good or bad, and therefore it is necessary to distinguish them according to circumstances; the next two are always bad and therefore must be avoided. The last two are always good and therefore must be practised.

II. Place where a speech is made—

(a) before a king;

(b) before a governor;

(c) in a great assembly;

(d) before sramaṇas who are well versed in the dharma;

(e) before Brahmans;

(f) before those who like to hear the dharma.

IV. Adornment of speech. Its fundamental aspects are five according to A, but six according to B.

A. I and II

(a) Perfect knowledge of one's own as well as of another's system, 善自他宗 bdag. daṅ. p'a. rol. gyi. lugs. šes. pa (sva-para-siddhānta-jñāna).

(b) Perfection of the phrase, 語句圓滿 ts'iṅ.sbyor. ba. p'un. ssum.ts'oṅs. pa. A phrase is perfect when it is possessed of five good characteristics. That is to say, it must be :—
(1) devoid of any rustic expression.
(2) easy.
(3) evident.
(4) coherent.
(5) having a good meaning.

(c) 無畏, mi. ajigs. pa., abhīrutra, fearlessness. Even if one finds himself among a pariṣat numerous or hostile, he must be sure of himself.

(d) 敦肅, brtan. pa, dhīratā, firmness.

(e) Speech possessed of those characteristics that will be esteemed and attractive, 應供, no. mi. bzung. pa. Adds: 辯才 = pratibhāna, when sentences flow uninterrupted.

At this point A gives a list of twenty-seven prāṇaṁsā- gunas, which are the ornaments, as it were, of an excellent speech:—
(1) high estimation by hearers;
(2) belief and acceptance by hearers;
(3) absence of fear;
(4) knowledge of the mistakes in the thesis of the adversaries;
(5) knowledge of the superiority of one’s own thesis;
(6) absence of abhinivesa;
(7) not to be partial towards one’s own system;
(8) not to renounce one’s own law and rules;
(9) to understand quickly what has been said by the adversaries;
(10) to grasp quickly what has been said by the adversaries;
(11) to explain quickly what has been said by the adversaries;
the power of captivating the assembly with gifts of speech;
(13) to be able to rejoice those who like hetu-vidyā;
(14) the power of expressing in the best way the meaning of the arguments;
(15) no trace of depression in the body, while discussing;
(16) no depression in mind while discussing;
(17) no stammering;
(18) to maintain always presence of mind (pratibhā);
(19) no bodily fatigue to be shown;
(20) memory always functioning;
(21) mind uninjured;
(22) no pain or impediment in the throat;
(23) expressiveness of the voice;
(24) restraint of one's own mind in order to prevent anger;
(25) to comply with the other's mind in order to avoid his wrath;
(26) to act in such a way that the adversary may be persuaded in his own mind;
(27) to be considered everywhere as a great ācārya.
V. Nigraha-sthānas. These can be of three fundamental kinds:
(a) vacana-sannyāsa, 拾言, brjod. pa.gton. pa;
(b) when the speaker perceives that his words have been refuted with success by the opponent and therefore tries to avoid further discussion, 言 屈, brjod. pa.dma'. dbab. pa., vacanābhibhava;
(c) erroneous speech, vacana-dōsa, 言 過, brjod. pai. nes. pa.
Vacana-sannyāsa consists in confessing one's own defeat and in acknowledging that the thesis of the adversary is right. According to group I it can be of thirteen kinds; e.g. my thesis is wrong, your thesis is right, etc.
Vacanābhibhava occurs when a speaker, realizing that his arguments are wrong, tries to avoid the discussion, saying that he has something else to do, or brings into the discussion
new arguments not connected with previous ones, or looks irritated, angry, conceited, or reveals some defect or fault in the adversary which the latter does not like to have disclosed, or looks offended or shows impatience or distrust, or has nothing to reply and therefore keeps silence, or looks abashed and trembling or bends his head or appears as if he were deprived of the faculty of thinking and speaking.

Vacana-doṣa can be of nine kinds—

(a) to speak at random;
(b) violent expressions, suggested by anger, etc.;
(c) obscurity of expression, when the speaker cannot be understood either by the assembly or by the adversary;
(d) lack of proportion, when the expression is either defective or excessive (ādhikya-nyūnatva);
(e) meaningless, 非義相應, don. dañ. ldan. pa. ma. yin. pa, vyarttha. It is of ten kinds:—

(1) anarthaka, 無義, dgos. pa. med;
(2) apārtha, 違義, don. pa. med. pa;
(3) yuktī-hāni, 損理, rigs. pa. las. iams. pa;
(4) sādhyā-sama, 崇所成等, bsgrub. par. bya. ba. dañ. ādra. ba;
(5) jāti, 招集過難, ltag. gc’od. pa;
(6) arthānupalabdhi, 不得義利, don. mi. dmigs. pa;
(7) asambaddha, 義無次序, don. dañ. mi. گبر. ba.;
(8) anisīcita, 義不決定, ma. ñes. pa;
(9) siddha-sādhyā, when the proof is itself to be proved, 成立已成, sgrub. pa. yañ. sgrub. par. bya. ba. yin. pa;
(10) a speech according to illogical or wrong doctrines, ts’ul. bzin. ma. yin. zin. ts’ag. pai. sūna. du. mi. ถos. pai. smra. ba. t’ams. cad. kyi. rjes. su. แมา. ba’o, 顺不称理諸邪惡.

Sthiramati knows only the first five of these nigraha-sthānas, and he considers the other five as mere explanations of them (1 < 6, 2 < 7, 3 < 8, 4 < 9, 5 < 10);

(f) aprāpta-kāla, when the various arguments are not brought forward in order;
(g) aniscita (or aniyata), when someone either attacks an argument that he has already established as his thesis or establishes as a thesis an argument that he has already attacked or suddenly changes his ideas;

(h) obscurity;

(i) lack of cohesion.

VI. That which derives or comes forth from a speech.

This is threefold, consisting of (a) guna-dosa-parikṣa, 觀察德失, yon . tan . dañ . ūnes . pa . brtag; (b) pariṣat-parikṣa, 衆會, ak'or . brtag . pa; (c) pāndityāpāndityapaṇkiṣā, 善不善, mk'as . mi . mk'as . brtag . pa.

The first consists in examining whether the discussion undertaken will be of some use or not to the speaker and to the hearers. If one knows that no good result is to be expected from the discussion, he must avoid it.

The second consists in ascertaining whether the pariṣat is impartial, learned, strictly honest. If this be not the case, the discussion must be avoided.

The third consists in examining whether one has the knowledge and the ability necessary to carry on the discussion satisfactorily. If an aspirant acknowledges that he is not possessed of the requisite and indispensable qualities, he must renounce the disputation.

VII. The characteristics which cause a speech to be appreciated by the hearers are (a) knowledge of one's own and opposing systems, (b) absence of fear, (c) promptitude of intelligence: (a) sva-para-mata-jñāna, 善自他宗, bdag . dañ . p'a . rol . gyi . gzhun . lug . ses . pa; (b) abhīrūtā, 無畏, mi . ajigs; (c) pratibhāna, 辯才, spobs . pa.

Now we shall study the section dedicated to the third item, that is, to the basis or support of a speech. In a discussion we can distinguish two elements, which are respectively called (a) the probandum, sādhya, 所成義, bsgrub . par . bya . bai . don, and (b) the proof, sādhana, 能成, sgrub . pa. The probandum is twofold, that is to say, we may prove either a subject (lit. an entity, svabhāva, 自性, io . bo . ūnīd) or an
attribute (lit. a quality, vișeṣa, 差別, bye.brag). In the first case I can affirm or deny the existence of something, that is, I can say that it is or is not. In the second I may affirm or deny that a given quality belongs or not to the subject. In this way according to the example given by Sthiramati a sādhya can be of either of the following types:—

(a) "the ātman is, is not."
(b) "the ātman is all-pervading" or "sound is non-eternal".

The proof, or sādhana, consists of eight terms, although the list and the definition of these vary remarkably in the various texts that represent our sources.

A.

(1) pratiṣṭhā, proposition, 立宗, dam.bca.ba.
(2) hetu, reason, 辯因, gtaṅ.ts'iṅs.
(3) drṣṭānta, example, 引喻, dper.brjod.pa.
(4) sādharmya, homogeneity, 同類, mt'un.pa.
(5) vaidharmya, heterogeneity, 異類, mi.mt'un.pa.
(6) pratyakṣa, direct perception, 現量, mñön.sum.pa.
(7) anumāna, inference, 比量, rjes.su.dpag.pa.
(8) āgama, authority, 至敘, yid.c'es.pai.lun.
(1) "Proposition," pratiṣṭhā.

B.

Id.
Id.
Id.
Application, 合
Conclusion, 結
Id.
Id.
Id.

A. Pratiṣṭhā consists in maintaining as one's own thesis a particular point of view concerning the twofold probandum already referred to. It is either based on the śāstra, or is the result of an independent intuition (pratibhā), or has been

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heard from somebody else. And it is designed either to maintain one’s particular point of view, or to show the mistake in another’s argument, or to subdue the other’s pride, etc.

B. Pratiññā is the argument that the vādin accepts of his own free will, as that which must be proved (*sādhyatvena svayam anujñāto ’rtah); and it must be expressed to others in such a way that they can understand. Sthiramati explains how the various elements of the definition are necessary; “that which must be proved,” because what is already proved is not a thesis; “accepts of his own free will,” because what is said by another is not a pratiññā; “to others,” in order to show that it takes place where there are a vādin and a prati-vādin; “expressed by words,” because what is expressed by mere signs (*ṅītā) of the body is not a pratiññā; “in such a way that they can understand it” because a proposition the meaning of which is not clear cannot be called a pratiññā.

(2) “Reason,” hetu.

A. Hetu is meant to prove the probandum, and it shows forth that logical reason which is derived from the “example”, “homogeneity,” “heterogeneity,” “direct perception,” “inference,” and “authority”.

B. When an object (artha) to be proved is not yet evident, the reason consists in the indication of those characteristics which will make it known, and which rest upon its perceptibility or non-perceptibility by direct perception and so on. Perceptibility and non-perceptibility concern either the essence (自體, svabhāva) or the form (相貌, nimitta).

(3) “Example,” *dr̥ṣṭānta.

A. This also is designed to prove the probandum; it consists in adducing those same dharmas which are inherent in a reason and which are accepted by common belief, general knowledge, etc.

B. It consists in expressing the relation between what is
seen (drṣṭa-anta) and what is not yet seen (未川, adṛṣṭa-anta).

(4) A. “Homogeneity,” that is similarity of characteristics (相貌, rtags, nimitta); similarity of essence (自體, no.Bo.śid, svabhāva); similarity of action (業, las, karma); similarity of attributes (法, c’os, dharma); similarity of cause and effect (因果, rgyu.dan.bras, kārya-kārana). It is worthy of notice that according to the Chinese translation the last four are subdivisions of the first item.

B. “Application” is a logical rule, rightly expressed, which adduces other facts belonging to the same class or genus in order to prove the attribute (of the subject).

(5) A. “Heterogeneity,” reciprocal diversity. It has four aspects, which are the opposites of those referred to under (4) (or five according to the Tibetan translation).

B. “Conclusion.” This consists in affirming that certitude has been reached.

Here Sthiramati gives the following example of a syllogism:—

Suppose that a Buddhist wants to maintain against an ātma-vādin that the ātman does not exist. He will argue in this way:—

(1) pratijñā: all dharmas are anātman.

(2) reason: because, if we assume (prajñapti) that the ātman is in the skandhas, we fall into a fourfold mistake.¹

¹ Four cases are possible:—(a) the ātman has the characteristics of the skandhas; (b) it is in the skandhas; (c) it is in another place; (d) it is assumed without any relation to the skandhas.

(a) As the skandhas are not autonomous, but dependent on causes and conditions and subject to birth and destruction, the same implication would be necessary as far as the ātman is concerned; but this is contradictory to the common definition of the ātman.

(b) As the skandhas which are the basis (所依, āśraya or ādhāra) are non-eternal, the ātman which rests upon them (能依, ādheya) must be non-eternal.

(c) In this case the ātman would be without cause and therefore without function (無用, niśkriya).

(d) In this case the ātman would be isolated and free; no need therefore to strive for its liberation.
(3) "Example," namely those which we make when we assume that in the present the past is still existent.

(4) "Application": as the ātman has been refuted, the other attributes also, such as eternity, etc., are to be declared non-existent.

(5) "Conclusion": therefore the five skandhas are anātman and non-eternal.

(6) "Direct perception."

A. This has three characteristics, that is:—

(a) it is evident, 非不現見, lhog.tu.ma.gyur.pa., a-parokṣa.

(b) devoid of imagination, 非思構所成; but Tib. mnon.par.brtags.zin.yin.pa.ma.yin.pa.dan (reading doubtful).brtags.par.byab.a.ya.m.a.yin.pai.mnon.sum.gyi.ts'ad.ma.=*parikalpi-ta-parikalpya-abhāva.

(c) devoid of error, 非錯亂所見, ma.qk'rule.p, a-bhrānta.

(a) It derives from the senses when they are uninjured, and it precedes manaskāra. It depends upon (a) production of homogeneous perception, 同類生, mt'un.pa.skyes.pa; (β) production of heterogeneous perception, 異類生, mi.mt'un.skyes.pa; but Tibetan, followed by Yogācāryabhūmi-śāstra, ya.n.dag.par.adas.pa.skyes.pa, samatikrānta-uptāda; (γ) proximity, 不極遠, t'ag.rin.pa.ma.yin.pa, an-ati-dūratā.

(a) When the indriyas belonging to the sphere of kāma (kāmāvacara) perceive (lit. are born in) objects belonging to the same sphere.

(β) When the senses belonging to a superior bhūmi perceive objects belonging to a superior bhūmi.

(γ) Obstructions which must be absent in order to have a direct perception are of four kinds, (i) obstruction which derives from covering, as through darkness or ignorance; (ii) obstruction which derives from being hidden, as through the force of some mantra, etc.; (iii) obstruction which derives

1 The same arguments must be repeated here mutatis mutandis.
from being overpowered, 映障所礙, zil.gyis.gnon.pa, abhibhava, as the small by the great, etc.; (iv) obstruction which derives from wilderment, moha, such as magic power, māyā, sleep, taimirika, etc.

(b) The second term also is twofold; first of all it includes the perception of objects which results as soon as these come in contact with us. So, e.g., when a doctor gives a medicine to a patient, through the colour, the smell, the taste, etc., he has a direct perception of the medicine. On the other hand, the virtues which are inherent in the medicine can only be imagined until the disease is over. They are no more imagined when one knows that the patient has recovered. The term refers also to the adhimukti or realization of a particular element, e.g. water, in another element, e.g. earth, in the process of meditation.

(c) abhrānta means absence of seven kinds of errors; these errors are the following:—

(a) saṃjñā-bhrānti, to think that an object is this when it is not this, atasmin tad eva; e.g. to take a mirage, marīci, for water.

(β) saṅkhya-bhrānti; e.g. to see the complex in the elementary, as happens to the taimirika, who sees two moons instead of one.

(γ) ākāra-bhrānti, to suppose that an object has a certain form when it has not; e.g. to see a wheel in a turning fire.

(δ) varṇa-bhrānti; as in the case of someone suffering from kamalā, 迥末黒, mig.ser.gyi.nad.

(e) karma-bhrānti, to attribute an action to something which in fact is not so acting; e.g. the appearance of movement in trees when one runs very fast.

(ζ) dṛṣṭi-bhrānti, to persist in the errors already referred to and to think that they correspond to reality.

(η) citta-bhrānti, to rejoice in these errors.

All these varieties of perception can be reduced to the four following:—

rūpendriya-pratyakṣa ;
manah-pratyakṣa;
loka-pratyakṣa, including in fact the two preceding;
suddha-pratyakṣa, which can be laukika, as well as lokottara.

B. Perception is the very thing, rightly perceived, devoid of error. "The very thing" and "rightly" are intended to express the right perception of the rūpa, etc., through the eyes and to indicate that a pot, etc., that, according to common belief, is the object of perception, is, in fact, not the object of perception, as it is only a conventional assumption. 假,"perceived," is meant to indicate that in the act of perception all the causes of obstruction must be absent; "devoid of error" excludes false and erroneous perceptions, as that of a marīci, etc.

(7) Anumāna.

A. It consists in the discrimination of an object through imagination. It is of five kinds (cf. above, p. 463, (4) A):
nimitta-anumāna; as to infer fire from smoke; it depends on the fact that the relation between the two was noted before.
sva-bhāva-anumāna; as to infer unperceived existence from a present perceived existence or from one part of an entity to deduce the unperceived part, e.g. to infer the past from the present or a car from a single portion of it, as a wheel.
karma-anumāna, from an action to infer the basis or the support of it; e.g., when we see an object from afar, if it is motionless, we infer that it is a tree; if it moves, we infer that it is a man.
dharma-anumāna; when we know that many dharmanas are inter-related, from the perception of some we infer the existence of the others. From birth we infer death, etc.
kārya-kāraṇa-anumāna, inference of notions which are related as cause and effect.

B. "Inference" is any conviction besides that derived from direct perception; as, when we have already seen an
object and now see only a part of it, we infer the other part.

(8) "Authority."

A. It includes the teachings of the wise or the doctrines that have been heard from them or are in accordance with them. It is of three kinds: (a) it is included in the holy words; or (b) it represents the opposite (pratipakṣa) of the passions; or (c) it is not contradictory to the characteristics of the law.

B. It is not contradictory to the other two pramāṇas.

At the end of this chapter A adds the following notes on the syllogism in general:—

If someone asks why we have to formulate the proposition when we want to establish the argument assumed by us, the reply is that this proposition is meant to show the argument that we wish to prove. The "reason" shows, on the other hand, that that logical and sure evidence which is based upon a manifest fact is not absent in the object to be proved. The "example" indicates that evident object in which this logical reason is seen to be present. The other five elements of a syllogism are meant to express contradiction and non-contradiction with the "reason" and the "example". This contradiction consists in two kinds of fallacies, aniścita, uncertain, 不決定, ma.ṇes.pa, and sādhyā-sama, identical with the probandum, 同 所 成, bsgrub.par.bya.ba.daṅ.qdra.ba. The aviruddha, on the other hand, is certain, niścita, aikāntika, 決 定, gcig.tu.ṇes.pa, and different from the sādhyā, 異 所 成, bsgrub.par.bya.bai.k'yad.pa.

III

These are the contents of the logical chapters of the Yogācāra works as preserved in Chinese and partly in Tibetan. It is quite evident that they have a mixed character; purely logical doctrines are inserted in dogmatical discussions, and generally the various topics
are treated in such a way as to testify that \textit{hetu-vidyā} did not yet fit quite well into the general scheme of the doctrine. Even those sections that deal with mere \textit{vivāda}-rules, e.g. those dedicated to the \textit{nigraha-sthānas}, have a far less systematic character than in the \textit{Caraka-samhitā} or in the \textit{Upāya-hṛdaya}; many of the items which come under that group have in fact very little to do with logic. The theory of the \textit{nigraha-sthānas} itself is not based on the classification of the possible wrong formulations of a syllogism. A comparison with the list of the \textit{nigraha-sthānas} given in the \textit{Nyāya-sūtras} and in the \textit{Caraka-samhitā} will prove useful in establishing the relation between the various texts.

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$^1$ The numbers in brackets show the serial order that the various \textit{Nigraha-sthānas} have in the actual list of the \textit{Caraka-samhitā}. 
It is quite evident that we are confronted in A with unsystematic and perhaps archaic theories of the nigraha-sthānas, the classification of which seems to have been suggested more by extrinsic reasons concerning the behaviour of the disputants than by analysis of the intrinsic errors of a speech. Moreover, we do not find any trace of technical terminology. An argument is considered as wrong chiefly because it does not convey any meaning. Therefore it receives the general designation of "vyartha", meaningless. The ten varieties of this can be reduced to five only, as rightly suggested by Sthiramati himself. But this list of five has nothing in common with the five hetv-ābhāsas of the Nyāya-sūtras, except the sādhya-sāma. The anarthaka, which happens when there is arthānapalabdehi, is the anarthanigraha-sthāna of the N.S. and Caraka. The apārthaka is the same as that of Caraka and N.S. Jāti is simply enunciated.

Let us pass now to the most interesting section and consider first of all the question of the pramāṇas. Nāgārjuna knows only four pramāṇas, pratyakṣa, anumāṇa, upamāna,
and āgama; these are referred to in the Upāya-hṛdaya and are refuted as self-contradictory in the Vīgraha-vyāvartani.¹

Asaṅga in his treatises reduces the means of knowledge to three only, pratyakṣa, anumāna and āgama,² and it is quite evident that in B even āgama is authoritative, according to him, only in so far as it is based on the first two pramānas. We must study these means of knowledge separately.

Pratyakṣa, according to A, must be aparokṣa,³ unmixed with imagination, nirvikalpa, and devoid of error, abhrānta, or avyabhicāri.⁴

The first two items of aparokṣa have some bearing upon the study of the dogmatics of Buddhist mysticism, but not so much upon the history of these doctrines, with which we are dealing here. The other two, avyavadhāna and anatidūratā, are more interesting to us, as they represent a classification of the various cases in which, owing to some hindrance, the direct perception of an object cannot be produced. The question of the parokṣa was discussed very early in Indian speculation. Patañjali and Caraka have already a list of the various āvaranaḥ; then the complete series of the eight impediments that obstruct perception can be found in Vasu(bandhu)’s commentary on the Śata-sāstra of Āryadeva ⁵ and they perfectly agree with the list given in the Saṅkhya treatises (Saṅkhya-kārikā, 7). The following scheme will show the analogies which our text presents with the other schools and at the same time its peculiarities.

¹ For the Upāya-hṛdaya and the Vīgraha I can refer to my forthcoming translation in the Baroda Sanscrit Series.
² Three pramānas can be found also in the Commentary of Sthiramati upon the Triṃśaṅka-kārikā of Vasubandhu, p. 26.
³ Or aparikṣita; this expression is, in fact, in the Caraka-saṃhitā, Sūtra-sthāna, xi, 8.
⁴ The two terms are almost synonymous, and the Chinese as well as the Tibetan can be translated in both ways.
⁵ For the list given in the Śata-sāstra see my translation of this text in Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni, 1925.

On the āvaranaḥ, according to Patañjali and Caraka, see Strauss, Mahābhāṣya ad Pāṇini, 4, 1, 3, in Aus Indiens Kultur, Festgabe Richard von Garbe, 1927, p. 84.
The next necessary quality of pratyakṣa is according to A abhrānta or avyabhicārī; that is, it must be devoid of error. These errors can be of five kinds; in fact, it is evident that the two other errors given by Asaṅga in the supplementary list of the seven bhrāntis, I mean citta-bhrānti and dṛṣṭi-bhrānti have more a dogmatical than a logical bearing and belong rather to inference than to direct perception. The samjnā-bhrānti, defined as consisting in believing atasmin tad, corresponds to the savyabhicārī, as understood by Vātsyāyana in commenting on N.S., I, 1, 4. It is rather interesting to note that the other varieties of bhrānti were accepted by Dharmakīrti, as we can infer from the examples given for each of them. Thus the saṅkhya-bhrānti (example, timira, as in Dharmak.) corresponds to the indriya-gata-vibhrama-kāraṇa of N.B.T.; the nimitta-bhrānti (example, alāta-cakra, as in N.B.T.; N.B. āśu-bhramaṇa) corresponds to the viṣaya-gata-vibhrama-kāraṇa; karma-bhrānti (example, a moving tree, as in N.B.T.; nau-yāna of the N.B.) corresponds to the bāhyāsraya-sthita-vibhrama-kāraṇa of the N.B.T.; varṇa-bhrānti (kamala) corresponds to the saṃkṣobha of the N.B., that is, to the adhyātma-gata-vibhrama-kāraṇa of the N.B.T. We must not discuss here whether Asaṅga was right in assuming that samjnā-bhrānti is a separate class; but we

\(^1\) In fact, it is clear that all the various bhrāntis consist in assuming atasmin tad.
must insist upon this analogy between Asaṅga and Dharmakīrti. We know that Diṅnāga does not add the attribute abhrānta to his definition of pratyakṣa and that in his Pramāṇa-
samucca-vṛtti he attacked the epithet avyabhicāri given by
the Naiyāyikas. On the other hand, Dharmakīrti defines
pratyakṣa not merely as kalpanāpoḍha, but as kalpanāpoḍham
abhrāntam. This addition is not an innovation introduced
by him, but due to his acceptance of the old theory of the
Sautrāntikas. This fact is not only proved by our texts, but
also is clearly pointed out by Mallivādin in his Tippani
(p. 19, Stecherbatsky ed.).

But Asaṅga adds another division of pratyakṣa in four
items, that is:—

(a) rūpendriya-pratyakṣa;
(b) manah-pr.;
(c) laukika-pr., which includes these two;
(d) śuddha-pr., pure, which can be either laukika or
lokkottara.

This classification of direct perception is also worthy of
notice, because it shows some points of contact with the
fourfold pratyakṣa which we find in Diṅnāga as well as in
Dharmakīrti. In fact, it is easy to recognize that the first
two items and the last correspond respectively to the
rūpendriya, manah, and yogi-pratyakṣa of the Pramāṇa-
samuccaya, Nyāya-mukha, Nyāya-bindu, etc. It is difficult
to see what the third item is meant to represent, but it seems
that it has nothing to do with the sva-samvedana-pratyakṣa,
which is very likely to have been an innovation due to
Diṅnāga and depending on his epistemological theories.

But, as it is evident from the texts, Asaṅga knew another
definition of direct perception, namely that which we find
in the Saṅgūti; here the pratyakṣa is the very thing rightly
perceived and devoid of error. The Chinese 自正明了
無迷亂義 presupposes an original like this,
svayam samyak-pratīto 'bhṛānto 'ṛthah. The com-
mentary by Sthiramati clearly indicates that this definition is meant to distinguish the exact perception from the fictitious; we cannot speak of having a perception of a pot. In fact, when we see a pot we cannot say that the knowledge that we have of the pot is direct perception, as this is confined to riśpa, etc., that is, to the dharmas from which it results. We find, therefore, here the same definition of direct perception which was formulated by Vasubandhu. In fact, we know from Uddyotakara that this master gave the following definition of pratyakṣa:—“tato’ṛthād vijñānam” (Nyāya-vārttika, Benares ed., p. 40). That in this and in many other places Uddyotakara quotes verbatim from the works of Vasubandhu, and chiefly from his Vāda-vidhi, is proved by the refutation that Diṇṇāga writes of that same definition, which he attributes to the Vāda-vidhi.

Pramāṇa-samuccaya, chap. i, fol. 3a:—

\[ \text{don.de.las.skyes.rnam.par.śes.} \]
\[ \text{mṇon.sum.yin.ṭes.bya.bai.} \]

P.S.Vṛtti,¹ a, fol. 16:—

\[ \text{don.de.las.skyes.pai.rnam.śes.} \]
\[ \text{mṇon.sum.yin.ṭes.bya.bai.ṭdir.} \]

P.S.V., b, fol. 79b:—

\[ \text{don.de.las.skyes.pai.rnam.par.śes.pa.mṇon.sum.yin.} \]
\[ \text{no.ṭes.bya.ba.ṭdir.} \]

It is important to see how one and the same author is trying to define perception in two different ways. The fact is that according to the Sūtras or even to the Abhidharma literature there is hardly any place for Pratyakṣa, as it is understood in the other schools. It was relatively easy for the Vaiśeṣika or the Nyāya, both being realistic systems, to formulate a theory of perception, but it was

¹ As I said before, we have two translations of the vṛtti of the Pramāṇa-samuccaya, which do not always agree and seem to be very often defective. This fact increases the difficulty of the text, which is one of the most abstruse.
not so easy to introduce this doctrine into a system which is chiefly based on the dharma theory and in which there was only question of particular moments of internal vijnānas, each corresponding to its analogous external āyatana or dhātu. The definition as given in the Saṅgīti and strictly related to that of Vasubandhu is more in accordance with the traditional dogmatics; the second is far more elaborate and it is of the highest interest, as we already find there the terms which will be accepted by Diṅnāga (kalpanāpodha) and by Dharmakīrti (abhrānta), showing therefore the first noticeable attempt towards the later and more organic development of Buddhist logic.

If we pass now to anumāna, or inference, we must point out that no explicit mention is to be found either in A or in B of the distinction between the svārthānumāna and the parārthānumāna, which is expounded in the Pramāṇa-samuccaya, but which was certainly anterior to Diṅnāga. In fact, the parārthānumāna was known to the Tarka-śāstras, as we shall see later on. But the distinction is implied in Asaṅga. Although, in accordance with traditional dialectics, the syllogism comes first in his works, anumāna, included in the list of the pramāṇas, represents the subjective means through which we can apprehend an object or a truth, quite independently of that verbal formulation which is inherent in a syllogism, and consists in the evident and valid conclusion that our mind can draw from some facts previously ascertained by direct experience.

To the two definitions contained in A and B we may add that of the Vāda-vidhi, referred to and criticized by Diṅnāga:

\[ \text{P.S., ii, fol. 9a:} \]
\[ \text{de.la.med.na.mi.ābyun.ba.} \]
\[ \text{raṅ.rig.rnam.pas.qdod.ce.na.} \]

\[ \text{P.S.V., chap. ii, a, fol. 34b:} \]
\[ \text{rtsod.pa.sgrub.pa.nas.ni.med.na.mi.ābyun.bai.} \]
\[ \text{don.mi'ön.ba.de.rig.pa.rjes.su.dpag.pa'o.} \]
P.S.V., b, chap. ii, fol. 116b:—

rtsod.sgrub.par.med\(^1\). na.mi. abyu\(h\). bai.don.mt'on. ba.de.rig.pa.mi.rjes.su.dpag.pa'o.

Now in this sentence we can easily recognize the definition of anumāṇa quoted and refuted by Uddyotakara in his Nyāya-vārttika, p. 54, apare tu bruvate nāntarīyakārtha-darśanam tad-vido 'numāṇam. It is therefore evident that here also we are confronted with another fragment from Vasubandhu; consequently the attribution of this definition to Diṇḍāga himself, as suggested by Randle, cannot be accepted. Anumāṇa presents the five fundamental aspects\(^2\) which we shall find in the homogeneous example; that is, we may have nimitta-anum., bhava-anum., karma-anum., dharma-anum., kārya-kāraṇa-anum. Only two items of this fivefold classification can be seen in the list of the Vaiśeṣika-Sūtras (kārya, kāraṇa, samyogī, virodhi, samavāyi, V.S. ix, ii, 1), while in Dharmakīrti we have, as is known, only anupalabdhi, svabhāva, and kārya. But, as we should expect, the section which is largely developed is that dealing with the syllogism. This is divided into two parts, a probandum, sādhyā, and a proof, sādhana. The proof is said to be eightfold; but the eight members are in fact reduced to five only, as the last three are nothing but the pramāṇas already referred to.

The first thing that we must point out is that the probandum is considered as separate from the syllogism itself; it is not the pratiṣñā or proposition. This probandum can be of two kinds, either an “essence” or a “quality”, svabhāva or viśeṣa. In the first case the mere existence or non-existence of the subject can be predicated; e.g. “the ātman is”, “the ātman is not.” In the second case the probandum is a particular predicate which must be proved as belonging or not belonging to the subject, e.g. “the ātman is all-pervading”, “the ātman is not all-pervading.” This notion of the sādhyā is

\(^1\) Xyl., byed.

\(^2\) Randle, Fragments from Diṇḍāga, p. 21.
common to both A and B; but, if we consider the five avayavas, which constitute the syllogism, the difference between the two groups of texts is greater. Pratijñā, hetu, drṣṭānta occur in both groups, although there is some difference as regards the various terms. But the last two terms are enunciated in a quite different way. While in B we find the same terms as in the Nyāya-sūtras, which occur also under another name in Praśastapāda, in A we have only "homogeneity" and "heterogeneity", which are nothing but two different aspects of the drṣṭānta itself, as K'uei Chi already recognized.

This fact is worthy of notice, because it shows that, while in the first instance Asaṅga followed the ancient scheme, as handed down in the various Tarka-śāstras, or Vivāda-śāstras, in his greater work he acknowledges that the last two members are superfluous, thus practically reducing the syllogism to three members only, as it is proved by the additional notes with which he concludes the section that we are studying. If we were to follow the explanation of Sthiramati, we should be compelled to admit that a three-membered syllogism is also expounded in the Saṅgīti. But I do not think that his interpretation is exact. Although the definition given by the Saṅgīti is not perfectly clear, it seems that upanaya consists for Asaṅga in referring to the subject the analogous facts ascertained by the example, in order to prove the attribute expounded in the proposition. Sthiramati lived long after Asaṅga, when Buddhist logic, chiefly through the speculations of the Tarka-śāstras of Vasubandhu and Dinnāga, had reached a well-developed and advanced stage. At that time the syllogism was generally considered to be composed of three terms only; so that, in order to bring the Saṅgīti into accordance with the new theories without altering the textual reading of the book, Sthiramati, who according to the Chinese sources was well versed in logic (BEFO. 1911, p. 379), tried to give the terms another meaning. In fact, the syllogism that he gives as an
instance is really composed of three members only. The other two are meant to express that other attributes, proved by the same reason, can be predicated of the subject. That the reason "because it is a product" can prove the non-eternity as well as the absence of ōtman is accepted by Diţnāga also and Dharmakīrti.

Therefore I am inclined to think that in the Saţgīti we have, in fact, the traditional type of syllogism of five members, which Sthiramati, in his commentary, endeavors to explain in accordance with the new theories. If it be so, A would represent the first text in which we find an attempt to decrease the members of the syllogism.

We can represent the theories held by Asaţga concerning the syllogism in the following way:

A.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sādhyā} & \quad \text{sound} & \quad \text{non-eternal} \\
\text{svabhāva} & \quad \text{viśeṣa} \\
\text{pratijñā} & \quad \text{" sound is non-eternal "} \\
\text{hetu} & \quad \text{" because it is a product "} \\
\text{dṛṣṭānta} & \quad \text{homogeneity, " as a pot "} \\
& \quad \text{heterogeneity, " as the ether "}
\end{align*}
\]

B.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sādhyā} & \quad \text{as before} \\
\text{pratijñā} & \quad \text{hetu} \\
\text{dṛṣṭānta} & \quad \text{upanaya} \\
\text{nigamana} & \quad \text{}
\end{align*}
\]

Be that as it may, the fact remains that we do not find in Asaţga any trace of the theory of the threefold aspect of a "reason", the trairūpya, which certainly represents the starting point of the new logic. At least we have no grounds either for affirming or denying that Asaţga must be credited with this innovation, which at any rate is very far from that perfection of elaboration which is the chief merit of Diţnāga's logic. At any rate, we know that some of the Turka-śāstras expounded a five-membered syllogism, while in the Chinese sources this reduction of the syllogism to three members

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is generally attributed to Vasubandhu, a statement that is supported by Vācaspāti Miśra himself.¹ For Vasubandhu the three avayavas are pratiṣṭhāna, hetu and drṣṭānta. We shall see subsequently his definition of the "reason". So far as the pratiṣṭhāna is concerned, we know from Uddyotakara that the definition proposed by the Vāda-vidhi was sādhyaḥbhidhānaṃ pratiṣṭhāna (N.V. 117). This definition might at the first glance appear similar to that given by the Naiyāyikas; but this is not the case, as the word sādhya has in the definition of the Vāda-vidhi a different and peculiar meaning; here, in fact, sādhya is understood as pākṣa-dharma, where pākṣa is the object to be proved in the course of the discussion. This can be gathered from the full definition quoted in the Pramāṇa-samuccaya-vṛtti, chap. iii, fol. 45b, rtsod.pa.sgrub. par.ni.begrub.byar.brjod.pa.tsam.dam.bca'.bar.āgyur.ba.ma.yin.gyi.ādi.ltar.p'yogs.begrub.bya.yin.no.p'yogs.de.ci.cig.rnam.par.dpyad.pai.āдоб.pai.don.te.P.S.V.b,127b: rtsod.pa.begrub.par.ni.begrubingga.brjod.pa.tsam.dam.bca'.ba.ma.yin.gyi.'on.Κya.Πyogs.kyi.c'os.begrub.bya'o.p'yogs.gain.yin.pa.rnam.par.dpyad.par.āдоб.pai.don.p'yogs.yin.te. This means that the definition sādhyaḥbhidhāna-mātram has not the same meaning as in the Nyāya-sūtras and therefore is not subject to the refutation that Dīnnaṇa made of the N.S. Sādhya is said to have here a technical sense. The original of the sentence, which is evidently composed of two fragments put together by Dīnnaṇa, in order to show how the Vāda-vidhi interpreted the definition, can easily be restored into Sanscrit: Vāda-vidhau sādhyaḥbhidhāna-mātram pratiṣṭhāna bhavati, api tu pākṣadharmaḥ sādhyaṃ pākṣo vicāraṇāyām īṣṭo 'ṛtho. The restoration is obvious, as the second part of the definition is also to be found in the Nyāya-vārttika (p. 106) in a place where Uddyotakara refutes the Buddhist theories concerning the pākṣa. In this way we have also identified

another of the manifold doctrines criticized by Uddyotakara in the course of his work without giving the name of their author.

No allusion, so far as I know, can be found in the Nyāya-
vārttika to the theory of the "example" expounded in the Vāda-vidhi; but, fortunately, the definition of the drṣṭānta given in that book has been preserved by Diṅnāga; and from this it appears that according to Vasubandhu the example is the expression of the relation between the reason and the sādhya. P.S.V. a, chap. iv, fol. 70b: rtsod. pa. sgrub. pa. nas. de. dag. gi. aḥrel. ba. ņes. par. ston. pa. ni. dpe. ste. P.S.V. b, fol. 154a: rtsod. pa. sgrub. par. ni. de. dag. aḥrel. bar. bstan. pa. gaṅ. yin. pa. aṭi. brjod. pa. dpe. yin. te.

But what about the "reason"? Must the tri-lakṣaṇa theory of the hetu be really attributed to Diṅnāga or is it an innovation of Praśastapāda? Or are there proofs through which we can safely assume that it was anterior to both? Our sources show beyond any doubt that the tri-lakṣaṇa theory was known to the Buddhist schools before Diṅnāga.

First of all, we gather both from Kʻuei Chi and from Shên Tʻai¹ that the theory of the vi-pakṣa was known to the ancient masters, who held two different opinions about it, which were not accepted by Diṅnāga. Some thought that the vi-pakṣa is that which excludes the sa-pakṣa as well as the pakṣa; so in the syllogism "sound is non-eternal, because it is a product, like a pot" the vi-pakṣa "ether" excludes the contrary of the non-eternal as well as of the pot. On the other hand, other logicians said that the vi-pakṣa is everything except the non-eternal, while for Diṅnāga, as is known, vi-pakṣa is yatra pakṣo na vidyate. We find here the same terms and elements which are peculiar to the definition of the reason as given by Diṅnāga or in the versus memoriales quoted by Praśastapāda. Moreover, the actual

¹ Kʻuei Chi, chap. iii, Shên Tʻai, chap. ii. Even for the Tarka-kāstra preserved in Chinese (see above, pp. 452 sqq.) the third lakṣaṇa of the hetu is vi-pakṣa-vyāvṛtti.
definition of the hetu contained in the Vāda-vidhi and refuted by Diṅnāga confirms the Chinese sources. In fact, in that book the reason is said to consist in the enunciation of that dharma which is non-existent where there is no attribute analogous to the sādhyā.

P.S.V. a, chap. iii, fol. 57b: rtsod. pa. sgrub. pa. nas. de. mt’un. med. la. med. pa. yi. c’os. bstan. rtags. žes. pa.

P.S.V. b, fol. 138a: rtsod. pa. bsgrub. par. ni. de. lta. bui. med. na. mi. abyun. bai. c’os. ņe. bar. bstan. pa. ni. gtan. ts’igs. so.

Diṅnāga objects to the formal exactness of the definition; but it seems that even for Vasubandhu the pakṣa-dhrmatā, vi-pakṣe sattva, sa-pakṣe sattva were the three fundamental characteristics of the reason. And, as we shall see later on, we have another text almost certainly anterior to Diṅnāga in which the three laksāṇa-theory is clearly expounded.

We must now consider the various theories concerning logical errors. Asaṅga, in the concluding portion of A, reduces all the possible logical errors to the contradictory, which contains two sub-groups, inconclusive, aniścita or anaikāntika and sādhyā-sama. There is no trace of this theory in B, where allusion to logical mistakes can be found eventually in the section dedicated to the nigraha-sthānas.

On the other hand, the Vāda-vidhi knows the same list of the hetu-ābhāsas as is accepted by Diṅnāga, that is, asiddha, aniścita, and viruddha. The definition of these errors, if we are to follow the statement of the Pramāṇa-samuccaya, was not given in the Vāda-vidhi; but they were only enunciated and specified through a corresponding example.¹

Asiddha: "sound is non-eternal, because it is perceived by the eye."

Aniścita: "sound is eternal, because it is formless."

The viruddha can be of two kinds, (a) if a Vaiśeṣika maintains that sound is eternal because it can be perceived by the senses; (b) if a Sāṅkhyā says that the effect is pre-existent in the cause, because it is born. This means that according to the Vāda-vidhi, as is in fact proved by another passage of the Pramāṇa-samuccaya, the viruddha-hetvābhāsa is either pratijñā-viruddha or siddhānta-viruddha, a theory that is refuted by Diṇnāga in the Nyāya-mukha as well as in the Pramāṇa-samuccaya.

Thus, gathering and comparing the various fragments and quotations scattered in the sources still available, we can supply, in a certain way at least, the loss of the original texts and attain a better knowledge of logical theories accepted or formulated by Buddhist writers before Diṇnāga.

The first result of these investigations is that long before Diṇnāga logic, which as tarka or hetu-vidyā was blamed and condemned by the ancient schools, was accepted at least as a subsidiary science by the Buddhist doctors and developed
on independent lines. Great masters such as Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, and perhaps many others whose names are lost, perfected the ancient rules of discussion, kathā or vivāda. Asaṅga was, as far as we can guess, the first to introduce hetu-vidyā in his dogmatical works.

The growth of the great philosophical systems, the codification, so to say, of the sūtras, the blossoming of a large dogmatical literature, devoted to commenting upon them, involved the sects in many discussions and struggles, through which not only were vivāda and its rules perfected, but mere heuristic began to leave the place to logic and epistemology, an achievement for which Diṅnāga was mainly responsible.

Even for Vasubandhu logic was still a section of vāda; and, in fact, all the books written by him on this topic seem to have had the title vāda. According to Shen T’ai some of his works were:—

(1) 論 心, Lun hsin, Vāda-hṛdaya, a title which reminds us very much of the *Upāya-hṛdaya. The restoration as Vāda-kauṣāla, proposed by Vidyābhūṣaṇa, is untenable.

(2) 論 式, Lun shīh, which is the Rtsod. pa.sgrub. pa of the Tibetan sources and the Vāda-vidhi of Uddyotakara, the fragments of which we have collected in this paper.

(3) 論 軌, Lun kuei. This Vidyābhūṣaṇa restores arbitrarily as Vāda-mārga. In a previous paper I had no definite suggestion to advance. But now I think that more precision is possible: 式 shīh and 軌 kuei are synonyms in Chinese; therefore we have to suppose that even in the Sanscrit original two synonyms were used, vidhāna conveying the same meaning as vidhi, just as shīh is equivalent to kuei. The Sanscrit sources confirm this hypothesis; in fact, a Vāda-vidhāna-ṭikā is quoted in the Nyāya-vārttika, p. 117, yad api Vāda-vidhāna-ṭikāyām sādhayatī sābdasya svayam parena ca tulyatvāt svayam iti viṣeṣaṇām sādhayatī ti kilāyam sābdah prayojye prayoktari ca tulya-rūpo bhavatīti. . . . We

1 See my Notes on the fragments from Diṅnāga, JRAS. 1928, 379–90.
find here expressed the same theory as already met with in that passage of the Samyukta-saṅgīti in which Sthiramati, who, as is known, was a follower of Vasubhandhu, is commenting upon the definition of the pratijñā contained in the Saṅgīti. Therefore I think that we can safely restore the Chinese 論 軌 as Vāda-vidhāna.

Another conclusion that seems to follow from the material collected is that the question of a mutual borrowing between Diṅnāga and Prasāṭapāda must be dropped. The fact that the theory of the three lakṣanās of a reason was known before Diṅnāga rather implies that each master took it, although perhaps developing and formulating it in a better and more organic way, from some other, previous, school of Vāda-sāstra which, in this respect at least, held different views from those expounded in the Nyāya-sūtras. That this is really the case is proved by the fact that we have another text anterior to Diṅnāga in which the tri-lakṣaṇa theory is clearly enunciated. This text is the Tarka-sāstra,¹ which, if we are to judge from the Chinese sources, enjoyed a very great authority not only in India, but also in Central Asia and in China. Dharmagupta studied that book while residing in Kuchā. Paramārtha translated it into Chinese and commented upon it.² We do not know its author; but it is evident that the present redaction of the text, as it has been handed down to us, was written by some Buddhist. Now in the second section of this book, dedicated to the jātis, under the item sādharmya-khaṇḍana or sādharmya-śama, we read the following sentence:

我立因三種相是根本法同類所攝異類相離，which translated into Sanscrit runs thus:—asmābhīṣ tri-laksāṇo hetuḥ pratiṣṭhapitāḥ; tad yathā pakṣa-dharmah sapakṣa-sattvam vipakṣa-vyāvṛttiḥ. References to the same doctrine can be found in other passages of the same book.

¹ On the 如 實 論 see Ul’s Studies in Indian Philosophy, vol. i, 222.
² The commentary written by Paramārtha was called 如 實 論 疏. Cf. BEFEO. 1911, p. 351, n. It is lost.
Although the text contains a list of nigraha-sthānas which is almost identical with that in the Nyāya-sūtras, it presents also some very precise similarities to views accepted by Vasubandhu. We know from Diṅnāga that the theory of the jātis, as expounded by Vasubandhu in his Vāda-vidhi, was different from that expounded by Aksāpāda. Vasubandhu divided all the possible cases of jātis into three groups, viparīta, abhūta, viruddha, and in each of these were comprehended various sub-groups, which have been quoted by Diṅnāga in the following way:—


P.S.V. a, fol. 95a: yan. dag. pa. ma. yin. pa. ni. t'al. ga. bar. agyur. ba. dañ. don. kyis. go. bar. mts'uñs. pa. la. sogs. pa'o.

95b: agal. ba. ni. ma. skyes. pa. dañ. rtag. par. mts'uñs. pa. la. sogs. pa'o.


Ibid.: ma. skyes. pa. dañ. rtag. pa. mts'uñs. pa. la. sogs. pa. agal. ba. yin. pa.

1 Left out in the xyl.
The text, especially in the passage concerning the *viparīta*, does not seem to be quite correct; but with the help of the commentary of Diśnāga we can make a list of the *jātis* accepted by Vāsubandhu which is analogous to that found in the fragment of the *Tarka-śāstra* preserved in Chinese, as is proved by the following scheme:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vāda-vidhi</th>
<th>Tarka-śāstra</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Viparīta</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sādharmya-sama</td>
<td>1 id.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vaidharmya-sama</td>
<td>2 id.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vikalpa-sama</td>
<td>3 id.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avīśeṣa-sama</td>
<td>4 id.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahetu (?)-sama</td>
<td>5 id.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prāṇy-aprāṇy-sama</td>
<td>6 id.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>upalabdhi-sama</td>
<td>7 id.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>samśaya-sama</td>
<td>7 id.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avarnya-sama</td>
<td>7 id.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kārya-sama</td>
<td>7 id.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Abhūta</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prasaṅga</td>
<td>id.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>artha-patti, etc.</td>
<td>id., plus: <em>pratidṛṣṭānta</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Viruddha</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anupatti-sama</td>
<td>id.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nitya</td>
<td>id., plus: <em>svārtha-viruddha</em>.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As I have said before, we do not know anything about the author of this book, or its age; but we may presume that it was anterior to Diśnāga. It may be also that this *Tarka-śāstra*, or a redaction of it, was existent already in the time of Vātsyāyana. There is in *Nyāya-sūtras*, ii, 2.3, an allusion to some logicians who denied any validity to *arthāpatti*, as being inconclusive. Vātsyāyana, commenting upon this *sūtra*, writes, *asatsu meheṣu vrṣṭir na bhavatīti satsu bhavatīty etad arthād āpadyate, satve api caikadā na bhavati seyam arthāpattī apramāṇam iti.* Now we have in the second
section of the Tarka-sāstra referred to the following passage:—

可顯物者, 有二種有義至有非義至。義至者若 有雨 必有雲。若 有雲 則不定 或有雨 或 無雨, which can be translated into Sanscrit thus:—
yad abhiyaktam devi-vidham, arthapattir anarthapattiś ca. yadi vrṣṭir bhavati tādā meghenāpi bhavitavyam, mehe saty api tu kadācid vrṣṭir bhavati, kadācin na bhavatity anaikāntikatā.

The correspondence is almost perfect; so we should be inclined to think that Vātsyāyana and even the final reductor of the Nyāya-sūtras knew, if not this same text, then another of those Tarka-sāstras which seem to have existed long before Diinnāga and in which the criticism of arthapatti was already formulated. That we can speak of Tarka-sāstras and not of a single Tarka-sāstra is proved by two references to them which can be found in the Pramāṇa-samuccaya-vrtti. In both cases Diinnāga uses the plural; moreover, the second fragment clearly shows a doctrine of the syllogism quite different from that contained in the text translated into Chinese. The first quotation is to be found at the beginning of the third chapter dedicated to the parārthānumāna:—


P.S.V. b, 126b: hoṅ.te.rtog.gei.bstan.bcos.rnams.su.gžan.gyi.don.rjes.su.dpag.pa.la.rjes.su.dpag.par.bya.ba.ston.pa.dam.bca.ba.bkod.pa.gau.yin.pa, which perhaps corresponds to an original like this:—yady anumeyābhidhānam pratiṣṭhāvacanam iti Tarka-sāstresu parārthānumānam. The other quotation occurs just at the beginning of the fourth chapter, in which Diinnāga expounds his doctrine of the “example”:—

These two translations do not perfectly agree, but their meaning is clear. According to the Tarka-sūtras the indissoluble connection between the major and the middle term in the syllogism is expressed by the pakṣa-dharma, and therefore the "example" is not necessary, that is, the middle term as residing in the subject of the inference is sufficient to prove the probandum. The theory, which we find elsewhere in the later development of Indian logic, is not accepted by Diṇnāga, who thought the example absolutely necessary to express the other two lakṣaṇas of the "reason". The same theory is also referred to and criticized by the Jaina Nyāyāvatāra, which calls it the theory of the antar-vyāpti. It was certainly not accepted by Vasubandhu, as Vidyābhūṣāṇa thought, but it was at any rate anterior to Diṇnāga, as is sufficiently proved by the above reference, which shows how far logical speculations must have advanced even before the advent of the great Buddhist thinker. This very important development of logical schools in the period between Asaṅga and Diṇnāga, of which we have unfortunately some fragments only, must change our ideas of the authorship of the various theories which we find in the texts handed down to us, and also of the relation between the various authors. We must

1 Nyāyāvatāra 20: antar-vyāptyaiva sādhyasya siddher bahirudārtib | vyarthā syāt tad a-sad-bhāve 'py evam nyāya-vido vidothat is, a syllogism like this, "on the hill there is fire, because there is smoke," is perfectly valid, as there is an inner indissoluble connection between the major and the middle term and therefore the example "as in the kitchen" (bahir-vyāpti) is not necessary. This theory cannot be attributed to Vasubandhu, as suggested by Vidyābhūṣāṇa, History of Indian Logic, p. 268, n. (and in his edition of the Nyāyāvatāra, Calcutta, 1909, p. 17). That Vasubandhu formulated the syllogism in three members is proved by what we already said and by the clear statements of K'uei Chi and Vācaspati Miśra.
acknowledge that perhaps the treatises which still remain are but a small part of all which was written regarding this subject by some generations of thinkers. The similarity that we can find between this and that author does not imply a mutual borrowing, but can be quite well explained as due to the fact that either writer was following some previous authoritative text or original.
Meccan Musical Instruments

BY HENRY GEORGE FARMER, Ph.D.

(PLATES VII–VIII)

Among the most interesting exhibits at the Rijks Ethnographisch Museum at Leyden are the Meccan musical instruments presented by the well-known Arabist and traveller, Professor Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje. They are displayed, in a special case containing other Meccan objects, in the bureau of the Director, Dr. H. H. Juynboll. These instruments, Dr. Snouck Hurgronje informs me, were not collected by himself personally, but by a Jidda friend who, unfortunately, omitted to supply the requisite data for scientific registering. Even their names are denied us. Yet with the help of the donor, both by conversations and correspondence, and the courtesy of the Director of the Museum, the present writer is able to submit an account of these instruments, which comprise a lute, two viols, three rustic reed-pipes, an oboe, a flute, and a tambourine.

Even Dr. Snouck Hurgronje has not been able to furnish me with many precise details concerning instrumental music among the Meccans, for the simple reason that during his sojourn in the Holy City (1884–5) as a student of the sacred law, he was, naturally, obliged to keep aloof from anything like musical entertainments,¹ for, as Burton says, whilst music may not actually be sinful (haram) to a Muslim, it is certainly religiously unpraiseworthy (makrūh).² There are, however, many references to music and musical

¹ Ali Bey, who made the pilgrimage to Mecca at the beginning of the nineteenth century, said: "I never once heard the sound of a musical instrument or song during the whole of my stay that was executed by a man; but my ears were struck once or twice by the songs of some women" (Travels of Ali Bey, ii, 103).

² Burton, Arabian Nights (Lady Burton's edit.), vi, 59. For music in relation to Islam, see my History of Arabian Music, chap. ii.
instruments in Dr. Snouck Hurgronje’s *Mekka* (La Haye, 1888–9, 2 vols. and atlas).

We must bear in mind at the outset that the population of Mecca has long been cosmopolitan, especially since the ‘Uthmânî Turkish conquest in 1517, and this fact helps us to appreciate the following statement made by Dr. Snouck Hurgronje to the present writer: “There is no special Meccan tradition in music or musical instruments. They are imported into Mecca chiefly from Egypt (+ Syria) and Al-Yaman, and the instruments keep their names from their country of origin.”

Yet, in the early days of Islâm, Mecca was one of the centres of Arabian musical culture, and many of the celebrated virtuosi mentioned in the *Kitâb al-aghânî* belonged to the Holy City, and among them Ibn Misjaḥ, Ibn Muḥriz, Ibn Surajj, and Yaḥyâ al-Makkî, the first being the systematizer of the Arabian musical theory and practice of classical times, and the last being the author of a *Kitâb fi‘l-aghânî* which was used by Abû‘l-Faraj al-Iṣfahânî in compiling his own work.


*History.*—The Meccan lute is called the qabûs. According to the Turkish writer, Evliyâ Çelebi (d. c. 1679), the qapûz was “invented” by a vezîr of Sultan Muḥammad II (d. 1481). The instrument, however, is described by Ibn Ghaibî in his *Jâmi‘ al-alhân fi‘l-ilm al-mûsîqî*, written in 1418. The former writer refers to a three-stringed lute, whilst the latter deals with a five- (double) stringed instrument, which he terms the qûpûz rûmî (“Byzantine qûpûz”).

1. Since the Wahhâbî conquest, music has probably been proscribed.
2. *Al-Âghânî*, iii, 84.
Of course the Arabs knew of the lute under the name of \textit{mizhar} in pre-Islamic times. It was, apparently, a skin-bellied instrument, and it was used until the close of the sixth century, when the lute proper, a wooden-bellied instrument, called the ‘\textit{ūd} (= “wood”), was introduced into Mecca from Al-Ḥira. Later, the Persian lute (‘\textit{ūd fārisī}) was adopted by the Arabs. When the \textit{qabūs} was introduced we have no information. Al-Muṭṭarrizī (d. 1213) and Al-Fayūmī (d. 1333) speak of an instrument called the \textit{mi’zaf}, which they describe as “a sort of a \textit{ṭunbūr} made by the people of Al-Yaman”, which, says the author (d. 1790) of the \textit{Tāj al-‘arūs}, is the instrument “now called the \textit{qabūs}”. The instrument may therefore be traced to pre-Islamic times, and after.

The word \textit{qabūs} (\textit{qabbūs in ‘Uman, and qanbūs in Ḥaḍramaut) would appear to be Turkish. Landberg, however, suggests an Arabic root in \textit{قَبْص} (“to pinch”, “to take with the finger-tips”), and equates \textit{قَبْص} (\textit{mūs}) with \textit{قَبْص} (“to strike, play a musical instrument”). On the other hand, the persistence of such words as the ‘Uthmānli Turkish \textit{qūpūz}, the Uzbeg \textit{qūbūz}, \textit{qawwūz}, or \textit{qāwūz}, and the Kirghiz \textit{gūbūz}, is too constant to be ignored. Landberg himself admits, however, that it is not impossible for the instrument to have been introduced by the Turks, seeing that the Ghuzz (from 1104) and the Ayyūbids (1173–1228) held sway in Al-Yaman, whilst the ‘Uthmānli Turks have ruled from 1517 (1512) to 1916. The late Dr. J. P. N. Land

\footnotesize{1 ‘\textit{Iqd al-farīd} (Cairo edit., 1887–8), ii, 186.  
2 Al-Maṣ‘ūdī. \textit{Prairies d’or}, viii, 94.  
3 Al-Aḥgānī, i, 98.  
4 Lane, \textit{Lexicon}, s.v. \textit{قَبْص}.  
6 Lane, \textit{Lexicon}, loc. cit.  
8 Fitrat, \textit{Tashkent, 1927}, p. 43.  
9 Landberg, 30–1.}
argued for the Turkish origin of the word, which is also the opinion of Dr. Snouck Hurgronje.¹

The Exhibit.—Total length, 100 cm. Greatest depth, 11 cm. Greatest width, 25 cm. The instrument is made of wood, with the exception of the lower portion of the belly (waţh),² which is covered with skin to the extent of 33 cm. The face of the neck (‘unq, raqaba) is flat, and runs flush with the belly, there being neither fingerboard or frets (dasăţin). Strictly speaking, one can scarcely refer to a neck in this particular case, seeing that the entire instrument, from the nut (ans) downwards, constitutes the sound-chest (kûsa, qas’a), the whole being made in one graduated piece, hollow throughout. Indeed, the three chief sound-holes (a’yûn, šamsiyyût) are in the face of the neck, the minor sound-holes being at the back. The instrument is beautifully made, being exquisitely carved and decorated in colours.

Unlike the classical lute (‘ud),³ the qabûs has no musht or bridge-tail-piece. It is mounted with a separate bridge (hâmila, faras), as well as a separate tail-pin (sabaîba) to which the strings (auţâr) are fastened. There are six tuning-peggs (malâwî, ‘âsâfîr), five large and one small, but we have no information concerning the grouping of the strings or the accordatura (taswiya). The qunbûs of Ḥâdramaut, which is practically identical with the Meccan exhibit in shape, possesses seven strings, one of metal and six of gut, the latter being tuned in pairs. In the Ḥâdramî instrument, the lowest string is of metal, and the accordatura is in fourths, like the ‘ud of classical days. Dr. Snouck Hurgronje mentions the Meccan qabûs being used by some pilgrims to Sittanâ

¹ Landberg, 114. Indeed, the name given to the musical instruments of the Nabataeans and Jarmacs by Ibn Khurdâdhbih (d. 912), might very well refer to qunbûzût (کنز وات = عبود = فنوزات)، as I have already hinted in my History of Arabian Music (p. 6). See also JRAS. 1928, 515.
² The classical names for the various parts of the lute after Al-Fârâbì are given, followed in some instances by the modern Egyptian terms after Villoteau.
³ Dr. Snouck Hurgronje informs me that the word ‘ud is not used by the Meccans, except in poetry.
Maimūna. It is described by him as a four-stringed instrument much like the kamānja. The Ḥaḍrami qanbūs is played with a plectrum (miḍrab, rīshat al-nasr) of quill, 15.5 cm. long.

**The Viols. 1973/26 and 27.**

*History.*—The earliest viol that we read of as used by the Arabs is the rabāb. Legend asserts that it was known to them before and during the time of the Prophet. We know of it definitely as a bowed instrument from the tenth century, when it is described by Al-Fārābī and the Ḥikwān al-Ṣafā'. In Arabic, rabāb was primarily a generic term for any bowed instrument, in the same way, perhaps, as kamān in Persian and qhizhak in Turkish, whatever specific types these names may have represented later.

Several distinct types of the viol may be recognized among the Arabs. In Al-Ḥijāz, both the flat-chested type and the long-necked globular-chested type, known in Egypt respectively as the rabāb al-shā'ir and kamānja 'ajūz, were in common use. The former has ever been a favourite with the badawī, as Ibn Ghaibī (d. 1435) tells us. In the sixteenth century, the rabāb was to be found even in the Meccan cafés. The kamānja 'ajūz type, such as we have

1 Mekka, ii, 54-5.
2 The Meccan qabūs exhibited is certainly not "much like" the kamānja 'ajūz of Lane (Mod. Egypt., chap. xviii), to which Dr. Snouck Hurgronje refers us. There is, however, a type of kamānja to which it could be likened. See Engel, Catalogue of the Musical Instruments in the South Kensington Museum, 210.
3 Evliyā' Chelebi, Travels, i, ii, 226, 234.
4 Kosegarten, Lib. Cant., 77.
5 Ḥikwān al-Ṣafā' (Bombay edit.), i, 91-2.
6 And the rabāb al-mughannī.
7 Villoteau, Description de l'Égypte, État moderne, i, 900, 916. Lane, Modern Egyptians (5th ed.), 356, 364.
9 Bodleian MS. cit., fol. 78v.
10 De Saecy, Chrest. arabe, i, 159 of text.
in one of the exhibits (No. 27), is fully described in the *Kanz al-tuhaf* (fourteenth century) under the name of *ghishak*, by Ibn Ghaibi under the names of *kamānja* and *ghishak*, each being a separate type, and by Ahmad Ughlu Shukrullah (fifteenth century), a Turkish writer, who calls it the *iqligh*.

Mecca probably took the name (√Pers. *kamāncha*, dim. of *kamān*), as well as the instrument, from Egypt, where we read of it as early as the thirteenth century. Egypt may have borrowed it during the Kurdish ascendancy of the Ayyūbids, as the instrument was considered almost a national instrument with the Kurds.

The Exhibits.—The first instrument (No. 26) is an unusual type and quite dissimilar from the *kamānja* of Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Persia, and Turkestan, and is probably indigenous. Total length, 78.5 cm. Diameter of sound-chest, 8 cm. Depth of sound-chest, 7.5 cm. Length of foot, 5.5 cm. The neck, called the *āmūd* in Egypt, which is cylindrical, and the tuning-peg box are made of one piece of plain wood. The foot is of iron, and is inserted into the lower end of the neck, passing through the sound-chest. The latter is a coco-nut (*jauz hindi*) shell, one-third of which is cut off. Over this cut portion a skin is stretched which serves as the belly, and is fastened to the shell by means of nails. The back of the sound-chest is perforated with innumerable sound-holes. There are four tuning-pegs, and the gut strings (which in the present exhibit are scarcely original) pass over a nut. The bridge exhibited is also not original.

This would appear to be the type of *kamānja* to which Dr. Snouck Hurgronje refers in his *Mekka*, since it is a four-

1 It actually corresponds in size with the *kamānja farkh* or *kamānja gūnahīyir* of Villoteau.
2 Brit. Mus. MS., Or. 2361, fol. 262.
3 MS. cit., 78–78v.
6 Berlin MS., We. 1233, fol. 47v.
7 Bowed instruments are not used in Ḥadramaut. Landberg, 25.
stringed instrument. We have no information concerning its *accordatura*, but the four-stringed *kamānja rūmī*, which is not unlike the European viol, is sometimes tuned—from the lowest to the highest string—A. E. G. d. The bow (*qaus*), which is the same shape, only smaller, as the warrior's bow, is of wood, with horse-hair stretched from end to end. Horizontal length, 65·5 cm. Width of arc, 6·5 cm.

The second instrument (No. 27) is clearly of Egyptian provenance. Total length, 73 cm. Diameter of sound-chest, 9·5 cm. Depth of sound-chest, 5·5 cm. Length of foot, 20·5 cm. Its construction, in general principles, is the same as that of the preceding. The sound-chest, which is of coco-nut, is open at the back, where it is cut off. There are two tuning-peggs, and the strings pass over a crude, bulky nut, which, obviously, is not original. The two strings are made of horse-hair, and are attached to a fork or tail-pin, which is distinct from the foot. The bridge is missing.

The instrument is well made, the neck, tuning-peggs, peg box, and scroll are nicely finished in colours of black, yellow, red, and green, the latter also being the colour of the belly skin. We do not know its *accordatura*, but the Egyptian instrument of this type has its strings tuned a fourth apart.  


*History.*—As I have remarked elsewhere, the Arabs called every instrument of the "wood-wind" family a *mizmār*, although the term was also used specifically for a reed-pipe, i.e. a reed-blown pipe. It is highly probable that the early *mizmār* was a simple reed-pipe with a cylindrical tube, played with a single reed. As early as the sixth century the poet Al-Muzarrid tells us of the *mizmār* at a convivial party.  

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2 The fifteenth century *kamānja* of Ibn Ghaibī was tuned similarly.

3 *JRAS*, 1929, p. 119.

4 *The Musaddaliyyāt*, xvii.
In the following century, the mizmār and duff (tambourine) were the martial instruments of the Jewish tribes of Al-Ḥijāz. The mizmār was used as an accompaniment to the singers of the early Umayyad period. The Prophet Muhammad so highly esteemed the tones of the instrument that he likened the chanting of Abū Mūsā al-Ash'ārī to "a reed-pipe (mizmār) from the reed-pipes of David," although there is a Hadīth which says that the Prophet stopped his ears when he heard the mizmār.

The double reed-pipe is called the diyānai (? dūnai, "double nai") by Ibn Khurdādhbih (d. 912), whilst Al-Fārābī (d. 950) describes it as the mizmār al-muzawwaj ("married mizmār"), the mizmār al-muthannā ("double mizmār"), or the diyānai. From the eleventh century, the word zamūra, later corrupted to summūra, has been used, although not always perhaps in reference to a double reed-pipe. In an Arabic treatise entitled Al-shajara dhāt akmām al-hāwiyā usūl al-anghām, the "wood-wind" comprise the nāy, zamr, and masūl. The last-named instrument is mentioned as early as the thirteenth century, and the word means "joined". This leads one to conclude that the masūl was also a double reed-pipe.

In modern times, summūra as the name for a double reed-pipe survives in Egypt, and also in Mecca. In North Africa, however, the zamūra is described as a "chalumeau ou

1 Al-Aghānī, ii, 172.
2 Al-Aghānī, ii, 121.
3 'Iqd al-farād, iii, 176.
5 JRAS. 1928, p. 511.
6 Kosegarten, Lib. Cant., 204.
7 Schiaparelli, Vocabolista in Arabico (13th century), s.v. "fistula".
8 Seybold, Glossarium Latino-Arabicum (eleventh century), s.v. "fistula".
9 Brit. Mus. MS., Or. 1535. See Villoteau, op. cit., i, 617.
11 Lane, Modern Egyptians (5th Edit.), p. 367.
12 Snouck Hurgronje, Doughty, Travels, ii, 118, refers to a double reed-pipe at Khaibar as a mizmār.
flageolet," whilst the double reed-pipe is termed the maghrūn or maghrūna. In Syria and Palestine the latter instrument is called the mijwiz (sic).

With the appearance of reed pipes with conical tubes played with a double reed like the Persian surnāy, or the Arab nāy zunāmī (zulāmī), the cylindrical tube instruments were relegated to the folk and mendicant class, with whom they have since remained.

The Exhibits.—No. 128. Cylindrical tube of bamboo, 18.2 cm. in length. With the reed inserted, 22.7 cm. in length. There are five finger-holes (thuqab) at the following distances from the manfakh or place of blowing:—

8 cm.
10.8 ,,  
13.1 ,,  
15.7 ,,  
118.4 ,,  

No. 129. Two cylindrical tubes of bamboo, with a Vandyke pattern scratched on each. The tubes are fastened together with string. Length of tubes, 20 cm. Length with reeds inserted, 23.7 cm. There are five finger-holes in each tube, at the following approximate 4 distances from the manfakh:—

8.7 cm.
11.4 ,,  
14.1 ,,  
16.8 ,,  
19.5 ,,  

No. 29. Two cylindrical tubes of bamboo fastened together with string and wax. Length of tubes, 23.6 cm. Length with reeds inserted, 26 cm. There are five finger-holes in

1 Beaussier, Dict. pratique Arabe-Francais.
3 Dalman, Palästinischer Diwān, 25. Cf. Cat. of the Crosby Brown Collection, ii, 80, 81.
4 I say " approximate " because the distances in the two tubes do not strictly correspond.
each tube, at the following distances approximate from the *manfakh*:

- 9.7 cm.
- 12.5 cm.
- 15.4 cm.
- 18.3 cm.
- 21.1 cm.

The reed with which these instruments are blown is probably the oldest type of vibrating reed known to us. It consists of a hollow piece of cane stopped at one end, a horizontal slit being made in it, penetrating to the interior cavity, so as to make a vibrating tongue.\(^1\) The reed is invariably attached to the tube by means of string so as to prevent loss.\(^2\)

**THE OBOE. 1973/28.**

*History.*—The Arabs were acquainted with the oboe from an early period. About the beginning of the ninth century, a famous wind-instrumentalist at the Khalifate court, named Zunām, invented or improved an oboe, which was called after him the *nāy zunāmī* or *zunāmī*.\(^3\) The name fell into desuetude in the East, but in the West it continued to be used for many centuries, although corrupted into *zulāmī*.\(^4\) This is probably the instrument which is described by Al-Fārābī (d. 950)\(^5\) and Ibn Zaila (d. 1048)\(^6\) under the titles of *mizmār vāhid* and *nāy* respectively. It is the *zamr* of the Mamlūk military bands,\(^7\) and the *mizmār* (in Persian *nāy siyāh*) of the Kanz.

\(^1\) This reed is described and delineated by Villoteau, op. cit., i, 966. Plates (vol. ii), cc, fig. 24.
\(^2\) In the plate one of the reeds of No. 29 has slipped down into the tube of the instrument.
\(^4\) Cf. *Ency. of Islām*, ii, 136, where *zallāma (sic)* is considered a metathesis of *zammāra.*
\(^6\) Brit. Mus. MS., Or. 2361, fol. 236.
\(^7\) Al-Maqrīzī, op. cit., i, i, 173.
al-tuhaf (fourteenth century). Ibn Ghaibi (d. 1435) describes it as the zamr siyâh nay. The surnây or surnâ of the Persians appears to have been a smaller type of oboe. It was a martial instrument with the 'Abbâsid khalifs in the ninth century, and was used similarly by the Fatimids in the eleventh century, and by the Mughals in the fourteenth century. At the same time, the terms zamr and surnâ appear to have been interchangeable in many instances. The surnâ is described by Ibn Ghaibi, and by the author of the Sharh al-adwâr. Under Turkish influence the word has been altered to zurnâ, and has become interchangeable with zamr.

In Spain and North Africa there was a kind of oboe known as the ghaitâ, which we read of as early as Ibn Baṭṭūṭā (d. 1377), who identifies it with the surnây of the Mughals. The name still persists in Spain, Morocco, and Algeria, although in Southern Tunisia it is called the zammâra, whilst in Constantine it is the zurna.

The Exhibit.—This instrument has a conical tube of cherry-wood (karaz), with a separate head (fašl) of boxwood (baqs), of a combined length of 30 cm., terminating in a bell or pavilion. There are seven finger-holes in the front of the tube and one thumb-hole at the back, the latter being called the qaul ("speech"). The bell also contains a number of small holes for acoustical purposes.

It is played by means of a double-reed (qashsha) which is

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1 Brit. Mus. MS., Or. 2361, fol. 263.
2 MS. cit., fol. 80.
3 Al-Aghâni, xvi, 138.
4 Nâsir-i Khusraw, Safar nûma, 47.
5 Ibn Baṭṭûṭâ, ii, 126.
6 MS. cited, fol. 80.
8 Villoteau, op. cit., i, 931.
9 Ibn Baṭṭûṭâ, ii, 126.
10 I give the modern Egyptian terms for the various parts of the instrument as given by Villoteau. See also Delphin et Guin, Notes sur la Poésie et la Musique Arabes, pp. 38–9.
11 Cf. the term "speaker key" in the European clarinet.
fastened to a brass staple (laulā, laulya) upon which is mounted a disc called the șadaf, or șadaf mudawwar, because it is generally made of shell or bone. The player usually takes the reed completely into his mouth, his lips touching the șadaf.

The head (faṣl or fāṣila) is a wooden cylinder 9 cm. long, 7.5 cm. of which is fitted into the upper interior of the tube of the instrument. A portion of this cylinder is cut out on one side, and ordinarily this "cut side" is turned towards the line of the finger-holes of the tube. When, however, the "uncut side" of the cylinder is turned towards the line of the finger-holes, the two upper finger-holes are closed, thereby lowering the pitch of the instrument.

The total length of the instrument, with reed and spindle added, is 33 cm. The exhibit is clearly of Egyptian provenance, and is practically identical with the zamr, or zurnā șughayyir, which is fully described and delineated by Villoteau. The finger-holes are situated at the following distances from the end of the reed:

- 5.3 cm.
- 7.7 "
- 10.4 "
- 13 "
- 15.6 "
- 18.1 "
- 20.8 "


**History.**—Elsewhere I have shown that the pre-Islamic flute was probably called the quṣṣāba (= qaṣaba). With the influence of Persia, which brought the word nāy, the Arabic name was neglected in the East, and the flute came to be known as the nāy abyād ("white nāy"), so as to distinguish it from the oboe which was called the nāy aswād ("black

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1 Villoteau, op. cit., i, 931, and plates.
2 J.R.A.S. 1929, p. 120.
3 The Muslimaliyyat, xvii.
nāy”).¹ In modern times the word nāy has stood for flute in Egypt² and Syria.³ Only in the West has the old Arabic name qaṣaba persisted.⁴

The small flute or fife has generally been called the shabbāba (shabāb = “youth”). This is the designation in North-West Africa,⁵ although the term juwāq is just as frequently used.⁶ In Egypt, shabbāba often stands for the flûte à bec, in common with the term saffāra (vulg. suffāra).⁷ The latter designation, I am informed by a native of Jidda, would properly be the name for the Meccan flute exhibited, because it is made of brass (sufr). This reminds us that Ibn Sida (d. 1065) says that the saffāra is “a hollow thing in which a boy whistles to pigeons”, to which definition Al-Firūzābādī (d. 1414) adds that it was made of copper (nahās).⁸

The nāy is ignored by Al-Fārābī (d. 950), because he counted the flute among the instruments that were inferior (ukhur), whilst the mizmār was considered to be among the perfect (akmāl) instruments.⁹ The flute is described under the name of nāy abyād in the Sharh al-adwār (fourteenth century),¹⁰ and in the Kanz al-tuhaf (fourteenth century) as the bīsha.¹¹ Ibn Ghaibī (d. 1435) gives details of the instrument as the nāy safīd (“white nāy”).¹² All these flutes were made of wood or bamboo.

The Exhibit.—This is a vertical flute, played by directing

¹ Brit. Mus. MS., Or. 2361, fol. 173v.
² Villoteau, op. cit., i. 954. Lane, op. cit., 362.
³ Russell, Natural History of Aleppo (2nd ed.), i. 152.
⁵ Christianowitsch, 31.
⁷ Villoteau, i. 951.
⁸ Al-Qāmūs, s.v. صفر
⁹ Leyden MS., Or. 651, fol. 15.
¹⁰ Brit. Mus. MS., Or. 2361, fol. 173v.
¹¹ Brit. Mus. MS., Or. 2361, fol. 263.
¹² MS. cit., fol. 70v.
the wind from the lips sharply across the orifice at the manfakh or blowing-place. To effect this the instrument is not held vertically, but with the bottom end slightly inclined to the left side. Unlike the better type of nāy, this instrument has no rās or head with which to support the lip of the player.

The tube is cylindrical and of brass, its length being 48 cm. It has six finger-holes at the following distances from the manfakh:

21.6 cm.
24.7 ,
27.7 ,
32.5 ,
35.4 ,
38.7 ,

The Tambourine. 1973/35.

History.—The generic name for tambourine in Arabic was duff. Al-Muṭarrizī (d. 1213) says that there were two kinds of duff, the rectangular and the round. In the specific sense, however, duff stood for the former type, and dā’ira for the latter. Some legists placed the former among the forbidden instruments, whilst the latter was made "allowable". Others said that it was only the tambourine with "jingles" that was censured. The duff was known in pre-Islāmic times, and was a particular favourite with the women. In the sixteenth century it was used in the Meccan cafés.

The round form was apparently the qhirbāl, which had the approval of the Prophet. It had no "jingles", but "snares" were stretched across the inside of the "head". This type, seemingly, was afterwards called the bandair or bandīr, such as we find nowadays in North-West Africa.

1 Farmer, History of Arabian Music, 27.
2 De Sacy, op. cit., i, 159.
3 Lisān al-ʿarab, a.v.
4 Kitāb al-ʿimā, fol. 12v.
5 Villoteau, i, 988, describes the Egyptian bandair with "jingling plates", which properly belong to the tār.
The round type possessing jingling plates in the shell was called the ṭār or ṭar.1 Early in the twelfth century, we read of it in Al-Yaman,2 and it is also referred to in the thirteenth century Vocabulista in Arabico, and in the Alīf laīla wa laīla.3

Dr. Snouck Hurgronje informs me that he never heard the duff, the mazhar,4 or the ḍā'ira mentioned in Mecca, but he has shown us in his book that the ṭār was quite popular. It was used by the ladies at Shaikh Maḥmūd,5 and at the festivities at circumcision,6 on each occasion accompanied by another type of tambourine called the tabla.

The Exhibit.—This ṭār is so rudely constructed that we imagine it to be of badawi origin. The shell or body, which is made of wood, is 25-5 cm. in diameter, and 6-5 cm. in depth. One side of the shell is covered with a green skin "head" fastened to the shell by means of brass-headed nails. There are four double sets of jingling metal plates inserted in the shell.7

Among other Meccan musical instruments mentioned by Dr. Snouck Hurgronje in his monumental Mekka are the qānūn and tabla. The qānūn or psaltery is mentioned as being used by some pilgrims to Sittanā Maimūna.8 The author also informs me that he frequently heard in the Holy City of certain Circassian slave-girls who were adept performers on the instrument. The history of the qānūn has been dealt with elsewhere.9 The modern instrument has been carefully described by Villoteau.10 If it is of Syrian,

1 It is written without the ı in North-West Africa. Höst, Nachrichten von Marokos und Fes, writes tirr.
2 Kay, Yaman, 54.
3 Macnaghten edit., i, 165; iv, 172.
4 The mazhar is a round tambourine with jingling rings of metal in the shell instead of jingling plates of metal.
5 Mekka, ii, 61.
6 Mekka, ii, 142.
7 See Lane, Mod. Egypt., 366, for a typical example of an Egyptian ṭār, as well as a description of its use.
8 Mekka, ii, 54–5.
9 JRAS. 1926, pp. 239–52.
10 Villoteau, op. cit., i, 883.
Egyptian, or Turkish provenance,\(^1\) it is usually mounted with 69, 72, or 75 strings, which are tuned in "threes", giving a diatonic scale of 23, 24, or 25 notes respectively.\(^2\) There is a Turkish specimen in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.\(^3\)

The *tabl* or long-shelled tambourine,\(^4\) is mentioned as being used by ladies at Shaikh Mahmūd,\(^5\) and elsewhere. It is identical with the instrument known in other Arabic-speaking countries as the *darabukka*, *darābukka*, *darbūka*, and *dirbakkī*.\(^6\) This type of instrument has been known to the Arabs for centuries. Probably the *kabar* belonged to this class,\(^7\) and perhaps the *dirrīj* or *durraij* also.\(^8\) Doubtless the *در بَلْ* mentioned in the *Alf laila wa laila* is a copyist's error for *darabukka*,\(^9\) as Burton has assumed.\(^10\) The modern instrument is fully described by Villoteau,\(^11\) Lane,\(^12\) and the

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\(^1\) In *La Musique turque* by Raouf Yekta Bey (Lavignac's *Ency. de la Musique*, v, 2845-3064) it is stated that in the course of the eighteenth century the *qânûn* fell into complete desuetude in Turkey, and that under Sultān Selim III (1789-1807), the most flourishing period of Turkish music, not a solitary *qânûn* player's name has been preserved. We are told that the instrument was re-introduced into Constantinople by an Arab of Damascus during the reign of Mahmūd II (1808-39).

At the close of the seventeenth century, Evliyā Chelebi (d. c. 1679) mentions both makers and players of the *qânûn* in Constantinople. (*Narrative of Travels*, i, ii, 227, 234.) It is introduced by the Turkish poet Nābi into his *Khāirābâd*, written in 1705-5. (Gibbon, *Hist. of Ottoman Poetry*, vi, 233.) It is mentioned by Toderini (*Letteratura turchesca*, Venice, 1787, i, 238) among the instruments in use in his day in Turkey. The present writer possesses an eighteenth century engraving by G. Scotin, entitled *Fille Turque jouant le Canon*.


\(^3\) No. 1032/69.

\(^4\) *Mekka*, ii, 61.

\(^5\) *Mekka*, ii, 142.

\(^6\) Villoteau writes *darābukka*.

\(^7\) See *JRAS*. 1928, pp. 514–15.

\(^8\) Golinus, *Lexicon*, 814. Al-Firuzābādī (d. 1414) likens it to the *ṭunbūr*.

\(^9\) Macnaghten edit., i, 244.

\(^10\) Burton, *Arabian Nights*.

\(^11\) Villoteau, i, 996.

\(^12\) Lane, *Mod. Egypt*, 366–7.
Encyclopædia of Islâm, whilst several specimens from Arabia are to be found in the Crosby Brown Collection.¹

The martial instrument par excellence to the Arab is the kettledrum (tabl, naqqāra), and a Muslim has said: "The drum is the music sound of the religion of Islâm."² Indeed, legend has it that Bābā Sawandik the Indian played the kettledrum called the kūs in the wars of the Prophet,³ although there is only mention of the tambourine called the duff in the older authors.⁴ In the tenth century we read of several types of kettledrums, the ordinary mounted kettledrum called the tabl al-markab (=naqqāra, dabdāb), and the great kettledrum, called the kūs, as well as an instrument with a shallow shell known as the qaṣa'.⁵ Later, we find a monster kettledrum called the kūrka. Burton shows the badawī of Al-Ḥijāz pounding his kettledrum "pulpit-like",⁶ whilst Lawrence has delightfully portrayed the part played by the instrument in his account of the Amir Faiṣal's march from Yanbu' to Wajh in January, 1917.⁷ In the Kelvingrove Museum, Glasgow, there is a fine copper naqqāra about 48 cm. in diameter. It once formed part of the marātib (insignia) of the Mahdi.⁸ My Jidda friend saw a similar kettledrum in the hasham (retinue) of the Meccan sharīf in pre-war days.

¹ Nos. 335, 349, 364.
² Doughty, ii, 119.
³ Evliyā Chelebi, i, ii, 226.
⁴ See my Hist. of Arabian Music, 10.
⁵ Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', i, 91. Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, 30. Eclipse of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate, vi, 175.
⁶ Burton, Personal Narrative . . ., iii, 76.
⁷ Revolt in the Desert, 64 et seq.
⁸ Villoteau has fully described the various Egyptian kettledrums.
The Supernatural in the Popular Belief of the Gilgit Region

By Lieut.-Col. D. L. R. Lorimer, C.I.E.

Gilgit offers a rich field to the student of Folklore, and one which up to the present has been only partially worked.

Colonel John Biddulph was first on the scene with his Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh, published in 1880, which provided valuable information regarding the beliefs and customs of the people of Gilgit.

Some stray facts can be gathered from the discursive linguistic works of Dr. G. Leitner; and in his last work—Dardistan in 1866, 1886, and 1893—he gathered together a mass of miscellaneous material which he describes, somewhat ambitiously perhaps, as "An Account of the History, Religions, Customs, Legends, Fables, and Songs of Gilgit, Chilas, Kandia (Gabrial), Yasin, Chitral, Hunza, Nagyr, and other parts of the Hindu Kush".


These are the only important contributions to the subject with which I am acquainted, and it need scarcely be said that they are far from exhausting the field of research.

Chance and the exigencies of the Service took me to Gilgit in 1920, and kept me there till 1924. Unfortunately I am neither a scholar nor a folklorist, so all I can hope to do is to offer some additional information from this somewhat neglected region and leave others to make what use of it they can.

1 A paper read in part at the Seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists held at Oxford in 1928.
The matter I have to present came to me largely fortuitously. My own interests lay in matters linguistic, and my immediate object was to obtain knowledge and specimens of the local languages. These languages are, of course, unwritten.

My principal method in such cases has been to get the people to tell me current popular tales and legends, and to give me accounts of local customs and beliefs, and to write them down to their dictation.

The content of my language material may therefore present subject of interest to folklorists, but it has not been collected with the critical knowledge or care of an expert folklorist.

Material thus casually collected is bound to present contradictions, ambiguities, and possibly misunderstandings, when it is not set in the firm frame of a story.

In regard to the terrain with which we are concerned, it is enough to recall that it is situated in the extreme north of India, to the north-west of Kashmir, in one of the loftiest mountain tracts of the world: the meeting point of the Hindu Kush and Karakoram ranges, where peaks and even ranges of 20,000 feet are a commonplace. The physical features are such as to favour isolation, a condition difficult of attainment in a continental country. Access for foreign influences must always have been difficult and restricted.

Even in recent times with the advent of the Pax Britannica, the partial establishment of foreign administration, and the construction of traversable roads, there has been no overwhelming inflow of exogenous influences, only a gradual infiltration. Thus old-standing beliefs and customs have not been subjected to any violent assault by modern disintegrating forces.

Isolation, however, is never more than relative.

In the case of Gilgit, at some unknown time, probably not more than 500 or 600 years ago, Islam gained admittance and sooner or later became the sole recognized religion in the region. Islam is a whole cultural system in itself,
providing everything from popular tales and domestic ritual upwards, and its effects on the outlook of any uncultured people must be immense.

Again a new period of foreign influence opened in the nineteenth century, first with the incursions of the Dogra rulers of Kashmir, resulting in partial occupation and administration, and later, in 1892, by the establishment of British general control in the rest of the country.

There are three principal languages in use in the Gilgit area: Burushaski, Şhiña and Khowar. Burushaski is the language of the people of Hunza Nagir, and a dialect of it is spoken by the inhabitants of Yasin. Şhina is the language of the majority, current, in various dialects, over the greater part of the Gilgit Agency, as well as in Darel and Tangir to the south. It is an Aryan language. Khowar is also of that stock and is the language of Chitral. It is spoken in the western districts of Gilgit, Ghizer, and part of Kuh, and as a secondary language in Yasin.

How far there are to-day any definite ethnical distinctions in the population corresponding to these different languages is an open question. There has certainly been considerable mingling through intermarriage and individual migration, but there are at present insufficient data for solving the ethnological problems of the Gilgit region. When in Gilgit I secured anthropometric measurements of some 600 men from the various districts, and it is possible that if these are ever worked out by some competent anthropologist they may afford grounds for intelligent guessing.

The material of which I am going to make use reached me chiefly through the medium of Şhina: that is, it represents the beliefs of the Şhinh and Yashkun speakers of Şhina. To a lesser extent I shall be able to refer to corresponding beliefs existing among the Burushaski speakers of Hunza and Nagir. It is significant that the names of several of the principal Supernatural actors are different in the two languages, for this means that even if the two linguistic communities derive
from a common racial source these supernatural beings have been long enough in the possession of each to acquire independent existence in its language. This of course probably represents an inversion of the facts. It is safer on the whole to assume independent origins and gradual assimilation through contact and social fusion.

It appears to me not an impossible theory that of the two great sections into which the Shina-speaking population is divided, the socially inferior Yashkuns represent the earlier population who probably shared the language and culture of the surviving Burushaski-speaking peoples, while the Shins were an invading and conquering race who imposed on the Yashkuns their language and probably took over from them some of their beliefs.

The Khowar in the western districts is due probably to the extension of the Chitrali population beyond the political and natural borders of Chitral, reinforced by intermarriage which goes on at the present day, and in part to political domination in the past, which in quite recent times amounted to actual rule. Punial and Yasin are still governed by members of the Khushwakht family of Chitral whose mother tongue is Khowar.

In order to facilitate the arrangement and handling of the material with which we have to deal, it is necessary to adopt some system of classification of the Supernatural. I am not in a position to offer any scientific scheme, but a very rough grouping will suffice to serve our needs.

From one point of view we may regard the Supernatural as represented:—

1. By Animate Beings possessing certain supernatural powers or qualities, e.g. demons, witches, etc.

2. By Qualities or Virtues pertaining to, or affecting inanimate objects, exhibited in magical or irrational processes and properties.

With the latter category, comprising examples of sympathetic and contagious magic, the working of the evil
eye, rain-making, cures, and so on, I shall not here attempt to deal.

The first or animate category may be analysed as including:—

1. Beings whose supernatural operations are observable in ordinary daily life—the LIVING SUPERNATURAL. These may be superhuman or non-human beings, or they may be ordinary human beings.

2. Beings whose operations are chiefly found embalmed in folk tales—the "LEGENDARY" or "LITERARY" SUPERNATURAL. These may be regarded as superhuman or non-human.

At the top of the scale of the Superhuman, the God of Islam under his Persian name KHUDA appears to have ousted all rivals. Only among the Burushaski-speaking peoples are there traces of more primitive animal spirits, or spirits assuming animal forms, treated as objects of reverence or worship. The name under which their memory has been preserved is Böyo. This I believe to be the plural of a singular form Bö.in, but I should just mention that this is a point on which doubt is possible.

Among the Şhiña speakers the principal forms of superhuman being are sometimes referred to collectively in a phrase of association as "Jinn, dě.ū, peri".

Jinn as a foreign (Arabic) word of Islamic origin is given rather a wide and vague application, but Dě.ūs and Peris can be roughly differentiated as demons and fairies.

The term Rāçh is generally used of inanimate protective objects, which belong to the impersonal side of magic, but in the form Rāçhi it possesses also a personal significance.

Chêch is the name of an important type of apparitional supernatural.

Whether Ghosts, the Spirits of the Dead, are to be reckoned as human or superhuman is a nice question. They are, I suppose, in fact sub-human. They seem to be recognized under the foreign (Arabic) title of Arwāḥ, but to play no very active part in popular belief.
Yačh and Yačhōlo still receive attention in some localities as beings capable of affecting, at least prejudicially, the prosperity of the crops.

Turning now to purely human beings gifted with supernatural powers we find two principal representatives of the class: the Rū.i, a woman displaying some of the powers and proclivities of the western witch, and the Daṉyāl, a person of either sex endowed with some of the abilities of the Seer and the Prophet.

There are also the possessors of the Evil Eye, voluntary or involuntary, and there are persons who have acquired powers of magic (chifla).

These are the principal Dramatis Personae of the Living Supernatural, and we may now examine their peculiarities in somewhat greater detail, paying particular attention to the Böyo, the Čchečh and the Rū.i, partly because of their peculiarly local character, as signalized by their purely local names, and partly because of their intrinsic importance.

**The Böyo**

From what I have heard I very much fear that the Böyo are as extinct as the Dodo, though their extinction is of quite recent date. Perhaps they still enjoy a tenuous existence in the phantasies of some elderly minds, but their day of power and awe is gone, their cult is dead, and their worshippers departed.

From the little information I possess it appears that the Böyo lived in holes at the foot of trees and rocks; and that the cult consisted in placing offerings of food, at any rate of slaughtered animals, at the foot of the trees, i.e. presumably in front of the holes. The Böyo themselves are described as puppies, or animals like puppies, so this simple form of worship was probably acceptable to them. At any rate they condescended to eat the offerings.

There were Böyo in residence at a spot on the Dadimo Lat a little above the fort at Hindī, and the cult was maintained
there by the local people till a few years ago, when it was stopped, I think, by the orders of the Mir of Hunza. Animals were slaughtered there "in the name of the Böyo".

From a story of Hunza tribal history it appears that the Böyo were regarded as the avengers of broken oaths taken in their names. In a dispute about the ownership of land between two brothers Khuru and Khamer, Khamer proposed that the case should be decided by their taking oath. Khuru, the weaker party, who was also incidentally in the right, agreed and said: "O brother, the Sahāla Bō.in and the Hālāsa Bō.in are very powerful and they are quick to wrath." But Khamer, who meditated a ramp and had no mind to be caught in this way, would not even hear this proposal out. "If we swear by them," he said, "they will work us evil." So the idea was dropped and with it disappeared our chance of learning the methods of taking oath by the Böyo.¹

The Böyo now bear the stigma attaching to the gods of a superseded religion. "Böyo-worshipper" (böyo ǚ.ilikinas) is now used in the sense of heathen, pagan.

There seems to be a special association between the Böyo and trees, and the trees share in their sanctity. Whether they each have their own independent virtue, or whether the one owes its worshipfulness in any measure to the merits of the other it is impossible to say.

In the two remaining texts in which I have references to the Böyo the associate tree plays an important part. In a statement made in Şiňa by Şūbahdār Sulţān Ali of Nagir regarding certain popular practices at Chaprōt he said: "Further they say that all the people used to assemble to do worship to a pine-tree that was there. They used to take a grey goat and slay it at the foot of the tree and a great

¹ I have here accepted the relation of Bō.in and Böyö as singular and plural which is morphologically quite in order, and is asserted by some, though denied by other, authorities. The word bō.in seems to survive in bō.indārgas (pl. bō.in dārgašo) which was explained as arwāb—the spirits of the dead. Dārg-, occurring in other compounds, appears to refer to a dead person.
number of puppy-dogs used to come out from below the pine-tree to drink up the blood. Then the people used to return rejoicing to their homes, and they used to say among themselves: 'Thanks be! Sickness has now been banished from the country.'"

Here it is stated that the tree is worshipped, but that the puppies, who are doubtless the Böyo, benefit by the sacrifice. The Şिना word (śilō.iki) translated "worship" means to appease, placate, propitiate, do reverence to. It corresponds, I think, exactly to the Burushaski *-ilikinas.

The other story, in which the tree also plays the chief rôle, is briefly as follows: From ancient times there was a juniper-tree in the garden of a man called Keramo Derbēsh, living in the Dirāmiting territory. It was called the Böyo Gal ("the Böyo juniper"). It was said that formerly animals like puppy-dogs used to come out from under it. The people of Hunza used to propitiate them (worship them) and called them Böyo. One, Bagher Tham, cut the tree down and he promptly died. Two stems grew up again from the stump and a man cut one of them. He became paralyzed and an idiot. A man called Māmad Shāh cut down the remaining bough and he fell down from a cliff and was killed. After this people were afraid to meddle with the tree and left one bough (not previously mentioned) unmolested. Last year and the preceding year (1923 and 1922) this bough was still in situ. Then a man Yaqīn, obtained permission from the owner (Keramo Derbēsh) and cut it down and took it to his house. But he had a dream in which a number of women appeared to him and asked him why he had cut down their juniper-tree, and intimidated him. In view of past history he became alarmed and returned the juniper bough to its original owner, Keramo Derbēsh, in whose house it now lies, for no one will venture to burn it.

Here we are left wondering whether there was any connection, other than topographical, between the juniper and the
Bōyo, and whether the ladies who resented the ill-treatment of the tree were an original dream-invention of Yaqīn’s or were personages already known to the public.

This is all the information I can give about the Bōyo. As far as I know they have no counterpart in the present-day beliefs of the Śhiṇa-speaking peoples.

We next come to the association of the Jīnn, Dē.ū, Perī. The name Jinn, as already stated, is not an authentic local title, but has been derived from Islamic sources. It is used rather vaguely for all beings of the apparitional order. The popular mind is probably not very clear about the exact nature of all the supernatural phenomena which it encounters, and welcomes a non-committal term carrying all the flavour of high religious sanction. There are many stories in which Jinn appear, and it is probable that the foreign name has brought with it some foreign conceptions and associations. I am inclined to regard them with suspicion, though in the main I believe them to be merely re-christened Chēch and perhaps Dē.ūs.

Another foreign (Arabic) term, Balā, seems to be used even more vaguely for evil spirits or demons whose presence you suspect or perceive, but whom you have not yet clearly seen and to whom you cannot put a name.

On the other hand a third foreign (Arabic) name, Shaitān, seems to carry with it a more definite personality. Shaitān is a leader among malignant and malicious spirits, at least a demon with an individuality, the Devil, Satan. He is probably a foreign intruder. On these foreign or denationalized Devils whose antecedents are somewhat suspect I shall not here spend time.

I may just mention by way of illustration that if after "cooking" magic, a process which takes forty days, you then sit down in the open and draw a line round yourself on the ground, a Jinn will appear and try to frighten you. If you keep up your courage other Jins, Dē.ūs and Peris will come and try to frighten you. Finally if you remain firm
the King of the Jinns, Dē.ūs and Peris himself appears, confesses that he is in your power and enquires your wishes—and so on.

I think it is a pure coincidence that where I have the term Balā it occurs usually in conjunction with horses. A groom and a horse—both later in my service—had a thrilling experience with a Balā which it would take too long to relate here, but the principle involved was elsewhere stated to me as follows: "If one mounts a horse at night and rides anywhere, then if the horse sees a Balā it will refuse to go forward. If at this moment the rider looks over the horse's head between its ears the Balā will be visible to him."

The more frivolous character of the Devil, Shaitān, is shown in the following: If in certain circumstances you can snatch the cap off the Devil's head and take refuge in a masjid and avoid his efforts to seize you by the seat of your trousers and go off with them, then if you put on the Devil's cap you will be able to see him, but he will not be able to see you and others will not be able to see either you or him—a piquant if not very useful situation.

If these foreign—Arabic—names could be eliminated, as I confess I should like, I think it would be found that most of the beings rendered innominate, would readily gain admittance to the ranks of the Čheč and the Dē.ūs.

**Dē.ū**

The name Dē.ū, akin to the Sanskrit dēva-, may be regarded as a legitimate Śhīna word. At any rate, its source need not be sought in Islam or Islamic influence.

Dē.ūs play a prominent part in the folktales of the country as demons, ogres, etc., usually of maleficent proclivities, but they also descend into legendary history. In the latter situation they probably represent a once locally dominant race which has died out or been absorbed. But that is probably only a later identification. Their origin must lie in or before the Folktale period which is presumably much
earlier. This, however, is not the place to deal with the Dē.ū of myth or legend.

The Dē.ū of to-day is a shadowy and illusive being, scarcely to be isolated from the group of Jinn-dē.ū-pēri. He is evidently not endowed in the popular consciousness with a very definite or vivid personality. Demoniac possession is usually attributed to Jinns, but it is noteworthy that there is the expression devedi dukhal shātin, denoting possession by a Dē.ū.

We know something of the general habits of the Dē.ū, which they share with their supernatural colleagues the Jinns and Peris. For instance, I have the following note among others: "At the time when the mulberries are ripe people do not eat them at midday. They say that Dē.ūs and Peris throw people down (from the trees at that hour)."

It should be explained that people, especially children, climb into the trees to eat mulberries and other fruit, and that there are often accidents and broken limbs due to their falling down.

Again: "In summer-time Jinns, Dē.ūs, and Peris live in the open country. In autumn they come to inhabited places."

And: "At the time when a woman has given birth they do not keep an adze close by in the house. If there is an adze at hand, and if it goes by night and opens the door and brings the Dē.ūs, Peris, and Rū.is into the house, then the woman suffers injury." Why adzes go and open the door is duly explained (cp. p. 529).

It is possible by the "concoction of magic" followed by other rites to make the Jinns, Dē.ūs, and Peris subject to one. There was a man known as the Chilègi Saiyid living a few years ago, and probably still alive, who had achieved this.

Such general facts could be multiplied, but I can recall no Shina account of any definite individual Dē.ū taking part in any actual exploit at the present day.

In Burushaski there is a word Pfūt (plural Pfūtū or Pfūtants) which is interpreted as Dē.ū or Jinn.
In a long story the titles Būrum Pfūt and Diū Safīd, the "White Div", are used indifferently for a beneficent Div, but the story itself must be regarded as a foreign importation.

There is, however, another genuine local story in which Pfūtū play a principal part. The narrator explained them as Jinns, but the story must go far back to long before the time when the word jinn was known in the country, and Dēū would seem to be a more appropriate rendering. In this story a man had lost his goat and in searching for it he saw a light and came upon a party of Pfūts engaged in revels. He joined in their dancing and in the feasting which followed it. After the feast the Pfūts collected the skin and bones of the animal which they had eaten. The man concealed the rib which had fallen to his share and the Pfūts replaced it by an artificial wooden rib. Then they shook the bones up in the skin and a goat came to life. The man recognized it as his missing property. When he got home he found the goat awaiting him there, and when he slaughtered it he found it had a wooden rib. During this experience he learnt one of the Pfūts' tunes. It is still known and played in Hunza.

One curious point about this story is that the Pfūts were either indifferent to the presence of a human being, or oblivious of it, and there is no clue to their usual attitude towards man.

The Burushaski Dangalaṭas, and, in some aspects, the Bilas, are probably to be regarded as female Dēūs.

**Peri**

When we come to the Peris we are on somewhat firmer ground. We know a good deal about their characteristics, and they do still on occasion enter into relations with human beings.

The resemblance of the word "Peri" to "fairy" is of course purely accidental, but there are actually points of similarity between Peris and western fairies, whether or not there is
any blood relationship. The name is identical with the Persian word represented in Avestan by pairika to which there seems to be no recorded parallel in Sanskrit, but it is conceivable that in Ṣhiṇa it is an original and not a borrowed word.

However this may be, the Peris are quite firmly established under that title in popular belief in Gilgit, Chitrāl, and among the Pathans. The word is known in Burushaski, both in foreign stories and as a complimentary epithet for women and boys, but I have come on no Peris in the definitely local stories of Hunza and Nagir.

The Peris of the Ṣhiṇa-speaking peoples are of both sexes. The female is called a Peri and the male a Periān. They are not spoken of as "little folk", and appear in general to resemble human beings. They eat "pillau", as is attested by Pashūs (anti-witches) and others who have seen them. Their eyes are said to be vertical, that is with the axis set vertically. I fancy they have only one eye placed in the middle of the forehead as is recorded of Jinns and others, but I cannot quote authority for this. They can fly; but if cow-dung is thrown on a Peri, or if its clothes are held in the smoke of a cow-dung fire it becomes unable to move. This point is illustrated in a Burushaski story, which is, however, of foreign origin. I have only one instance of a Peri with a name: a Peri called Mādi is said to live on the mountain of Diāmer (Nanga Parbat).

Peris wear green clothing and consider that they have exclusive rights in that colour. Hence we are told: "If anyone puts on green clothes it is said that the Peris get angry and snatch at the man and crush him. The reason is this: the Peris say: 'Green garments are our clothing. Why have they put them on?' and they become angry."

This claim is supported by their human confidants, the Daiyāls. As witness: "Daiyāls say that when a Daiyāl dances the Peris come flying through the air and remain watching the people. The Daiyāls say, 'We understand
what the Peris say. We communicate it in songs to the people.' If the Daiyāl sees anyone wearing green clothes he gets angry. The reason for this is that the peris wear green clothes, they say, and therefore if any earthly being puts on green clothing the peris become angry and do him injury."

The attitude of the Peris towards ordinary mortals cannot be described as cordial or benevolent. For instance: "They say that if anyone goes to the desert at midday the peris will snatch at his eyes and make him blind."

If a new house proves to be poor or unlucky it may be due to the adverse influence of a Periān. Again: "When a woman, all of whose children have died, gives birth to a child the mother cuts the umbilical cord and licks the blood that comes from it. The reason for this is that over every woman there is a Peri woman. The Peri woman says, 'Now that this woman has drunk the blood of her child she will never do me any good,' and fearing the woman the Peri clears out."

Here the reluctance to relinquish power over a human being indicates how such power is prized. Various methods are employed to obtain it even to the point of stealing or carrying off children or adults. In this we have an important resemblance between the Peris and the fairies of the West. The following notes are relevant in this connection: "A dernīji mā (i.e. 'outside mother') is a fairy in the jungle who gives milk to a child and rears it. When the boy grows up he is a good mountaineer." In one known case the peri-fosterling says he only sees his Peri mother when he is alone. "Ten or more years ago (i.e. counting from 1922) a boy was carried off by the Peris from Nāpur. His clothes were found on the hills but he has never returned again."

One of the grooms of the Assistant Political Agent, Chilās, made the following statement: "Every day (i.e. always) at the (end of the) dark period of the moon the peris carry me off. I see them and they see me. They say to me, 'You stay with us and we'll look after you well. If you don't
stay we'll throw you down from the mountain.' They thus put me in great fear and then I promise to stay." So far, however, he had apparently successfully evaded either staying or being thrown down from the mountain.

Of the common motif of a man marrying a fairy wife I have only one example, and it does not contain the usual feature of the fairy wife imposing a prohibition on the man which he breaks to his undoing. In the Śhiṇa story the parties are more equally matched than usual, for the husband is a Daiyāl. Still he had the worst of it in the long run.

A Daiyāl of Herāmosh bewitched a peri and casting a spell on her hair tied it all up in knots. Then he married her and in due course they had a daughter. When the daughter grew up her father instructed her that if her mother ever asked her assistance in dealing with the population of her hair she should give it, but on no account should she undo the knots. One day when the mother and daughter were out with the goats the anticipated situation arose and the girl played her part. The mother then explained that her husband had been angry with her and had tied her hair in knots and she appealed to the girl as her daughter to undo them. In a moment of sympathy and forgetfulness the girl performed the service. Immediately the Peri slew all the goats and flew away carrying her daughter with her. The Daiyāl, on discovering his treble loss, remained where he was weeping and beating his breast.

I think it was in 1922 that Rājā Sīfat Bahadur, Governor of Yasin, married a peri lady, presumably in absentia, but doubtless with all due ceremony. I believe that to his intimates he claimed to have seen her, but a youth, who was probably an epileptic and certainly a scoundrel, acted as go-between and the Peri's agent in the affair. The Rājā cannot have proved a wholly acceptable husband, as shortly after the wedding he had a fall at polo and broke some ribs. Later, I think, he damaged his knee, and before two years were out he was assassinated in Independent Territory.
I have recorded instances of human-peri marriages in Chitrál, but that lies outside our present beat.

Rāch

The term rāch, cf. the Sanskrit root raks-, "to protect," is usually applied to material objects, which exercise protective powers over human beings. Among such objects are included articles worn as talismans. It is also said, however, that everyone has a guardian spirit in the form of a small girl—Rāchē Mulai.i, or Rāchī. There may be two of them. These Rāchī communicate with the Pashū or Anti-witch when their protégés are in danger.

Again, if a bad woman rides on a horse the horse's Rāchī is depressed. Here the Rāchī was explained as the sitāra, "star" or "fortune", but it is not therefore to be assumed that it is an impersonal abstraction. The conception of a man's "luck" or "fortune" as a living being who is sometimes asleep and sometimes awake is very common.

In a Burushaski story there are three women who are the "Guardians" (rāchakūyo) of a king of Irān. They know his fate beforehand and how he can escape it, but are not in direct communication with him. This story, however, is obviously of foreign origin, at least in its existing form, and the guardian women are an integral part of it and could hardly have been introduced as an afterthought.

Čēch

We now pass to a very active and vital group of the Living Supernatural—the Čēch. The name is not identifiable as a foreign loan-word and has all the appearance of being good Śhiṇa. If I am right in believing the ch's to be cerebral, they would ordinarily correspond to Sanskrit kṣ or tr, but I cannot suggest a derivation.

Čēch appear to me to present features of interest and originality, but they may be commonplace to the instructed folklorist. I shall first mention some of the chief characteristics and then illustrate them by specific examples.
A Chëch is a sort of bogle which usually appears at night. It is said to "fall"—chëch dijen. A sound is sometimes heard and the Chëch appears in the form of some animal, such as a horse, donkey, or cow, but sometimes as a human being. Sometimes it appears as a tall figure which reaches up to the sky and is swathed in white clothing—a guise which is also sometimes adopted by Jinns.

When a man sees a Chëch he may faint with fear and fall to the ground. If, however, he can manage to preserve his courage and presence of mind and repeat the Call to Prayer (azân) the apparition will disappear. The people then reckon them to be Jinns.

Chëch are commonly attached to particular localities, from which it appears they do not wander. There are many such Chëch-haunted places in Gilgit proper as well as outside.

A Chëch is known to frequent the garden of the Political Agency office. Another haunts the neighbourhood of the P.W.D. Staff Bungalow and has been seen by many people. Its beat extends from there to the Political Agency Office, a distance of a few hundred yards. Another haunts a tree in the garden of the Divisional Engineer's house in the same area. Some deserted houses above the Ranbir Bâgh are the home of another.

A Chëch has been seen by many near the European cemetery. My informant's brother once saw a man wearing black clothes in the cemetery. This apparition pursued him, kicked him, and flung him into an irrigation channel.

Chëch, like ghosts, are rather addicted to graveyards. Many other Chëch-haunted places could be mentioned.

The following are one or two well-authenticated stories of Chëch and their doings. One night Ghulâm Muhammad, Chaukidâr (night-watchman), was sleeping in pursuance of his duty with his brother in the verandah of the Political Agent's Office in Gilgit. The brother used to give the following account, reported in slightly differing versions, of their experiences: "We were sleeping in the verandah of
the office. I awoke at midnight and found a horse sitting beside me. It had an English saddle on. I thought it must belong to some visitor and have strayed. So I tied it up to a tree and kept my eye on it. Presently I saw that it had turned into a donkey, and it came and sat down beside my head. My big brother beat it and it went and sat down on the road and turned into a bull. My brother repeated the Call to Prayer and it disappeared.”

Sarfarāz, Chaprāsi of the Political Agency Office, told me the following, which is compounded of two slightly differing versions: "There is a lot of earth near the door of our cow-house in Amperi, Gilgit. They say that there were formerly there a mother and six daughters. They are not there now. My father's younger brother says he had seen them himself. About the year 1915–16 one day the (elder) brother was going at night to another quarter. By the path he saw a thin little girl sitting on a big stone. He felt an instinctive fear of her. He said: 'The child came down to the path and caught hold of my hand. I pulled in the direction of my house, and it pulled in the direction of the byre. At last with a great effort I got my hand free and went on to my house. The girl said, "Go now, O man, your luck is great. You have escaped from me, otherwise I should have killed you here." She pointed out to him a spot, a few hundred yards further on and said her beat extended up to there. She said that she had a mother and six (five ?) sisters."

Sarfarāz, continuing, said: "My uncle returning thence to the house lost consciousness. They burned a lot of talismans and gave the Ākhund what he demanded, and my uncle recovered." Owing to this misadventure, however, none of the children of this senior brother survived, and on his death his land came to Sarfarāz. People advised him not to continue to live there, so he built a new house. At midnight a noise of cats is sometimes heard, but no cats are ever seen.

Here is another episode. "They say that a Čēch appears
at the Balbè Giri on the way to Nòmal. Several times the men who carry the mails have seen it. One time when a zamīndār, Shukur Khān by name, carrying the mail approached the Balbè Giri, a Balā came out on to the road and would not let him pass. Shukur Khān says: ‘I remembered and prayed to God and blew on my body and said the Call to Prayer. Immediately the Balā left the road. I noticed its eye was in the middle of its forehead. I went along the road and it went up to the mulberry-tree at the roadside, and when I looked it disappeared. I spent the night at Nomal and early next morning came in to Gilgit.’ Shukur Khān told the above story to his family.”

There are other similar stories in which the apparition is called a Jinn, but it seems clear that the Jinn is of the Čhečh variety. They merely did not happen to be related as instances of čhečh phenomena.

It is possible that Čhečh is in fact a sort of abstract term denoting something like “apparition” or, possibly, “fear.” The use of the verb “fall” with it suggests such a significance.

Arwāḥ

Ghosts, or Spirits of the Dead, whether they rightly belong to the category of the Superhuman or not, may be disposed of here. I have only two notes regarding them, both recorded in English. Čhečh, I was told, are often associated with graveyards and so also Arwāḥ (Spirits of the Dead), who are said to come out and hold meetings. At one of these re-unions they were dividing up some food. To one of those present they refused any share on the ground that his relatives on earth gave no offerings of food for the dead. The ghost so penalized repudiated responsibility. He said he had a son living and they should refer to him on the subject. One wonders whether after this the son had a Čhečh or ghost experience.

I was further told that the Spirits of the Dead come and
carry you far away and do you injury. They enter into the
skins of dead persons and so make their appearance.

Possibly ghosts sometimes figure as Çheçh or Jinns or are
confused with them. There are tales of how people have had
dealings with jinns masquerading in the forms of known
human beings, but these are rather cases of the impersonation
of actual living people.

Yaçh

The name Yaçh corresponds to the Sanskrit yaka-. Yaçh
are probably to be regarded as a class of Deû who are in
some way interested in agriculture. I was given the following
statement: "At the time of the removing of the crops (from
the fields) the people make múl in a dish and prepare a
flavouring of bitter kernels which they add to it. They
do this in the name of the Yaçh. They then add ghee to
the múl and eat it. They say 'The Yaçh is eating the
Yaçh's múl.' If they didn't prepare the Yaçh's múl they
say the Yaçh(s) would carry off the grain and not make it
prosper." The last word rendered "Yaçh(s)" is peculiar
in form and somewhat resembles the word for "bear", but the
rendering given is probably correct.¹

A note is given that the Yaçh will become unconscious
if it eats a bitter thing. Hence no doubt the bitter kernels.

The Yaçh, so far as this custom goes, might be regarded
as little more than an abstraction, a fertility, or anti-fertility,
spirit of some kind, but there is one story told of a very active
and practical Yaçh. It was given me as follows: "There is
a man of Gurikôt (a place near Astör) called Rozâli. They
say that a Yaçh has formed a friendship with the wife of
Rozâli. The Yaçh brings grain and goods from one place
and another and collects them in Rozâli's house. They say
if Rozâli scolds his wife or beats her some live stock or other
in his house dies. For this reason the man does not scold
his wife. If anything in the house goes astray or gets lost

he keeps quiet. The man has children, their appearance they say, is ill-favoured, like that of a Yačḥ. The Yačḥ lives in his house and he (Rozāli) is superior, they say, to all the Astōris in wealth. They say that the Yačḥ is in Rozāli’s house in the skin of a cat. They say that his wife’s food every seven days is 24 eggs and 2 seers (4 lb.) of ghee. This matter is publicly known to all the people. A number of Astōri people have told us this story.” The wife’s diet seems rather limited in kind, but bread and vegetables are perhaps taken for granted.

**Yañhōlo**

The Yañhōlo,¹ by his name, must be some sort of cousin of the Yačḥ, but he is a shadowy personage whose only known interests are agricultural. Here is all the information I have about him: “At the time of the reaping of the wheat and barley, in the name of the Yañhōlo they put some mūl (gruel) in a dish and carry it to some place in a field where there is a big stone and where they say the Yañhōlo is. The reason is this: they say, ‘if we propitiate the Yañhōlo our wheat and barley will be plentiful.’ Nowadays they do not do this in Gilgit (proper), but in Shināki places, e.g. Bagrōt, at places on both sides of the River (Sherōt, Shakiōt, and Bārgo), and at Herāmosh, in these places they do it.”

We may now pass on to the Human Supernatural, of whom the Rū.i and the Daīyāl are the chief. The term Rū.i is Şiña. The Burushaski equivalent is Bīlas, but the word has also, I think, wider application. In Khowār the idea is, I believe, covered by the word Gür.

**Rū.i**

The Rū.i is perhaps the most interesting of the whole Gilgit cast, and of her I happen to have particularly full

¹ I have lately come on an isolated note: “Yañhōl, a demon like a bear.”
information. I might have devoted the whole of this article to her but decided that it was preferable to cover as wide a field as possible. All I can do in the available space is to mention briefly her chief characteristics and her methods.

Rū.is are witches with a limited repertory. They are ordinary women possessing some specialized tastes and gifted with some extraordinary powers. Their master-taste is an appetite for human flesh which they indulge at the expense of their less gifted neighbours.

Briefly stated, their procedure is as follows: a Rū.i disables and seizes a victim and bears him off, flying through the air to some tryst where the whole Rū.i community is assembled. There they slaughter the victim, after which they chop him up into bits and distribute portions to all present. The company then partake of the feast so furnished and return again to their homes as they came. Meanwhile the victim, whose visible and material body has to all appearance remained at home unaffected, presently falls ill and dies.

A few details may be given regarding the various episodes in this drama. It appears that normally a particular Rū.i is told off by the group to provide a victim for the next assembly. The duty falls on the various members in succession. At the same time one may consider it unlikely that a Rū.i would ever see a favourable opportunity and let it slip. The process of capture is facilitated by her ability to change into any animal form she pleases. Like the Čhečh she may do a series of lightning changes. So she may appear as a cat, donkey, magpie, etc., or simply as a woman or as one after another in succession. Rū.is hunt alone or sometimes in couples.

If the intended victim detects the Rū.i and divines her mission, and can keep his head and do her a physical injury, he escapes her clutches and she it is who suffers. She appears at home bearing the injury which she sustained, it may be when in animal form, and unless her victim can be brought to visit her sick-bed she dies. If through ignorance or
weakness he does come to her, she recovers and he in his turn dies.

When the Rū.i succeeds in her attack she flies off with the victim to the Rū.is' meeting-place. Rū.is fly mounted on boxes or on spinning-wheels. They are debarred from the use of the broomstick, for that is an implement of Western civilization unknown in Gilgit. The victim is carried slung in a sheet. As it is stated that at certain places Rū.is are sometimes heard flying through the air, one may conclude that they are not visible when they fly and that they conduct their revels in spiritual, immaterial forms and not in their everyday fleshly bodies. Similarly with the victim, for his bodily presence remains to all appearance safe in his home. What the Rū.i secures is only some spiritualized, but still edible, presentation of him.

A Rū.i in action has to look where she is going and to mind her steps, for if her foot touches water or a graveyard she can proceed no further.

When the victim has been safely conveyed to the place of assembly where all the Rū.is of the district are collected, it simply remains to chop him up and distribute him in fragments to the company. The chopping-up is effected with an adze. Hence, incidentally, the adze has acquired a taste for human flesh and is a dangerous house-mate for a woman at child-birth as it is apt to go and open the door to give admittance to Dē.ūs, Peris, and Rū.is (cp. 517).

No time is wasted on cooking or dressing the flesh, for the Rū.i likes her meat raw. Nor does dancing, so far as my information goes, enter into the order of the day. This is curious in view of the procedure at the Sabbats of the Western Witches and the popularity of dancing on festive occasions in Gilgit at the present day.

I have mentioned physical obstacles which may intervene between the Rū.i and the indulgence of her tastes, but she has other more active interference to reckon with.

There are two kinds of human Anti-Rū.i, whose business
and pleasure it is to come between the Rū.i and her prey. These are gifted with superhuman faculties of perception and with powers of locomotion not inferior to the Rū.i's.

The Pashū—the word belongs to the root pash-, "to see"—is a "seer", a man or woman who sees what ordinary people cannot see. The Pashū can see not only Rū.is in action but also Dē.ūs and Peris.

By one means or another the Pashū gets to know that someone has been carried off. We have it generally stated that people's guardian spirits—Rāchī—inform the Pashū when their protégés are threatened; but in one case a Pashū told me that the Rū.is themselves informed him, when he was asleep, that they were carrying off a victim and invited him to come along: a sporting action on their part, for the Pashū's function is to baulk them of their prey.

The moment the Pashū learns of an abduction he starts off in pursuit. He also flies through the air no less swiftly than the Rū.is, a feat which is all the more remarkable in that he flies in his proper person and not only in an immaterial semblance. When he is absent on a mission of rescue his place at home is empty.

Having come up with the Rū.is at their meeting-place the Pashū demands the surrender of the victim, but if the latter is already dead his labour has been in vain. If the victim is still alive he enters into negotiations with the Rū.is and as a rule succeeds in striking a bargain with them. For a ransom, in the shape it may be of a goat or an ox to be delivered within a certain period, they relinquish their prey.

All then return apparently to their various homes.

The Rū.is are not above making attempts to deceive the Pashū by concealing their victim in the skin of a goat, cow, or other animal.

A practising Pashū, who told me that he was peculiarly successful in rescue work, claimed that in two years he had had 200 successes against 100 failures. He had gone as far afield
as India. In his flights he was unconscious of mountains
or other obstacles, but it is probable that like the Rū.is he
must not touch water or a graveyard.

The other Anti-Rū.i is the Mitū. I am unable to give any
explanation of the name. Mitūs appear to be always men.
The Mitū is a more ambiguous person than the Pashū. He is
professedly an antagonist of the Rū.is, but he seems to slip
very easily into the rôle of aider and abettor. Ostensibly
his functions and practice are similar to the Pashū's, but
he appears to have less authority and less firm moral purpose.
When he fails, he yields to pressure or persuasion by the
Rū.is and allows himself to be used as a sort of human anvil
on which the victim is dismembered, or else he himself chops
him up. He still, however, retains some of his original
better feelings, for he refuses to accept a share of the victim's
flesh.

Some doubt is cast on the Mitū's original good faith by a
statement made to me by a Pashū: that the Mitū accompanies
the Rū.is carrying an axe with him; but perhaps this
imputation is due to professional jealousy.

I must confess to some doubt as to the use of the Mitū as a
chopping-block. It is a curious idea and I have no actual
vernacular text to support it, only notes made in English
of what I understood at the time was told me.

The Mitū is unconscious when travelling on his errand of
mercy, but if his foot touches water he returns to conscious-
ness, is unable to proceed further, and returns home.

Mitūs are found in Nagir and Bagrōt, but there are non
in Gilgit proper.

It may perhaps be useful to offer a few more facts about
Rū.is. Rū.is are numerous and ubiquitous in the Gilgit
area. They are found in Punial, Hunza, Nagir, and other
districts, as well as in Gilgit proper.

My Pashū friend told me that in Gilgit there were some
300 of them, but this I can only take to be a gross exagge-
ration. I fancy he was something of a misogynist, for he also
informed me, with all the seriousness that the statement deserved, that there is a trace of the Rū.i in all women.

All women in fact are potential Rū.is—a truly terrible thought.

Fortunately, in practice Rū.is are products of heredity rather than education. The potential Rū.i does not seem as a rule to pass spontaneously into the practising Rū.i, but if a woman is a Rū.i her daughter will also be a Rū.i.

As regards their external distinguishing features the infallible sign of a Rū.i is that her feet are turned backwards. This must only be when she is functioning as a Rū.i, and even then it is noteworthy that when she is in animal form the animal's feet are not reversed in this way. Rū.is' hair and clothes are said to be repulsive. Their hair stands up on end. Their mouth is red (query—with blood ?) when they have been maltreating anyone and at night they vomit. People then say, "Perhaps she has killed some one to-day."

It is a very remarkable thing that Rū.is and their doings do not seem to arouse any active resentment either in the public or in private individuals. There are many women who are notorious as being practising Rū.is, but they do not appear to be subjected to any form of persecution. I have heard of no case of Rū.i-baiting.

Tests and ordeals, such as ducking, may be unnecessary where the quality of at least the most important Rū.is is known to everyone and is beyond dispute, but then one would expect that they would be dealt with summarily and drastically by the irate relatives of their victims.

The above is a dry summary of the main facts about Rū.is. It would be possible to support it by many actual instances, but that would take too much space. I will, however, quote just a couple of stories which illustrate some of the main points.

The following is the story of a Nagir Rū.i which I recorded in English: "Two young men in Nagir one day wanted water. There was a shortage of water so they went to the head of an
irrigation channel where it entered a field. The men both saw two cats going along in front of them. The cats kept looking back at them and fire was issuing from their mouths. The elder of the young men threw stones at the cats, on which they both turned and seized him by the leg. Being strong-minded he preserved his senses and did not fall down but beat the two cats with a stick. The two cats then turned into a donkey. The youth, thinking that the donkey was perhaps someone's which had strayed or been left behind, mounted it.

"When they had gone on some distance he dismounted from the donkey and saw that it had turned into a magpie. He threw a stone at it and it turned into two women. With a stone he broke the head and upper jaw of one of the women, and both women vanished. In the morning the young man returned to his home and lapsed into unconsciousness.

"Meanwhile the woman who had been wounded went out on to the roof of her house, fell down from it and broke her head and her jaw, which accounted for the results of her previous misadventure. The people carried her into the house and she not unnaturally developed symptoms of indisposition. She told her people that a certain man had cast the evil eye on her and said that he must be sent for. The man accused was of course the youth who had broken her head when she was playing the Rū.i. They went off and called him, but he refused to come. The woman died. The other woman who had been with her, and the man, are still living."

The following is a statement made to me by the experienced Pashū already referred to: "Four days ago when I was asleep the Rū.is came and informed me by word of mouth: 'We have taken So-and-So, you come.' They then bore off their victim like stones carried by the wind. I said: 'I'll rescue him,' and started off after them. I caught them up at Bāldas, a big boulder in the direction of Herāli. I told them to let him go. The boy's mother was among the Rū.is. She let go the sheet in which he was tied, and I raised it up. The boy was dead. If a victim is freed when still alive all is well,
but if he dies then his real self at home dies in a day or two. On this occasion there were present many Rū.is from all quarters."

In taking leave of the Rū.is it is, I presume, superfluous to lay stress on their similarity to the witches of the West. Almost every point that has been mentioned above can be duplicated from European records of witches.

**The Daīyāl.**

We now come to the Daīyāl, the last of the characters whom I propose to treat of here. Daīyāls are superhumanly endowed human beings, who at the present day chiefly exhibit their powers by furnishing answers to recondite questions. They supply on request information relating to what lies outside the scope of the ordinary senses of sight and hearing, and regarding what is going to come to pass in the future.

Their sources of knowledge are hidden, but there is nothing obscure about their procedure, for they exhibit their powers before all the world in broad daylight.

The public attend on the local polo ground, which corresponds to the village green. At one side sit the local band of drums and pipes and the Daīyāl enters the circle formed by the spectators. There he primes himself by inhaling the smoke of burning juniper twigs which has some sort of intoxicating effect on him. After this he divides his time between stooping over and listening to the drums, dancing round the circle in various measures and posturing in the middle of it.

At certain points he may be asked questions by members of the general public, the answers to which he ostensibly obtains by listening to the drums or by watching the behaviour of some grains of corn thrown on the vibrating parchment of a drum. His answers are couched in language which is really I think unintelligible, but which someone eventually is always found to interpret.
An account of a Daiyāl display has been given by Colonel A. Durand in his “Making of a Frontier”, so I need not elaborate the matter here. It will be enough if I contribute a few more general facts about Daiyāls themselves.

In Burushaski the equivalent of Daiyāl is Bītan (plural bitaiyo). Daiyāls may belong to any class of the population and to either sex. In fact they are nowadays, I believe, confined to a few special families. The chief, perhaps the only seat of Daiyāls at the present day, is the small side valley of Bagrōt.

I have seen exhibitions by two female Daiyāls in Hunza, but to the best of my recollection they were said to belong to a family which originally hailed from Bagrōt. Similarly the performer at a specially arranged display at Gilgit Headquarters, in this case a man, had been brought from that place for the occasion.

There is a possibility, however, of fresh recruitment to the ranks of Daiyāls. “A certain number of people,” I was told, “become new Daiyāls.” On the other hand, one may withdraw temporarily or permanently from the faculty.

Daiyāls possess, or at any rate have in the past possessed, more than the mere powers of second sight and prophecy. They are on more intimate terms with the supernatural world than ordinary folk. In talking of the Peris I have already quoted the statement that the Peris come to watch the Daiyāls’ performances and that they are the source of the Daiyāls’ knowledge; and again that it is on their account that the Daiyāl objects to the use of green clothing by the laity.

At an actual performance I was warned that they disliked anything red, and that they were liable to lose self-control and to attack anyone wearing or displaying it. We nervously took stock of our belongings, for the wild-eyed officiating Daiyāl looked only semi-human and capable of anything whether in his mind or out of it. But why should red be objectionable, except as the complementary colour to green?
In the past Daiyāls have had the power to "bind" superhuman beings, as is shown by the well-known story of the Daiyāl who bound the Gilgit Yaçhini. We also have the Daiyāl of Herāmosh and his Peri wife which I have already recounted (v. p. 521), and the great Hunza Bitan, Shon Gukur, bound the cannibal Bilas, Dadi, and her seven daughters.

Whether or not present day Daiyāls can "bind", they can at any rate be "bound" at least with their own consent, when presumably they are inhibited from the use of their special talents. The procedure was described to me, not very lucidly, as follows: "When a Daiyāl thinks of having himself bound, they twist an iron bracelet and place the Daiyāl in the hands of a man. Then they breathe on the bracelet and bind the Daiyāl (with it?). If the bracelet gets lost then the man again becomes a Daiyāl."

Once a Daiyāl, by no means always a Daiyāl, for apart from having himself bound the Daiyāl may definitely abandon the career. My Pashū friend told me that his family on the father's side had originally been Daiyāls, but that his grandfather, under priestly influence had given up being a Daiyāl and had become a Pashū. My friend's father, however, had wished to continue as a Daiyāl, but the opposition of the family had been too strong for him, and though he quarrelled with them on the head of it, he too became a Pashū.

I very much fear that Daiyāls in these evil days, whether of religion or scepticism, are losing credit and esteem, and that this interesting college of soothsayers may presently die out and their valuable gifts be lost to the world.
The Text of the *Buddhacarita*

*Cantos IX–XIV, 32*

By E. H. Johnston

In the *Journal* for April, 1927, pp. 209–26, I published some notes on the text of the first eight cantos of the *Buddhacarita* in the light of the old MS. in Nepal and of the Tibetan translation as edited and translated by Dr. Fr. Weller. The second part of the latter work has now appeared, containing the Tibetan text of cantos ix–xvii and the translation of cantos x–xvii, the translation of canto ix, which has gaps in the Sanskrit, being apparently reserved for further consideration. The notes in this part are full and careful and will be found of great help to all interested in the restoration of the Sanskrit text. We have every reason, too, to be grateful to Dr. Weller for undertaking the difficult task of translating the part from xiv, 33, on, for which no Sanskrit text exists, and, though, inevitably, owing to the nature of the Tibetan translation if the Sanskrit text were to be discovered minor details in Dr. Weller’s translation would be found to require modification, at least we can now see clearly how Āśvaghoṣa handled the story.

In resuming the notes I proceed in the same manner and with the same abbreviations as in the previous article. I include canto ix in my notes, as owing to its difficulty and the further information given by the MS. it is better to publish my results before Dr. Weller’s translation appears.

At this stage it seems to me desirable to discuss the various interpolations in the text. Verses viii, 54; xiii, 73; and xiv, 21 are generally agreed to be spurious, and I have also condemned below as obviously not genuine a verse in the long gap that occurs in canto ix in Cowell’s edition. Besides these, most of the following suspicious verses must be interpolations; not one is required in its context and nearly all are definitely below Āśvaghoṣa’s standard of writing. Other verses also
are omitted from the Chinese translation, but that is no more than a ground for suspicion owing to the freedom with which the translator handled the text.

i, 20 (39). The construction is clumsy. The use of the title Tathāgata is very suspicious; except for the spurious verse, i, 81 (86), the Buddha is called "the prince" or some analogous term up to xii, 90 (88), where, having become an ascetic, he is called muni; he is also called Bodhisattva at ix, 30, and x, 18. The title ṛṣi is not used till canto xiii. The Saundarananda follows the same practice. The expression vigate 'pi rāge recalls xiii, 31, and this verse was perhaps inserted as a parallel to it. It is the only thoroughly doubtful verse which appears in the Chinese.

i, 81 (86). Not in the Chinese. The use of muni is suspicious. Āśvaghoṣa could never have been guilty of so crude a verse.

ii, 15. Not in the Chinese. The comparison with so little known a king as Anaranya (see below) is remarkable bathos in face of that with Manu in the next verse. A poor and inappropriate verse.

iii, 65. See my previous article. This verse may have been inserted, just as verse iv, 87, was altered, so as to water down Āśvaghoṣa's references to the Buddha's dealings with women in his youth; in that view the essence of the verse lies in the word balād.

iv, 17. The Chinese mentions the names of the seers quoted as illustrations on each side, but not Manthāla's. It is one of the very few names in Āśvaghoṣa of which no trace can be found elsewhere; the story and the name of Jaṅghā seem equally unknown. The verse itself is uncommonly difficult, because even if bhikṣur is taken in the sense given to it in my previous article it ought to govern the accusative and otherwise the verse is untranslatable.

iv, 87cd. See my previous article.

v, 65. The verse does not appear in Beal and is somewhat doubtful.
xii, 57 (55). This does not appear in Beal, and d is taken from xii, 75 (73). It is not wanted in the context at all.

xiii, 23. See my note below on this verse.

The following notes should also be added to my previous article on the first eight cantos.

i, 42 (47) d. Weller, p. 188. \( \text{kṛtāvān śaktīḥ} \) the virāma under n being probably a later addition. The conjecture \( \text{kṛtāvān na śaktīḥ} \) is poor as spoiling the play on words.

ii, 15d. Read \( \text{purānārānyasya} \), and cf. the closely parallel verse, \( \text{Rāmāyana} \) (ed. Gorresio), ii, 119, 10. I now find this reading to have been anticipated by Gawroński \( \text{(Studies about the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature, p. 38)} \) and by Rasivadekar in his commentary to Sovani’s edition.

iii, 9a. Analogous passages suggest that \( \text{ōlājam} \) should be substituted for the feeble \( \text{ōjālam} \) in \( \text{prakīrṇa jīvvalapuspajālam} \). On this view T’s otherwise inexplicable \( \text{ḥbras-spos} \) should either be explained as the same as S. C. Das’s \( \text{ḥbras-so-ба} \) (= \( \text{lāja} \)), meaning perhaps “perfumed rice”, or be amended to \( \text{ḥbras-brnos} \) or \( \text{-phos} \) (v. Jäschke under \( \text{ḥbo-ба} 2 \)), “parched rice.”

iii, 25d. This requires further explanation. T runs as follows: \( \text{bḍag-gi (ātmanah) srid-pa-gzhan (punarbhāva) ma (?) cuṅ-zhig (kimcīt) bṛtgs-pa (mene) ḥdra (iva).} \) Ma cannot go with gzhan, because, if a negative, it could not follow and gzhan-ma could only stand for the feminine of anya, apra, etc. I took it to be a negative combined with cuṅ-zhig, and in view of T’s rather casual handling of negatives thought it safe to transfer the negative to \( \text{punarbhāvam} \), the only place in the sentence where it could be fitted in. But Dr. Weller has pointed out to me that the equivalent in T for \( \text{apunarbhāvam} \) should be \( \text{srid-pa-gzhan-med} \). This is so, but, as his translation, the only possible alternative, requires the reading \( \text{ni for ma, ma must be a corruption.} \) A gives no help in finding the correct reading, as it inserts avagraha only occasionally. To Aśvaghosha rebirth could hardly be connected with any feeling of joy and he must, therefore, have intended an
avagraha to be read by Buddhists, while leaving it open to Hindus to read it without one as a reminder of the epic tag punarjātam ivātmānāṁ mene (e.g. Rām. (ed. Gorr.) vi, 44, 12; 48, 8; 53, 30), used in different circumstances of cheering up after intense dejection.

v, 55d. Subsequent further examination of the old MS. of S has satisfied me that the reading in iv, 17, referred to is nūpurayoktritābhyaṁ.

v, 84a. vikatapaṅkajā, T, vikajapaṅkajā, A.

viii, 25. This verse is quoted in Rājaśekhara’s Kāvyamāṁśā, p. 18, with the correct readings sīthilām-sabāhavah and na celur āsur likhitā but with new corruptions of its own.

viii, 26c. T read proksitacandanan stanān or, less probably, took prośita from pruṣ, whose causative is not recorded.

CANTO IX

3a. nyāyavat tam, T.

4c. For adhirām T has nag-por “black”, which is meaningless; amend perhaps to bdag-por, which stands for adhikṛta in the precisely similar phrase in x, 1, and may represent adhītam here, or else read brnags-par, “concerned about.”

7c, 8–11. rājabha and gap for a letter, A, rājabhaktyā, T.

8a. mṛjayā, A (Kielhorn, Kern), T uncertain. b. vapusṣojjvalantam, T.

10b and d. T divides Śukrāṅgirasaṇa correctly into Śukra and Āṅgirasa (i.e. Brhaspati).

14b. bhavīnam, T; cf. ii, 33b.

17c. kuru mayy apeiṣāṁ, T (Böhtlingk), maryā (or pye) peksiṇ, A.

19b. ṽiṣṭabdhabhujair, A, T (Kielhorn). d. mokṣa-mārgāḥ, T.

20d. A’s reading is yāngedruma or yāngi, which might be a corruption of padmidruma, but this does not take us much nearer a solution.

24c. T divides nātha hīnām. d. nauḥ, T (Kielhorn).
26d. ka[ruṇam rudantīm], T; Aśvaghosa uses this epic form in the Saundarananda also.
28b. saṁtāpam anta[gatam udvahantam], T apparently; b4 might be sa in A as well as ma. Read antargatam, and cf. Jātakamālā, xix, 20.
29c. tvaddarśanā[ye]cchati, T. cd. dahyamā[nam antaḥ]-
purāṁ, T (Speyer).
31a. tanaye [piṭṛnāṁ], T, tanayam, A.
32b, 1–2. nānte, T, nāsti, A. c. bhūto 'pi [ciram vi]yogas, T, bhūtvā, A.
33b. bhavān āha na [tat], A, T (Speyer). d. viprayoge, A, T (Böhtlingk).
34b. viṣi[traim jaga]ṭaḥ pracāram, A, T.
35a. yathādhvagānām īha, T. d. bandhu[pratijñātajanair vi]ḥīnāḥ, T.
36c. gacchaty, T (Lüders, Leumann).
37ab. pra[vṛtaḥ sarvāśv avasthā]su vadhāya, T. c. akālaṁ, T apparently (Cappeller).
38b. tathaivārthavidhau praviṣṭaḥ, T (Cappeller). A omits b6. d. Very difficult. T has dge-legs (śreyasi) nes-par (dhruvac or niḥ) thob-la (prāpte) dūs (kālaḥ) yod-ma-yin-no (nāsti). Possibly a reading such as naivvāhake (? nairvānike ? nairvānike ?) śreyasi nāsti kālaḥ is indicated; for the sense cf. the Chinese (Beal, 715).
40d. parāpacārena, A, T (Böhtlingk, Gawroński).
41. The large gap in Cowell’s text is covered by the whole of leaf 38a and the first two lines of 38b in A. It runs as follows:—
41c. grāhākulam cāmbv iva sāravindam
rājyaṁ hi ramyaṁ vyasanāśrayam ca ||
42. ittham ca rājyaṁ na sukhāṁ na dharmāḥ
pūrve yathā jātaghrvā narendrāḥ |
vayaḥprakarṣe ’parihāryadūkhe
rājyāni muktāv vanam eva jagmuḥ ||
43. "varaṁ hi bhuktāṁ tṛṇāṁy arāṁye 
tosāṁ param ratnam ivopagyuṁa 
sahosīlāṁ śrīsūrabhair na caiva 
dōṣair adṛṣyair iva kṛṣṇasarpaṁ ||

44. "ślāghyaṁ hi rājyaṁ vihāya rājñāṁ 
dharmābhilaśeṇa vanāṁ praveśaṁ 
bhaṅgaṁpratiṣṭaya namūpapannam 
vananāmparityajya grhaṁ praveśaṁ ||

45. "jātaḥ kule ko hi naraṁ sasattową 
dharmābhilaśeṇa vanāṁ praviṣṭaḥ 
kāśāyam utṣṛjya vimuktalajjaḥ 
 Purandarasyāpi puraṁ śrayeta ||

46. "lobhāṁ dhi mohāṁ athavaḥ bhayena 
 yo vāntam annam punar āḍāḍita 
 lobhāṁ sa mohāṁ athavaḥ bhayena 
saṁtyajya kāmāṁ punar āḍāḍita ||

47. "yaṁ ca praviṣṭaṁ charānuṁ kathamcino 
niśkramya bhūyaḥ praviṣṭet tad eva 
gārhaṁṣṭham utṣṛjya sa āṛṣṭadoṣo 
mohenā bhūyo 'bhilaṁed grahiṁ ||

48. "yā ca śrutir mokṣam avāptavanto 
 nṛpā grahaṁḥ iti naitad asti 
 saṁapradhānaṁ kva ca mokṣadharmo 
danaṁpradhānaṁ kva ca rājadharmaṁ ||

49. "samaṁ ratiṁ cec chithilāṁ ca rājyaṁ 
rājye matiṁ cec chamaviplavaṁ ca 
 samaṁ ca taṅkṣṇyam ca hi nopapannam 
 śīloṣṇayor aikyam ivodakāgnyoḥ ||

50. "tanniscaṇṇuṁ vā vasudhādhiṁpūs te 
rājyaṁi muktvā samam āptavantaḥ 
rājyaṁgitaṁ vā nibhṛtendriyatvād 
 anaiśṭhike mokṣakṛtābhāmāṇaḥ ||
51. \textit{teśāṁ ca rājye'stu śamo yathāvat prāpto vanām nāham aniscayena | chittvā hi pāśam grhabandhussānjñām muktaḥ punar na pravivikṣur asmi ||}

A puts in between verses 47 and 48 and \(T\) between verses 49 and 50 the following verse, which is not in Beal and is plainly spurious:—

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{vahneś ca toyasya ca nāsti saṁdhiḥ}
  \item \textit{satḥasya satyasya ca nāsti saṁdhiḥ |}
  \item \textit{āryasya pāpasya ca nāsti saṁdhiḥ}
  \item \textit{saṁsasya daṅḍasya ca nāsti saṁdhiḥ ||}
\end{itemize}

The following points in the above passage are worth noting:

41c. I follow \(T\); \(A\) has \textit{ca sthirasā} (or less probably \textit{mā}) \textit{ravindam}.

42b. \textit{tathā, A, yathā, T.}

43. In \(A\) \textit{b3} was originally apparently \textit{ka}, written over to make \textit{va, dha or ga}; \textit{b4} is \textit{rau}. Query \textit{girau}? I follow \(T\).

44c. \textit{na tūpapannām, T probably.}

46a. \(A\) might and \(T\) does read \textit{lobhād vimohād.}

50c. Text uncertain. \(A\) has \textit{rājyād mītā vā, but īga and dma are almost identical in it. For the reading of the text cf. the common epithet, niraṅgana, “unblemished.” \(T\) has literally \textit{rājyāny āśritya or rājyāsrayād. Query rājyānvitā?}

\begin{itemize}
  \item d. So \(T\); \textit{ākṛtābhidhānāḥ, A.}
\end{itemize}

I renumber the following verses.

53 (43) a. \textit{dharmavidhau tavāyām, T (the Peking edition has \textit{cho-gar}), mantradharo, A (evidently from the previous line). c. sokāya dattvā, A, T.}

60 (50) d. \textit{gatvā, T apparently (Gawroński).}

61 (51) a. \textit{morṛdhnām, T, keeping kyi instead of Weller’s amendment, kyis (Kern).}

62 (52). This verse is quoted \textit{Suddarśanasamuccaya} (Ed. Suali), p. 13.

68 (58) a. \textit{tava doṣa}, \(T\) (Kern).
70 (60) a. drumākhyo, T; cf. the Chinese (Beal, 757). b. nagaram viveśa, A apparently (b6–8 much rubbed) and T. The reference is probably to Dyumatsena king of the Śālvas and the story of Śāvitrī. Query therefore dyumākhyo? The Romantic Legend (p. 167) translates this verse and gives the name as Druma, king of Vaiśāli!

71 (61) a. dharmayaśahpraviśtā, T apparently. c. pratyātun, A, T.

72 (62) b. cakruṣaḥ, T, agreeing with mantriṇaḥ and governing the rest of the pāda.

73 (63) c. śamena ca, T.

74 (64) a. saṁsayajam, T, saśataṁ, A, a syllable short. b. avyaktaparamparāhatam, T. c. budhaḥ, T (Gawroński).

d. 6deśikaḥ, A, T (Böhtlingk).

81 (71) c. dūrdarśaṁ, T.

CANTO X

4b. yas tatra, T. c. sa jagāma dhīram, A (7–9 much rubbed) and T (Gawroński).

6c. saṁnikarse, A, T (Böhtlingk).

7d. na [ta]tarpa dyāṭiḥ, A, T; d9 in A could also be read as rmya or rmpa. Tutoṣa was never a possible conjecture, as Aśvaghoṣa uses the root tus only in the sense of “be pleased”, and never in the sense of “have enough of”, to express which it must be compounded with sam. The phrase as amended is a regular cliché.

8a. īkṣaṇe, A, T. d. tasyātha babandha, A; T has neither atha nor anu.

9a. dyāṭvā sornā, T, dyāṭā swarna, A. Read either dyāṭvā ca sornā or dyāṭvātha. Weller (p. 92, n. 11) suggests T read sabhrūnabhruvam (for śubhōṇabhruvam), but in fact it has bhrū once only, not twice.

12a. manasāgatāsthō, T.

15a. tasmin girau, T (Gawroński), tasmin vanau, A.

18a, 1–3. tanasmas, A apparently, tataḥ only T. Read
tataḥ sma, as other verbs in the passage are in the perfect. d. ivābhakūṇjāt, A.

20a. nyāyavidāṁ varistham, A, T.

22c, 6-8. T’s svavayo is a reference to the legend that the Buddha and Bimbisāra were born on the same day.

26b. A has śaśrayā śrīḥ with ma added subsequently above śa. T is uncertain but in any case did not read sama; the Peking edition reads gaṁ bsāgs.

27c. vyūḍhāny anikāni, T.

28d. ca bhraṁsam, A, ca bhraṁsam, T (Speyer).

29c. copasamena, T apparently. d. kāṅkṣito ’rthāḥ, A, T (Böhtlingk). Read dor-byā (tyājya) for don-byas in T.

35d. pathā hriyante, T (Gawroński). The form Ḹphrogs-par-byed should normally indicate in this translation either the causative or the passive of īṣ and the latter alone suits here.

41a. magadhapatir [vaco] babhāse, T.

Canto XI

2a. bhavato vidhānam, T. De stands for etad, as often, not for sa as Weller suggests (p. 99, n. 2).

3a. svakulānuvyttā, T apparently, “traditional in his family.”

6b. T is equal to esa yo mām prati niścayas te; add khalv at the beginning to complete. For b7 A, which otherwise is the same as Cowell’s MSS., has ti, not vi.

8d, 10-11. eva, A, T (Speyer).

13b. samagrāṁś caturo, A, T.

17c. yair nānyakāryā, T, corresponding to the “seeking nothing” of the Chinese (Beal, 849); for compounds with na cf., e.g., Kirāṭarjuniya, i, 19 and iii, 8.

18. Weller, p. 101, n. 11. A has bhīsmāt in b, evidently for Bhīsmāt; cf. S, vii, 44, where Ugrāyudha is called Janamejaya, both being Pāṇcāla names in the MBh.

19b. samyojana has the Buddhist sense of “fetter” here. d. ādādita, A, T (Böhtlingk, Cappeller).


28b. T seems to support Cappeller's yān.

29 and 30. A, T and the Chinese (Beal, 867–8) agree that Cowell's verse 30 should come before his verse 29.

29 (30) a. īvraiḥ, T (Lüders), īvvaīḥ, A.

31c. sūnāsikāśṭha°, A, which Dr. Weller has kindly informed me is also the reading of the Chinese. This recalls asisūnā found in the corresponding passage in Aṅg.Nik., iii, 97. T's "corpse-burning wood" has a parallel in S, ix, 20, where the Kurus are spoken of as reduced to ashes, and may indicate a reading sūnāsikāśṭha° with sūna equal to śava. Curiously enough, there is a similar confusion in an exactly analogous passage in the Lalitavistara, where Lefmann (ch. xv, p. 207, l. 9–10) reads iha te bālā parikṛṣyante sūnā-kāṣṭheṣv ivorābhṛāḥ; parikṛṣyante here is presumably a misprint for parikṛṣyante, but according to Foucaux's translation the Tibetan read parikūtyante. R. L. Mitra's text of the passage is different and corrupt, making no sense.

33a. 1–7 is taken in A by mistake from 34a, 1–7; a8 is pā. Dr. Weller's reconstruction of the Sanskrit seems to me sound. b. kravyatsu cātmānam, A, T.

34d. kāmārtham ajñāḥ, A, T. d. mṛtyu[m] śramam cārcchati jīvalokaḥ, A, T.

36a. mataḥ, A, matih, T apparently. b. bhogā, A, T. It looks as if T read bhogā tu kecit parivartyamānāḥ ("falsely represented as"); query parikalpyamānāḥ?

39b. bhogāḥ, A, T. c. annāni bhogā iti, T apparently (Gawroński).

44a. drṣṭvā vimiśrām, T.

45a. yat syān, A for yasmān, meaning "should it be argued that"; T seems to read 'bhyadhikāsti yasmān, which is not so good.
48a. rájño *pi vāso yugam, T, evidently for vāsoyugam (Böhtlingk).

50a. tan nāsmi, A, T (Lüders, Cappeller). b. kṣema[m], A, T (Böhtlingk). d. pālayeti, A (corrected from pālayanti), T (Speyer).

53b. cāḍhyah, A, T.

54a. bhaisopabhojī ca, T, bhaisopabhojī ca (or ra), A.

55d. duhkhaiḥ, A, T (Böhtlingk, Windisch).

57a. T's samsārasareṇa is confirmed by the gāthā, Romantic Legend, p. 183. b. śāntim, A (Speyer).

58c. ity eva mamārtha°, A, ity evam mamātra, T. Read ity eva mamātra.

59a. 11-12, rur, A omitting a syllable, na bhūr na ruḥ, T. b. cāḍhayah, A.

61a. yadāntako, A, T (Kielhorn). b. sarvesv avaśam, T, sarvesu vasam (for vasam, Kielhorn), A.

64a. cāḍiptaphalām, A, vāpiṣṭaphalām, T. Read cāpiṣṭa°.

65d. kimu yat kṣayātmakam, A (Windisch), kimu yat kṛpātmakam, T.

69d. kṣamethā mama tattva°, A, T (Speyer).


In a the enemy of cold is fire, the sign of fire is smoke, from smoke are produced clouds and from clouds rain. As none of the ordinary meanings of dvija make sense, I conjecture it means "fire", a reference to the Vedic epithet dvijanman of Agni. As c must be a single word in the locative case to correspond to a, I accept T's reading. The enemy of cold is the sun, the enemy of the sun is tamas, which is then used as a moral quality. I take the verse to mean, therefore, "Just as fire obtains liberation for its body (i.e. is extinguished) by means of rain, so do you similarly obtain liberation for your mind by means of overcoming whatever is opposed to the destruction of tamas."

72b. āpnotu, A, T (Böhtlingk). c. The last word in T
according to both the India Office and the Peking editions is ḡdir, not ḡdod, i.e. ḥha (𐡜 or 𐡝) for ʿimān.

73c. tam uḍikṣya, T. d. nṛpo ḍi vavṛ[ja] purīṃ gīrīvra- 
jam, A, T.

Canto XII

4a. Weller, p. 112, n. 5. As bzhugs = āśīna in xiii, 50, 
I do not see why it should not do so here.

9c. jñānaplāvam, A, T (Kielhorn).

10b. varṇyate, A, varṭate, T.

11b. nararsabhāḥ, A, nararsih (a syllable short), T.

13c. tvaddarśana[m a]ham, A, T (Gawroński).

16d. yathaiva ca nivartate, T apparently.

19a. iti budhyasva, A, T.

21c. pratibuddhas tu, A, ṛuddhas ca, T apparently.

23c. tritaye jantus, T, yantus, A apparently but much 
rubbed. d. nātivartate, A, T (Böhtlingk).

27a. bhāvan asamāṃsāḥ, T, bhāvan asaṅ, A.

28c. yaś caivaśaganaḥ, A (for yaś caivaṣa ?).

31b. manavāṅbudhikarmabhiḥ, A, T.

33ab. Text uncertain. A has vidvān sa pāṇcaparvān and 
T viduṣāḥ, viduṣāḥ, or vidvān (omitting the sa) and possibly 
pratiyate for the verb. Taking pratiyate as 3rd pl. A., I would 
read ity avidyāṃ hi vidvāṃ saḥ pāṇcaparvāṃ pratiyate.
Vācaspati Miśra on Śāmkhyakārikā, 47, attributes this saying 
to Vārṣaganya, who is dated much later in R. Garbe, Die 
Śāmkhya-Philosophie (2nd ed.), p. 73 ff.

34d. ity eva gamyatāṃ, A.

37d. abhinipātyate, T probably ; this is a sound restoration 
of A’s abhinisicyate palaeographically.

39b. janmasrotah, T, janmasrotah, A, which both here and 
in xiii, 7 (see below) combines n and ja into a single letter 
resembling kta.

51d. paritoṣena vāṣitaḥ, T apparently.

53d. ābhāsvaresu saḥ, A, T.

Cowell’s verse 55 comes after his verse 57 in A and T. It 
is probably an interpolation.

58c. A’s bhṛatphalam is unmetrical and T’s bhṛatkāle, which is vouched for by the Chinese (Beal, 971), should be accepted.

62a. ākāśagatam, T and probably A. c. tad evā, A, T (Cappeller).

63a. kuśalas tv anyo, T apparently, kuśala sv corrected to kuśala tv, A.


68d. uvāca ha, A and probably T (Gawroński).

71. Cowell’s MSS. omitted four lines here owing to two lines ending in kalpyate. Verses 71–3 run as follows, the subsequent verses being renumbered:

71. viśuddho yadyapi hy ātmā nirmukta iti kalpyate
    bhūyāḥ pratyayasadbhāvād amuktah sa bhavisyatī

72. rtubhūmyambuviharād yathā bijām na rohati
    rohati pratyayais tais tais tatvcat so ’pi mato mama

73. yat karmājñānatṛṣṇānāṁ tyāgān mokṣaḥ ca kalpyate
    atyantas tatparityāgāḥ satya ātmāni na vidyate

In 73a A has śatkarma, I follow T.

79 (77) c. tasmād, A, T (Bohtlingk).

87 (85) c. sūkṣmā patvā, T, sūkṣmā ’padvī, A. Read sūkṣmāpatvā; cf. Atthasālinī, pp. 207–9.

90 (88) d. vihārabhiratir, A, T.

T and the Chinese show that A and Cowell’s edition omit a verse after 90 (88); pādas b, c and d ran probably as follows:

. . . pañcendriyavāsoddhātāṁ
    tapahprasaktāṁ vratino bhikṣūn pañca niraiķṣata

In c T reads tamaḥ, and I have corrected it from the Chinese (Beal, 1000–1). The first pāda is uncertain, but might run āśriṭān atha tatpūrvam. I renumber the following verses accordingly.
92 (89) a. te copā, T.
95 (92) c. T's karmapreṣur is unmetrical; the obvious emendation of A's karmapreṣur is śamapreṣur.
96 (93) c. anantapārā, T apparently.
98 (95) b. 'nyāca kāśīśām, A, T (Böhtlingk).
107 (104) c. āhāraparāne, T (Böhtlingk) and A originally (altered apparently to āsura²).
113 (110) a. ०mūrtis ca, A, T (Kielhorn, Böhtlingk).
117 (114) d. padam eva bhakṣyase, T.
121 (118) d. niścitātmani, A, T.

CANTO XIII

1a. 1–6, tasmāya, A, tasmin vimokṣāya, T.
3d. vaco 'bhuyvāca, T, vaco bhuythāsa, A (possibly meant to be ०vāca).
5d. The reference surely is to Karālaśanaka; cf. iv, 80, and Kauṭ. Arthaśāstra, i, 6.
6d. īvātiśvṛddhaḥ, A, T.
7b. śarān jaganmohakarāṃś ca, A (v. note on xii, 39 above); T uncertain.
8a. ātmasamsthām, A, āsanastham, T.
9b. cara svadharmam, A (Lüders). c4–6. Hiatus in A, yajñāiś ca, T.

11a. niścitātman, A and probably T. Weller, p. 127, n. 11, the Peking edition reads correctly mi-lān, not med lān (lān in Weller's text is a misprint for lān). d. sūrbake, T; the correct form seems to be Śūrpaka which occurs in Padyacūdāmanī (Government Press, Madras, 1921), vi, 23, and is quoted by the PW. from Halāyudha and Hemacandra.

13c. priyāvidheṣu, A (Gawroński).
17c. bhūtagānaṁ asauṁyaṁ, T and apparently A (whose reading might also be the nonsensical asyaimyaṁ).
18b. vighnaiṁ same (for same ?), A, T. d. valadruma², A, śala² or śula², T.
19d. prthūdāraś ca, T apparently, or else cāpy akṛṣodarāś ca.
20a. ajāmusakthā, A, ājānusakthā, T. Read ajānusakthā (Lüders, Kern).
21a. *bhasmāruṇā, T*; cf. the Chinese (Beal, 1066–7).
Verses 21, 22 and 24 contain a malicious description of Māra’s host in the guise of Hindu ascetics. Verse 23, which the Chinese omits, does not fit in here and is most probably spurious.
24a. *śikhino 'tha mūndā, T* apparently; v. under *byi* in S. C. Das.
26c. *nanarda, A, T* (Gawroński).
27d. *pratipālayantah, T* apparently.
30a. *dharma đaś ca, T*.
33a. *upaplavair dharmavā[he's tu, A, T*.
34a. *T*’s *dran-po* corresponding to *udirnām* is surely a mistake for *drag-po*.
35b. *tīkṣṇāgradāṁstrā, T*.
36d. *kridatsu, A and probably T* (Böhlingk).
40c. *tan mukta, T. d. papha, A, T* (Böhlingk).
44a. *vijagarur, T,* for *nirjagarur* (Böhlingk) or *vyujagarur? d. notasarpur, T* (Kern).
46c. *dhūyanāno, A and apparently T* (Böhlingk).
47b. *viyat* (Lüders, Speyer) or *nabhasy* (Kielhorn, Böhlingk) *T*.
50c. *nāśinam rṣim, A, T* (Kielhorn, Böhlingk, Finot).
55d. *śasāra, T* probably (Kern).
56b. *viśistabhūtām, A, T*.
58c. Weller, p. 134, n. 4; both the India Office and the Peking editions have *bsgrub-pa-hi* which is evidently correct and corresponds to the Sanskrit.
60c. *kimcana nāsty asādhyaṁ, T* and possibly *A* (Speyer).
68d. *vegam samādher visaheta yo 'sya, T.* A reads *veṣām* and omitting d8–9 has *yo sya* followed by a gap for two letters.
71d. For *hatāśrayā T* has *gsa-bo bsad-pa, "when its leader is slain." This is certainly the correct sense (cf. Beal, 1108), and the idea is a common one, e.g. *Jātakamālā,* p. 133, l. 13, *hatapravīrā iva saṅkā; in preference to amending to, say, hatāqriyā, I would take āśraya in the sense of "leader," here, a not impossible extension of meaning.*
Canto XIV

7c. lebe param caksuḥ, A.

16b. buddhabāhavah, A, T. c. A has duḥkhe nipipa, then a tear of the size of two letters; originally one syllable short, it is now three. duḥkhe ’pi na vipacyante, T, reading smin with the Peking edition.

23c. A omits c6 and leaves a gap; krpaṇam, T apparently.

27d. prāpya caivetaretaraiḥ, T apparently, prāpya revaitaretaraiḥ, A.

A and T, like Cowell, have verses 30 and 31 in the wrong order as the sense and the Chinese (Beal, 1131–3) show.

30 (31) a. samatikrāntā, A, T.

32a. narakap[v]akhye, A, T.

October, 1928.

P.S.—I should like to add the following notes, repairing omissions:

ii, 36a. bham bhāsurām, A, which according to T’s skar-ma-rgyal seems to refer to the asterism Pusya (v. S. C. Das s. rgyal I), but Weller’s Brhaspati agrees better with the following āngirasādhidevam.

ix, 10. In view of a remark on p. 352 of the Journal for April last, I should explain that in the MBh. and works on nīti Śukra and Brhaspati are regularly joined as a pair in their characters of the two divine gurus and of being the supposed authors of the two original rājaśāstras.

xi, 70. Ava should have nine different meanings in this verse. Following the indications in Dhātupātha, i, 631, and Böhtlingk and Schmidt’s dictionaries, I suggest very tentatively the following translation:—“Be happy, O king, like Indra in heaven, shine ever with your virtues like the sun, understand the highest good, be satisfied in this world, rule the earth, make your life flourish by association with the noble, favour the sons of the good, obtain sovereign powers, observe your dharma.”

May, 1929.
The Return of Marduk to Babylon with Shamashshumukin

By CECIL J. MULLO-WEIR.

PROFESSOR LANGDON has pointed out to me that the Assyrian text published in Ebeling, *KAR*., No. 360, bears a close resemblance, alike in diction and in subject-matter, to Lehmann, *Šamaššumukin*, Taft. xxxvii f., edited in Streck, *Assurbanipal*, ii, 264–8, and it is almost certain that we have here two different but related accounts of the return of the god Marduk to Babylon with Shamashshumukin, in 668 B.C. In the following interpretation of *KAR*. 360, I am again very greatly indebted to Professor Langdon.

*KAR*. 360 (VAT. 10060)

1. . . . . . . . . . .

2. *amātu zammērē ina šu* (?)* Z[AG (?)]-SAL ina (?) bit (?)* *ridū-ti bēlam . . .]*

The singers on the harp (?) in the “house of succession” (glorify (?)) the lord.


Sweet “songs of the breast” they play . . . . .

4. *amētu kalē ina šu Šu Zi-i 4 i(?)-ḫal-la-[lu] 5 .

The psalmists dance to the instrument of the Zu-bird . . . .


His valour they extol.

6. *harrāna rikis mātāti ašar mar-kās kib-ra-[a-ti]*

The road, the bond of the lands, where is the uniting principle of the regions,

7. *ša-bit-ma ki-šad *mā Pu-ra-na-ti ḫi-i-šā*

he has taken; on the shore of the Euphrates a ḫišu-boat

8. *ir-kab-ma *mā Mā-bān-da-ĝe-dû 7 ru-ku-ub-šu el-šu ša ki-i šu-me-šu as-mu*
he has mounted. On the river of the Little Boat of the ḫedu, his holy vehicle, which like his name is seemly,

9. ú-še-li it-ti-šu išt-bēlēti ni-ba-a-ti ša pal-ḥiš za'-i-na lit-bu-šā <šā>-ru-ri.⁸

he causes to sail upstream with himself. The goddesses, radiant, fearfully adorned (and) clothed in brightness,

10. na-bi álu-Šam-še ša ḫi-ît-bu-šu álu-Nannaru ša šur-ba-ta ilu-ú-su

glorious Shamash who rejoices, Nannar whose divinity is extolled,

11. ša uš-A-ra-aḫ-ti be-rat nuḫši i-ta-ti-šā gū-um-mur-ma which¹⁰ puts to the test the ArahTu-canal, the luxury of whose surroundings is complete,

12. i-šad-di-ḫa a-na ma-ḫi-ir-ti
(all these) go in procession to meet (him).

13. i-te-ḫa-a a-na ka-ri a-ri bāb sa(mē)-me ina abulli ilu Ù-ra-āš iš-ta-kān-nu šub (?)-tam

They approach the quay, Ari of the Red Gate; in the gate Urash¹¹ they take up their place.


Oxen are slain, lambs are butchered, sacred pomegranate-wood

15. kud-du-šu šur-ru-uk-kū ki-suk-ki
is scattered about; the kisukku

16. ma-lu-ū kut-rin-ni i-riš za'-a ta-a-bi
full of incense, emitting a sweet fragrance,

17. ki-ma im-ba-ri kab-ti sa-ḥi-ip ša-ma-mu
like a great storm overwhelms the skies.

18. šuk-šu-ū . . . a(?)-na išt-en-bēri T.A-ÂM
(Beacons (?)) are raised aloft (?), at each double-hour’s march¹²

19. šā(?)-kā . . . . [na-mir-tū] šak-na-at¹³
. . . . . . . brightness is created.

20. . ka(?)-ma . . . . . -kāp šā ap-si-i
. . . . . . . . . of the deep (?)
21. ............ *up-pu-šu-un

..........

22. ........ šá a ........ ú (?)-šá-nu-nu ḫak-ḫa-ru

............. the earth.

1 Restored from Streck, 264, 4, but the reading there is uncertain. Lehmann's text has ṣuZAG-[SAL] (SAI. 4670) for which the Accadian equivalent is still unknown. ZAG.SAL (SAI. 4669) = tanittu "praise", cf. Langdon, PBS. x, pp. 103 ff. In I Raw. 45, Col. I, 52, the èmesu-zammērē are associated with the ṣuZAG.SAL, as here. For the explanation of bit ridūti, see Streck, Assurbanipal, iii, 568 f. 2 irāti is the title of a kind of song, cf. Langdon, JRA/. 1921, 183, note 1. 3 For ušamiširu? The reading is very doubtful. 4 This instrument is unknown. Perhaps we should read it as Sumerian, ṣuAN-ZI-I. 5 Cf. ASKT. 122, 11, ippal-lu-lum. halālu means (a) "dance" and (b) "sing". 6 The verb is evidently (w)aqū, III, 3. Cf. tēšittu (Sumer. A-DA-MAN) "lamentation". 7 Marduk's boat is called the ṣu-elil šarē-dū, cf. VAB. iv, 128, 71, etc. [je-dū is probably a title of Nebo here; see V Raw. 43 B 13; 46 B 56; OT. 25, 35 A 29. See the var. PBS. xv, 79, II, 27, ṣu-elil šarē-dū e-li-p ṣuNu-bā. S. L.] 8 So we must surely read: ša-ru-ri occurs also in Streck, 266, l. 17. 9 For examples of ittu in the sense "surroundings", see VAB. iv, 322. 10 Referring to ilu-ū-su. 11 The Urash-gate lay on the bank of the Arahutu-canal, cf. VAB. iv, 180, 19 ff. 12 Cf. Streck, 264, 10 and 266, note 1. 13 Restored from Streck, 266, 10.
The Human Figure in Archaic Chinese Writing
A Study in Attitudes

By L. C. Hopkins

(Plate IX.)

Portraiture, as we now know, was a very early member of the nascent arts of primitive man.

Palaeolithic men were of necessity hunters. What they hunted on the plains and among the hills for food and covering, that they painted or carved on the walls and roofs of their cave dwellings and cliff shelters. The reindeer, the bison, the horse, the elephant were favourite objects of their vivid and impressionistic genius. What they lacked of imagination they made up for by exact memories and singularly skilful technique. Less frequent were their delineations of humanity, and as concerns the female part of it, most unflattering, being affected by a kind of exasperated candour.¹ The Age of Chivalry was far distant indeed!

But the particular feature in primitive drawing of the human figure that I wish to call attention to is its marked linearity.

This feature recurs in the art of the Bushman; among the Eskimos; among the Red Indian tribes; among the Chuk-chi of North-East Siberia,² and doubtless among other existing primitive peoples, though in none of them is the linear mannerism the sole method of portraiture adopted. Moreover, it is a very ancient mannerism, being conspicuous in some of the scenes recorded by Palaeolithic artists in Spain. Obermaier distinguishes such figures as Nematomorphic. Let us thank the Spanish archaeologist for "nematomorphic". It is a good word and an elongated, and shares

¹ See, e.g. Miss Helen Tongue's Bushman Paintings, pl. xxviii, where the steatopygy of the female figures must be seen to be believed. Or again, the Willendorf woman carved in oolite. Spearing's Childhood of Art, fig. 22, p. 40.

² The relative references appear at the end of the present Article.

with the figures it describes the common property of "length without breadth".

This linearity, this enforced reduction of the human frame, is strikingly manifest in archaic Chinese script. We shall find it in the different forms of man, whether seen frontally or in profile, alike in action and at rest.

In this Paper, owing to the abundance of material deserving attention, it is proposed to restrict our study to those typical characters that represent man as seen in profile, and, normally, facing to the left. And first of all, to that of the most ancient character for jên, man, now written in three ways, 亖 as an independent word, and 亖 and 亗, when in combination. And we may note in passing that the first of these combining forms comes closer to the archaic shape than does 亖 jên, the orthodox scription of the character when standing alone.

Type 1

Figures 1 to 4 on Plate IX represent variants of the earliest type that we can assign with certainty to the word jên, man, though it is possible that another rather fuller design may in the future prove its claim to represent the same word. We shall come to it later.

For instance, Chalmers, usually so careful, says of it, "the prevailing characteristic is the two lines for the legs." ¹ And Wieger, while actually citing the Shuo Wen's reputative statement, writes, "jenis; a man represented by his legs." ² Yet the Shuo Wen's words are 象臂脛之形, that is, "depicts the arm and the leg." And there can be no doubt that the Shuo Wen was right in this, and that the left-hand stroke is the extended arm. And here may I point out a peculiarity or mannerism of the artists who designed the prehistoric pictography of the Chinese (if Chinese they were), in that in drawing profile figures, whether human or animal, they seldom represented more than half the real number of

¹ Structure of Chinese Characters, p. 9.
limbs, one arm and one leg for man, one fore and one hind leg for beasts.

So much then, for the oldest examples of jen, man, qua character, worn down and worn out by hard and ceaseless use to a headless, handless and footless trunk. But we are about to examine forms, some found on archaic Bronzes, and more on the Honan Bone relics, that offer what must have been, typologically, a more ancient, and artistically a more veritable portrait of Man seen in profile. Some of these forms we cannot yet attach to any known Chinese word, being ignorant as to what later characters correspond to, and have replaced them. Some occur so far only in composition. But all are visibly human figures at rest or in action.

**Type 2**

Proceeding from the simple to the more complex forms, let us begin with one that has already been illustrated and partly discussed in a previous number of this Journal. For convenience sake the two variants are now repeated as Figs. 5 and 6. It is not generally the aim of this Paper to debate questions of the correct equation of archaic forms with modern characters, so that we need not here try to decide whether Figs. 5 and 6 are primitive drawings standing for 喾 jen, man, or for 疊 yüan, prime, or for 子 tsū, son. What is clear is that they depict a man with a head on his shoulders, but otherwise the same as Figs. 1 to 4.

We find this same type in groups of two, three, and even four, in certain unknown compound characters on very early Bronzes. Thus Fig. 7 is from Yuan Yuan's collection of inscriptions, Chi Ku Chai, etc., chüan 1, p. 29. I call special attention to Fig. 8, which is clearly a variation of Fig. 7. I copied it some twenty-one years ago from a Bronze lance-head inscribed on one side, and forming part of the Wang Collection of Antiquities in the Museum of the Anglo-

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Chinese College, Tientsin. This exhibition was derived from the valuable collection of a well-known antiquarian, Wang I-jung, a Grand Secretary, living in Peking at the time of the Boxer movement. "On the entry of the Foreign Contingents into Peking, whence nearly all the official class had fled, the Grand Secretary, solitary and helpless, following the precedents of the antiquity he knew so well, 'faced the north,' made the due obeisance for the last time, and then with his wife and widowed daughter-in-law, threw himself into a well and perished."

The "strange Pictogram" (Fig. 8, similar ones are found elsewhere) "seems to represent four human figures under what may possibly be a standard." So far as I know, this figure has never been published before.

**Type 3**

Another simple type to be noted is that of the crouching or kneeling man. From it are derived the Lesser Seal and modern characters \(\mathcal{J}\), and \(\mathcal{L}\) or \(\mathcal{M}\), found only in composition.

The two varying scriptions of jén, viz. \(\mathcal{M}\) and \(\mathcal{L}\), are separated in the Shuo Wen for reasons of expediency in classifying the large number of compounds of each, for some follow one form and some the other.

But in the earliest times the two types were derived from the same model of humanity, which was, as it were, sawn asunder, the upper half ultimately becoming \(\mathcal{M}\), and the lower, \(\mathcal{L}\), each semi-human relic claiming to be jén, man.

Even in the most archaic inscriptions the kneeling type is very rarely found as an independent character, but in compound formations it abounds. Figs. 9, 10, and 11, however, may be cited as standing by themselves. Figs. 12 to 15 show differences in detail, and are combining-forms, as appears from the compound characters on the Plate.

It is not the aim of this Paper to equate all the ancient types reviewed with their corresponding modern equivalents,
unless for one reason or another this is helpful to its main purpose. But it seems appropriate to quote a short passage in which Lo Chên-yü gives his considered opinion on the nature of the figures we are examining. He says,\(^1\) "The Shuo Wen explains 令 ling as, to issue a command; composed with ∆ tsi, and ブ tsich, joint or tally." Lo, however, has a different opinion; "It appears" he says, "that in the ancient writing 令 ling was composed with ∆ and 人造 jên, man, q.d. to assemble a number of men and give them authoritative commands. Hence in ancient times 令 ling and 命 ming were one character and had one meaning. 故古令與命為一字一義. When Hsü in his Work (the Shuo Wen) explains ブ (tsich, in Hsü's eyes) as an auspicious token, he did not know that the ancient form ブ depicted a man kneeling, and was the character 人造 jên, man, 彼人跪形即人字也. All the characters ranged under ブ (The Shuo Wen's 338th Radical) are wrongly analyzed."

My only hesitation in accepting this valuable dictum of Lo's is confined to a doubt whether the crouching or kneeling figure was actually employed to write the word jên, or was possibly the written form of some other syllable. But in any case, when this type is not at the bottom but at the side of a modern character, it is miswritten, and believed to be ブ tsich, joint.

**TYPE 4**

Mounting one rung of the scale of complexity we reach a form, marked by a certain picturesque naïvete, but tempting the investigator to advance over some ice that is exceedingly thin. Figs. 16 and 17 (also found reversed, 18) appear to be merely more finished variants of the last type, and indeed they must really be so, for they occur sometimes on the Honan Bones in place of the more usual Fig. 19, as "supporters" in the compound character 郷 hsiang. The uppermost element, which in certain other characters is

\(^1\) Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i K'ao Shih, p. 51, s.v. 令 Ling.
found similarly placed, seems a mere convention for a head and face seen in profile. Strictly regarded however, it is in form an ad hoc application of the ordinary character for 门 Kou, mouth, rotated to the right or left through a quadrant of a circle, and serving at once as a significant gesture, and as an enforced aberrancy from the normal position of the mouth character in order to avoid identity with the archaic scription of 兄 hsiung, elder brother. However this may be, Fig. 16, and its reverse, separated by an element expressing food on a dish are seen facing each other in Fig. 20, representing the modern 郊 hsiang, village, in form, but 饂 hsiang, to offer food, in meaning.¹

Now Lo Chên-yü surmises² very acutely that the Shuo Wen’s Lesser Seal form Fig. 21 (its 341st Radical and now written 饂), represents the Honan Bone form, Fig. 19; that the latter is identical with a more naturalistic and ampler sign, Fig. 22, found very rarely on those relics; that this latter portrays two men facing each other; that it is the true scription of the later character 郊 hsiang, towards, just as Figs. 23 or 24 (modern 北 pei, North, but also, to turn the back on), depicts two men back to back. I infer then, for Lo does not explicitly say this, that he regards each half of Fig. 22 as a fully finished variant of the character 亻 jén.

Type 5

Analogous to the last type, and formed of the same components, but having the upper element only reversed, is Fig. 25 (and reversed, Fig. 26).

This quaint formation represents the modern 兄 chi, and so far as I know, at no phase of its career occurs as an independent character, but is fairly common in compounds. It is said by the Shuo Wen to mean "to choke". But it is well to proceed very cautiously with regard to it.

¹ See this fully discussed in JRAS. for 1917, "Pictographic Reconnaissances," Part I, pp. 805-7, and especially the Plate, Figs. 120-5.
First of all, it is a fact that the modern scription of *chi* descends not, as usual, from the Lesser Seal version, 𠄎, but from the real archaic construction shown above, Fig. 26, for the upper element in the Lesser Seal is modern 亐 *ch’i*, vapour, but in the archaic and the modern forms alike, it is a deflexion of □ *k’ou*, mouth.

Next, we find that the *Shuo Wen* states that the character 𠄎 *chi* is 为 *ch’ien*, reversed (從 反 为), and so, in the Lesser Seal it is, where 𠄎 is the Lesser Seal scription of 为 *ch’ien*, but it is not so in the archaic or modern shapes. But the statement that 为 *ch’ien* and 𠄎 *chi* were thus correlated forms is interesting and important. Lastly, the *Shuo Wen* gives us a *Ku wen* or ancient form of 𠄎 *chi*, and, if the shape is as Hsü originally wrote it, this was Fig. 27. But both the Honan relics and the old Bronzes prove that this is erroneously written as regards the lower element, and that the *Ku wen* should be Fig. 28, even when negligently finished off. Now such a form corresponds strictly to the archaic Fig. 26.

What then is the significance of this character, in which the mouth (or the head and mouth) faces in the contrary direction to that of the body? Such a posture seems to require some correlated sign wherein the mouth and head have a more normal relation to the rest of the human body. And this normal relation is seen at once in Type 4, where both body and head face in the same forward direction.

If therefore Type 5 (Figs. 25 or 26) shows us the archaic design of 𠄎 *chi*, to choke, and if the *Shuo Wen* is right in describing this *chi* as the reverse of 亐 *ch’ien* to gape, then Type 4, e.g. Fig. 18, must be that reverse, and consequently stand for 亐 *ch’ien*. Now, it is true, we might have expected that in a character picturing a gaping mouth the upper element would have been left open, that is, without the short downstroke, thus □ not □. And as to that we should note Tuan Yü-ts’ai’s statement that in Hsü Ch’ieh’s Edition of the *Shuo Wen* the character 𠄎 *ch’ien* is written as Fig. 29, that is with an obviously open mouth. Nevertheless, on the Honan Bones,
no example known to me appears with the mouth thus left open. But, on the other hand, Takada in the *Ku Chou P'ien,*\(^1\) gives several examples (all in compound characters) of 卦 ch'ien, written with the mouth widely opened as shown by Figs. 30 and 31, the last from the Stone Drums, the others from ancient Bronzes.

Loth as I always am to differ from the excellent judgment of Lo Chên-yü, the facts and considerations set out above seem more consistent with an identification of the headed and kneeling figures in Fig. 22, with the open-mouthed forms shown in Figs. 30 and 31, and of all four with 卦 ch'ien, than with the simple character 亼 jen, as Lo thinks.

**Type 6**

Proceeding now from head to foot, we reach a simple design where the head is ignored and the foot emphasized by exaggeration. This design is found, but very rarely, as an independent character, on the Honan Bones; and in composition, both there and on ancient Bronzes. Figs. 32 and 33 (they appear to be variants) occur on the Bones, and Fig. 34 on Bronze, in the character now generally written 彫 chih, to bring about, an effect, but also in the early scription of 寒 han, cold, and of 毛 p'o, an indigenous race in Ssuchuan Province.

Lo Chên-yü identifies this formation, and very justly it would seem, with the modern 企 ch'i, to stand on tiptoe, but not so Takada\(^2\) who sees in it 彫 ch'ui or sui, Kanghsi's 35th Radical.

An attractive example of this type (not otherwise known to me) is cited by Takada, *Ku Chou P'ien,* ch. 54, p. 18, whence I have copied Fig. 34a. He considers it "without doubt the most archaic form of 據 chü, to hold on to ", and rightly says the human figure and the staff make a picture of someone supported by a staff, 枪 持象形 chang ch'i'ih hsiang hsing, and 枪 持 chang ch'i'ih is the definition of the *Shuo Wen* for

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\(^1\) *K.C.P.*, chüan 37, pp. 7, 8; chüan 35, p. 9.

the character 据 chü, while Takada treats the remaining element (又 yu, the right hand) as equivalent to the 扌 shou in the character 据 chü. This is very ingenious and may well be the true explanation. It would, therefore, seem reasonable to conclude that without the hand element, the figure with the staff stands for the most primitive scription of 杖 chang, a staff, or to use a staff. But Takada cannot insert any example taken from original documents of either 丈 or 杖, but only his own "reconstructions" of them, from their component elements (集形 tsi hsing).

**Type 7**

So far we have considered the human form in various attitudes. But in Type 7 we are to deal with a figure that up to quite recent years was believed to stand for a demonic or spectral being, as well as for that part of the disembodied spirit of man that returns to the Earth after the vital spark has been quenched. In the popular mind it is applied to evil spirits incarnate in various monstrous, horrific, or loathly shapes, such, for example, as Europeans. These shapes are often partially anthropomorphic as appears in the written character 鬼 kuei, devil, which includes the form for kneeling man (Type 3), while the upper part is thought to have once depicted the head and features of some frightful fiend, Figs. 35 and 36.

This may be the true account, but on the whole I incline to agree with Takada's view that the character portrays a man kneeling and wearing some ceremonial headgear while he renders their due rights to the spirits of the dead. His actual words are 象戴冠弁 hsiang tai kuan pien, "depicts the wearing of a ceremonial cap." Such an interpretation of the whole character is consonant (not to put it higher) with the Shuo Wen's ancient form Fig. 37, which, strangely enough, is confirmed by a Honan bone example, Fig. 38, the left-hand element in both cases being 篡 shih, to indicate, a sign, (the regular Determinative for characters relating to worship and spiritual beings).
It is curious that whereas the Lesser Seal shape of the upper element in 鬼 kuei, is, according to the Shuo Wen, 鬼, and explained as "a spectre’s head", the two examples given above, Figs. 35 and 36 (one from the well-known Mao Kung Caldron, the other from the Honan relics), are simply, as there written, 国 t'ien, fields. But of course they are merely stylized reductions of some earlier and more complex figure. And the crux of decipherment is to discover how this earlier figure was designed, and what it was meant to represent.

The solution now to be proposed, while based in the main on Takada’s and my own reading of the type shown in Figs. 35 and 36, goes further, and presents a novel decipherment of a very strange but little known figure forming part of the complex in Figs. 39 and 40. I should say at once that Takada, who has much to say on the matter, holds a very different view from mine.

Shortly then, the complex in question is found within what I have elsewhere called "a cartouche", it is a characteristic framework considered to be the old and true form of the modern character 亞 ya, and to stand for the ground-plan of an ancestral hall. In a rather wide range of variation of detail it occurs on a number of the most archaic Bronzes, Takada citing (chüan 36, p. 32) no less than twenty-nine examples. He now believes the enclosed group to be a very ancient scription of the word 招 chao, to beckon, invite, and identifies the right-hand element with the later character written 丸, in composition, but not now found alone. I am not here concerned to discuss the whole complex. But I do not accept his equation of the right-hand part, and in place of it, I suggest that we see in it a very archaic form of 鬼 kuei.

Like Takada, I suppose the curious upper part to represent the head and elaborate headgear. Like him too, I see in the

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1 Figs. 39 and 40 are copied by me from the facsimiles in the I Shu Ts'ung Pien, vol. xii (上文存, 下, p. 35, and vol. viii, ibid., 上, p. 3).
2 It forms the right-hand part of 購 chih, to grasp, as now written.
linear lower part the body with one arm extended, raising apparently a wine jar from a holder or chafing dish, and, as Takada says, clothed in full dress (of ceremonial worship, as I suppose). And I further see in the unusual spiral termination below, (not, we may note, in the Bone or usual Bronze examples), the probable origin of the little element 全 present in both the Lesser Seal and modern forms, displaced first, and then misunderstood by the Han and later scholars. I should add that such a novel decipherment would not necessarily militate against the Japanese epigraphist's solution of the whole complex as 指 chao, to beckon.

And there I leave the character kuei, whether as pious worshipper, or grisly spectre, for the future to decide, but in any case gratified that Mr. Takada and myself concur in believing that the quaint figure in Figs. 39 and 40 represents the human form viewed in profile.

Type 8

Few looking at the modern version of this obscure, insignificant, and mostly misspelled character 截 and discovering that it means a hatpin or hairpin (for which, however, the much larger 髻 tsan is now substituted), would expect to find it included in a study of types of the human figure. Nor would they probably be helped by certain of the much stylized old forms that are recorded, e.g. Fig. 41, the parent of the Lesser Seal scription.

But the uncertainty is illuminated when we see a very archaic and picturesque drawing, Fig. 42, cited by Takada (Ku Chou P'ien, ch. 35, p. 17). Here the man's outline is plain enough, and the only question is what does the projecting object above his head stand for? It looks more like a large comb than a hat-pin, although again, it might be a decorative feather. One thing is certain. It is some sort of fastening or ornament worn by a man, perhaps characteristic of some non-Chinese race.
Type 9

It seems perhaps a questionable arrangement that classifies the two Figs. 42 and 43 under one head. But the action indicated by each being as I think, apparently closely related, they are both treated conveniently together. For here, surely, we are privileged to witness the domesticities of the bathtub and the wash-basin, as practised in the most ancient China.

The pictogram exhibited in Fig. 42 is extant in two examples only, and those of Shang or Yin dynasty date. Facsimile reproductions appear in vol. x, p. 28, of the I Shu Ts'ung Pien Review, in the series entitled Yin wen ts'un, or "Extant writing of the Yin dynasty". Until Mr. Takada's Ku Chou P'ien was published, the Figure had never to my knowledge been identified with any modern character, nor commented on at all. Takada's ingenious equation of it with the modern character 拿 lan, to grasp, is thus defended. He says (chüan 54, p. 19), "The sound and meaning cannot be actually proved, but a scrutiny of the figure shows that it consists of 皿 min, a vessel or dish, and of a man grasping an object and gazing into it" (Query, the object or the vessel?). And a little later he adds, "advancing his head and looking downwards into the vessel" (人類而下視器皿之中也), while "the element 亻 shows the idea of grasping" (又亻即執持之意).

I confess I do not quite grasp the Japanese scholar's idea. Why should a man looking down into a vessel close below him want to grasp any object, in fact, with what object does he look downward? To my mind there is a far more easily explained interpretation, and this is it. We have a linear sketch of a man stooping over a basin. From his crudely drawn head a rope of hair hangs down which he grasps, perhaps about to dip it into the basin, perhaps wringing it out to dry. There seems a certain grotesque truthfulness in the drawing of the attitude. I do not desire to equate it with any existing Chinese character, beyond suggesting that it might be a variant of Fig. 43, now to be considered.
According to Lo Chên-yü, this is the early way of writing the character 洗 hui, explained by the Shuo Wen as "to wash the face". And Lo describes the old figure as depicting a man with dishevelled hair close to a basin washing his face (象人散髪就皿洒面之狀).

It is quite possible to reconstruct Lo’s archaic group in modern script, when it would appear as 飴, if it were in Kanghsí’s Dictionary, which it is not. The primitive artist was in trouble with the upper right hand and arm, and just did the best he could.

These two figures admirably illustrate a signal difficulty that meets the inquirer into the history of Chinese writing, and one that Mr. Takada again and again points out in his Ku Chou P’ien, namely the constant abandonment of an original pictogram in favour of some more easily written phonetic compound, or less often, of one constructed on the hui i or suggestive combination principle. When this change has taken place, the investigating sleuth-hound finds that the scent is absolutely lost. And more than that, it cannot but leave a large margin of doubt on every conjectural equation with a modern form, however plausible and ingenious.

**Type 10**

The type now about to engage our attention is larger, more expressive, and of greater interest because of the important compounds of which it forms part, than those we have hitherto passed in review.

Yet this form has not existed as an independent character since, probably, the Shang dynasty, say, the close of the second millennium B.C., for it has been found in its archaic aspect on the Honan relics.

Kanghsí prints its modern form as 叱, and the Shuo Wen gives the Lesser Seal shape as 叱, and adds that “it is read like 輒 chi”. The same authority explains its meaning as 持也 chi’ih yeh, to grasp, and basing himself on the construction of the Lesser Seal, states that the figure depicts the hand
having something in its grasp. From which it is clear that Hsü Shên had not seen the true archaic scrip tion, reproduced in Figs. 44 to 48.

These designs, it should be remarked, are exceptional in that they do not conform to the practice noticed earlier in this paper of representing only two of the four limbs of man and quadrupeds seen in profile. Here we see both arms extended. The type is mostly found in composition, but Figs. 44 and 45 stand alone. In the first two the attitude suggests prayer, supplication, or high respect. In the third, Fig. 46, the relation of the two hands seems to indicate that some object is being carefully held, though none is actually shown in this instance, as though an offering of sacrifice was about to be made, an interpretation that is confirmed by the presence of a variant of the character 祀 shih, the Determinative of spiritual beings and ceremonies. Figs. 47 and 48 are clearly identical with 46, though the artist’s want of skill appears to make both hands spring from one arm. Wu Ta-ch’êng cites Fig. 47 from a bronze under the entry 祀 ssù, to sacrifice, but Takada also citing the same bronze, treats it as a 古逸字 ku i tsù, i.e. an archaic and obsolete character, which he reconstructs in what he holds would be its modern aspect, as 祀. Whether Wu or Takada is right, or whether neither is, it is very interesting to meet the exact double of Fig. 47 on a cowrie in my collection, H. 318, Fig. 48, for it is unique among those relics, and unknown to the Chinese and Japanese scholars, from the various other collections.

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Among the compound formations in which this type takes part is the archaic prototype of the character 揚 yang, to lift up, exalt, mount, expand. This is remarkable for the large range of variation presented by the very numerous instances occurring in the oldest bronze and bone inscriptions recorded and now accessible. And it is a long-pondered consideration of these variants that has led me slowly to a new, heterodox, and perhaps startling deduction of the origin and true
significance of the included element 易 yang. This is variously rendered by various writers as "the opening up of the daylight" (Chalmers), "to expand, glorious" (Wieger), "Male. Ciel : firmament. Clair" (Callery). These authors all follow the Shuo Wen in its analysis of the character 易 as being composed of 日 jih, sun, and 勿 wu, a flag (now written 物), which certain personages of rank were entitled to fly; and they equally accept its explanation of the meaning, as 開 k'ai, to open.

Our first concern, however, is with the compound character 揚 yang, and in the course of examining its archaic predecessors I shall have to maintain that the composition and significance of its main element 易 yang, has been totally misunderstood, and in consequence wrongly analysed, by the school to which Hsū Shên, the author of the Shuo Wen, belonged, and whose teaching he accepted and transmitted. And this, owing to ignorance of the vast store of Shang and Chou documents in bronze and bone that have since been exhumed and studied.

In order that the argument may be more conveniently followed, I have selected nine examples of the archaic variants of 揚 yang, arranging them in a series from the most to the least complex groups, Figs. 49 to 57. All of these except the last comprise some variant of 扌 chi, to hold or grasp, Type 10, corresponding in function though not in form to the Determinative 手 shou, hand, of the Lesser Seal and modern versions of 揚 yang. The first three, Figs. 49 to 51, have apparently three other elements; the next two have two out of those three, Figs. 52 and 53; Figs. 54 and 55 have only one; and the last two again, have two.

It is impossible with our present knowledge to ascertain which of all these variations represents the most primitive model. All we can do is to attempt to reconstruct the pictorial ideal in the mind of the ancient artist, and that, as I hope to show, has not yet been done in full for the most complex, nor even for some of the simpler versions. The author of the Shuo Wen had not seen such combinations as Figs. 49 to 57,
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so that his analysis of the Lesser Seal character is inevitably inadequate to explain them.

The clue, however, has now been found. Whoever will look at Figs. 54 and 55 will discover more quickly where the solution lies when he realizes what the circle with its central dot was intended to represent.

It does not, and it never did, represent 日 jih, the sun, as Hsü Shên believed. On the contrary, it depicts the 璜 pi, or large disk of jade, with its central circular aperture. Splendid specimens of these jades are in Mr. George Eumorfopoulos' cabinets. Such tokens of authority and symbols of rank were held in the hands (as these figures show) at audiences of the monarch, and expressed homage or ceremonious thanks. Besides these, in many cases, we find the character for jade, 玉 yu, added sometimes above, oftener beneath, the pi or disk, perhaps partly to avoid that very confusion with 日 jih, the sun, that nevertheless ensued later. But there remains, as the lowest part of the larger variants, an element which provides the only point of uncertainty in the composition. It seems to take two forms. One, less usually seen in the archaic character, certainly appears to be, as the Shuo Wen says, the character 勹 wu. The second, a frequent alternative to 勹 wu, is a simple T-shaped form whose stem generally curves either to the right or the left. It is the first of these two varieties that reappears in the Lesser Seal and modern scriptions of 爰 yang. The second, or T-shaped sign, as it seems to me, may reasonably be held to form part of the first. But whether it is the parent shape, or a residual contraction, I am not able to say. I may, however, observe that it is found again in the bone version of the character there written 元 and 亭 (now 宁 ning), where above it is 目 min, dish, and where it seems natural to regard the lower element as indicating some sort of stand or support. I am accordingly inclined to regard the small diagonal strokes in the alleged 勹 wu element as unessential, and perhaps = 祉 shan. And support is precisely
The Human Figure in Archaic Chinese Writing.
what I suppose to stand for in the variants of 揚 yang where it appears. That is to say, that it represents some kind of pedestal or footed base from which the jade disk was raised at the proper moment, as seems to be displayed in a crudely drawn example of the character illustrated in the Chin Ts’un Section, additional chün 2, 1st plate, in vol. xxi of the I Shu Ts’ung Pien (see Fig. 58 on Plate).\(^1\)

It must not be forgotten that no explanation of 揚 yang or of its component 阳 yang, will be sufficient that does not account for the whole complex of the more elaborate and archaic versions of the character in question.

To sum up the significance of the primitive pictogram later replaced by 揚 yang.

To suggest and exemplify the physical action of raising, and the figurative sense of exalting, both embodied in the word yang, we have a human figure with extended arms raising in both hands a circular disk of jade from what appears to be an honorific support and stand.

It would follow from such a view that the simple character 阳 yang (without any Determinative) cannot in the earliest ages have existed, except as a conscious contraction of the more explicit 揚 or similar composite form.

**Type 11**

This need not detain us long, having been discussed in the Journal for 1927 in “Pictographic Reconnaissances”, part viii, pp. 771–7, and illustrated on Plate VII, Figs. 8–10. In that paper I described the figure as a “crudely drawn and linearized profile of a man grasping some object”, and I need add nothing here to that description.

Fig. 59 is a reconstructed character, a “composite” integration of the two Figures 8 and 9 (omitting the object held) on Plate VII of “Pict. Reconn.”, part viii. Of these, Fig. 8 omits the foot, and Fig. 9 discards the head, but retains the foot. We are entitled, therefore, to infer an original form

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\(^1\) Cited also by Takada in *K.C.P.*, ch. 55, p. 3.
as shown in Fig. 59. As will be seen, this differs only from Type 10 by the presence of the foot, the explicit restoration of which is probably here and elsewhere meant to show that the man is moving.

**Type 12**

This appears to be the last figure amplified by a fully developed head with hair. It has become the 181st "Radical" of Kanghsii, and is there said to be pronounced hsieh, but in modern use has lost the rough breathing and is sounded yeh. The Shuo Wen defines the word as "head", and as a Determinative of many characters, it agrees with that meaning.

Kanghsii is very curt in its treatment of this character, for after citing the alleged pronunciation according to three earlier dictionaries, and the Shuo Wen's entry, the Editors confine themselves to adding from the Liu Shu Ku ("Six Scripts") that the character is 首 shou and ought not to be pronounced hsieh, and that the Shuo Wen was wrong in making it a separate Radical with a different sound.

The normal type is well and clearly shown in the inscription on the four-handled tui (or chiu as Mr. Yetts suggests it should be read) of the Eumorphopoulos collection, where in combination it appears twice (see Fig. 60 on Plate). This is an already much stylized rendering of Type 3 (modern 亙) surmounted by a variant of the human head and hair, disproportionately drawn for the sake of emphasis, but intended to give a profile view.

We may remark two things of this type, first that so far in archaic Chinese it never occurs as an independent character; and second that it differs only from the archaic forms of 觴 chien, to perceive, by having 首 shou, head, where chien has 目 mu, eye.

**Type 13**

Under one group are here brought together outlines of the human figure in profile, whether standing or kneeling, but all having the head, one or both arms, with hands or a hand,
and the foot also indicated. What word may be meant seems uncertain, but the native scholars, judging by the general nature of the brief inscriptions containing them, usually treat them as being *ad hoc* varieties of the character for *son*, viz. 子 *tsū*. Perhaps in most cases they are right, for it is hard to find a more likely solution.

A curious chance has brought on to the same page of Wu Ta-ch'êng's K'o Chai Chi Ku Lu,¹ the two examples numbered Figs. 61 and 62 on the Plate.

I should mention as regards Fig. 61 that in his Supplement, the *Ku Chou P'ien Pu I*, chüan 3, p. 15, Takada cites the form, but shows close to the head and partly above it, a crudely drawn 戈 *ko* or halberd, and treats the two as forming one group, adding, "a man beneath a halberd and with hands hanging down,—this is 戌 *shū*, frontier guard, not 伐 *fa*, to attack." He may perhaps be right.

**Type 14**

No one, probably, looking at the modern shape of the character 身 *shēn*, body, nor perhaps at the Lesser Seal version, 王, would detect a human model. Yet it is there, and not so far to seek, in many of the archaic designs, such for instance as are seen in Figs. 63 to 65.

All except the *Shuo Wen* agree that in one way or another these old forms represent the human figure with the belly emphasized, while there is incomplete agreement as to the lower diagonal, or short cross stroke. Fig. 65 seems very convincing that Takada has rightly interpreted the forms as intended to represent a pregnant woman, the contained dot or line suggesting the foetus, and corresponding with the expression in the spoken language 有身 *yu shēn* "having body", that is, being pregnant. But the lower cross or diagonal stroke has caused more doubt. I do not see how it can be phonetic as the *Shuo Wen* supposes, nor does it seem happily described, as it is by Wieger, as "a leg moving forward to

¹ *Ts'ê 23*, p. 17.
keep the "equilibrium". My own explanation is quite different. I believe it to be a conventional device, or written gesture, "stop here," as it were, meant to direct the attention to what is immediately above, viz. the pregnant body, as being the key to the significance of the character, and the sense of the word.

TYPE 15

The discovery of this type is due to the Honan Relics, and unless I am deceived, the discovery also provides the earlier form, and the explanation, of the character 亙 tui, now used for "exchange", but interchanged with 亙 yüeh, joy, gladness, and some other of its compounds, in the older literature.

The four Figs. 66 to 69, all from the Honan bones, are, I believe, variants of this type. They represent a human figure, with a head variously modified and abridged, holding in one hand what seems to be either a rod, or more probably some form of weapon. Fig. 66 occurs on the remarkable Deershorn "sceptre" now in the British Museum. It should be compared with Fig. 67, where the upper part or head of the figure is essentially the same, but the axis is directed upwards instead of to the left. Fig. 68 is again an abridgment of an abridgment, so that the head is reduced to the mouth. Fig. 69 has the head of a devil (see under Type 7), and is conceivably not a variant of this type, but a separate character, perhaps 亙 wei.

Now what is the significance of Figs. 66 and 67, and especially, what is the uppermost part intended to signify? I interpret the latter as a head, contracted, as often, to a mouth, from which issues, in a kind of megaphonic outline, a symbol of the human voice. The two together represent, it is reasonable to suppose, an effort to express the human voice uttering sounds of gladness and loud noise (which are deemed by many to be the same thing). If this be granted, we have, almost exactly in Fig. 67, the prototype of the later 亙 tui, in its sense of gladness, the only objection that might
be urged being that the two small upper strokes—the sides of the megaphone—should, in the later developments of the character, have sloped outwards, thus \( \mathcal{U} \) not \( \mathcal{X} \). But this is not a very serious difficulty. Moreover, certain further archaic characters, also occurring on the Honan bones, and published in Lo Chên-yü’s work, *Yin Hsi Shu Ch’i*, seem clearly to be rather ampler variants of the main or right-hand half of the figures discussed above, and therefore, as I submit, to be early forms of 子 tui. Not that Lo himself took that view of them, for he includes them (on p. 2) in his collection of characters awaiting investigation. Nor can I claim the concurrence of the Japanese scholar, Takada Tadasuke, who surmises that they represent the modern character 吹 ch’ui, to blow or breathe out.

But however it may be regarding the equation of these figures with modern characters, what appears certain is the identity of type, despite the variations of detail, of Figs. 70 to 72, with the main part of the four discussed above, Figs. 66 to 69. Here are the same merging of the whole head into a mouth, the same childlike symbol of a something issuing from the mouth, noise, words, mere breath, whatever it may be, the same linear abridgment of body, arm, and leg, that we saw before. The only difference is that in the absence of any object to be grasped, the forearm and hand are economized and omitted.

**Type 16**

The identification of this archaic form as the true original of the element 子 in the Lesser Seal, and 乍 in modern writing, which constitutes the main body of the characters 老 lao, old and 考 k’ao, aged, we owe to the insight of Mr. Takada. He detected it in the form Fig. 73, equivalent to the rare modern character 聽 tieh, very old.

The *Shuo Wen*, analysing the Lesser Seal version, treats the upper part as 毛 mao, hair, as indeed it seems to be,

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1 See his 膩虛書契待問編 *Yin Hsi Shu Ch’i Tai Wen Pien.*
though why hair, or long hair, should be deemed characteristic
of old age is not clear, unless the long eyebrows of old age are
suggested. Notice again that the arm, normally even in the
archaic script left without a hand, here terminates in that
organ, seemingly due to the presence of another element to
the left.

It will not seem perhaps clear to ordinary readers why there
should be cause for the special congratulations now offered
by a fellow-student to the devoted Japanese epigraphist to
whose acumen the above discovery is due.

**Type 17**

The character 望 or 朩wang, to face, to look towards, does
not appear likely to furnish a member of the series of types
with which this paper is concerned. Yet, in fact, it does so.
Kanghsi, quoting from the Yü P'ien Dictionary, gives a form
朩, and calls it the "ancient character" for 望wang. But
both Chalmers and Wieger insert the form as = 曺 ch'é'n.¹

But the Shuo Wen gives (under its radical 十 t'ing) a Lesser
Seal form consisting similarly of 曺 ch'é'n over 十 t'ing,
but asserts it to be an "ancient form of 朩 wang, contracted ".

The Honan bones, again, supply us with the archaic parent
of Kanghsi's "ancient form", and of the Shuo Wen's ancient
form also, in the guise of Fig. 74, where the lower half is a
primitive scription of 十 t'ing (itself an integrated compound
of man standing erect on ground, 十 t'u). But these same relics
also display, and in the same contexts, a still simpler form,
Fig. 75, where man alone remains and the ground is absent;
and consequently, no longer earth-bound, he claims his due
place in this paper,—for sic itur ad astra.

Now it might not unreasonably be objected that these two
supposed variants may be two quite separate characters.
Indeed, I harboured this doubt myself until I found that both
occur in the same locution, shown in Fig. 76. The second

¹ Structure of Chinese Characters, p. 72 and p. 136. Chinese Characters
character of this is peculiar to the Honan relics. It is a strange formation. Takada, perhaps following Wang Kuo-wei, decides that it stands for 乘 ch'ēng, to mount. But I am convinced that the true equation was discovered by the late Mr. Frank Chalfant, who saw in it the original of the modern character 幸 hsing, fortunate chance, stroke of good luck. And a strong and indeed convincing argument in favour of Chalfant's view is that while 望 乘 wang ch'ēng is hard to make sense of, 望 幸 wang hsing is a known phrase meaning to expect or hope for the arrival of the imperial chariot.¹

But to return to Fig. 75. As we have seen, the lower part is 人 jén, man, surmounted by 臣 chén, minister, which, according to the Shuo Wen, "depicts bowing in compliance," 象 屈服之形 hsiang ch'ū fu chīh hsing. I have disbelieved this for many years, and Fig. 75 seems to justify this scepticism, and to show that we have in 臣 chén a stylized and abridged human head in profile. Thus the whole composite exhibited in Fig. 75 would be strictly analogous with 見 ch'ien, to perceive—man surmounted by eye—and would represent a man looking towards some personage or object. Such a design would be natural and appropriate for a word with the sense of looking towards, whether with or without the addition of the ground element.

References
Works quoted in this article.
Hoffman's Graphic Art of the Eskimos, p. 796, fig. 27, pl. xl, especially l. 4 ; p. 844, fig. 50, pls. lx, lxvi, lxvii ; p. 869, fig. 84 ; p. 870, fig. 88.
Mallery's Picture Writing of the American Indians, pp. 355, 447, pls. ii, iii, and figs. 29, 35.
Shklovsky's In Far N.E. Siberia, plate at p. 136.
Spearing’s Childhood of Art, fig. 233.

¹ See, e.g., the Ts'ü Yüan, s.v. 望 wang.
MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

NOTE ON THE TRIBAL NAME BàRA SÁ

The latter part of this name (f-i-sá), which has usually been thought to contain in its first syllable f-i the causative prefix f-a-, f-i- of Bodo, and to be translatable consequently as something like "a made person" ¹ as well as simply "sons" ² or "children" ³ more probably has its affinities, as far as its prefix is concerned, in another direction.

In Dimá-sá the corresponding form is ba-sá "male child", bű-sá "female child" (Hojai dialect of Nowgong pa-sá and pu-su (pű-sá?) respectively), and the causative prefix of this language is pa-, pű-, a different element. Similarly Mech of Jalpaiguri bĩ-sá, Gārō (Standard) bi-sá (Rugā dialect of the Hills pĩ-sá), Tipurā of Dacca bũ-sá, b-sá, all meaning "child", and Chutiya pĩ-sá "son", contain no prefixes which appear elsewhere in their respective languages as causative formatives, these languages either possessing different elements for that purpose or else lacking any prefixed causative at all.

In related groups the same is true. Thus, for instance, although possessing a causative prefix pe-, pĩ-, pã-, Mikir does not use it with this word, which is there a-sō or e-sō.

From this it begins to appear that the coincidence in form of the prefix in the Bodo word f-i-sá with the causative element may be due to phonetic convergence and not to original identity. It is hardly in keeping with the usual procedure of the Tibeto-Burman languages of this area to allow a causative formation to play the part of a substantive of this nature, these latter with much the greatest frequency being provided

¹ Grierson, LSI. i, 1, p. 63. Cf. Sten Konow, ZDMG., Bd. 56 (1902), p. 496.
² LSI. iii, 1, p. 5.
³ Endle, Outline Grammar of the Kachari (Bâra) Language, p. vi (Preface).
with pronominal prefixes, though this does not seem to be
the case here.

The second member of all these forms is, of course, related
to Tibetan *isa(-bo, -mo)¹ "offspring" in general, with which
it is particularly significant that Tibetan *bu "child",
"son", appears in combination in *bu-isa, *bu-tsa "children's
children" > West. T. "boy", Purig *bu-tsa² "son".

Here the writer believes we may have the explanation of
the Bodo prefix *f-. The vowel interchange between *i and *u
is frequent in the Bodo languages,³ and also occurs in Tibetan,⁴
though it is perhaps legitimate to inquire whether the initial
of the Bodo prefix does not rather verge towards a sonant (v),
this especially in view of our, as yet, almost total lack of
scientifically accurate phonetic transcriptions in this region.

The varying forms of Dimā-sā *ba-sā "male child", *bū-sū
"female child", probably arise from some such single original
as *bū-sā, the second member of which in the feminine has
absorbed some vocalic gender suffix in *u, the influence of which
the prefix has also felt, prefixes nearly always in this language
showing a strong tendency towards vowel harmony with the
following root.

The weakness of the proposed equation, it must be frankly
confessed, lies in the fact that the equivalence of initial *f
in Bodo with Tibetan initial *b has yet to be given
corroboration. Until, however, the possibility of such an

¹ This form and its immediate Tibetan cognates the writer has con-
sidered on a previous occasion. See Language: Journal of the Linguistic
² Bailey's būtša; Linguistic Studies from the Himalayas, Asiatic Society
Monographs, xviii (1920), p. 42.
³ As, for instance, between the dialects of Dimā-sā in the Hills and in
the Plains. See Dundas, Outline Grammar and Dictionary of the Kachari
(Dimasa) Language, Vocabulary passim.
⁴ In Ḫbig(s)-pa, perf. Ḫig, fut. Ḫbig, imp. Ḫig(s) and Ḫbug(s)-pa, perf.
 Ḫug, fut. Ḫbug, imp. Ḫug "to sting, to pierce, to bore"; Ḫub-pa and Ḫub-pa,
perf. and imp. Ḫubs "to whisper"; Ḫbib(s)-pa and Ḫhub(s)-pa, perf.
and imp. Ḫub(s), fut. Ḫhub "to put on a roof"; Ḫbyig-pa and Ḫbyug-pa "stick";
and others.
equation has been more thoroughly investigated than is at the present moment possible, the suggested basic identity of Bodo f't-sā and Tibetan bu-tsa, bu-tsa, will perhaps not be too definitely countered, for, at least, it is strongly supported by the various forms of the Bodo Group in initial b given above.

STUART N. WOLFENDEN.

TA'RIKH-I FAKHRU'D-DIN MUBĀRAKSHĀH

In the introduction to his edition of Ta'rikh-i Fakhrud-Dīn Mubārakshāh (James G. Forlong Fund series) and in his article on “The Genealogies of Fakhr-ud-Dīn”, contributed to the 'Ajab Nāmah (pp. 392–413), Sir E. Denison Ross has endeavoured to give an account of the life and works of Muḥammad b. Maṃṣūr b. Saʿīd b. Abu'l-Faraj, the author of the above Ta'rikh, but it appears that he was not aware of the existence of another work by the same author, styled Ādābu'l-Mulūk wa Kifāyatul-Mamlūk in Ethē’s Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the India Office Library (column 1493), and named Ādābu'l-Harb wa'sh-Shujā`a in Rieu’s Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum (vol. ii, p. 487). This work was composed about A.H. 607 (A.D. 1210–11) and dedicated to the reigning Sultān Shamsu'd-Dunya wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muzaffar Īltutmish (f. 4a),1 who ruled at Delhi from A.H. 607 to 633 (A.D. 1210–35).

The author makes frequent references to himself and his family in the body of this work. He traces his genealogy to Abū Bakr Ṣiddīq on his father’s side, and to Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazna through his great-grandmother, who was a princess of the Ghaznavid house (f. 75a). On f. 28b he says that his great-grandfather, Abu'l-Faraj, was a friend and wazir of the Ghaznavid Sultān Abu'l-Muzaffar Ibrāhīm (A.H. 451–92, A.D. 1059–98), that he had been brought up with him, and that he had accompanied the Sultān to the fort of Nā'ī, probably during the period of his confinement in that fort prior to his accession to the throne.

1 All references are to the India Office M.S. of Ādābu 'l-Mulūk.
The brief note about the life of this author given by Rieu (vol. ii, p. 488) is incorrect and misleading. The date of his death is not known with certainty. Sir E. Denison Ross gives A.H. 602 (A.D. 1205) on the authority of Ibnu'l-Athir (see 'Ajab Nâmah, p. 393), but this is incorrect in view of the fact that the Ādāb was dedicated to Sultan Ḥūtimshāh, who came to the throne in A.H. 607. As the author was an old man when he composed this work, he must have died some time about this date. A careful study of Ādābu'l-Mulūk, I am sure, will reveal some more facts about the life of the author.

M. Nazim.

SOME NOTES ON OSTRAKON A

In the January number of this Journal (pp. 107–12) Dr. Cowley published two Aramaic Ostraka with translation and notes. Although the article is short, it shows the masterly hand of the editor of the Assuan Papyri.

The first ostrakon (A.) is very interesting, although the meaning of the contents is not quite clear. Of special interest, it seems to me, is the name of the lady to whom the letter is addressed: ךווניל. The first five words read 81ךווניל רבמל שולחה לו. Dr. Cowley translates: "To my mother Kovelia: a blessing I send to you." On p. 109 Cowley says: "The name seems to be new. It is no doubt Jewish." But "Kovelia" gives no meaning. I suggest that ךווניל is to be read כווניל, and means "Wait for Yah," "Trust in Yah" (God). Cf. Psalm xxvii, v. 14: יוהי ילש (twice), and Psalm xxxvii, v. 34: ילש יוהי ילש; Proverbs, ch. xx, v. 22: ילש ילש; see also Isaiah, ch. xxv, v. 9: ילש ילש (twice), ch. xxxiii v. 2: ילש ילש; also Isaiah viii, 17; Jeremiah xiv, 22; Hosea xii, 7. In the ostrakon the feminine form is used, יחל, because the bearer of the name is a woman. "Kavvi-'l Yah," "Wait for Yah," "Trust in Yah" (God) is a beautiful name. The father, at the birth of the child, exclaims (addressing the
child): “Trust in Yah.” One of the ladies frequently mentioned in the Assuan Papyri was called מֵתְנָשָׁה (daughter of יָהוֹ). It seems to me that the name מִלָּה which occurs in Jeremiah, xxix, 21, and Nehemiah xi, 7, and which is usually read מִלָּה, should be read מֵלָה. In the masculine form the נ can be omitted; cf. יָהוֹ. The meaning would also be: “Trust in Yah.” In Nehemiah xi, 7, the name of the son of מִלָּה is מֶרֶד, and the name of his father is מֵנֶשֶׁה. In Jeremiah xxix, 21, the name of the father of מֵנֶשֶׁה is מֵן. A similar name is מַלְמַלְמָא (the name of the father of Nehemiah, Neh. i, 1, and x, 1), which is to be read מַלְמָא and also means, “Wait for Yah,” “Trust in Yah.”

בַּעַל, in lines 3–4, it seems to me, is not “a friend of you”, but “your benefactor”, “one who has done you good (a good deed, good deeds)”. In late Hebrew (up to the present day) בַּעַל means “a man who does good deeds”, “one ready to help other people”, “a benefactor”. I think that “your benefactor” (“a friend who has helped you, or helps you”) would give a better sense than “a friend of you”. It may, indeed, be that בַּעַל means “refers to רָמֵא and not to מַנְתָּה (see p. 109).

רָנֶּה, in l. 9, probably means “he said emphatically”. Cf. Rabbinic רָנֶּה “to decide”, “to make a decree”, “to command” (see Levy, NHWB., part i, pp. 319 and 320).

The meaning of lines 9–15 is perhaps this: The writer of the letter desires that his mother should tell נָמַנְתָּה that the people of his household did not act in accordance with his promise (or his instructions).

Interesting are the pure Hebrew words רָבַה (l. 1), לָזְחָה and מַגְּהָ (l. 13).

Samuel Daiches.

23rd April, 1929.
THE PHILOSOPHICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF RGVEDA X, 129, 5, AND VERSES OF AN ALLIED NATURE

It appears that a complete and convincing interpretation of Rgveda, x, 129, 5, has not been found so far. The verse has been either regarded as absurd and obscure, and, consequently, given up as an insoluble puzzle, or it has been simply translated with a meagre explanation, of the correctness of which, in most cases, the commentators themselves have not been sure at all. Whitney, in his comments on Rgveda, x, 129, while referring to this verse, says: "But the next verse is still more unintelligible, no one has ever succeeded in putting any sense into it, and it seems so unconnected with the rest of the hymn that its absence is heartily to be wished." Bloomfield, after having translated the first four verses of the hymn, observes: "The hymn continues with a mystical fifth stanza, which is obscure, and in any case unimportant." More recently Professor Keith, after having explained the significance of the first four verses, calls the fifth "a puzzle". Deussen, Scherman, Ludwig, Oldenberg, Geldner, Hillebrandt, Grassmann, and Bergaigne have translated the verse and offered an explanation, which I shall consider presently.

The verse in question is as follows:—

Tirāscīno vitāto raśmir ēgām adhāh svid āsīd upari svid āsīd
Retodhā āsan mahimānā āsant svadhā avastāt prayātiḥ parastāt.

Before I offer any translation of the above verse, it will be proper to discuss the meaning of such important words in it

1 I want to acknowledge my thanks to Dr. E. J. Thomas, of the University Library, Cambridge, and Professor F. W. Thomas, of the Oxford University, for having given me an opportunity to discuss the contents of this article with them before it is published in its present form. I am also very much obliged to Dr. E. J. Thomas for his valuable assistance in referring to the German and the French authors during the preparation of this paper.

2 Journal of the American Oriental Society, xi (1911), cix.

3 Religion of the Veda, p. 238.

4 Religion and Phil. of the Veda, ii, p. 436.
as raśmih, eśām, retodhāh, mahimānāh, svadhā, and prayatiḥ.
It is only by a consistent interpretation of all these terms that a correct rendering of the whole verse can be found. That the language of the verse is metaphorical has been admitted by all the scholars. The question is: “What is the exact metaphor?” Various suggestions have been offered. According to Geldner, who follows Śāyaṇa’s commentary on a parallel passage in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, raśmih signifies “the inner eye of the highest Ātman”, which, like the rays of the sun, spread over the universe.¹ Deussen,² and Scherman³ take the word to mean “the inner eye of the sages”, and so, according to them, the verse refers to an effort on the part of the sages to understand the universe. According to Oldenberg and Bergaigne, the word means “the reins of a chariot”, and therefore the verse contains the metaphor of a car. Hillebrandt has suggested that raśmih signifies an architect’s cord, and hence the metaphor employed is that of a building. Ludwig simply translates the word as “cord”. Now, while the word raśmih has been thus translated variously by the scholars, unfortunately none of them has shown in detail how the metaphors suggested by them are justifiable consistently with the use of such other important words in the verse as retodhāh, mahimānāh, svadhā, and prayatiḥ, and with the general import of the cosmogonic hymn to which it belongs.

After a very careful comparative study of all the words used in the verse, I venture to suggest that it may be best interpreted in accordance with the many verses in the Rgveda, which describe the universe as a sacrifice, or as warp and woof, or, again, as both.⁴ A study of such verses will show that in some of them there is to be found a double metaphor, that is to say, while the universe is described as a sacrifice, the

¹ Der Rigveda in Auswahl, ii, p. 213.
² Gesch. der Phil., i, 124, 125.
³ Phil. Hymnen, 10.
⁴ E.g. Rgveda, i, 164, 5, 50; x, 90, especially 15 and 16; x, 114, 6–8; x, 130, 1 and 2; also Atharva, 1, 5; x, 8, 37 and 38; xiii, 6 and 7.
sacrifice, in its turn, is described as warp and woof. Consequently, the language of these verses is ambiguous, and contains what in logic would be called analogous terms—words with different and yet similar meanings, so as to be applicable to the various conceptions contained in the metaphors. Illustrations of these will be given presently, but, in order to understand the metaphorical language completely, it is necessary first to see the details of the imagery implied in the metaphors. Let us consider how a sacrificial performance begins and then how it is carried on. It will appear that the first cause of a sacrifice is a desire—kāma—on the part of the sacrificer to achieve, by its means, some object, and that this is usually the obtaining of progeny—prajā.  

The next step is to employ the services of competent priests, who prepare the sacrificial altar in accordance with the prescribed measurements and collect the requisite materials. All the arrangements being complete, the performance of the sacrifice begins, and the following items constitute the whole function: (i) the sacrificial altar, and the area around it; (ii) the sacrificers; (iii) the oblation, the articles to be offered; (iv) the fathers, or manes, and gods, who are supposed to be present as recipients of the oblations; (v) the act of offering, which consists of the movements of the hand in picking up the oblations and throwing them into fire by stretching it forward, and also the chanting of the Vedic hymns accompanied with the movements of the hand indicative of the accents in recitation. Now while the metaphor or sacrifice is used to describe the creation and the working of the universe, as we shall see presently, the metaphor of a loom is sometimes employed to describe both the sacrifice and the universe. This metaphor is applicable to sacrifice because of the common idea of preparing a ground for work, outlines, both of the sacrificial area and the warp and woof, formed by the stretching of a

Cf. Bhagavadgītā, iii, 10:—
Sahayajñāb prajāh srṣṭvā purovāca prajāpatih,  
Anena prasavisyadhvam eṣā vo 'stvālakāmadhuk
cord or thread, which are to be filled up as the work progresses, and also because of the similar physical movements, forward and backward, both in the performance of a sacrifice and the working of a loom. Those who have performed a sacrifice, or have seen it performed in the traditional manner, know how the hand of the sacrificer moves forward and backward both in throwing oblation into the fire and in chanting the Vedic hymns. That is why the Rg. and the Sāma verses have sometimes been spoken of as shuttles. For example, in Rgveda, x, 130, 1, we find the description of a sacrifice prepared by the spreading of threads by a hundred divine priests: Yo yajña viśvatas tantubhis tata ekaśatam devakarme bhīr āyataḥ, and in it the fathers are said to weave forward and backward: ime vayanti pitaro ya āyayuh pra vayāpavayetyāsate tate. Further, in the second verse of the same hymn it is said that the Sāma hymns were made the shuttles for the purpose of weaving cloth in the form of a sacrifice: sāmāni cakrus tasārāni otave, on which Sāyaṇa comments: otave vayanāya yajñākhyam vastram otum tasārāni tiryak sarāni tiraścina- sutrāṇi cakruḥ.¹ This favourite metaphor of warp and woof, as found in such cosmogonic hymns of the Vedas, has found its way right through the Upaniṣads² into the semi-philosophical literature of Indian vernaculars, into popular ballads sung by itinerant Indian mendicants, and by women at work in fields or at the grinding stones.

Now when the metaphor of a sacrifice, or of warp and woof, is employed to describe the creation and the working of the universe, the real explanation of the verses containing such an imagery lies in exactly determining the various factors involved in the cosmic sacrifice, or the cosmic loom. The words themselves, for example, even in the verse under discussion, are familiar enough; it is their significance which presents a difficulty. The questions to be answered are: Who are kavayaḥ, who are described as stretching a cord or

¹ Sāyaṇa, in his commentary, accepts the other meaning of shuttles also.
² Bh. iii, 8; iv, 2, 4; Chānd. vii, 25; Āuṇḍ, ii, 2, 11.
threads? What is a cord, or threads, which is said to be stretched or spread out; and what do these threads represent when they are mentioned as seven in number? What is the oblation, and what is the act of offering?

While keeping the above questions in view, I would now take up Rgveda, x, 129, 5, and i, 164, 5, and show that it is the above-mentioned metaphors which they contain. With regard to the first of these, it is to be noted that it is a verse which belongs to a distinctly cosmogonic hymn. The fact that in the first four verses of the hymn there is no apparent indication of the metaphor of sacrifice, or of warp and woof, is probably the reason why the presence of it in this verse has not been suspected by the commentators. However, it will appear that this metaphorical conception, which is so intimately and frequently associated with the cosmogonic ideas in the Vedas, has not been absent from the mind of the author of this verse, and it is in this fifth verse that it actually finds an expression. In the first place, the name of the seer, which very often forms an index to the theme of a hymn, is significant. It is Prajāpati Parameṣṭhin, the Great Sacrificer, the Lord of Creatures. The idea of sacrifice, and with it the idea of creation, is present in the very name of the seer of the hymn. Further, every single important word of the verse, which fortunately has its parallel in other hymns, clearly shows that this verse is not one all by itself, but that it is akin in meaning to other verses, which distinctly contain the metaphor of a sacrifice, or of warp and woof. In the preceding verse we find a mention of desire—kāma—as the first creative impulse, and in the present one the actual creation of the universe, as the result of that kāma, is described. The pronoun esāṁ in the verse naturally refers to kavyah in the preceding one, and means sages or priests. The word kavi has been often used in similar hymns for those who stretch a cord or thread. For example, in Rgveda, i, 164, 5, it is said that the kavis spread out seven threads for warp and woof—saptā tantūn vitānīre

1 kāmas tad agrē samavartata adhi manaso retah prathamam yad āsīt.
kavayo otavā u. In Rgveda, x, 114, 6, we again find the kavis as having prepared (measured) the sacrifice: yajñam vimāya kavayo manīsā. Similarly, in the verse under consideration we have tiraścīno vitata raśmir esām, and, the word kavayah having been used in the preceding verse, there is not the slightest doubt that the pronoun esām refers to the priests, who are mentioned here in connection with the preparation of sacrifice, just as they are in the texts quoted above. Now the fact that their cord is said to be stretched crosswise both below and above shows that the reference is to the measuring and the making of the outlines of the sacrificial area, just as the stretching of a cord or threads does in some other verses, for example, in x, 130, 1: yo yajño viśvatas tantubhis tataḥ, and in Atharva, xiii, 6: tatra tantum paramesṭhī tatān. The other alternative meanings of raśmīḥ, for instance, “the ray of the inner eye,” as Geldner, Deussen, and Scherman have suggested; or, again, as “the reins of a chariot,” as Oldenberg and Bergaigne have interpreted, do not evidently suit the context, for the other words in the verse, as we shall see presently, conclusively show that it is the metaphor of a sacrifice that has been employed here. The fact that the raśmīḥ is said to be stretched crosswise, and that the verse contains a reference to above and below, renders it impossible that the ray of the eye is meant, for a ray of the eye cast crosswise would not see the contrast of above and below. Similarly, there is not the slightest trace in the verse of the idea of a chariot, which is usually mentioned when it is meant. The idea of an architect’s cord, as Hillebrandt has suggested, would not be out of place in this particular verse, but it is to be remembered that the metaphor employed is that of the preparation of a sacrificial altar, and not that of a building, and that the outlines marked by the stretching of the cord present the appearance of warp and woof, and thus the metaphor of a loom is also implied. What sense would retodhāḥ, mahimānāḥ, svadhāḥ, and prayatih make if the metaphor of a building is supposed to be present here?
On the other hand, it will be presently seen that these terms admit of quite a consistent interpretation in accordance with the metaphor of a sacrifice. Having said in the first line of the verse that the priests prepared the sacrificial altar by stretching their cord for marking the outlines, it is stated in the next line that fathers (retodhāḥ) and gods (mahimānāḥ) were present there, as they are believed to be at a sacrifice. That retodhāḥ means "impregnators" or "fathers" no one would question. The word mahimānāḥ has been used in several other verses of the Rgveda, and it either means "mighty forces" in the abstract, or "gods" in the concrete. However, its use in Rgveda, x, 114, 7, distinctly in connection with the idea of sacrifice, is significant for our purpose. The text is: caturdāsa anye mahimāno 'syā tam dhīrāh vācā praṇayanti sapta, which is thus interpreted by Śāyaṇa: asya yajñarūpasya paramātmano 'nye caturdāsa saṃkhyākāh mahimāno vibhūtayaḥ bhavanti, etc. That asya here refers to sacrifice is beyond doubt, for we have the very word yajña in the immediately preceding verse: yajñam vimāya kavyaḥ maniṣā (x, 114, 7, 6), where the other words also are equally interesting and suggestive for their parallelism in language and meaning. In Rgveda, i, 164, 50, we find mahimānāḥ, evidently in the sense of gods: te ha nākam mahimānāḥ sacaṇa, and this has been repeated in Rgveda, x, 90, 16, where, again, the metaphor of a sacrifice is distinctly present. So these references establish beyond doubt that the word mahimānāḥ has significance in connection with the idea of a sacrifice, and that it means gods; for even when it has an abstract meaning the large number, which is mentioned in connection with it, strongly suggests that it is the gods that are meant. A mention of the presence of fathers and gods is the most natural thing in the description of a sacrifice, and the same we find here. Next follows svadhā avastāt, prayatiḥ parastāt, which phrases have presented the greatest difficulty to the commentators, and it is only vague

1 For example, i, 164, 50; x, 90, 16; x, 114, 7 and 8.
translations of the words that have been given, the greatest pity being that even Sāyaṇa, who has rightly interpreted the words in connection with sacrificial conceptions elsewhere, has missed the exact metaphor here, although he sees the sense of passivity in svadhā, and that of "activity" in prayatīḥ, when he interprets them as "the objects to be enjoyed" (bhogyāḥ) and "the enjoyers" (bhoktāraḥ) respectively. Now svadhā, which has been used elsewhere also, and is quite a familiar word in connection with a sacrifice, usually means either oblation, especially that of Soma, or the utterance at a sacrifice called svadhākāra. In Rgveda, ix, 113, 10, we have svadhā ca yatra triptiśca, where Sāyaṇa translates svadhā as annam, svadhākāreṇa vā dattam annam. So there is no difficulty in interpreting the word, in the present verse also, in the sense of oblation. The other word is prayatīḥ, which is used in two other verses of the Rgveda, i, 109, 2, and i, 126, 5, and means "offering", which word I choose for translating it in order to express the sense of activity or action implied in it, and to distinguish it from svadhā, which has the sense of passivity. Thus, while svadhā would mean "the objects offered", or "to be offered", prayatīḥ would signify "the act of offering". In Rgveda, i, 109, 2, we have athā somasya prayatī yuvabhyaṁ indrāgni stomam janayāṁ navyam, where prayatīḥ is used in the dual number, and has been translated by Sāyaṇa as "the act of offering", somasya prayatī abhisutasya somasya pradānena. This use of prayatīḥ in the two verses would lend support to the view that the word, as used in the verse under consideration, is derived from the root yat and not from yam as Oldenberg would have it. Thus the fourth part of the verse means that the oblation was below, that is to say, it was placed upon the ground, and the act of offering was above, that is to say, it was carried on above (the sacrificial ground). This also explains the meaning of "stretching forth" or "effort" implied in the word prayatīḥ, which has been noticed by some scholars① but has remained

① Cf. Whitney, JAOS. xi (1911), cix.
unexplained so far. With regard to the meaning of *avastāt* and *parastāt* there cannot be any difference of opinion, and so they need not be discussed here.

The meaning of the verse as a whole, in its metaphorical sense, would thus be that the priests prepared the sacrificial altar by stretching their cord crosswise, both below and above; that fathers and gods were present there; and that while the oblation was placed on the sacrificial ground, the act of offering was carried on above. This, it will be found, makes a complete description of a sacrificial performance.

The next thing to be considered is the cosmogonic significance of the metaphor. Who are the kavis in the cosmic sacrifice? What does the stretching of the cord stand for? What are *svadhā* and *prayatiḥ* with reference to the universe?

The first point is about the identity of the kavis, who, here, and in *Rgveda*, i, 164, 5, are said to spread a cord and threads, respectively. In this particular verse we find a mention of above and below in connection with the stretching of the cord, and in the other seven threads are said to have been stretched by the kavis for warp and woof. The number of kavis is not mentioned here. Now, by a very careful and comparative study of these and the other verses, where there is a reference to kavis, I have come to the conclusion that the word, as used in these verses, denotes the Rbhus. I do not know of any other alternative interpretation, and so I shall simply give reasons in support of my own. Firstly, the Rbhus have been distinctly referred to as kavis in *Atharva*, vi, 47, 6: *idam tṛtiyam savanam kavinām ptena ye camasam airayanta*, where Śāyaṇa rightly comments: *tṛtiyam savanākhyam karma kavinam krāntadarṣanānām rlbhūnām svabhūtam ta eva indrādibhiḥ sahtīs tasya savanasya adhidevataḥ*. In *Rgveda*, iv, 35, 4, their work is referred to as that of kavis: *kim mayah sviccamasa esa āsa yam kāvyena caturo vicakra*. The fact that

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1 The prose order of the verse will be as follows: *Eṣām tirācchino vitato raṁīh adhaṁ eṣaṁ āsīd, upari eṣaṁ āsīd; retodhaṁ āsan, mahimānaṁ āsan; svadhā avastāt, prayatiḥ parastāt.*
the Rbhus are regarded as skilful workmen rightly entitles them to the title of kavi, and we find that it has actually been used for them in the above verses. Secondly, in Rgveda, iv, 34, 9, the Rbhus are described as dividing the universe into the heaven and the earth: ye ḍhag rodasī, which, according to Sāyāna, means ye ca rodasī dyāvāprthivyāvṛdhak prthak cakruḥ, “those who separated the heaven and the earth,” and this conception accords so well with the description of the above and below in the verse under consideration. Evidently the reference to above and below signifies the division of the world into the heaven and the earth. Thirdly, the Rbhus have also been called the fashioners of a sacrifice in Rgveda, iii, 54, 12, adhvaram atāṣṭha, which, according to Sāyāna, means rtvijah imam asmadriyam adhvaram atāṣṭha akurvan, and thus it will appear that the name kavayāḥ, as applied to the Rbhus, would be suitable both with reference to the preparing of a sacrifice and the dividing of the earth and the heaven.

The next question is the cosmological significance of the stretching of a cord or threads, raśmiḥ or tantuḥ, the tantus being sometimes mentioned as seven in number, as in Rgveda, i, 164, 5. It is clear that in the metaphors both of sacrifice and warp and woof the idea meant to be expressed by the stretching of a cord and threads is the preparation of outlines, which are to be filled up as the work progresses. The question is: What do these outlines mean with reference to the universe? The explanation of this metaphor occurred to me as I was reading that little dialogue between Gārgī and Yājñavalkya in the Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, in which she asks him a question in words, which forthwith remind one of such hymns of the Rgveda as we have been considering here. She asks: yad ārdhvaṃ Yājñavalkya divo yadavāk prthivyā yadantarā dyāvā prthivi īme yad bhūtam ca bhavacca bhavis-yaccetyācaśate kasmins tadotam ca protam ceti, “O, Yājñavalkya, that which is above the sky, that which is beneath the earth, that which is between the two, the sky and the earth, these which the people call the past, the present,
and the future, across what is that woven warp and woof?" Yājñavalkya says in answer that it is space across which all this is woven warp and woof; and on being asked further as to across what space is woven, in its turn, he says that it is woven across the Imperishable—aksara. Now these questions and answers clearly show that it is the divisions of time and space that form the warp and woof of the world, and these ultimately depend upon the self, which is the uniting factor. The seven threads which are mentioned as stretched for warp and woof, would thus appear to signify these same distinctions, viz. the three divisions of place: above, middle, and below; and the three divisions of time: past, present and future; and space; the distinctions of time being also evidently conceived in terms of spatial imagery. This very conception is to be found distinctly also in Atharva, x, 8, 37 and 38, the language of which is so suggestive and parallel to the texts of the verses that we have been considering, and to that of the dialogue, that I would be justified in quoting them here in toto. The verses are as follows:

\[\begin{align*}
Yo \text{ vidyāt sûtram vitatam yasminn utāh prajā imāh,} \\
Sûtram sûtrasya yo \text{ vidyāt sa vidyāt Brāhmaṇam mahat.}
\end{align*}\]
\[\begin{align*}
Vedāham sûtram vitatam yasminn utāh prajā imāh, \\
Sûtram sûtrasyāhām veda ato yad Brāhmaṇam mahat.
\end{align*}\]

Translation:—

"One who would know the stretched thread across which these creatures are woven; one who would know the thread of this thread, it is he who would know the great Brāhmaṇa."

"I know the stretched thread across which these creatures are woven, I know the thread of this thread, hence (I know) that which is great Brāhmaṇa."

Thus it will be seen that the stretching of the thread represents the warp and woof of the universe, and this, in its turn, signifies the divisions of time and space, in which all the beings live, move, and have their being. In R̄gveda, i, 164, 5, the seven threads of warp and woof refer to all these
distinctions, and in *Rgveda*, x, 129, 5, the stretching of the cord evidently refers to the divisions of space, the metaphor being employed only partially in order to suit the other metaphor of sacrifice, where only the dimensions of space are relevant.

The first line of the verse will therefore mean that space was divided into the upper and the lower regions—the heaven and the earth.\(^1\)

The words *retodhāḥ* and *mahimānaḥ*, as has been shown, mean fathers and gods respectively; and this meaning will hold good with reference to both a sacrifice and the universe. It may be noted, however, that the word *retodhāḥ* has been several times used in the *Rgveda* in the sense of rain, *parjanyaḥ*,\(^2\) which has been compared for its productive energy to a bull. The meaning, however, of a generating agency remains unchanged. So it is said in the verse that there were fathers and gods.

Lastly, there is said to be *svadhā* below and *prayatiḥ* above. In the cosmological sense, *svadhā* would stand for the products of nature, especially water and other juices corresponding to the Soma drink in a sacrifice, which the word usually signifies; and *prayatiḥ* for the atmospheric activity of the heavenly bodies. In *Rgveda*, iii, 22, 3, and iii, 55, 6, *Agni* has been addressed as the sun in the upper regions (*parastāḥ*), and the same conception is repeated in Śatapatha, vii, 1, 23, where it is said: *agnē yat te divi varca iti, ādityo vā śya divi varcaḥ*, “O, Agni, what splendour is thine in the heaven—his splendour in the heaven doubtless is the sun.” In Śatapatha, vii, 1, 22, we have the following significant passage: “This is the Agni wherein Indra taketh the Soma juice, for the Gārhapatya hearth is this (terrestrial) world, and the Soma juice is the waters: Indra thus took up the waters in this world;—into his belly, craving it,—for the belly is the

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\(^2\) E.g. v, 69, 2, and vii, 103, 6.
centre.” 1 In Šatapatha, vii, 1, 24, also we find a mention of the waters approaching the fire. The idea in all such passages seems to be that like the Soma juice drunk up by Indra, the waters and juices on the earth are absorbed up by the heat of the sun. The return of the same to the earth in the form of rain would complete the act of cosmic sacrifice, but I have not been able to trace definitely an expression of this last conception in any of the hymns, although we know that the sending down of waters is not outside the sphere of Indra’s activities. In this connection the text of the Šatapatha quoted above is very suggestive, for it says that the Gārhapatya hearth is this terrestrial world, and the Soma juice is the waters, and that Indra took up the waters in this world.

The cosmological meaning of the whole verse will, therefore, be that the world was divided into the heaven and the earth; there were fathers and gods; the nature was below, and the atmospheric forces were above.

As regards Deussen’s suggestion that, in the first line of the verse, a mention of the stretching of the cord indicates a perception by the seers of the division of reality into the phenomenal (which is above), and the real (which is below)—a distinction so well-known in the philosophy of the German philosopher Kant—I would say that it is extremely improbable that this notion was present in the mind of the author of the verse, for it is neither consistent with the context of the next line of the verse, nor with that of this particular hymn, nor, again, with the usual conceptions of cosmogony as found in the other hymns of the Vedas.

Sāyāna’s explanation is no more convincing. He takes raśmih to mean the created universe, kāryavargah, and says that it was spread out so quickly like the rays of the rising sun that it could not be determined which portion of the universe was created first, and hence the query: “Was it

1 Eggeling’s translation (SBE.)
in the middle, below, or above?" 1 Eśām he explains as avidyā-kāma-karmaṇām, "of those whose action was prompted by ignorance and desire." Further, according to him, retadhah means "souls, the enjouers", and mahimānah the "objects to be enjoyed". Svadāh, according to him, signifies eatable things, annam, it being symbolic of the objects to be enjoyed; and these are called inferior (avastāt), as distinguished from the enjouers, prayatiḥ, who are superior (parastāt). Now, on reading Sāyaṇa's commentary, one cannot help wondering how he could possibly translate the above-mentioned words in the way he has done. It is evident that while commenting upon this verse he has not taken into consideration the parallel use of the various words in the other verses, and has been carried away by the conceptions of the enjoyer and the enjoyed as they are to be prominently found in the later philosophical literature. The translation of avastāt as "inferior" and of parastāt as "superior" will be seen to be altogether out of place here, as certainly there is no indication in the verse, or in the hymn, that the notion of such a contrast could have been present in the mind of its author.

JWALA PRASAD.

VIRGILIUS CORDUBENSIS

"He who knows something ought to reveal it. Knowledge kept out of sight is of no value."—VIRGILIUS CORDUBENSIS.

Virgilius Cordubensis is the name of a philosopher and necromancer of Cordova, whose work, Philosophia, is claimed to have been translated from Arabic into Latin at Toledo in the year 1290. 2 Nothing is known of this author outside the above work, and very little attention has been accorded

1 It might be noted here that the word svid used by itself does not always imply a query. It also means "verily" or "indeed".
2 The text of the Philosophia reads: "Istum librum composuit Virgilius Philosophus Cordubensis in Arabico, et fuit translatus de Arabico in Latinum in civitate Toletana, a.d. 1290."
it. In the eighteenth century Feijoo, Sarmiento, and Andrés were interested in the *Philosophia*, but it was not until the text was edited by Gotthold Heine in 1848 that serious notice was paid to it. Valentine Rose, Comparetti, and Bonilla have dealt with the work since then, and the two latter have challenged its authenticity. It is in view of their criticism that the present writer ventures to take the advice of Virgilius Cordubensis himself by testing the validity of their strictures.

The earliest codex of the *Philosophia* is in the library of the Cathedral at Toledo, and dates from the second half of the fourteenth century. Taking the work at its face value, that it was translated into Latin in the year 1290 at Toledo, it would appear that the original Arabic work must have been written prior to the capture of Toledo by the Christians in 1085, seeing that the treatise refers to students from Morocco (*Marochitani*) studying there, and also because quite half of the names of the *magistri* in astrology, necromancy, and similar arts, are of Arabian origin.

Comparetti urges that the translator could not have been a Moor, and that he certainly did not know much about Arabic or he would not have called his Arab author Virgilius and made him a contemporary of Seneca, Avicenna, Averroës, and Al-Ghazâlî. He suggests that the author was a charlatan

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1 *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, lxi, 379–81.
2 *Memorias para la Historia de la Poesia castellana*, i, 252.
3 *Dell' origine e progressi e dello stato attuale d'ogni letteratura*.
4 *Bibliotheca anecdotorum*, Leipsic, 1848.
5 *Hermes*, viii, 327.
6 *Virgilio nel medio evo* (1872).
7 *Historia de la Filosofía Española* (1908).
8 The *Marochitani* are usually mentioned with those from "beyond the seas" (*ultramarini*), and they are distinct from the *Saraceni*, who appear to be the Arab philosophers from the East, as again distinct from those of Al-Andalus proper (*Andalici*).
who took the name of Virgilius and simulated Arabian learning in order to be looked upon as an authority. Comparetti even takes Amador de los Ríos to task for accepting what he calls the “fabulous notices” of Virgilius concerning the professors of the *ars notaria*, necromancy, etc. Further, he gives the opinion of the Orientalist, Moritz Steinschneider, communicated to him privately, that he had doubts whether the work was earlier than Raimond de Pennafort (fl. 1232).

Bonilla, who gives extracts from Virgilius, suggests that the author was a Toletan ecclesiastic who was influenced by the writings of Michael Scot (d. c. 1232), and indicates a similar type of literature in such works as *Sendebar, Flores de Filosofia*, and *Libro de los Doze Sabios*.

These objections to the authenticity of the *Philosophia* of Virgilius Cordubensis cannot be passed over lightly, although care has to be exercised in not taking too much for granted. First of all, it must be remembered that Comparetti is dealing with the legendary material which became attached to the name of Publius Virgilius Maro, the poet (d. 19 B.C.), and he looks upon the *Philosophia* of the later Virgilius Cordubensis as an outcome of that legend. On the other hand, is it not equally probable that the *Philosophia*, instead of being the production of a charlatan trading on the name of the legendary necromantic Virgilius Maro, and the obsession for Arabian “learning”, is rather a work of independent origin which simply contributed to give further vitality to the legend? Do we not see a similar sort of thing in the case of Bishop Virgilius of Salzburg (d. 784), whose somewhat extraordinary opinions also appear to have become attached to the name of Virgilius Maro, and also contributed to the legend?

Comparetti’s criticism that the translator was not a Moor does not touch the question at all. Nearly all the translators

1 Comparetti, ii, 95–6.
2 Bonilla y San Martin, i, 309.
from Arabic into Latin were Europeans racially.¹ That the translator should call the author Virgilius, a purely Latin name, does not, in itself, allow us to question his knowledge of Arabic. To do this we require to know what the original name was in Arabic, how the original translator rendered it, and what are the copyists’ variations. There is no reason for supposing that an Arabic original is unlikely, seeing that we have the example of Ḥunain ibn Ishāq being Latinized as Æneas, to say nothing of Faraj ibn Sālim appearing as Faragut, with Farachi, Fararius, Ferrarius, and Franchinus as variations.

The arguments based on the so-called “contemporaries” of Virgilius Cordubensis are more cogent. Only Seneca (d. 65) and Averroës (d. 1198) were Cordobans, whilst neither Avicenna (d. 1037) nor Al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) ever saw Spain. Needless to say, an Arab author could not have penned these lines about his “contemporaries”, and similarly, if the author was a Toletan ecclesiastic, as Bonilla suggests, what about the inclusion of Seneca? Is not the passage a mere gloss that has crept into the text?² If the author was a Toletan ecclesiastic, he certainly managed to keep his religion out of the Philosophia with an astuteness that does not comport with his inept inclusion of Seneca.

Certainly no Arabic original of the Philosophia is known to us, but the same objection could be urged against dozens of Latin works translated from the Arabic. Toledo was long famous as the seat of Arabian science, undoubtedly from the time of the Amir Yaḥyā al-Maʿmūn (d. 1074), through the period of Archbishop Raymund (fl. 1125–51), to Alphonso X (1252–84), and even later. Would it have been possible to

¹ The one outstanding name to the contrary is that of the Jew, Faraj ibn Sālim.
² An ignorant Latin glossator and a later scribe might very well have been jointly responsible for the “contemporaries”. Batman (Batman upon Bartholome, London, 1582) says that Avicenna lived in Spain, and that he belonged to the twelfth century! Latin authors also considered Al-Rāzī (Rhazes) to be a Roman!
have palmed off a spurious work with learned Arabs and Jews
on the spot only too eager to detect the fraud? At any rate,
whether the Philosophia is genuine or not, the criticisms of
Comparetti and Bonilla do not shake its authenticity to any
extent. Certainly the philosophy of Virgilius Cordubensis
comes from Arabic and Rabbinic sources, and his work can
scarcely be classed in the same category as those indicated
by Bonilla.

H. G. Farmer.

ET DE QUIBUSDAM ALIIS

(1) Hindi, Urdu bhāī and bhāī, Pj. vāī or vāī and pāī or prāī. The words bhāī and vāī differ widely from bhāī and prāī, but I do not think the difference has ever been pointed out. bhāī and prāī mean brother or cousin, and include, of course, brother in trade, nation, or religion. bhāī and vāī, on the other hand have nothing to do with brother; they are not even confined to males. The two Pj. words do not resemble each other in sound. bhāī and vāī mean my good fellow, my good woman, my good man. They are constantly used by husband to wife, by master or mistress to servant, by parents to children, by friend to friend. They imply familiarity, and suggest that the person spoken to is inferior, or at least not superior, in rank. A servant would not use it to a master or a wife to a husband.

bhāī and vāī do not take the stress though they can begin a sentence. Of particular interest is the difference of initial letter in Pj. pāī or prāī and vāī or vāī. In Pj. it is generally enclitic, and therefore the initial Sk. bh becomes not pī, as for bh-, but vī or vī. The change of vī to v is due to absence of stress.

(2) Platt's Dictionary gives the word hilnā two meanings, "shake" and "become familiar". I would make the suggestion that they should be given as separate words.
hil- "shake" used to be hal-. Thus Mîr Asâr, writing in 1740, makes halnâ rhyme with calnâ. In Dakani Urdu to-day the word is halnâ, and in Pj. it is halluc, or allânâ. The other word always has i, and in Pj. has a cerebral l, ilnâ "become accustomed" or "familiar."

(3) Pj. all and al. Unfortunately both the large Pj. dictionaries fail to distinguish l from l; they thus obscure many interesting differences. Thus all "a plough", plur. allâ (Sk. halya), is fem. and has alveolar l: al "a yoke" (of ploughing oxen) (Sk. hala-), is masc. and has cerebral l.

dā: alâ dâ khû' is a well with enough land for two pairs of oxen to plough. The word for ploughman (Sk. hâlika-) is like this second word. It is âli, not āli or ālli. The verb to plough is al vâ'nâ, not all vâ'nâ.

(4) PHONETICS

(a) The word "Şinâ"

I have always written the word in this way, feeling that the pronunciation shânâ' was the best approximation for a European. It is perhaps advisable, in the interests of accuracy, to indicate the exact pronunciation. The chief thing to avoid is sheena (shânâ). The i is a retracted variety of the ī heard in long syllables in Urdu, Pj., and Şinâ. It is almost the Russian [i] in [bit] "to be"; more advanced than the normal Russian sound, and is quite short.

ş is a retracted sh, slightly further back than the sh element in English "try". Ň is an ordinary cerebral n with strike point behind the teeth ridge.

(b) The Prefixes pre- and post- in Phonetics

These prefixes are common in words like prepalatal, post-dental, postalveolar, and would be useful if there were agreement about their meaning. Unfortunately they are used in two mutually contradictory senses, and every writer assumes that his own meaning is attached to them by others. The
question is whether, e.g., prepalatal is a subdivision of palatal or not. I use prepalatal to mean "in front of the palate", not "on the anterior part of the palate"; and postalveolar to mean "behind the alveolar position", not "on the posterior part" of it. This seems to me to correspond with the medical use of pre- and post-, and to be correct. So "prechristian" means not in the early part of the Christian era, but before the Christian era. One or two authors, however, employ the prefixes in the contrary sense. My object in writing this note is not to insist on my opinion, but to mention the two meanings and to point out that owing to the confusion, unless we define our terms, we shall not be understood.

(c) Comparison of Sounds in Different Languages

In describing an unwritten language we often have to compare its sounds with those of a written one, but we must avoid comparing things which are on different planes. If I compare Urdu or Panjabi words and sounds with those of, say, Lahndi or Șinâ, I must not compare written words with unwritten sounds unless I am quite certain of the pronunciation represented by the former.

The writing of Indian languages, whether in their own character or in Roman letters, is not phonetic. Thus we are told that in Urdu á is pronounced like u in "but". Actually that is one out of seven pronunciations, all perfectly common, viz. approximately the vowel sounds in (1) far, (2) bang, (3) attempt (first vowel), (4) gone, (5) men, (6) but, and (7) complete omission. The same speaker will habitually employ the whole seven. Yet people talk of the sound of á.

Again, Urdu speakers will say vo hātī mere sāt sāt āēā "that elephant came with me", but the omission of an aspirate in an unwritten language is treated as something remarkable.

When we say, as I have done myself, that the vowels of certain unwritten languages vary a great deal, we must not suggest that the fact is unusual, or forget how much variation (concealed by fixed spelling) there is in the
pronunciation of vowels in the literary languages of India; and if we compare them we must compare actual sounds in both cases. There is a surprising amount of confusion about the sounds of well-known languages, and the pronunciation of many words is very different from what is supposed.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

MIDDLE INDIAN -\textit{d} - > -\textit{r}. IN VILLAGE KAŚMĪRĪ

When thirty years ago, in the summer of 1898, I began to study Kaśmīrī in a lovely village 20 miles from Srinagar, my teacher being a city Muḥammadan, I noticed that in certain words he used \textit{r}, while the villagers regularly said \textit{r}, as \textit{gur}, \textit{gur} "horse"; \textit{yūr}, \textit{yūr} "hither"; while in others both alike said \textit{r}, as \textit{karun} "do"; \textit{vāra vāra} "carefully". There was no variation in this usage; a villager never by accident put \textit{r} into a word with \textit{r}. Subsequent visits to Kaśmīr confirmed not only the fact of diversity between city and village, but also the regularity of it.

In the \textit{Festgabe Hermann Jacobi}, 1925, Professor R. L. Turner, following up some statements of mine in \textit{Bull. S.O.S.}, iii, 2, 382, suggests that MI -\textit{d} - > -\textit{r}. in village Kaśmīrī. In support of this opinion, with which I entirely agree, I submit a list of words taken from the village language. In only two of them do we find an unexpected \textit{r}; both these are connected with cooking, doubtless loanwords from Brahmans: \textit{krāy} "cauldron", Pj. \textit{karā}: \textit{krūṭh} "spoon", Pj. \textit{karčhā}.

Noteworthy is \textit{karun} "eject", in which we have a cerebral as we expect, but, contrary to rule, it is \textit{r} instead of \textit{d}.

In \textit{khrūrā} "heel" we expect \textit{r}, for we have it Pj., Lahndi, and Śiṅā, but we might easily have got \textit{r} from the other root. In view of the \textit{r} in \textit{harun} "fall", we must either reconsider the tentative equation of \textit{harun} with H. \textit{sargv}, or conclude that it is a loanword.
For "myrrh" the Kaśmīrī Dictionary, edited by Sir George Grierson, gives (but with a question mark) the strange word mūr—strange because the Pāṇḍīts cannot say r; moreover, villagers say mūr. As the word is Hebrew, r is natural.

The subjoined list is a good example of the distinction between loanwords and words regularly developed. It is a mere matter of majority. Here we have over forty words in which an anticipated r is found, and only two with an unexpected r. The necessary conclusion is that the forty represent the rule, and that the two are loanwords.

In order that this list should not depend on my assertion alone I sent most of it to Professor Siddheśvar Varma, asking him to check it with village Muḥammadan Kaśmīris. This he has been so kind as to do.

All these words have a special interest; they illustrate well what I said about r in this dialect, and incidentally help us with etymologies, as in the case of harun "fall".

The four adverbs of place deserve attention. The -r- which appears in all of them may not be Sk., but it has several parallels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>where?</th>
<th>where</th>
<th>here</th>
<th>there</th>
<th>yonder</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kā</td>
<td>kōṛ</td>
<td>yūṛ</td>
<td>tōṛ</td>
<td>ōṛ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāsī</td>
<td>kāre</td>
<td>jāre</td>
<td>ōṭhī</td>
<td>ōṭhī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadravāhī</td>
<td>kōṛī</td>
<td>zāṛī</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhāḷesi</td>
<td>kōṛe</td>
<td>dzēṛe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pāḍari</td>
<td>kōṛ</td>
<td>zāṛ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curāhī</td>
<td>kōṛe</td>
<td>jēṛe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pj. tōṛ "up to there", "up to the end".

The Dictionary gives some ḍ forms, generally as village alternatives. I have put them in brackets with the initial D. Villagers do not use ḍ in these words, but Pāṇḍīts often think they do. It would be useful to make an exhaustive list of village -r- words. It is important to realize that they mark a definite dialectic variation, and are perfectly regular.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village Kašmīrī</th>
<th>Panjabi</th>
<th>Village Kašmīrī</th>
<th>Panjabi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bigarun, be spoilt</td>
<td>vigarnā</td>
<td>kūrā, girl</td>
<td>kūrī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bigārun, spoil</td>
<td>vagaṛnā</td>
<td>lar, thread</td>
<td>lar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bōr, crowd</td>
<td>pīṛ</td>
<td>larun, fight</td>
<td>larṇā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brōr, cat</td>
<td>billā</td>
<td>larōyṛ, fight</td>
<td>larpā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>byōr, cat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chērun, annoy</td>
<td>chernā</td>
<td>lārun, run</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chirkāvun, sprinkle</td>
<td>chiraṅkā</td>
<td>lārun, stain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chōrun, leave</td>
<td>H. chornā</td>
<td>lūrā, club</td>
<td>laurā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dōr, beard</td>
<td>dāṛ̥i</td>
<td>mīr̥, dovecot</td>
<td>H. math</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dur, firm</td>
<td>kārnā</td>
<td>mūr, foolish</td>
<td>H. mūrh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garun, fashion</td>
<td></td>
<td>mūrun, husk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(D. gaḍun)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gōr, sugar</td>
<td>gūṛ</td>
<td>ēṛ, thither</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guṛ, pakkā</td>
<td>kōṛ̥ī</td>
<td>parun, read</td>
<td>parṇā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guṛ, horse</td>
<td>kōṛā</td>
<td>sūṛ, boy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gur, mare</td>
<td>kōṛi</td>
<td>thūrā, back</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(D. guḍa)</td>
<td></td>
<td>tōr, thither</td>
<td>tōr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giṛ, clock</td>
<td>kāṛī</td>
<td>tshārūn, seek</td>
<td>(D. tshāḍun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gūṛ, kaccā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gagra, thunder</td>
<td>chakṛā</td>
<td>tsūṛā, bird</td>
<td>cīṛi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hagor, cart</td>
<td></td>
<td>yūṛ, hither</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hāṛ, June-July</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orā, pair, etc.</td>
<td>jōṛ̥</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jūṛ, do</td>
<td>jōṛi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapur, cloth</td>
<td>kapra</td>
<td>krāy, cauldron</td>
<td>karāi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karun, eject</td>
<td>kaddānā</td>
<td>kratśh, ladle</td>
<td>karchā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kārun, boil</td>
<td>kāṛnā</td>
<td>Other words with r (not r)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōkur, cock</td>
<td>kukkar</td>
<td>khūṛā, heel</td>
<td>khur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kor, bracelet</td>
<td>kara</td>
<td>harun, fall</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōṛ, whither</td>
<td></td>
<td>mūr, myrrh</td>
<td>mur</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Loanwords**

- krāy, cauldron
- kratśh, ladle
- karchā
- khūṛā, heel
- harun, fall
- mūr, myrrh

T. Grahame Bailey.
ERRATA, p. 608

for miru, dovecot, read moru.
delete doru, firm; murun, husk. I am not certain of them.—T. G. B.
NOTICES OF BOOKS


Dr. Helmer Smith, through his editions of Pali canonical texts and commentaries and through his co-editorship—with Professor D. Andersen—of the Critical Pali Dictionary, has made himself known as one of the very foremost Pali scholars of the present time. It has been known for some time that he was preparing a critical edition of the Saddanīti, an extensive and important Pali grammar of the twelfth century of which formerly very little was known. The few contributions—chiefly by Childers and Franke—towards our knowledge of the Saddanīti "laissaient entrevoir", to quote the propria verba of the learned editor, "les traits caractéristiques d’un Cours complet de Pali, plus riche en faits que l’adaptation un peu naïve du Kātantra qui porte le nom de Kaccāyana, plus facile à interpréter et à contrôler que l’élégant śāstra, à l’instar du Candravyākarana, où Moggallāna a consigné les résultats philologiques de son siècle." Such, then, were the expectations evoked even by fairly scanty notices concerning this admirable work; and they have been abundantly fulfilled by the issue of Dr. Smith’s first volume of the Saddanīti.

Of the editor’s critical faculties, of his immense patience and carefulness nothing need be said here. They, as well as his astounding learning and wonderful mastership of Pali, Sanskrit, and other languages with which he has busied himself, are too well known to be commented upon in this connection. It has been suggested quite recently, in a review of this very book, that we have here before us perhaps the best edition of a Pali work hitherto issued. Superlatives
may at times be somewhat invidious; and, besides, the present writer feels in no way competent to pass a general judgment upon a work like this which is partly beyond his own sphere. But this he would still venture to say: if Dr. Smith's edition of the Saddaniti cannot be proclaimed the very foremost of Pali texts hitherto issued—and this simply because all human judgment is relative and not absolute—he feels fully convinced that no other similar edition can claim a higher rank in comparison with it. Critical editorship here has certainly reached its acme, and the learned editor may with every right say: ultra non possimus. For, after all, no one could go further.

To this volume Dr. Smith has only added a short preface in which he tells us about the manuscripts and editions adduced for the preparation of his edition as well as about certain technical details. It does not seem quite clear whether he will affix to his third and last volume some more detailed remarks on the Saddaniti and its author as well as on native Pali grammar in general. But we still hope that that will be the case, as few scholars will feel quite satisfied with only getting the edition of the text, admirable though it be, from the master hand of Dr. Smith.

The present writer cannot finish this short review without a few words which have perhaps a slightly personal touch, but may be quite pardonable in a scholar who enjoys the favour of being a countryman of Dr. Smith. His admirable editions of different Pali texts have won him well-earned fame; but critical editions, most excellent though they be by themselves, are still not the highest goal. An extensive and critical Pali grammar in a modern European language is still a desideratum; and amongst living scholars no one would be better able to give us such a work than Dr. Smith. We should feel happy to think that this modest appeal would not remain altogether unanswered.

Jarl Charpentier.

Pahlavi studies have for a long time been in a somewhat precarious state in spite of single excellent contributions as, e.g., those by Professor F. W. K. Müller or Dr. Tedesco. Awe-inspiring as Pahlavi seems to be by itself, its evil fame has no doubt been enhanced by the total lack of modern handbooks, with the aid of which the novice might make his first stumbling steps on his way towards the great mystery. At one time we were used to hope for enlightenment here as in other domains of Iranian studies from Professor Andreas. But, unfortunately, our hope proved to be a false one. Light was spread at Goettingen, but only within the narrow circle of the faithful; and the somewhat Pythagorean fashion in which it was communicated to the outer world may have filled many a heart with diffidence or despondency.

However, an old saying may be converted into this: *ex septentrione lux*. Dr. Nyberg, of the University of Upsala, a scholar of most extensive and profound learning in Semitic as well as Iranian languages, in 1927 gave a series of lectures on Pahlavi; finding, however, that he could not coach his pupils without a proper handbook, he heroically resolved to make one himself. All this he tells us in the introduction. And thanks to these happy circumstances those scholars who busy themselves with Pahlavi—or Iranian studies in general—have thus been endowed with the first volume of a most excellent "Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi". This volume contains an introduction, texts, and an index of Pahlavi words; the second one, which seems to be completed in manuscript, will bring a much needed Pahlavi dictionary giving the meanings and etymological connections of the words contained in it.

No scholar could have been better prepared for such a task than Dr. Nyberg. His profound knowledge of Semitic languages and his previous Iranian researches,
the results of which have only in some small part been published,¹ his patience, carefulness, and strong critical power alike have made him excellently fit for this more than difficult task. And though the present writer be unable to pass a detailed judgment on a handbook of Pahlavi, he is sufficiently well acquainted with Dr. Nyberg's work and methods to know that nothing but a most accomplished work would come from his pen.

In the introduction Dr. Nyberg has dealt shortly with several important problems, one of which may for a moment call for our attention. It is by now well known that Professor Andreas and his disciples take it for proved that in the Iranian languages the Indo-European ā, ē, ò and ā, ē, ò are all represented by respectively ò and ò. Outside the circle of the Goettingen School this conclusion has been gravely questioned. And Dr. Nyberg now points to the all-important fact that the innumerable Armenian, Aramaic, and Arabic loan-words from various languages of Iranian stock wholly disprove such a theory.² Let us add that from an historical point of view the theory of Professor Andreas seems alike untenable. Every conclusion based upon the quality of the Old Indian ā (as mentioned in Pāṇini's last sūtra and elsewhere) is inadmissible; and in the Old Iranian languages themselves very little if anything seems to admit of such a theory. There is so far nothing material in the way of still accepting the already time-honoured suggestion that Indo-European ā, ē, ò are represented in Indo-Iranian by the single ā, though, of course, this ā was subject to local modifications and also to "kombinatorischer Lautwandel".

We conclude with the hope that Dr. Nyberg will soon be able to publish his second volume as well as other important works dealing with Iranian subjects. In that field of research his has certainly a great future.        JARL CHARPENTIER.

¹ Cf. especially Le Monde Oriental, xvii, 182 seq.
² Quite recently Professor Pelliot, T'oung Pao, has arrived at the same conclusion as Dr. Nyberg by studying Chinese and Tibetan loan-words from Iranian languages.
THE PILGRIMAGE OF BUDDHISM AND A BUDDHIST PILGRIMAGE.

Dr. Pratt has written this extensive book with the hope that the reader will get from it "a sense for Buddhism as a whole, for the organic unity of its life and growth, for the organic identity of the Buddhism of contemporary Japan, with that which originated twenty-five hundred years ago in India". He claims to have "a fairly intimate understanding of Buddhism as it is actually lived to-day", but he has not tried to cover the whole of Buddhism, nor to show us all its lights and shadows. In fact, he candidly says "the thing I have tried to do is to make Buddhism plausible", and he carries it out, for he tells us that with deliberate intention he has said nothing whatever of the Buddhism of Tibet, Nepal, and Mongolia. As for the rest of Buddhism with which he deals, more than half the chapters are devoted to Chinese and Japanese Buddhism. The book consists of two elements, the first being a vivid and sympathetic description of what he has seen and experienced in his two journeys through Buddhist countries. It is no doubt a good thing for the Buddhists, and the Christians too, to see themselves reflected in the mind of a professor of philosophy. He tells them that it is an unfortunate and misleading question to ask which of these two great religions is true and which false. And he concludes that the desirable solution will be found only when the two religions settle down to live side by side on terms of amity and co-operation and friendly rivalry. This and much of what he says lies outside the province of this Journal. The other element in the book is the historical one. Here the author, apart from personal contact with Buddhists, is dependent on translations, and his conclusions are often a balancing of views that he has found in writers like Rhys Davids, Stcherbatsky, McGovern, Keith, or Radhakrishnan. He does not claim a knowledge of the original languages, so that it was really unnecessary to use words that result in
things like cunya, aksagarbha, vajrakkhedika, or to speculate about the meaning of "completely extinct" in the Lotus, apparently without being aware that the phrase is merely Kern's arbitrary translation of parinirvṛṭa, which gives a meaning certainly not found in that sūtra. These, however, are questions of philological interest, and do not seriously affect the author's main purpose and achievement.

Edward J. Thomas.


Dr. Malalasekera's work is much more than a history of the literature, but no apology is needed for having embedded his account in what is largely a history of Ceylon. This means chiefly the story told in the Mahāvamsa, and the patriotic enthusiasm of the author has resulted in a very interesting and eloquently written book. But even though we may have got beyond the complete scepticism as to the value of the Chronicles for history, we can scarcely be said to have reached an agreement as to what we are to believe, especially for the thousand years before the Mahāvamsa was written. The real subject of the book, however, begins with chapter iv, and gives a valuable account of the real literary activity of Ceylon. In spite of the author having presented us with so much and having described the literature so fully, we should have liked still more. In his account of Kaccāna's grammar, he makes no mention of the fact that it has been published. The Rasavāhinī has been printed, at least in part, and is used also
in other than temple schools, but of this we are told nothing in the section devoted to the analysis of the work. It would be too much to expect a full bibliography, but readers will expect to know what edition the author is talking about, and whether an edition is accessible. Two portions of the book have a special interest, the account of the efforts of Western scholars in the last century to get an insight into Pāli and Sinhalese literature, and that of the literary and religious revival in Ceylon in modern times. The author writes with feeling, but with admirable restraint, of the lamentable events in the island which resulted from the conflicting commercial and political interests of foreigners.

The first volume of this translation of the Visuddhimagga was issued six years ago. The present volume is a translation of chapters iii–xiii, and covers about half of the whole. It deals with the choice of subjects for meditation, the various mechanical means for inducing jhāna and still higher states, the practice of the brahmavihāras, and various kinds of iddhi such as levitation and other miracles. The translation is very ably done, and will doubtless have a great influence in establishing a recognized system of representing Pāli terms. Hence more consistency in some cases would have been advisable. Paññā appears as "insight", "wisdom" and "understanding". Abhiññā first appears as "intuition" with the footnote "more literally super-knowledge", but in the chapter devoted to the subject as "higher knowledge". Attā is "self" and "soul" on the same page.

It is a matter for congratulation that the work is being carried out by one so well-equipped as Professor Pe Maung Tin. With his deep knowledge of the subject matter, his perfectly idiomatic style, and his use of the ākkā, he has been able to add valuable notes and to improve the state of the text considerably.

Edward J. Thomas.


The subject of Dr. Shahidullah’s work was first brought to public notice by Professor Bendall in his edition of the Subhāṣitasamgraha, in which he discussed a number of the apabhraṃśa verses quoted there. Dr. Shahidullah has now edited and translated the complete texts of two of the authors which were first published by MM. Harapraśād Śāstri in Baudhā gān o dohā in 1916. The author, with his knowledge of Bengali grammar and palæography and with an independent outlook on Bengali religious thought, appears to be an ideal editor. He has made a careful study of the phonology, grammar, vocabulary, and prosody, and with the use of three Tibetan translations of Kāṅha and two of Saraha from the Tanjur he has been able to establish a satisfactory text. The result is a highly valuable contribution not only to our knowledge of Buddhist apabhraṃśa, but also to a little known development of doctrine. This is tantrism, not in the loose sense as used by Koeppen, but the system which invests sexual processes with a religious significance. Professor Bendall, in a very natural disgust, did not try to understand it. We may refuse to discuss it, but it is not correct to look upon it as merely licence masquerading as religion, nor is it a sublimation and misunderstanding of physical facts. Doubtless it gave the opportunity for licence,
but however repulsive we may find it, it has to be recognized as one of the forms in which the religious instinct has clothed itself. The term *sahaja* expresses one of its essential doctrines, and there is a still existing Vaishnava sect, the Sahajiyā, which is branded by a serious Vaishnava scholar, Professor Mallik, as debauchery. Dr. Shahidullah treats the matter quite objectively, and says no more about it than is necessary. He gives a valuable discussion on the technical language, in which tantric senses are disguised under apparently innocuous terms.

Not only does the system reject the Vedas and Purāṇas, but also the Āgamas. The important person in all the teaching is the *guru*, and his pupil is the *cellu*. Here we have the modern *chela*, and the author perhaps makes the system look more orthodox than it is by translating the term *śrāmanera*. Kāṇha makes no mention of a Buddha, not even in the invocation. He speaks once of a *tathāgata*, but she turns out to be a sort of goddess (*debi*). Saraha uses the word *Buddha* twice, once when he speaks with scorn of the pandit who explains all śāstras, and yet knows not the Buddha that dwells in his body (*dehahī basanta*), and again when he declares that everything without any interstice is the Buddha. No wonder Dr. Shahidullah says that it is difficult to connect such teaching either with the Little or the Great Vehicle.

The whole work is thoroughly scholarly, but the proof-reading might have been more searching, especially in parts where it is important to know what the exact forms of the dialect are. The first *lakkhaī* on p. 79 is translated "sont négligés", but probably *uekkhaī* (*upekṣyate*) is intended. *Jīma* (*=* *yathā*) is explained, but not *timā* (*tathā*). *Nīttā* (*nītya*) of the text is *nīta* in the vocabulary.

Dr. Shahidullah has also printed and translated the *ɔrɔyā* in old Bengali, twelve stanzas by Kāṇha and four by Saraha. Perhaps he will one day examine them more fully.

Professor Mallik's book shows what a different system may develop out of principles which at least have something in
common with the teaching of Kāṇha, but the latter is probably due to an alien system which infected both Buddhism and Vaiṣṇavism. The term Vaiṣṇavism includes very different forms of worship, and perhaps the severest statement about it is made by Professor Mallik himself: "Most of the present followers of the very sublime religion of the Bāṇavas have undergone such a degree of degeneration that the religion itself has now become the butt-end of ridicule and caviling."

In the system as Professor Mallik expounds it there is no tantrism. His book is in the first place concerned with establishing the philosophical basis. Three sources of knowledge are recognized—perception, inference, and śabda or revelation, but the only reliable source of right knowledge is śabda, i.e. the Vedas. But even the sages have understood one and the same Veda in different lights, and to make the true import of the Vedas clear the Purāṇas appeared. Even then the comparative excellence of the Purāṇas has to be determined. Vyāsa, having revealed all the other Purāṇas, composed the Brahman Sūtras, but their meaning was so ambiguous that he revealed the Bhāgavata Purāṇa as his commentary on his own sūtras. This is the authority par excellence. It is thus clear why the Vaiṣṇava system is called a religion, but the question of evidence being settled, the author gives a clear and able discussion of the more purely metaphysical principles. It is directed chiefly against the teaching of Śankarācārya—his monism, his doctrine of creation, and the illusory nature of the individual.

The religious exposition deals with the principle of Rādhā (who sublimates the lordship of Kṛṣṇa), the cult of Gaurāṅga, who is not a mere incarnation or partial aspect, but "The Absolute Being Bhagavān himself", and lastly the doctrine of bhakti.

Edward J. Thomas.


In the Nyāya sūtras, says the author, we find apparently for the first time in India a philosophy portrayed as a rounded system—theory of knowledge, metaphysics of the microcosm and macrocosm, and doctrine of salvation. It may be presumed that in Kauṭalya’s time there was as yet no Nyāya system, and it must be later than the Vaiśeṣika, for it presupposes the Vaiśeṣika metaphysics. All these are statements that have been disputed, and they cannot be said to be settled yet, as the author in order to economize space has omitted any polemic against modern interpreters. He has, however, made an invaluable contribution to the elucidation of the system, and has focussed the problems that still await solution.

The introduction gives an account of the Indian commentators, and throughout the work the modern literature is referred to. The main part consists of the transliterated text of the sūtras, a translation and commentary following each sūtra and critical notes, each portion being printed in clearly contrasted type, which makes the whole a pleasure to read. A quarter of the book consists of notes. There are two Sanskrit indexes, which should make it easy to find any technical term, but it is curious that sāmānyato dṛṣṭam (i, 1, 5) is not among them. This is the third of the three kinds of inference, and Garbe once translated it “induktiv”, but Jacobi pointed out that it might equally well be translated “deduktiv”,
and that according to the Indian view every Schluss is deductive. Thereupon Garbe in his Sàmkhya und Yoga adopted Jacobi's view without giving any indication that he had thought the matter out for himself. The author ignores all this, and takes the term to mean "durch Analogie", yet he knows that the meaning was so unsettled among the commentators that one of them, at least, read adṛṣṭam for drṣṭam, and that in the Nyāya sūtra itself upamāna is usually translated "analogy". These remarks are not meant in any way to disparage this admirable work, but they perhaps suggest that the Nyāya has not yet been finally presented "in seiner Klarheit, Übersichtlichkeit und Durchdachtheit".

In 1908 the second Supplementary Catalogue of the printed books in Sanskrit, Pāli, and Prākrit in the British Museum was brought out by Dr. Barnett. Now another supplement follows, but the title gives no idea of the importance of the work. The last twenty years have been very fruitful in the publication of Sanskrit works and in the initiation of important series, like the Gaekwad’s Oriental Series, and the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, mostly executed by Indian scholars. The present work contains more than twice as many items as the previous supplement, and the indexes alone are more extensive than the whole original catalogue of Haas. It only remains to express the admiration and thanks of all Sanskrit scholars for the way in which it has been executed by Dr. Barnett.

EDWARD J. THOMAS.

Indica by L. D. Barnett

1. The Nighanṭu and the Nirukta. The oldest Indian treatise on etymology, philology, and semantics. Critically edited . . . and translated for the first time into English, with introduction, exegetical and critical notes, three indexes, and eight appendices, by Lakshman Sarup, M.A. (Panj.), D.Phil. (Oxon) . . . Sanskrit text, etc. 9½ × 6½, pp. xxxix + 292. Lahore (University of the Panjab), 1927.

Professor Lakshman Sarup is to be congratulated on having brought to a successful conclusion his long and arduous labours. Seven years have passed since he issued his annotated translation of the Nirukta; and now we are indebted to him for the text of both Nighaṇṭu and Nirukta, critically edited and excellently printed (though, it must be confessed, with a large crop of printer's errors, which he frankly acknowledges, and has for the most part corrected in a suddhi-pattrā at the end of the book), together with an introduction in which he discusses the character of the MS. material used by him and the MSS. and dates of the commentaries of Dēvarāja, Durga, and others, and an appendix showing the passages of the Nirukta which are connected with the Saṃhitās (other than the Rk), Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas, Sarvānukramaṇi, Bṛhat-sarva, Bṛhad-dēvatā, Prātiśākhya, Aṣṭādhyāyī, Mahābhāṣya, Pūrva-mīmāṃsā, Kauṭaliya, and Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha.

One valuable result of Mr. Lakshman Sarup's scholarly studies has been to ascertain that there are two recensions of the Nirukta, a longer (A) and a shorter (B), of which B represents a purer and A a more interpolated tradition, and his text is accordingly based upon B. One is tempted, however, to suggest that logically he might go further. He tells us that Durga in his commentary, which repeats every word of the Nirukta, "took pains to ascertain the correct readings and has handed down a sort of critical edition of the Nirukta as it existed in his time," which was probably the early fourteenth century, and therefore previous to B. Now B gives some passages unknown to Durga, which seem to be spurious additions, and yet these are printed by

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Mr. Lakshman Sarup as if authentic. Would it not have been better to omit them, and to base the text primarily upon Durga's recension?

As a supplement to his edition of the Nirukta Mr. Lakshman Sarup has published the available fragments of the commentaries of Skandavāmin and Mahēśvara. As to the authorship of the first text here printed, the Nirukta-bhāṣya-tīkā, there is some mystery, for the MSS. ascribe some chapters of it to Skandavāmin and others to Mahēśvara; and Mr. Lakshman Sarup suggests the probable solution that, as its name implies, it is really a gloss (tīkā) by Mahēśvara on a commentary (bhāṣya) by Skandavāmin, in which some morsels of the latter work are imbedded. The portion here printed deals only with the first adhyāya of the Nirukta, but it occupies with footnotes 121 pages. To this is added a collection of the fragments of Skandavāmin's commentary on Nirukta gleaned from Dēvarāja's exposition of the Nighaṇṭu.


Professor Mookerji's book comprises six chapters on the early life and family of his hero, his history, administration, religion, and monuments, and the social conditions of his age, followed by an annotated translation of the Inscriptions and the text of them (in the best preserved specimens where several recensions exist), together with appendices on the chronology of Aśoka and the Edicts and their language and script. It is designed as "a convenient text-book" for University students, and disclaims any pretensions to originality, except for some points of chronology and interpretation and certain appraisements of Aśoka's career.
In his main design Professor Mookerji has succeeded. The work is painstaking and generally careful, while the materials collected, especially in the notes to the translation, will be very helpful to students. We must, however, confess to some doubt as to whether the Professor’s contributions have fixed the floating islands of Aśoka’s chronology, for his arguments seem very deficient in cogency; and the suggestions on p. 68 regarding Aśoka’s attitude towards dissent in the Saṅgha and the Second Council are unconvincing. The remarks on kingship in ancient India on p. 47 f. ignore the fact that in course of time the king came to exercise important legislative functions. Aśoka did so, and his activity, viewed from the standpoint of Indian constitutional doctrine, was almost revolutionary. The explanation of a notorious crux offered on p. 113, n. 7, is wholly unsatisfactory, and the statement on p. 116, n. 6, that “the rule of conduct herein preached is taken by Aśoka from a well-known passage in the Taittiriya Upaniṣad” is, to say the least, uncritical. The philological work on the whole is careful; but, as the Professor is not a professional philologer, it is somewhat deficient in exactness and sureness of touch. A trait to which the reader may fairly take exception is the Professor’s habit of mixing up Prakrit, Pali, and Sanskrit forms of words in a manner that must prove most confusing to the untrained reader: thus on p. 27 we have the Pali “Sāriputta” immediately followed by “Maudgalāyana” (sic!), and on p. 32 in a list of names from Pali sources several are quite irrationally given in Sanskrit translation.¹ It is to be hoped that these and other lapses will be corrected in the next edition.

¹ We would also respectfully call attention to the false idiom in the words “calls Asoka as a Maurya” on p. 12, n. 3 (cf. p. 140, n. 6), the unlawful compound “co-terminous” on p. 15 (some of us will remember the ridicule cast by Bentley upon this type of word), and the incorrect “Selukos” (p. 13, n. 1, and p. 15) and “hiranyārthiḥ” (p. 25), among other slips.

The Aśva-mēdha as prescribed for successful monarchs is not so much a religious ceremony as a series of diverse rites of sympathetic magic, for the most part exceedingly primitive in character, and concerned originally with Varuṇa, Indra, and other ancient gods, which have been adapted and redacted by Brahman ritualists so as to form a gigantic combination to glorify their favourite deity Prajāpati. The filthy obscenity of word and act which mark some of its ceremonies is characteristic of early Brahmanism in its nastiest forms: one marvels whether Samudragupta and his polished court carried out all its loathsome rules, and if so, what their feelings were. But just because of its barbarous crudity the Aśva-mēdha is most instructive, and M. Dumont has done good service to science by his unflinching analysis.

The main part of his work consists of a careful description of the Aśva-mēdha in its details, arranged in 691 paragraphs, as prescribed for the schools of the White Yajur-vēda in Kātyāyana’s Śrāuta-sūtra, the Vājasaneyi-samhitā, and the Śata-patha Brāhmaṇa, with occasional excerpts from the last-named work interpreting the significance of the rites according to Brahmanic theory. To this are added four appendices in which are translated Āpastamba’s Śrāuta-sūtra xx, Bādhāyana’s Śr.-s. xv, and some portions of the Vādhūla Śr.-s., which represent the Aśva-mēdha ritual of the Black Yajur-vēda, and a series of extracts from the Aśvamēdhika-parvan of the Mahābhārata describing the horse-sacrifice performed by Yudhiṣṭhira after his victory. Indices and an introduction summarily describing the ceremony and indicating its religious character fitly complete this careful and useful monograph.


Professor Urquhart’s study of the Vêdânta in its evolution from the early intuitions of the Vêda to the full maturity of Śaṅkara’s system (the doctrine of Râmânuja receives less attention from him than it deserves, and the other schools are ignored) is, although thus limited in scope, a remarkably fine and penetrating work. It is marked throughout by scholarly accuracy of knowledge, clarity of thought, and fairness even to the degree of sympathetic generosity, for Dr. Urquhart believes that much of Indian philosophy “is unconsciously anticipative of Christian thought”, and he earnestly endeavours to trace such a connection in the Vêdânta, without minimising the points of difference. Possibly, indeed, he goes a little further in this direction than is strictly warranted by the facts: at any rate he seems to us to have somewhat over-estimated the religious element in Śaṅkara’s thought, which is dominantly, perhaps almost entirely, intellectualistic, and has little if any trace of the theistic emotion which stirs in the intuition of some of the Upaniṣads, in Râmânuja, and in Christian writers. Perhaps also he is too generous in his suggestion that Śaṅkara aimed at a “realistic rehabilitation of the world” and failed to accomplish it: one rather suspects that on principle Śaṅkara would have stoutly repudiated such an ideal, though in practice he sometimes drifted unconsciously in that direction. But while our opinions on these and a few other minor points do not wholly tally with those of the Professor, we must pay a tribute of cordial admiration to the singular merit of his book as a whole.
While Dr. Urquhart narrows his survey to Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja, Dr. Sircar on the contrary includes in his review of the main doctrines of the Vēdānta nearly all the schools which claim to represent it—Advāita, Viśiṣṭādvāita, Pāncarātra, Dvāita, Bhēdābhēda, Gauḍīya Vāiṣṇavas, and Puṣṭimārgiyas. The author follows the comparative method, impartially stating the theories of the several schools upon the topics under review. The work shows much philosophic acumen and learning, and will be very useful to the specialist, although in respect of lucidity of expression and orderliness of exposition it seems to us to leave something to be desired.


Mr. Longhurst has already investigated the earliest period of Pallava architecture, which is associated with the name of Mahēndravarman I, and he accordingly devotes the present monograph to a study of the monuments of the middle period, which belong approximately to the reign (about A.D. 640-74) of Narasimhavarman I, surnamed Mahāmalla or Māmalla, whose name is preserved in that of the port founded by him, Māmallapuram, later miscalled Mahābālipuram, and by early British sailors styled “Seven Pagodas”. Here there has been preserved a group of rathas and other rock-cut monuments which rank among the most attractive works of Pallava art and which furnish ample material for the study of the period. Mr. Longhurst therefore gives to them the larger share of his attention and examines them in detail, showing with the aid of excellent plates the development of technique beginning from that of the earliest monuments, particularly the Dharmarāja and Kōṭikal mandapas, which in workmanship are hardly distinguishable from some
of the temples of the preceding period, and culminating in the matured perfection which characterises the end of the third quarter of the seventh century. Of special interest is the description of the magnificent "Arjuna's Penance", which, as is now generally recognised, has nothing to do with Arjuna, and really depicts a gathering of gods and ascetics on the two banks of a river, "a symbolical representation of the Ganges flowing from the Himalayas," in which the plastic genius of Hindu sculpture attains its highest perfection. The monograph is a thoroughly competent and much needed treatment of an exceedingly important and fascinating phase of Indian art.


In addition to useful conservation work on the Ellora Caves, Ajanta, the Forts of Warangal and Bhongir, the tomb of Qāsim Barid at Bidar, the Haft Gumbaz at Gulbarga, and other monuments. Mr. Yazdani and his staff during the year under review have accomplished an important task in surveying the tombs of Gulbarga ascribed to the Bahmanis 'Ala ud-Din Hasan and Muḥammad Shāh I and II, the great mosques in the Shāh-bazār and the Fort, and the seven tombs outside Gulbarga commonly known as the Haft Gumbaz, with other local structures. A very interesting light is thus thrown upon the evolution of Muslim architecture in the Dekhan, as the older buildings and the Haft Gumbaz are in the Tughluq style, while the later ones—notably the Fort mosque, constructed by a Persian architect from Qazwin—bear evidence to an influx of Persian influences, to which were gradually added those of India, strikingly evidenced in the beautiful Masjid of Afzal Khān. Another interesting section is the account of the Forts at Bhongir and Warangal. Two appendices are added, one by Mr. L. Munn on human
artefacts and fossilized bones found in the Godavari valley, and the other by Mr. T. Streenivas on coins of the Western Cālukyas. Altogether the Hyderabad Government has very good reason for recording "their appreciation of the excellent work of Mr. Yazdani".

9. **Mandū, the City of Joy.** By G. Yazdani, M.A., Director of Archaeology in H.E.H. The Nizam's Dominions and Epigraphist to the Government of India for Moslem Inscriptions. Printed for the Dhār State. \(7\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}\), pp. xii + 131, 30 plates. Oxford: University Press, 1929.

Scattered over the rich and beautiful plateau which on three sides sinks abruptly through a wild gorge into the plains of Malwa, the ruins of Malwa bear silent and sorrowful witness to the past glories of what was once fittingly named Shādiābād, the Abode of Joy. We may be sure that princes ruled here from times of immemorial antiquity; but no record of it appears in history until the days of the Pratihāras and, after them, of the Paramāras, and it first emerges into prominence in the reign of Dilāwar Khān Ghōrī, at first the viceroy and then from 1401 to 1405 the ruler of Malwa, who laid the foundations of the great fortress of Mandu. His son Hoshang Shāh, who established his capital here, not only completed his father's design, but crowned Mandu with many stately and beautiful buildings. Their family continued to reign in the city until the days of Bāz Bahādur—famous in legend for his romantic love for the Hindu songstress Rūpmaṭī—who was forced to surrender his kingdom to Akbar; and after some vicissitudes of fortune Mandu in 1734 was incorporated in the dominions of the Puār Maharajas of Dhar, a branch of the same Paramāras who had governed it many centuries previously.

To narrate the story of this city and to describe the monuments of its whilom splendours, the Government of the Dhar State has enlisted the services of Mr. Yazdani. It is
a happy choice, for Mr. Yazdani unites historical and antiquarian learning with sound taste and lucidity of style, which enable him to do full justice to his fascinating theme. He has given us a book of which the text is a pleasure to read and the illustrations are a delight to the eye, and to him and to the Government of Dhar lovers of knowledge and beauty owe an abundant measure of gratitude.


Professor Schmidt has now completed his laborious but exceedingly useful task of supplementing the “Baby Böhtlingk” by a volume containing some 12,000 new articles together with Böhtlingk’s own addenda, which number about 14,450. The bulk of the new material is drawn from drama, poetry, poetical prose (especially the Yaśas-tīlaka), rhetoric, and erotic literature, while religious works, medicine (Caraka), Śaiva philosophy, the Kāutāliya, and the Vājrayānti have also contributed their quotas. As Dr. Schmidt admits, his collections are by no means final gleanings in the fields of Sanskrit literature: circumstances have unfortunately compelled him to leave out much valuable Vedic and cognate materials, and we observe, also with regret, that he has not drawn upon the rich store of poetry contained in the inscriptions. On the other hand, it may be questioned whether some of the entries, such as a-kapila, a-karada, a-pratta, where the a- merely gives a negative sense to the following adjective or participle, are worth collecting and printing: counsels of perfection plead for them, while practical considerations urge their omission. But however this may be, the work as a whole deserves to be welcomed as a product of sound and industrious scholarship, and no oriental library can dispense with it.

In his autobiography Charles Philip Brown claimed, doubtless with justice, to have rekindled the dying fires of Telugu literature; Sir George Grierson, if he were less modest than he is, might boast of having accomplished no less for several literatures of Northern India, and to have done it in an immeasurably more scientific and critical manner. And of all the tongues to which he has devoted his loving studies, Kashmiri owes to the great Bhāṣā-vācaspati a peculiar debt of gratitude, which is crowned by the present work.

Though Hinduism claims the spiritual allegiance of only a minority of the population, it dominates the literature of Kashmir, and one of its most important cults is well represented in the Kṛṣṇāvatāra-līlā. The poem is comparatively modern, for the author, whose identity is very dubious, Dīna-nātha being only a pen-name, seems to have died in the last century. But he has done his business efficiently, paraphrasing the story of the Bhāgavata in a sequence of 1178 fluent verses with a pleasant refrain—the long-drawn Golden Legend which Hindu audiences love to hear. It can scarcely be described as “linked sweetness long drawn out”, for Kashmiri is a crabbed tongue; but Dīna-nātha knows how to speak to the heart of his people in the language which they understand, and he does so. The text is given by Sir George Grierson in roman transliteration (no easy task in itself) with an accurate translation on the opposite page, a performance which would suffice to make the literary fortune of any other scholar, but is to him merely a parergon.

Professor R. D. Ranade contributes a foreword from which it appears that this small book attempts to meet the needs of candidates for the B.A. degree in Indian universities, most of which now require from students who offer philosophy some acquaintance with Indian philosophy. This was an inevitable and an interesting development of the former exclusively Western philosophical curriculum, but it is one which presents serious difficulties. It is sufficiently easy to select one or two philosophical classics of the West which students at an early stage can understand and which have high value as instruments of culture and incentives to reflection. But it is not at all easy to find an Indian philosophical classic which can take its place in a B.A. curriculum beside (say) Berkeley and Plato's Republic. And, failing this, the alternative is to prescribe a general acquaintance with the outlines of Indian thought; the value of which to a young student is, to say the least, dubious. It is extremely difficult to give philosophical significance to the dry bones of the darśanas. Even in the best exposition the technicalities of Sāṁkhya and Yoga, Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika, Buddhism and Jainism look like fossils in a museum of philosophical antiquities. They can be arranged and labelled, but it is not easy to realize them as living forms of thought.

Mr. Jwala Prasad writes well and does not waste words or talk at large. He is free from prejudice, and has critical ability; and where his subject-matter and the compass of the work permits, his treatment is interesting. His account is never wilfully misleading (although it is perhaps a pity that he included in an Appendix a paper on Germs of Modern Psychology in the Yajurveda); and many who are looking for a readable and reliable short account of Indian thought will find his book useful. The book is indexed and well printed; though the late Dr. Venis' name should not have been (twice)
given in the form *Venice*, nor should Max Müller have been represented (again, twice) as speaking of "the oldest hymns of Babylonian and *Arcadian* poets". The inclusion of "Intellection (buddhi)" among the seven *guṇas* added later to the Vaiśeṣika-sūtra's list of seventeen, is a strange inadvertence—the quality intended must be *sāṁskāra*; but this is not "intellection"; though in the form of *bhāvanā* it is an *ātma-guṇa*.

H. N. Randle.


Translations of a *mahākāvya* naturally provoke the reader to ask what the translator's aim can have been. In the case of a translation like that of Nandargikar the question is easy to answer; he meant to supply a key to every word in the text; a useful object, which he achieved with sufficient success to have earned the gratitude of many of us. Where the translator's aim is thus limited by an avowed intention "to preserve the sense of the Sanskrit expressions without sacrificing it to the beauty of English phraseology", the question whether any one could endure to read the English rendering for its intrinsic interest does not arise. But when we read a version which preserves in carefully balanced clauses the antithetic style of the original, and which plainly has in view the aim of conveying in a modern language something of Kālidāsa's mastery of form, we are tempted to ask whether it is possible to convey enough of the spirit of the original to make translation of this character worth while.

The *Raghuvamśa* has a plot-interest in respect of its central part, the *Rāmāyana* story; and if it had ended with Canto XV there would perhaps have been unity enough to
make it a poem—instead of being, as it is, a string of poems. But then the poem would not have been a mahākāvya, the effects of which are episodic and lyrical: “raccourci avec un lyrisme contenu,” as M. Renou, in a preface which compresses into three or four pages an illuminating appreciation of Kālidāsa’s art, remarks with special reference to Canto XIV. The reader therefore who looks for epic breadth in the poem will be disappointed. And what will he find instead? A number of episodes chosen “non point pour leur importance propre, mais parce qu’ils prétendent à des variations littéraires où, dans un décor conventionnel, le poète peut donner libre cours à l’expression de ces rasa, ces sentiments ‘que préconisa et définit avec tant de soin la rhétorique hindoue’.” And more than this, even: “l’unité elle-même de l’épisode est sans cesse subordonnée à l’unité de la stances, laquelle possède en propre ses fins esthétiques et se soumet aux nécessités internes de son bref développement.” The stanza is the thing, if not everything: “un tout indépendant et complet, un poème en miniature, avec son imprévu, ses jeux, son sommet d’expression et l’image inévitable qui l’accompagne.” And further, “où l’idée ne peut suffire à étayer l’image le poète y supplée par toutes les ressources verbales d’un art raffiné.” This is what provokes the question what the translator’s aim can have been. He has to ignore effects due to alliteration, assonance and play on words; and, when these are left out, nothing is left, in numerous stanzas, except perhaps an unreal antithesis. For instance, there is not much to choose between Nandargikar’s and M. Renou’s versions of such stanzas as:

\[
\textit{ithham dvijena dvijarājakāntir āvedito vedavidām varenā enonivrttendriyavṛttir enam jagāda bhūyo jagadekanāthaḥ.}
\]

How could there be? And yet Kālidāsa is, after all, worth translating in graceful modern prose, even if the effect of his yamakas and other such artifices cannot be reproduced. And M. Renou’s version is (so far as a foreigner may judge) a very felicitous attempt to make the \textit{Raghuvaṃśa} readable for
those who do not read Sanskrit. Those who do, will find that it keeps very closely to the original. To have achieved both results at once is a feat on which a translator may fairly be congratulated.

There is a misprint at V, 9, where kālopapannātithikalpyabhbāgam is rendered "une portion doit en être réservée pour les bêtes qui arrivent en temps voulu". Bêtes is a printer's error for hôtes. The description in the following line of the gṛhasthaśrama as sarvopakārakṣama is, as the commentators explain, a reference to the dependence of the other orders on the householder (several times emphasized by Manu), and the rendering "celui qui permet toutes les assistance" fails to convey this idea. In III, 32, pūpoṣa gāmbhiryamanoharam vapiḥ is not precisely rendered by "fleurissait dans des formes d'une profonde séduction". At I, 36, nirghoṣa is not "sans bruit". These were the only passages which appeared open to criticism, as the result of a fairly close comparison of the translation with the text in the earlier books. The translation is a valuable addition to this well-known series.

H. N. Randle.


Though the three years covered by the present volume were not signalized by any momentous events in the Company's history in the East, the period was marked by steady development and increased shipping activity. In the proceedings of the Court and its Committees, however, we find references to several questions of historical and political importance, the outcome of events that had occurred in previous years, such as the relations with the governments of the Netherlands and Portugal and the power of the House of Lords to assume
an original jurisdiction. The negotiations with the Dutch government arose from the well-founded apprehension of the Company that the treaty of Breda had jeopardized their interests and threatened to establish a Dutch monopoly of trade in the Far East. The occasion of the Triple Alliance was taken to move the King to induce the States-General to remedy their grievances. Sir William Temple, then at the Hague, took the matter in hand, and a "Treaty Marine" relating to seafaring and commercial matters was concluded in continuation of the treaty of alliance; but the promptitude with which Temple pushed this through precluded consultation with the Company, who were not satisfied with the terms arranged. Further negotiations followed; but, in spite of de Witt's efforts, the demands of our Company were only partially conceded owing to the opposition of the Dutch East India Company.

Though Bombay was ceded to the King of England as part of the dowry of the Infanta of Portugal in 1661, the fleet despatched for the purpose under the Earl of Marlborough in the following year failed to get possession of it. It was not till 1665 that Humphrey Cooke took over from the Portuguese the island of Bombay, shorn of Salsette and Karanj, which were originally supposed to be included in the grant. Further trouble ensued in connexion with these two dependencies, owing to the levying by the Portuguese of customs duties upon all British vessels passing to the mainland. It was soon found that the government of Bombay cost more than it produced, and in 1668 it was handed over by the Crown to the Company "on payment of an annual rent of £10 in gold." It was Sir Gerald Aungier, Governor of Surat from 1669 to 1677, who, appreciating the possibilities of the site, founded the modern city of Bombay, and first placed its affairs upon a satisfactory footing. In this volume we find much evidence of the interest shown by the Company in its new possession, for example, in its fortification, armament and development, and in the despatch of a minister and of women to live there,
who were not to be permitted "to marry any but those of their own nation, or such as be Protestants". We see attention also being paid to the island of St. Helena, which had been occupied by the Company in 1651 on its evacuation by the Dutch. We find also several guarded references to the famous case of Thomas Skinner, which gave rise to a prolonged conflict between the Lords and the Commons, only to be dropped at the earnest personal request of the King. Skinner, however, falling between two stools, if the simile may be used of these august assemblies, never got any redress for the confiscation of his properties and the other hardships he had suffered at the hands of the Company.

The present volume forms the eighth of the series of Calendars compiled by Miss Sainsbury, who must be warmly congratulated on the sustained care and scholarship with which the task has been performed. The very full index enhances the value of the work.

C. E. A. W. O.

THE GURKHAS, THEIR MANNERS, CUSTOMS AND COUNTRY.
By Major W. Brook Northey, M.C., and Captain C. J. Morris, with a Foreword by Brig.-General the Hon. C. G. Bruce, C.B., M.V.O. 8½ x 5½; pp. xxxvii + 282, with map and 69 illustrations. London: John Lane, 1928.

Those who are not in a position to study M. Sylvain Lévi's standard work, Le Népal, in three volumes, or Mr. P. Landon's recent sympathetic and detailed account of the country and its governors, in two volumes, will welcome this short and readable description of a people who have rendered such splendid military services to our Empire. One of the most remarkable facts about Nepal is the very limited knowledge we possess of the country, although it marches with British India for some 500 miles. This is chiefly due to the strong prejudice of the people against Europeans travelling in their
country, a prejudice which has evoked the strict regulations and prohibitions enforced by even the most enlightened rulers of the country. We can trace this feeling back at least to the time of the consolidation of the many hill states into a single kingdom under the "House of Gorkha", as Buchanan Hamilton appropriately named it. Prior to that, foreigners seem to have been under less restraint, as we know that Jesuit and Capuchin fathers and others had access to the country and passed backwards and forwards through it to Tibet. Since the treaty of Sagauli (1816), framed with characteristic foresight by the Marquess of Hastings, established our relations with Nepal upon a lasting basis, a representative of the British Government has always been stationed at Kathmandu. European visitors, however, have only been admitted within strictly defined limits. Ever since Bhim Sen Thapa took the reins of government into his hands more than a century ago, the kingdom has been practically ruled by the Prime Minister for the time being; and, fortunately for the country, that office has been held by a succession of men of outstanding ability, strength of character and breadth of view. General Bruce, in his discerning foreword, compares the system with the conditions pertaining in old Japan or in France under the Carlovingians. Perhaps an even closer comparison may be drawn with the Rājas and Peshwas of the Marāṭhā empire during the last hundred years of its existence. Analogies also suggest themselves with Bhūtān, with its Dharma Rāja, or spiritual head, and its Deb Rāja, the temporal ruler, and of Tibet with its Tashi and Dalai Lamas.

In Chapter IV Professor Turner gives a brief but suggestive account of the races and tribes met with and of the numerous languages and dialects spoken within the kingdom, about most of which our knowledge is still very defective. In no part of India are we faced with more problems of deep ethnological and linguistic interest. Let us hope that a continuance of the able and progressive administration by the Darbār,
which has already achieved remarkable advances in many directions, will also arouse interest in these subjects among the people themselves and call forth research workers capable of pursuing the inquiries so admirably begun nearly a century ago by that great scholar Brian Hodgson.

The authors, both of whom have served as Gurkha Rifles officers themselves, are specially competent to describe the soldier races of these hills. Major Northey has entered Nepal on several occasions, and Captain Morris, besides his professional knowledge, has already acquired distinction by his explorative work in more than one area of the higher Himalayas.

C. E. A. W. O.

British Routes to India. By Halford Lancaster Hoskins. 8vo, pp. xvi + 494, 9 plates and 2 maps. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1928. 30s.

In this excellent treatise Professor Hoskins has given us a comprehensive history of the long continued efforts made to establish communication between India and England, alike by way of Egypt and by the Aleppo-Basra route. It is an interesting story of sustained endeavour, punctuated by failure, and succeeding at last, as regards the Egypt route, chiefly owing to the genius and untiring energy of Ferdinand de Lesseps. Probably what will attract most attention is the narrative of the fight over the concession for the Suez Canal, in which the English Foreign Office played an obstructive part. Incidentally much political history comes into the theme, particularly as to French schemes in Egypt and Russian intrigues in Turkey and Persia. So comprehensive is the author's plan that it includes somewhat detailed accounts of the survey work of the Bombay Marine, the capture of Aden, the development of the steamship, the extension of the European telegraph lines to India and the Far East,
and the organization of the postal system between India and the home country.

The book has some useful illustrations and a good index. In the very probable event of a second edition being called for, a few corrections will doubtless be made. On p. 33 "fears" is misprinted "feats"; on p. 34 Dundas is wrongly designated as Chairman of the East India Company, though his correct position is given ten pages later; John Henry Grose is called Sir Henry Grose in a note on p. 83; and the hoary error of "Marquis of Wellesley" appears on p. 90.

W. F.

EARLY ENGLISH INTERCOURSE WITH BURMA (1587-1743).
By Professor D. G. E. Hall, University of Rangoon. Longmans, Green & Co., 1928.

A good book on this abstruse and difficult subject has long been wanted by researchers, and the new University of Rangoon has done well in publishing this one as its first publication, for it has been admirably put together and produced in exactly the right way. Professor Hall has gone throughout to the original sources, which he has dragged to light out of their hiding-places with a labour that has obviously been immense, and it is a blessing to think that such work has been done at last.

Professor Hall deals separately with eleven subjects relating to the efforts of the English to establish a trade with Burma in the seventeenth century, which practically all failed. The whole question has been hitherto obscure, and none of the efforts have been easy to follow. In some cases, indeed—e.g. the trouble at Negrais in 1686-7—one cannot be too grateful for the clearing up of difficulties. The whole book indeed is filled with information that will be new to most readers, and it may be noted that Professor Hall has the courage of the opinions he has formed as the
result of his own labours—witness Appendix II on the Alleged Existence of English Factories before 1647—in which he combats the ideas of all his predecessors. Altogether the book is a real advance in historical study in Burma.

R. C. Temple.

The Inscriptions of the Kalyanisima, Pegu. By C. O. Blagden, with atlas of 24 plates. Epigraphia Birmanica, Archaeological Survey of Burma. Rangoon: Government Press. 4s. 6d. and 7s. 6d.

Once again have the celebrated Kalyani Inscriptions been brought to public notice, and this time in a sumptuous though very cheap form. If I recollect rightly in 1892 Taw Sein Ko, then a young man, made some remarks in the Indian Antiquary on the inscriptions at the Kalyanisima, known to have been cut on ten stones—three in Pali and seven in Môn—with their bases in situ, in a suburb of Pegu town. About the same time the Government authorized me, as Archæological Officer, to arrange to set up the Pali stones again, so far as practicable. They were represented only by pieces, chiefly on the ground, and the work was eventually accomplished at the hands of enthusiastic officers of the Burma Public Works Department. The reason that the restoration was restricted to the Pali stones was that they could be read, and then the fragments could be replaced in appropriate positions just as they had originally stood; but Môn was then a little known language and it was impossible to restore the Môn stones in the same way. All the stones had been badly broken by deliberate iconoclasts, and much of the legends was lost, but fortunately their main subject was the consecration of a simā, or theng as the modern Burmans call it—a place for ecclesiastical meetings and the performance of ordination and similar ceremonies. The consecration ceremony of such a place is so important therefore in Buddhist
eyes that the record of such ceremonies has never materially varied, and it was possible to place the fragments of the Kalyani stones in their proper position from the readings of the MSS. still in existence, so accurate had their reproduction through the centuries proved to be.

I may here remark on the advance during the last forty years that has been made in archaeological surveys in the Indian Empire. About 1890 the Government of India resolved to look seriously into the antiquities of the country, and proceeded to direct the many local governments to appoint archaeological officers. This they set to work to do each in its own way. Burma was then very poor after the Third Burmese War of 1885–9, and so that Government duly appointed myself to that post and Taw Sein Ko to help, but there were no office allowances whatever, and we were both otherwise busy administrative officials. Moreover, what work was done in the archaeological field had to be performed at our own expense in such little leisure as we had, but now we find a survey department with full-time officials who are, I may say, most competent officers into the bargain. The first publication of the Kalyani Inscriptions fell to me in the Indian Antiquary, and Taw Sein Ko's all-important articles—good to the present day—on the Pali stones were the result. I am glad to note that Mr. Blagden has acknowledged the value they have been to him in the book under notice. It should be added that the once well-known archaeologist, Dr. Forchhammer, who has long since passed away, was the first to notice the importance of these inscriptions and to take transcripts of their fragments.

Fortunately, also, the Kalyani stones bear a long introduction, which contains minutely dated historical, geographical, and ecclesiastical references of the highest value up to the point when the great Simâ was consecrated in exactly orthodox form in A.D. 1476. In this way, indeed, it will be seen that these inscriptions are of a value that can hardly be surpassed, and they are thus well worthy of all the research
that can be bestowed on their interpretation, and, it may be said, preservation also.

The Môn text, which is not a translation but a free paraphrase of the Pali—with in some cases entirely fresh matter—has now been dealt with by Mr. Blagden with his customary care, patience, and knowledge, with the help of another great Môn scholar, Mr. R. Halliday, and we may take it that we are in possession at last of a rendering that will last many a long day as authoritative, despite Mr. Blagden's feeling—that every researcher has—that there is much left undone. I would also draw attention to the very many invaluable footnotes that accompany nearly every page, making the whole work a mine of information on every kind of point—linguistic, textual, historical, geographical.

It is impossible in a mere book notice to review this remarkable work in the ordinary sense, and I therefore content myself with congratulating the author and his assistants on the scholarship which has produced it.

R. C. Temple.


The memorable census of India of 1901, which led to the systematic ethnographic survey of the provinces and states of India by superintendents who had previously qualified for the task during the progress of the census, has produced results of permanent value. We have, on the one hand, the complete records of the tribes and castes of Bengal, Madras, Bombay, the North-West Provinces, and Central Provinces. Further, special works have been published on the tribes of Assam and Upper Burma. As the framer of the scheme which has produced such valuable results, the late Sir Herbert Risley is entitled to the gratitude of anthropologists. As a sequel to these, this new work of Sarat Chandra Roy is to be commended to students as an excellent and detailed study of the
primitive tribe of Chota Nagpur, known as the Orãons. Though they have not remained unaffected by contact with Hinduism and more recent religious influences, the Orãons display all the primitive characteristics with which students are so familiar in other parts of India.

Among them we find the survival of totemism, the spirit-scaring rites, the precautions for warding off the evil eye, ancestor worship, fertility rites, and tree-marriages which are common to all primitive tribes.

Colonel Hodson, in a brief introduction, pays full tribute to the importance of Sarat Chandra Roy's work, and the learning and ability which he has brought to his task. Within the limits of space permissible for this brief notice, it is only possible to enumerate a few of the more striking points which deserve the attention of the reader of the work. Ancestor worship among the Orãons is known as the cult of the Pachbalar. The author, who gives several different spellings of this word, might consider the connection between the Panchpalava and Pachbalar, as well as Crooke's Pachbala or fivefold sacrifice. The Panchpalava, or fivefold leaf totem godling of Western India, seems to be a form of the Orãon Pachbalar. The prohibition on marriage between families with the same totem is a common feature of early tribes in India. In this case it is supplemented by less familiar prohibitions on marriage between milk-relations, meaning apparently foster children of one mother, and between the families of boys who have entered into a ceremonial friendship with one another (p. 140). Eldest sons may not be married to girls who are eldest daughters. Tanks, wells, fruit-trees, and gardens are married before their fish, water, or fruit may be used. This, as the author remarks, is a practice not confined to the Orãons, though in their case the rites seem to be more than usually elaborate. The work contains some valuable corrections of the work of previous observers, such as Father Dehon and Dalton, to whom we are indebted for much of our information on this subject.
In warmly congratulating Sarat Chandra Roy on the valuable new light he has thrown on Orāon practices and beliefs in this interesting work, it may be permissible to suggest the desirability of more careful proof correction in subsequent editions of the book. On p. 109, for example, no less than four printer's errors have been overlooked, i.e. sorcerer, urld, hamful, and nail-pairing; and these are numerous throughout the book.

R. E. E.


Sir Charles Bell in his latest work presents the most detailed and complete picture of the secular life of the people of Central Tibet yet given us. And, when we say this, we do not undervalue the recent contributions of competent European observers, such as Dr. McGovern and Mme David-Neel and of Tibetans themselves in We Tibetans by Rin-chen Lha-mo (Mrs. L. King) and in a Tibetan on Tibet (G. A. Combe), or forget the earlier authorities, among whom may be named Rockhill, Sarat Chandra Das, and Ekai Kawaguchi.

What impresses the reader most is the author's intimate understanding of and complete sympathy with the people, whose mode of life, habits, and mentality are so vividly portrayed in these pages. Racial weaknesses and, to the Western reader, strange customs, which other writers have unduly emphasized or condemned, are here set forth with a kindly moderation and in true perspective. We are told by an independent observer that Sir Charles "aimed at securing their (the Tibetans') sympathy and friendship", and that "his extraordinary regard for Tibetan susceptibilities worked wonders". For instance, when in Tibet, he abstained from food and practices of which the inhabitants disapproved, such as fish, chicken, the use of tobacco, shooting, and fishing.
This attitude and his command of the formidable colloquial secured for him the confidence of and the most friendly relations with all classes during his twenty years or so of service among Tibetans on both sides of the border.

By a free use of personal reminiscence, proverb, and quotation from native literary works he conveys to the reader in an easy, simple, and lucid manner a wealth of information on the everyday habits and customs of nomads, peasants, nobles, traders, beggars, and even robbers, on the position and occupations of women, on marriage, children, food, drinking, smoking, etiquette, amusements, and funeral rites. Here and there, as is inevitable, occurs some information on religious matters. For, as we are told, "religion lies deep down in the hearts of the Tibetans", and in few other countries can its influence be so strong in the political, social, and domestic spheres, but the author has wisely excluded the religious life as such from his survey in order to treat the secular life more fully.

Two brief introductory chapters adequately describe the physical features and outline the history of the country. The plate, *The Mountain Masses of Tibet*, well suggests its general configuration. But in place of the two general maps we should prefer a physical map on a larger scale of the region dealt with, that is the central provinces of Ü-Tsang, with the Himalayan countries south of the Indo-Tibetan border, Sikkim, Kalimpong, Darjeeling, and western Bhutan. On p. 5 the west Tibetan countries of Ladakh and Lahul (now politically outside Tibet) are inaccurately spoken of as in southern Tibet. One might supplement the remarks on p. 4 and pp. 110-11 as to the undeveloped mineral wealth of Tibet by direct mention of the long exploited shallow gold mines at Thok Ja-lung in the north-west Chang Tang (v. p. 22 *Tibet, Past and Present*). Can it be that the native legend that Tibet was "formerly all under a sea" somehow recalls a dim memory of the Tethys ocean that long ago covered central Asia? The belief that in old days
precipitation was greater and trees more plentiful than now seems well founded.

As we read on, we gradually realize the blend of qualities which constitute the Tibetan character. Religious, superstitious, stolid, and industrious, where there is work to do, the peasant is curious, light-hearted, and fond of society and recreation. Inclined to be independent and democratic, he defers to his superior, be he feudal noble, official, or ecclesiastic. He is enduring and patient rather than actively brave in war, unlike his martial ancestors of the seventh and eighth centuries, who subdued much of China, central Asia, and north India, and in whose time the Bay of Bengal was known as the Tibetan sea. Nowadays the nobles strongly dislike a military career. The up-to-date Commander-in-Chief, Tsa-rong Shap-pe, for instance, is not a member of one of the great noble families. Of course, in different regions, the people display varying qualities. We hear of the stupidity of the Pem-po and the bravery of the Kam-pas, who are also notoriously treacherous, or, as the proverb runs, "have not the long-tailed monkey's tail."

In the high steppes we are introduced to the simple and hardy pastoral folk, "probably the purest specimens of the race," whose countless flocks and herds yield products essential to the domestic economy of all classes. It is their wool, the export of which makes possible the import of foreign goods, such as silk, cotton, and woollen stuffs and tea. As in Burma, there is a prejudice against drinking milk, which is converted either into cheese or the butter that is consumed in enormous quantities, and, preferably in a quite rancid state, in tea, and is also used in temples. Only a few of the stricter lamas entirely abstain from animal food. While among the upper classes elaborate Chinese dishes are popular, the common people, in addition to their parched barley or tsam-ba, readily eat mutton and yak's meat raw, putrescent, or putrid, often four or five years old. So the Buddhist precept against taking life is seldom observed in the cold climate of Tibet,
and reasons for departing from it are, we are told, easily found. We hear that in the dry cold air grain has kept good in granaries for several hundred years. A Tibetan thinks nothing of drinking forty or fifty cups of tea a day, and may reach eighty. The weak barley beer he takes freely. As Sir Charles was told, "there is no sustained work without tea or beer," and again in archery contests, "Beer must be drunk... otherwise the shoulder shakes and the arrow does not go hot to the target."

There is in Tibet and Bhutan an official and religious ban on the "use of the evil, stinking, poisonous weed, tobacco," though snuff is taken. Unlike the American Indian belief, that of all offerings tobacco appeases the gods most, "the spirits of Tibet dislike the smell." In British territory cigarette smoking by Tibetans is lamentably heavy and, even in Lhasa, is often indulged in on the quiet. Dr. McGovern writes that the Commander-in-Chief smokes a pipe in his house at Lhasa. The same gentleman gave Sir Charles a private cinema performance. We also hear of other modernist tendencies creeping in and intruding upon the medievalism of Tibet.

While it is difficult to select out of so many pages all full of interest, we may, perhaps, mention the description of the still important medieval feudal nobility, which with the monastic body, fills the high government posts, and the chapters on women and their position, as amongst the most valuable and containing facts not to be readily found elsewhere. The author's official position, and his friendship with several Lhasa nobles and social intercourse with them in their town and country homes gave him unusual opportunities for inside observation. The exceptionally high status and capability of women, which other writers have remarked on, are duly emphasized at some length. Women's importance is to some extent due to polyandry, which is followed to a varying degree in different parts.

In connection with the remarks in chapter xix on names, we should have welcomed any light on the use of rus-pa,
or clan names in central Tibet. Long ago Sir James Lyall drew attention to them in Spi-ti, where some thirty-five or so are known. Among them occurs Do-ring-pa, the name of the noble Lhasa family. Research would probably show that many clan names occur throughout Tibet, and are not merely local. The author writes Tibetan words in a simplified phonetic form representing the Lhasan pronunciation for the benefit of the general reader, but also at times gives the Tibetan equivalent in the footnotes. The book is copiously illustrated, mostly with the author’s own excellent photographs, and is well indexed. Two appendices deal with the unit of land taxation and the income from the large government Ser-chok estate at Gyantse.

With this indication of the subject matter, we leave the reader under Sir Charles Bell’s sure guidance to explore the highways and byways of Tibetan life.

H. LEE SHUTTLEWORTH.

UNE GRAMMAIRE TIBÉTAINE DU TIBÉTAIN CLASSIQUE.
LES SLOKAS GRAMMATICAUX DE THONMI SAMBHOTA,

This is a work of the highest importance for Tibetan studies, and is produced with all the care and knowledge which we are entitled to expect from a scholar of the high attainments of M. Bacot.

Thonmi Sambhota is the greatest figure in the history of the Tibetan language; not only did he write its first grammar, but it is probable that it was he alone who made the language of his rude mountaineer ancestors a fit medium for the expression of one of the most intricate and difficult religious philosophies that the world has ever produced.
To what extent he simply codified the rules of an existing language and to what extent he created a purely artificial language is still, and perhaps will always remain, uncertain, but there can be little doubt that his contribution was a considerable one. Moreover, his work is the foundation on which all subsequent native grammarians have built. We are therefore greatly indebted to M. Bacot for having produced an editio princeps which is at the same time a definitive edition of this work and its principal commentary.

At the same time, it would be a mistake to regard this work as a suitable introduction to the language for European students. As M. Bacot himself says, it was written by a Tibetan for Tibetans, and is, therefore, rather an exposition of the mechanism of the language for those who already know it than an introduction to the language for those who do not. M. Bacot has endeavoured to a certain extent to mould it to the latter purpose, particularly in his "Conclusion. Éléments et mécanisme du Tibétain Littéraire", and it is a great pity that this was not put at the beginning instead of the end of the book and that a number of summarized statements which are scattered through the book, were not inserted in it. The student would then have had a corpus of information at the beginning to which he could refer back; as it is, he is almost compelled to construct such a corpus for himself as he goes along, and the result is that he has to read the book two or three times before the light finally dawns on him. There is a further difficulty in the fact that Thoñmi Sambhoṭa attempted somewhat unsuccessfully to fit the language to the Procrustean bed of Indian grammatical science. This makes the work much harder for a European to understand, but that, of course, is not M. Bacot's fault.

One further small criticism. The book, at 200 francs, is unnecessarily expensive. The whole text of the ślokas and commentary is printed in Tibetan characters, with interlinear transliteration; the ślokas themselves are printed again separately in Tibetan characters and transliteration; and
finally there is a prototype reproduction of the whole MS. In the translation of the ślokas and commentary the grammatical examples are printed in Tibetan characters without transliteration. This lavishness was really unnecessary. It would have been quite reasonable to dispense with the prototype reproduction, or to confine it to a single specimen plate. After all, no one is going to challenge M. Bacot's transcription of the original.

Then the transliteration of the text of the ślokas and commentary, which will only be consulted by advanced students, might have been omitted as superfluous, the ślokas themselves being repeated in transliteration only.

On the other hand, the grammatical examples, which the beginner must read, might well have been in transliteration.

All these measures would have reduced the cost of the work, and would therefore, as is evidenced by the resolutions of the last International Congress of Orientalists, have been welcomed by the mass of students, who, after all, are the people who have got to pay.

G. L. M. Clauson.


In an English Preface Mr. Saburo Yamada, the Chairman of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, gives the genesis of this publication, which marks an era in Japanese evolution and describes how the work, first written in Japanese, has been translated article by article into English; how the Committee debated for a long time as to whether the French or English language should be used, and as to whether the translation should be published by the Committee itself or be given to a foreign publisher.
As the book is primarily "informative", not literary, a discussion of its subject matter is essential. The nineteen chapter headings clearly indicate its scope: 1, Introduction; 2, National Treasures and Buildings under Special Protection; 3, Art Museums; 4, Shoso-in Repository; 5, The Imperial Fine Arts Academy and Artists to the Imperial Household; 6, Imperial Fine Arts Academy Exhibitions; 7, Exhibitions held by the Institute of Japanese Art; 8, Nikakai Art Exhibitions; 9, Other Exhibitions; 10, Exhibitions of Ancient Art; 11, Exhibition of Famous Works of Art of the Meiji and Taisho Eras; 12, Western Art Exhibitions; 13, Principal Buildings; 14, The Principal Schools and Institutes of Fine Art in Japan; 15, Art Organizations; 16, Auction Sales of Works of Art; 17, The Study of Art in Japan; 18, Illustrated Catalogues of Exhibitions and Other Reproductions of Works of Art; 19, Directory of Artists and Art Workers.

In addition to these, which are most ably written, there is a delightful Appendix in the shape of an essay by that great critic of Oriental art, Professor Sei-ichi Taki: a "Survey of Japanese Painting during the Meiji and Taishō Eras". This is followed by 120 plates, being reproductions of the pictures shown at the Exhibition of Famous Works of these same periods.

The binding and end papers are charming, and the volume is of extraordinary interest as a document treating the earnest attempt made by Japanese artists and men of learning to synthesize and fuse the apparently contradictory arts of East and West.

Professor Sei-ichi Taki ends his essay with the words: "In what direction then should be the aim of Japanese painting in our present generation? I would answer that Subjectivism must be given a more important place in our art. Yet by this I do not mean the mere revival of the time-worn school of Bunjin-gaea itself nor the blind imitation of the European Expressionism, but the adoption rather of the
best elements of Idealism, Naturalism, and Æsthetic Formalism which have hitherto influenced our fine arts, besides the free harmonious employment of these principles on a broader basis. This is quite other than narrow individualism. We should remember that a great personality must underlie each work produced according to these principles."

**Florence Ayscough.**


This beautiful little volume is from the Lakeside Press, Chicago, and contains within its slim covers much of deep interest to students of art and archaeology. In a short Preface Mr. Bahr explains that during a visit to China in 1926, he was enabled, by the disturbed conditions then prevailing, to add to his already comprehensive collection of jade "hitherto unobtainable specimens from famous private collections, as well as jades from the recent excavations in Ho-nan".

Among these specimens are a number from the collection of Wu Ta-ch'eng, whose study of ancient jades, the *Ku Yü T'u K'ao* published in 1889, is the most recent and most valuable contribution to the subject, which indeed served as the basis of Dr. Laufer's well-known volume on the subject. Dr. Laufer, who has made the subject of Chinese Jades peculiarly his own, treats these and the other specimens collected by Mr. Bahr in a series of illuminating notes and an exceedingly interesting Introduction. The jades described have passed into the possession of the Field Museum, Chicago, which now owns about a thousand pieces, of all
ages, the archaic jades being especially well represented. The little monograph is a valuable addition to the literature on a subject of vital interest to every student of Far Eastern art.

Florence Ayscough.


Monsieur Langlet has made a sympathetic study of the people among whom he has lived and, as he says in the charming letter to his friend Hoang Ngoc Hué, with which the book opens, has found that a simple unquestioning acceptance on his part of the principles of magic has had a remarkable result. The people have gladly told him their tales, and have freely discussed the local legends which have been transmitted from generation to generation. He concludes his "avant-propos" with words which are equally applicable to the vast country which stretches to the North and East of Annam:—

"Ce passé était hier encore voisin du présent. Il s'en éloigne maintenant à grands pas et d'autant plus vite que, sous notre impulsion, des idées modernes, des besoins nouveaux ont fait entrevoir à l'Annamite des horizons insoupçonnés jadis.

À notre suite, il s'est précipité vers un avenir qu'il suppose meilleur; si cette évolution est trop rapide, il est à craindre qu'il perde trop vite le contact avec le passé et qu'il oublie trop tôt les quelque vingt siècles de morale au cours desquels il avait pris le meilleur de ses qualités."

Florence Ayscough.

Hafiz in French is almost a novelty. There are versions of a few odes by Defrémery (1858), and Nicolas (1898), but very little else; for when M. Guy writes (Introduction, p. xxxvii): “il paraît que Sir William Jones, qui a traduit Hâfiz en vers anglais, a aussi publié, en 1799, une traduction française,” he does the English orientalist too much honour. The ghazels translated by Sir W. Jones into either language were but a handful, picked here and there; the ten which he turned into French prose and verse will be found in his Traité sur la poésie orientale (Works, 1807, vol. xii, pp. 220-70). French readers, therefore, should welcome the present volume, which comprises the first instalment (Odes 1–175) of a complete translation of the Diván.

Like Walter Leaf in his Versions from Hafiz, M. Guy has endeavoured to reproduce not only the meaning of the original poems, but also their form (mètre and monorhyme). Notwithstanding these extremely difficult conditions, his version is as faithful as can reasonably be expected of a translator in verse, and often unites lucidity with elegance, though in a manner that fails to suggest, as Gertrude Bell’s free renderings certainly do suggest, that Hafiz is a great poet. While giving M. Guy full credit for his ingenuity and resource in surmounting self-imposed obstacles, we may doubt whether the game is worth the candle, when in the translation of a single ode (No. VI) we find two forced allusions to Greek mythology—“l’Aimé rival d’Aréthuse” for آنان یار آشنا and “les lèvres des muses” for ْ قُلَمَة الاعذارا. Trifling as such things are, they show the weakness of a method which requires the translator to concentrate his energies on formal imitation.
The complete translation in German verse by Rosenzweig (1858), is less one-sided and still remains the best that has appeared in a European language.

M. Guy has some excellent remarks on the style of Hafiz, his use of symbolism, and the essential character of his poetry. "Ces peintures de la passion pour la coupe ou l’aimé sont dépourvues de toute recherche d’effet sensuel. L’action est dans la pensée. Les détails matériels nécessaires pour la soutenir, les images dont tout poète a besoin pour réaliser ses créations, les vêtements d’idées sont en petit nombre, impersonnels, et font figure de symboles. Les mêmes expressions, les mêmes groupes de noms et épithètes reviennent constamment et on se rend bien compte que Hâfiz ne veut pas décrire des émotions, des états de l’esprit et du cœur en association avec les sens, et encore moins de pures sensations, mais qu’il veut plutôt évoquer des idées, des idées générales, immatérielles, transcendantes. Oui, les coups circulent en imagination, le vin coule à plots, l’ivresse règne dans l’esprit." This is the Persian interpretation of Hafiz, and probably it is the true one.

A miniature in Brit. Mus. Add. 7468, representing Hafiz with his patron Sháh Abú Isháq, which is also reproduced in Professor Browne’s Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion, provides the frontispiece to a well printed and attractive volume.

R. A. N.

As-Suyuti’s Who’s Who in the Fifteenth Century.


By discovering and editing this work of Suyútî, Professor Hitti has added a minor, but not unimportant, item to the long list of Muslim biographical dictionaries. It contains two hundred articles very unequal in length and value.
About half of it is devoted to persons whose names begin with the letter alif, but from that point its hitherto respectable figure rapidly *desinit in piscem*. Still, it is a source, if not a mine, of new information, since the author chiefly writes of contemporaries, some of whom were personally known to him; one of these is his own father. Egypt and Syria supply most of the material; theologians, jurists, and scholars preponderate; there are also sultans and kings, including Shāhrukh (who is dismissed in three lines); and a few notable women.

The text is based on a Cairo MS. dated 1097 A.H., belonging to Aḥmad Taymūr Pasha, of which the Beyrout MS. (Professor Hitti’s) is an inaccurate copy. The only other known MS., that of Leiden, entitled اعيان الأعيان وابناء الزمان, was transcribed in 974 A.H.; it seems to have been the original of the Cairo MS., but the editor regards the latter as more correct. He has taken great pains to improve it by consulting the *Daw‘ al-Lāmi‘* of Sakhāwī, which covers the same period, and many other biographical works. In his Arabic preface, after having dealt fully with textual questions, he gives an admirable sketch of Suyūṭī’s life and character. Students will be grateful for the index of all the book-titles mentioned in the text, but why is there no index of persons, not even of the two hundred who receive particular notice? It would have saved trouble, as of course they are arranged in the alphabetical order of their “Christian” names, and these are often much less familiar than their surnames or patronymics. The appearance of the Arabic print composed on the linotype is likely to commend that process to publishers of Oriental texts.

R. A. N.
ZOROASTRIAN STUDIES. By Professor A. V. WILLIAMS-JACKSON. (Colombia University Indo-Iranian Series, Vol. xii.) xxxiii + 325 pp. New York: Humphrey Milford, Colombia University Press. 20s.

"When this, my famous tale, was done at last
O'er all the realm my reputation past
All men of prudence rede and Faith shall give
Applause to me when I have ceased to live
Yet live I shall, the seeds of words have I
Flung broadcast, and henceforth I shall not die."

With these words ¹ Firdausi ended the Shah-namah, and they are a fitting preface to a review of the present work, in which Professor Williams-Jackson marshals and summarizes rather than develops, the conclusions which he has reached during a lifelong study of the earliest and the most spiritual of organized Eastern religions.

It is a book which has long been needed, and is particularly welcome to-day, when signs are not lacking that the prestige of the orthodox Islamic faith is waning in Persia, and that the younger generation of educated men is showing an interest, if only sentimental, in the older faith. In this connection it may be mentioned that in a recent lithograph, widely circulated all over Persia, to celebrate the coronation of Riza Shah, Iran is depicted as a damsel reclining on the waters of the Gulf and leaning on the Shah, on whom shines the sun; in the background are Zoroaster, Cyrus, Hushang, and other great figures of the past, but there is no Islamic figure nor even symbol, though the Shiahs of Persia are not averse to painting Muhammad or Ali.

It is impossible within the compass of a brief review to do justice to the ripe scholarship, the conscientious citation of authorities, and the orderly presentation of ascertained fact and accepted theory which characterize this volume.

¹ A. G. & E. Warner. The Shahnamah of Firdausi, 9 Vols. 1925. Professor Jackson in his bibliography does not refer to this most scholarly and delightful translation.
Of pre-Zoroastrian religion he has little to say, bidding us, in a footnote, await a book on the subject by L. H. Gray, now in press. Of the two later stages in the Iranian faith, viz. the Zoroastrian revelation and the post-Zoroastrian evolution, Professor Williams-Jackson gives us a closely documented and clearly reasoned study. A careful examination of "Zoroastrianism as a faith" (ch. iv) leads him to the conclusion that "Dualism is a characteristic feature of Zoroaster's creed. Whatever may have suggested it, the teaching of this doctrine, in its fullest sense, is doubtless a product of his own insight". If an unlearned layman may presume, however diffidently, to offer a criticism, the present reviewer would venture to suggest that the dualism of Zoroaster is perhaps less distinctive than is here suggested, and was probably an essential element in pre-Zoroastrian beliefs, as Professor Jackson admits (p. 30), and probably of pre-Zoroastrian teaching. "The tree of knowledge of good and evil" is mentioned in the opening chapter of Genesis, and some form of dualism is suggested in the appeal of the doleful breviaries of Nippur to the beneficent mother goddess to appease the angry spirit of the wrathful gods. (Cambridge Ancient History, vol. i, p. 443.)

He mentions (p. 33) that the faith of modern Parsees resembles Christianity in more than one respect, but attempts no comparison. Perhaps the most notable difference is the absence of any trace of the idea of atonement: it is likewise absent from the tenets of Sunni orthodoxy, but not from those of the Shahi schism. The Imam Husain has a place in the affections of Shahi Persia that has no parallel outside the Christian communion. He is at once their sacrifice and their saviour, and is by them exalted above the Prophet himself. It is a curious fact that in accepting Islam, Persians should have emphasized, with such passionate devotion, an aspect of religion which is alike foreign to Islam and to the religion of Zoroaster, which has affected so profoundly the national outlook in religious matters.
If Professor Williams-Jackson can bring himself to compress the substance of his conclusions, so skilfully and attractively set forth in this book, within the compass of a hundred pages or so, and procure its translation into Persian by competent hands, it is the reviewer's belief that it would command a ready sale in Persia, where it would meet a real need.

Oriental scholarship has long flowered in the college cloisters of Europe and more recently, but not less brilliantly, in those of the United States of America. The most urgent need of to-day is to find some means whereby the seeds of learning may be transported to their ancient homes, to burgeon more brilliantly and to bring forth yet more abundantly. Thus only may Europe repay the debt which it owes to the birthplaces of civilization.


In this book we have a careful investigation into the philological character of the Aramaic texts of the Old Testament, covering the chapters in Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah. The author has spent intermittently thirteen years on the study of these texts. To this purpose he has collected the whole material extant in Aramaic, inscriptions from Babylon and Zinjerli, Palmyrene and Nabatene inscriptions, and above all the Papyri of Assuan. He has then subjected every word and phrase in the O.T. texts to a minute examination, and he has compared them carefully one by one with all the other monuments mentioned. The result is a very remarkable one. The author comes to the conclusion that the Aramaic texts in the O.T. are neither of Babylonian character or origin, nor are they contemporary
with the persons to whom they are attributed. From the linguistic point of view they are, on the contrary, of Palestinian origin. They are later in date than the Papyri of Assuan, but older than the other Aramaic monuments. He believes that they belong probably to the fourth century, and occasionally he speaks of them in a more doubtful way, making them either a little older or a little more recent.

There is, however, a flaw in these conclusions. All the other monuments which the author cites have not passed through the hands of any copyist, and therefore are not likely to have undergone any change at the hand of the latter. They have been preserved in the very form in which they had been written or inscribed. Not so with the documents in the O.T. It would have been a miracle if the scribes who copied them in Palestine, and introduced them among the Sacred Scriptures, should not have changed involuntarily or unconsciously the original Babylonian character into one more familiar. And even so, in spite of the care taken by the scribes of the O.T. the manuscripts of the Bible vary considerably, both in words and vocalization. This can best be seen by the constant changes and alterations in the various editions of these very texts published by Strack. The genuineness and high antiquity of these documents is, however, not affected by these results. On the other hand, the fact that these texts, in the form in which they have come down to us, may belong to the fourth or fifth century B.C.E., proves that the Book of Daniel is anterior to the Hellenizing period after the conquest of Alexander. This may affect also the date of the Oracle in the last chapters of Daniel, although they are found now in Hebrew. Mr. Rowley has rendered a signal service to the student of Aramaic texts. This book, moreover, is a very valuable contribution to the comparative study of Aramaic.

M. GASTER.
The author of this book has had an excellent idea. There can be no better help to the beginner than to place in his hands a series of texts from all the Semitic languages, in careful transliteration in Latin type, with the literal translation side by side, such as given in this book. We have here specimens from Akkadian (i.e. Babylonian, mostly from the Hammurábi Code), Hebrew, Aramaic, South Arabian-Ethiopic and North Arabian, with numerous sub-dialects. The author uses a strictly scientific system of transliteration, and endeavours to reproduce as exactly as possible the original consonants and vowels. At the head of each text there is a short explanatory introduction; then there are some grammatical notes; and the book finishes with a list of words common to all the Semitic languages. On the one hand, one sees at a glance the peculiar character in which each word appears, and on the other, in their totality these words may assist in the reconstruction of primitive Semitic culture. This is practically what the author describes in the first chapter as Primitive Semitic culture. In spite of the care bestowed upon the transliteration, one cannot suppress some doubts as to whether the author has not been misled in one case or another, so e.g. the Hebrew text on p. 48, “according to Babylonian punctuation.” The author assumes that there is no “raphe” pronunciation, and transliterates the letters as “k” and “p”, where there is no justification for it. In that system there is indeed no separate sign for Pataḥ and Segol, but it is doubtful whether the vowel thus represented is a full “a”. Turning to the Mandeans, the author has only given letter for letter in his transliteration. But the Mandeans is not pronounced in the way in which it is written, e.g. “g” is often read like “kh”; nor are the vowels clearly distinguished in the pronunciation. It might, therefore,
have been advisable if the author had drawn the attention of the student to these difficulties and the doubts in the pronunciation which Semitic texts in general offer to the student.

M. Gaster.


The edition of this Persian text inaugurates a series to be published in memory of the late Professor E. G. Browne. Oddly enough, in Professor Browne’s Literary History of Persia, Gardizi’s zayn al-akhbār is not mentioned. Yet it is one of the very earliest modern Persian prose works that have survived, and at the same time is of considerable historical importance. Thus Professor Barthold, who has published extracts from it in the Russian edition of his Turkestan, writes that it “must be considered as the chief source for the study of the history of Khurásán down to the end of and including the Samanid period.” The whole work, as extant, includes chapters on ancient Persian history, on the caliphs and other Moslem rulers, on the Greeks, on chronology and the feast-days of various nations, on the Turks and on India, as well as that now published. This consists of the history of Khurásán from the appointment of Tāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn as governor down to the author’s own times (i.e. from early in the third to early in the fifth century a.h.). It is really divided into two parts, as Gardizi himself indicates. The first is that mentioned by Professor Barthold, which the author compiled from previous histories; the second deals with the reigns of Maḥmúd and Mas’úd of Ghazneh, which he was able to describe as a contemporary. Both are equally valuable,
since the sources for the first are for the most part lost to us. Throughout, however, as the editor remarks, Gardizí cuts down his narrative to the barest essentials. Indeed, his statements are often so bald as to be inexplicable without comparison with other authorities. Perhaps the book's chief merit lies in the plentiful supply it affords us of names and dates.

The editor has had the baffling task of working on what is virtually a single manuscript; for although of the zayn al-akhbár two codices are known to exist, the Oxford codex is no more than a copy of the Cambridge. Consequently many passages remain obscure. The editor often supplies interpretations—his own and Professor Barthold's—with numerous historical references, which, he complains, lack of space has forbidden him to multiply. He also elucidates the narrative with well-judged amplifications, distinguished by square brackets.

In the circumstances, it is no wonder if he has mistaken the meaning of some passages. On p. 22, for example, he takes páris-i buzurg to be a place-name (as appears from the index). But I think that the words (whatever the sentence may mean) must refer to the chamberlain called by Ibn al-Athir báris al-kabír, especially since on p. 35 a certain Aḥmad is described as "the brother of Páris". On p. 36, on the other hand, in a highly confused passage, he takes zhásht ja'far as a man's name (placing it, however, under jím in the index), whereas I would read amír-i rásht, ja'far . . ., Rásht (mis-spelt Zhásht ?) being the known name of an appropriate province. Apart from questions of interpretation, the Persian text seems correct. The English introduction, however, perhaps owing to its printing in Germany, is not free from misprints.

At the beginning and at the end of the text the editor supplies a list of chapter headings of the remaining extant portions of the zayn al-akhbár as they precede or follow the part now edited. He hopes soon to publish them as well.
It is a pity that no indication is given of the aims and constitution of the Memorial Fund. But its existence is welcome; and its trustees are to be congratulated on choosing for their first publication a valuable and hitherto almost inaccessible work.

Harold Bowen.


This is the first part of a work that may extend to as many as seven parts, of which three have already been composed. The author's aim is to rescue from oblivion the history of some of the earliest of the hundred-odd post-Islamic Persian dynasties that are ignored in the works of such authors as Hāmid Allah and Mīr-Khwānd, and thereby to illustrate the revolt of the Persians during the third and fourth centuries of the Hegira against Arab domination.

In this part he deals with three Daylamite dynasties, the Jastánids, the Kangarids,¹ and the Sálárids; the second part is to be devoted to the Rawwádids of Adharbáyján; and the third to the Shaddádids of Arrán. As a basis for his work, the author has used two manuscripts unearthed by a friend in a Teheran library. The first is a codex of Ibn Isfandiyár's History of Tabaristán, complete but for a few pages missing at the beginning, and free of the many gaps that (as our author claims) mar and frequently render misleading all other known copies, as well as E. G. Browne's translation. The second is a work that was supposed to be no longer extant: the ta'ríkh-i rúyán of Mawláná Awliyá Allah. But he also gathers information from numerous printed sources, Arabic, Persian, Armenian, and Turkish. He has evidently expended great pains on research, and has ingeniously combined the results into a clear and persuasive narrative.

¹ So spelt in the Persian text, though the English title-page has Kankarids.
The three dynasties with which the present volume is concerned have all been dealt with repeatedly by European Orientalists. The author alludes to their studies, but refrains explicitly from criticizing them for the present. This is somewhat to be regretted, since in many instances his conclusions, based on these newly discovered texts, differ from theirs—though exactly how far only a detailed comparison, of course, could show. The author’s most noticeable innovation is the separation of the two latter dynasties, which have hitherto been treated as one (by Justi as Wahsūdāniden, by Huart as Mosāfrides, by Sachau, Ross, and Vasmer, as Banū Sallār or Sallāriden). The Sālārids were an offshoot of the Kangarids; but since the two branches ruled in different places, and since the author is able to show that the name kangāri was in contemporary use for the rulers of Tāram, his separation is justified historically as well as being convenient. The Rawwādids, with whom the second volume is to deal, being also of the same stock, have likewise been included hitherto in the Banū Sallār. A separate treatment can hardly fail to make their history clearer.

In a preface the author indicates his aims, and apologizes for the fact that what he would have liked to be the history of a popular movement has inevitably resolved itself into a dynastic chronicle. He then introduces the three houses with a description of Daylam, their place of origin. The volume is completed by genealogical tables, appendices, and an index. The present strong nationalist feeling of Persia is reflected not only in the author’s aim but in his style; he has meticulously cleansed his vocabulary of all but indispensable Arabic words—without, however, any unpleasing effect of strain. Though he expresses himself dissatisfied with the production of this volume—he was even obliged to change presses mid-way—misprints, for instance, are not noticeable. Let us hope that the next instalment may soon appear.

Harold Bowen.

His place in the History of Arabia and East Africa.


A considerable change has since the last century taken place in our ideas respecting the proper character of history. Our forefathers would have considered it vain to expect, and unreasonable to require, a strict and undeviating impartiality. They were content at best to set the prejudices of one side against the prejudices of the other, and to strike the balance between them. A man without opinions on matters of the greatest importance to his countrymen would have been reminded of the law of the Athenians, which forbade any man to be a mere spectator in the contests of his countrymen. Indeed, during the last two years, no less an authority than the Right Honourable Stanley Baldwin has publicly expressed his preference for historical works written with a definite and healthy bias; which alone can inspire a work with artistic unity and literary form.

The author of the present work derives his bias from the spirit of filial piety which informs his narrative, and has guided him in the selection from many sources of material for this memoir. His point of view is rather that of the subject of his book than that of a European observer writing almost a century later, and it is correspondingly of greater interest and value than the original sources on which he relies for his biography of his grandfather.

After reading Said-Ruete’s lucid and well-documented account few will be found to disagree with Sir Richard Burton’s verdict on Said bin Sultan, that he “was probably as shrewd, liberal, and enlightened a prince as Arabia ever produced”: he deserves to rank in these respects with two other Arab princes, the late Shaikh Mubarak bin Sabah of Koweit, and Abdul Aziz ibn Abdul Rahman ibn Faisal al Saud—the present ruler of the greater part of Arabia. In the case of Said bin Sultan and Mubarak, environment and
external conditions beyond control imposed rigid limitations from which the fortunes of war and the follies of neighbours have enabled Ibn Saud to escape, with what results time alone can show.

A celebrated writer of the eighteenth century defines history as "Philosophy, teaching by examples". Accepting this definition, the present work is of peculiar historical value: it depicts an Arab ruler who combined diplomatic and strategical skill, qualities not uncommon in men of his nation, with the rarer gifts of commercial acumen and consistency of motives, plan and execution. It shows how he succeeded to the leadership of a congeries of weak and disunited tribes and left behind him a prosperous state, to which he had added an overseas dominion in Zanzibar, more valuable by far than the Kingdom of Oman. Though the journey to Zanzibar from Oman took as long as that from London to New Zealand does to-day, and could only be made twice a year, with the trade winds, Said bin Sultan contrived to hold both States, and to make both prosper. But for European intervention he might well have extended his domain to the interior of Africa, substituting a pax arabica for the then prevailing anarchy, much as Ibn Saud has done in the great tracts over which he holds sway. But Europe was too strong for Said bin Sultan, and bowing to the inevitable, he made treaties and co-operated with England in the suppression of the slave trade, made friends with the French (who did nothing whatever to discourage slavery), was polite to the representatives of the U.S.A., and other countries, which conferred on him numerous honorary distinctions, and played so skilful a game alike with Persia and with the Wahabis that he was able to retain in his hands extensive and lucrative leases on Persian territory, whilst preventing the Wahabi forces of Central Arabia from becoming a serious menace to Oman.

Said-Ruete has told us, in this work, little that is historically new, but he has told the tale with insight, freshness, and vigour. The Middle East may in the future, as in the past,
produce a virile race of statesmen and administrators, free from the shackles of "democratic" systems of government, the imposition of which upon Asiatic peoples may yet prove to be the greatest mistake ever committed in the name of civilization. To those students of Eastern affairs who hold this belief, this book will prove, as it has to the present reviewer, alike a stimulus and an inspiration.

A. T. W.

[Note.—By the kind permission of the author, members of the Society may obtain copies of this book at 12s. 6d., instead of the published price of 16s. Application to be made to the Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society.—EDITOR.]


This is not the edition of an ancient manuscript of the collected poems which has been recovered; such a thing is most improbable, because the Diwan of this poet appears to have been lost at an early date. Professor Pérès instead has collected the fragments attributed to the poet in numerous works of Arabic literature and the commentary, in Arabic, is also taken from glosses which may accompany the verses in the sources from which he has derived the verses, or he has supplied them from the explanation given of rare words in the native dictionaries. This is at least my opinion, though the second or third volume containing this information has not been published at present, but the editor has informed me that the printing is well in hand, as also a study of the poet and his works in French.

This is perhaps the best way of making the compositions of lost authors accessible. Most of the poems of Kuthayyir were probably in the shape of short fragments and it would be erroneous to assume that any ancient Arab poet only
composed complete and long Qasidas. We did possess at least one long poem of forty-seven verses, taken from an ancient manuscript, in Schwarz's *Escorial Studien* (Stuttgart, 1922), but the present work contains in its first volume eighty-five fragments, some consisting only of one single verse, and none as long as the poem mentioned.

Kuthayyir is known in Arabic literature chiefly for his love for a woman named Azza, to whom also the long poem, the most celebrated of the poet, found in the *Amālī of al-Qāṭī*, II, 109–111, is devoted. Al-Marzubānī in the Mu'jam ash-Shu'ara' (Berlin MS.) devotes a short notice to our poet, and tells us that he was of short stature, with a long neck, red faced, with spots on the face. In addition, like many small men, he had a very great opinion of himself and was very haughty; also that he died in al-Medina in the year 105 A.H. on the same day as 'Ikrima, the mawla of Ibn 'Abbās, and that he was one or two years above 80 years of age. He was a fervent, or even bigoted, Shi'ah, and as such attacked 'Abd Allāh ibn az-Zubair with his verses. His Shi'ah tendencies did not prevent him from composing poems in praise of the Umayyade caliphs, as it meant pocketing their rewards.

The language as a rule is very simple, and rare expressions occur only occasionally, and these may be of some importance for a study of the Ḥijāz dialect. He is cited several hundred times in the Lisān al-ʿArab as evidence for the use of words explained.

The editor has vocalized all the verses, while the commentary has vowels only in cases of absolute necessity. As the type is very small, some misprints have escaped the editor. P. 13, I should like to read *يبيع الحنطة والقرتران* "he sells spices and pitch"; p. 30, v. 16, in commentary *صغير القرتر*; p. 34, l. 4, read *في السماء*; p. 35, paen., read *فَسَبَتَ*; p. 60, ult. read *ارادة*; p. 74, v. 15, read *كدْرَا*; p. 82, v. 15, I think *كدْرَا* would be better; p. 97, l. 1, read *بقر*; same page, v. 7, read *أركب* cf. L.A., i, 414, 8, and
consequently the commentary is wrong; p. 107, read آركت for آركت a rare plural of لامخ. p. 116, v. 7, read خطم for ختم dialect of the Hijáz which suppresses Hamza, but in commentary خطم; p. 118, v. 2, I should think the correct reading is جمار نماكك; p. 138, read ضما جمارك hence the commentary is wrong, which should read جمارك العظيم من لصاب. The word in this meaning for large vermin, etc., is fairly frequent; p. 163, No. 43, v. 1, I should like to read يُشته فيهما. I have found the verse only in Khiz. III, p. 154, where it is said to have been taken from the 'Ubâb of Şâghâni; p. 166, l. 1, read تفسير; p. 168, l. 18, read معلم, l. 9, المعبر; p. 172, l. 3, here the author has made a slip, we must read الشجاع for الشجاع, as both the verb preceding and the pronoun following are masculine; p. 211, l. 1, read الناج. I have noticed on more than one occasion that the vocalization for significations denoting places participles are in the active construction instead of the passive; this is wrong, cases in question are p. 110, v. 3, and 120, l. 3, where we should read مستععات and بمتداخع respectively. The correct form is used in other cases as p. 110, v. 6, and 169, v. 3.

F. KRENKOW.


When I say that we do not possess any works so complete as the two here mentioned for any of the Arabic spoken dialects, I am in no way exaggerating their intrinsic value. Works of this character are only possible by scholars who from their childhood are conversant with the language and

1 Cf. Lisân, x, 238, 17.
have in addition received adequate scientific training. The only fault one can find is that the student who does not make a speciality of the spoken dialects is overwhelmed by the immensity of the material brought together by the author. Yet everything is done in such a systematic manner that one easily finds every phase of the language with ample examples. The phonetic system employed by the author is such that one can readily hear the words, and yet he has not committed the folly, found only too often with too strict phoneticians, of fixing a separate dialect for the speech of every individual. While the first of the books mentioned gave the dialect of one township, the second is of a more ambitious character dealing with the spoken language of the Lebanon as a whole, and the author tells us that the idiom for the whole district is for practical purposes the same with the comparatively slight difference that in the northern the influence of Aramaic is felt, while in the south the speech has affinities with the Bedouin dialects of the adjoining plain. The lexicographer will be surprised to find in the examples quoted by the author many a word current to-day, which judging from the written language of many centuries, had long disappeared from ordinary conversation, and was only known by the learned.¹

But this is not the aim of both works. The author presents lucidly the changes the language has undergone in its deviation from the classic language of Arabic literature. The chapters on the Numerals are highly instructive, and I believe the author has for the first time discovered the phonetic influence upon the use of genders after the units. To the reader of Arabic manuscripts of the Middle Ages, the apparent ignorance of the classical rules must often have been a puzzle, and all European editors of such texts had to do, was continually to put these errors right. A re-investigation of such corrections

¹ The example given by the author "Parlers" (p. 402) of the "Ghurāb al-Bain" is of very frequent occurrence in the Classical, if not exactly meaning "death".
probably would reveal similar rules. That some Particles of ever-recurring use in classical Arabic as e.g. "Lammā," should have disappeared in the spoken language is very strange, but they are in such cases replaced by others, sometimes by nouns which have assumed the functions of real particles.

The two books contain such a vast amount of material that a short notice like this cannot give an adequate idea of their value, but they will always be models for similar researches into other dialects of the spoken language, and we must look forward with the highest interest to the lexicographical examination of the colloquial promised by the author.

F. KRENKOW.

LE DIWAN DE 'ORWA BEN EL-WARD: TRADUIT ET ANNOTÉ.

As long ago as 1863, Nöldeke published in the Acts of the Göttingen Academy, the text of the poems taken from the ancient manuscript of Leipzig, which contains other unique pieces, with a German translation, not only of the Diwān but also of the article devoted to the poet in manuscripts of the Kitāb al-Aghānī.

Professor Prym, when in Cairo, lent a copy of this edition, with other books, to an Egyptian acquaintance which resulted in the edition of the Five Diwāns (Wahbiyyah Press, 1293 A.H.). This edition has been reprinted since, with all its errors, and it is also the source for the article devoted to 'Urwa in Père Cheikho's collection of Christian Poets (Bairūt, 1890).

No doubt Professor Basset intended to make the French-speaking population acquainted with the compositions of a poet who was a true representative of the liberal Arab robber-chiefs. 'Urwa resembles in many ways the better-
known Ḥātim of Ṭayyi, with the difference that his collection of poems contains probably very few verses foisted upon him at later times.

'Urwa was nicknamed "'Urwa of the Vagabonds", because he gathered round him poor fellows of various tribes, and with them made raids upon the property of more prosperous tribes. These raids were carried at times to very distant parts of Arabia and we are informed of one along the favourite route, which led from Southern Najd south-westward to the Jauf of Northern Yaman.\(^1\) Whenever they came home laden with plunder, 'Urwa distributed it among his companions, many of whom were able to rejoin their tribes as rich men. It is easy to be generous with stolen property, but among ancient Arabs it was considered no disgrace to rob, only sly stealing was a despicable offence.

Among the pieces in the Dīwān are more than one which refer to 'Urwa having taken among his prey women of other tribes, and keeping them for himself. In two cases it is stated that they remained with him for many years, had children by him, and later on a visit to their relations forsook him, not because they disliked him, but to re vindicate their honour. The cases may all refer to one woman only, though their homes, as given in the legends, are rather far apart, one among the Muzaina, who encamped in the neighbourhood of al-Medina, the other in the Yamama, i.e. near the modern Riyāḍ. 'Urwa must have been some man of consideration among his tribe,'Abs, as we find him in open quarrel with their chief, Qais ibn Zuhair. This also fixes his date approximately in the last quarter of the sixth century of the Hijra.

At the end of his translation, Professor Basset has given several fragments which he had collected from various sources, some of which are, however, given by Nöldeke already in his edition. Others are certainly not by 'Urwa, their

\(^1\) This was the way by which Yamanite kings had made their expeditions to Central Arabia in the time before Islām and is at present, practically an unexplored country.
attribution being due to the carelessness of the authors, who cite them. No. 3 is by al-A'şāh; No. 4 is by 'Amr ibn Qī'ās al-Murādī, and is found in a poem cited in the Khīzāna and more correctly in the Kitāb-al-Ikhtiyārain (MS. India Office); No. 8 is by Qais ibn 'Aṣīm al-Mīnqarī or Ḥātim; No. 10 may be by 'Urwa ibn Ḥīzām or 'Urwa ibn Uḍaina, certainly not by 'Urwa ibn al-Ward. The Hamāsa of al-Buḥtūrī and the Muḥādarāt of ar-Rāghib are so full of wrong attributions to poets, that they can only be used in evidence when their statements are confirmed by other sources.

I could add considerably to the list of citations, but only one new verse cited in the Ma'āni of Ibn Qutaiba (MS. India Office, fol. 36, v.).

اذا ما جعلت النسبة للقوم خُثْرَة فشأنك أتى ذات النجات لشمؤني

"If you give one sheep to the men to divide among themselves, then is it thy business that I go after my own affairs."

The word خُثْرَة is explained as meaning "a sheep which a man buys for a number of people for them to divide among themselves."

The very minute handwriting of the late Professor Basset is no doubt responsible for some misprints, p.40, read Līsān xiii, p. 42, cancel Līsān xiii, 434; p. 43, the translation: "et un seul (à peine) recherche la tienne" does not convey what the poet means; rather "only one person (i.e. yourself) takes a share of thy hospitality!" p. 42, poem xii, 2, instead of "comme le fourreau d'épée qui te donnait la victoire" rather "et le fourreau de l'épée avec lequel tu etais accoutumé à attaquer". It is the sword which is used for attack, not the scabbard, p. 63, No. ix, v. 3, read یَتَهْرُ، with Jāḥiz, Bayān, v. 4, read یَلُبُّنِی نُوَالَعْمِرْ، p. 65, read یَحْتَقُونِ, "who strangle themselves". The poet refers to the act of some men of the tribe of 'Āmir who committed suicide rather than be made prisoners. It has escaped the editor that these two verses are actually found in the Diwān poem, 10, v. 3 and 4. The translation on p. 72 must be corrected accordingly.

The work is another monument to the indefatigable industry
of my late friend, and should be of great help to students of ancient Arabic poetry, especially those who cannot appreciate it in its original language.

F. Krenkow.


Abū 'Imrān Mūsā ibn Sa'āda was a pupil of the renowned Spanish traditionist Abū 'Ali al-Ḥusain ibn Muḥammad ibn Ferro (or Fierro) ibn Ḥayyūn as-Ṣadaḥī, who after long travels in the East, had brought back to Spain copies of the collections of Ḥadith, by al-Bukhārī and Muslim. Ibn Sa'āda, who had become father-in-law to as-Ṣadaḥī copied under the latter's instruction both books, but the copy of Muslim appears to have been lost. Of the manuscript of Bukhari, in five volumes, four have been preserved to this day in the Qarawiyyīn mosque at Fes, while a good copy taken of the first, and lost, volume, exists in another mosque. This manuscript through long ages has been the original which has formed the basis for most of the authentic manuscripts in use in Morocco, but being somewhat difficult of access, and with a view of presenting to Maghribi savants a true copy of the original, this sumptuous edition has been undertaken.

I have compared large portions of the facsimile with the Eastern recension based upon the joint work of al-Yūnīnī and the grammarian Ibn Mālik and have discovered only very unimportant variants. The principal aim, as Professor Levi-Provençal points out, is to supply traditionists in Morocco with the text of an original upon which they look with special reverence.
In his introduction the editor traces the manuscript as far as it is possible from Murcia to Fes, but there remains a considerable gap after the expulsion of the Moors from Spain.

On p. 10 of his introduction the editor discusses the identity of the scholar named Yunini who was responsible for the redaction of the Sahih in conjunction with Ibn Malik. He is Sharaf ad-Din 'Ali b. Muhammad b. Ahmad Abul Husain, son of Muhammad, who died in 656 A.H. Sharaf ad-Din was born in 631 A.H. His end was tragic, because a poor man came to him and asked for alms, and as Yunini was not quick in responding, he hit him on the head and stunned him. This happened on the first of Ramaḍan, and he died from the blow on the 10th of the same month, 701 A.H. Durar al-Kamina, vol. ii, No. 221, of my edition in the Press; this biography is missing in the British Museum and Cairo MSS., through one quire having been torn out. The latter work mentions sons, grandsons and cousins of this Yunini, which do not concern us here.

F. KRENKOW.


Jewish-Arabic commentaries on biblical books have, apart from any sectarian tendency, not only a literary, but also a linguistic importance. Their authors wrote in a language so nearly akin to Hebrew that it was for them another dialect, and were thus enabled to get a deeper insight into the real meaning of words than is gained in many instances from the ordinary dictionary. The author of the above-mentioned commentary wrote at the beginning of the twelfth century, and is therefore not one of the early writers on this branch of literature. In his introduction Dr. Skoss gives
a very elaborate survey of Jewish-Arabic writings notwithstanding the large amount of books and articles existing on the subject. He deals with the person of the author, his predecessors, his method of exegesis, and linguistic peculiarities. It is strange that the author of the Commentary still adheres to the old theory of bilateral roots although he was obviously acquainted with Ḥayyūj's reform, in consequence of which he can hardly be taken seriously as grammarian. In one respect, however, Dr. Skoss does him some injustice in charging him "with apparent disregard of the most elementary rules of grammar". This accusation would apply with equal force to nearly all Jewish-Arabic writers. The "errors" which he finds in the author's spelling by no means deserve this name, but are the characteristics of much earlier writers, and were dictated by the use of the Hebrew alphabet as well as of ordinary hebraisms. In general it is not correct to speak of the Sprachgebrauch of this or that author, because these "errors" are common to all from Sā'adyāh to Maimūni. They are not even confined to Jewish authors, as Dr. Skoss could have gathered from the late August Müller's essay on the Text und Sprachgebrauch of Ibn Abi Uceiba's History of Physicians as well as from the late Dr. Vollers' remarks on the early neglect of the Frāb traces of which are even found in the Qurān. There is further to be compared Dr. v. Mőik's very recent publication of the gūrat al ard by Al Khawārizmi (ninth century), whose spelling betrays similar phenomena. That the author does not lack originality as exegete is shown in his comment on Gen. i, 1, but on the use of первые he has been forestalled by Qu'irqisānī, who is not mentioned either by the author or by the editor. In many places the author follows Sā'adyāh's version without mentioning his name, although he must have been acquainted with his translations and commentaries. Karaite writers only quoted his works when combating his religious views; otherwise they ignored him and took pains to destroy his works.
Dr. Skoss treats his subject with laudable thoroughness, and perhaps more broadly than necessary, garnering his arguments even from classical Arabic poets. He would have deserved still greater appreciation had he added occasional vowel signs and diacritical points to the Arabic text in order to help students less versed in reading Arabic in Hebrew characters. At any rate he did not fall into the error of others who thought it expedient to present such text in Arabic writing which alters the complexion of such texts considerably. There can be no doubt that the work was originally written in Hebrew characters, but the specimen in Arabic writing given in the earlier part of the book is clearly from a copy in transcription. Karaites indulged in this spiteful policy to exclude Rabbanite readers. The book is the product of sound scholarship and a welcome addition to the literature extant on the subject.

H. Hirschfeld.


The fact that a second edition of this book has been published is sufficient evidence of its usefulness. The author was well advised in not simply taking his material from the English version of the Bible. By introducing suitable alterations, he not only prevents students from merely copying the paragraphs from the Hebrew originals, but also tests their acquaintance with the books of the Old Testament, as well as their proficiency in grammar. There is also one piece taken from a secular source. In a further edition this might be augmented. Why he translates שָׁנָּה by steel is not quite clear; would not plummet be more suitable? Undergraduates will find the little book helpful and stimulating.

H. Hirschfeld.
In setting himself the task of bringing order into the incoherent and rather scrappy narratives contained in the above-mentioned sections, the author struck out quite new lines. In contradistinction to earlier critics he distinguishes two main sources: first the Book of Judges to the death of David, which he ascribes to the Prophet Nathan, designated by N. He was a partisan, and at the same time a stern judge of David's actions, and chiefly responsible for Judges ii to 1 Kings ii. The other was the Prophet Gad (G.), who compiled the records from 1 Sam. xvii to 2 Sam. xxiv. He was the predecessor of N., an older contemporary of David's, and hostile to the claims of the house of Saul. The author stresses the point that G. is but a symbol for a work in which Gad is mentioned as a historical person, but he allows no suggestions as to his authorship. No serious objection can be made to the opinion of the author that the problem of the Book of Samuel is too complicated to be solved by the supposition that only two hands were busy in compiling the narratives. As an instance he offers the alleged parallelism of 2 Sam. iv, 4, to ix, 1 sqq., which seems to be taken from a different source. In his analysis of 1 Sam. vii, 3, to xiv, 52, Mr. Wiener comes to the conclusion that ch. ix, 8, is an integral part of the narrative. On the whole his remarks on this and other points demand attentive reading with constant reference to the original text. The question remains, however, whether הֲנִּיק is in every instance to be translated by prefect. For in 1 Sam. x, 5, this word must have the same meaning as in 1 Chron. xi, 16, both places evidently speaking of Philistines' outposts. Several of these, notably those mentioned in xiii, 3, seem to have been pushed right into the territory of the Israelites, as the latter were disarmed and had even to rely on Philistine permission to procure their agricultural imple-
ments. This has a true historical ring about it, as it goes against the spirit of an Israelite historiographer. Jonathan's success, related in xiv, 13, does not seem to have counted for much, since he had only had six hundred men with him. On the whole the situation is very obscure. The Philistine army seems to have been frightened by an earthquake (v, 15), which gave the Israelites some advantage. In xi, 5, the author suggests reading יִפְרָה for יֶפֶר, but after the morning is not only awkward Hebrew, but also destroys the idyllic situation round the old Hebrew Cinannatus, and this should remain undisturbed in spite of Kittel's different view. To place ch. xii between x, 25, a and b, is a somewhat violent operation, because this section may be a fuller account of xiv, 48. The "unhistorical" character of the two sections is not quite obvious. If Amalek was not annihilated it was an act of disobedience on the part of Saul, who had to bear the consequences. Why did not the author make this the starting point of G.? These chapters are teeming with difficulties, and very little can be said with any claim to certainty. One thing is clear that modern eyes are unable to obtain a correct vision of the conditions. In any case, the author betrays signal skill in showing how these various, and by no means homogeneous, records might be united into progressive history while allowing the fissures to be recognizable. He has given a strong impulse to study the material afresh, and credit is due to him for his clever guidance through the maze of disjointed facts.

H. Hirschfeld.

The Sumerians. By C. Leonard Woolley. 7½ x 5, 198 pages and 29 pictures, mostly on plates. At the University Press, Oxford.

Though of but limited extent, this modest book shows not only the interesting nature of the discoveries made of late years in the province of Iraq, but also the importance of the
inhabitants of the Babylonian plain. Before the discovery of the Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions, the name "Sumerian" was practically unknown. At the present time no history of the Euphrates valley can be written without giving them a large place therein.

In former years we used to speak of Sumer and Akkad, regarding the former as Southern Babylonia and the latter as the northern tract. This is undoubtedly right, but where we went wrong was in regarding the inhabitants of both tracts as non-Semitic. Jules Oppert always maintained that the Sumerians were non-Semitic, but at that time it was unproved that the Akkadians were Semites, as is now generally accepted. In Gen. x, 10, Akkad is referred to with Babel, Erech, and Calneh as though it were a city, hence the older point of view.¹ The country as a whole bears the name of Shin'ar, compared by some with Shumer. The Hebrew form still requires explanation.

The point of view in Mr. Woolley's book, however, shows that the whole Babylonian tract ought to be called Akkad, as the original inhabitants seem to have been Semites, whilst the Sumerians were the invaders or immigrants.

The descriptions of their primitive dwellings and mode of life are interesting and detailed, the statements being based on the remains discovered in the various ruins, among the first being the deductions from those at al-'Ubaid, near Ur. Here we learn about the reed huts with their hearths of clay, the barley-bread with its preparation and baking, the animals upon which they lived. The description of the boats in which they went (to catch fish) on the Euphrates, with their high prows of reeds attached together, is confirmed by engravings shown on the cylinder-seals and elsewhere. The men were clad in skins or home-spun garments, and the women wore their hair done up into a "bun" at the back of the head. The jewellery of the poorer classes was not

¹ With this the late George Bertin did not agree—see his paper, "The pre-Accadian (= pre-Sumerian) Semites" in the JRAS., Vol. XVIII, Part 3.
apparently of the precious metals, but consisted of studs made of clay, bitumen, carnelian, or other workable material. The book contains many other details of their lives, as well as their manners, customs, and beliefs.

The historical part has a very complete list of the earliest kings and heroes, including those before the flood, which the inhabitants of Babylonia regarded as an historical event. This would seem also to be confirmed by the excavations at Kish and Ur. The excessively long reigns attributed to the kings before and immediately after the Flood are naturally impossible. Future discoveries may reveal to us how these long reigns are to be understood and explained, but we must not be too hopeful—they are possibly due to manipulations of the sos, ner, and šar, the great sexagesimal units, 60, 600, and 3,600.

But to go in detail through the many discoveries concerning the Sumerians recorded in this attractive monograph would take up too much space, and we must limit our notes so as to keep the notice within bounds. Exceedingly interesting are the plates, and among them may be mentioned the restored portrait of Queen Shub-ad, with its elaborate head-dress (there is an excellent reproduction of this in colours in the Illustrated London News for August 11, 1928). Her date is set down as being about 3,000 years before Christ. Plate 5, the cattle byre with temple-servants milking the cows and straining the milk, a mosaic in limestone and shale, from al-'Ubaid, is now well known, as is also the restoration of Queen Shub-ad's harp. From a mythological point of view Plate 11 is, perhaps, the most interesting. It is a shell plaque engraved in four superimposed divisions, the first showing a bearded man between two rearing bulls; the second, animals, erect, bearing offerings; the third, other animals, also erect, playing instruments, one of which is a harp; and an ibex following a scorpion-man bearing, possibly, drink-offerings. This object was found at Ur, and it is suggested that it may have formed part of a harp.
A fine specimen of Sumerian art, also, is the "mosaic standard" at Ur. One side only of this is given, showing the Sumerian army on the march, and in its train we see four-wheeled chariots, each drawn, apparently, by asses.¹

With the statuette of a Sumerian ruler of the earlier part of the third millennium B.C. may be compared that of Ur-Ningirsu, son of Gudea, patesi of Lagash. Other royal objects of interest artistically are the cylinder-seals on Plate 20. The first (unfortunately printed upside-down) shows fighting lions and men symmetrically arranged in a style often met with. It is of the sacred stone, lapis lazuli, and belonged to the Queen of Mes-anni-padda, founder of the first dynasty of Ur. The cylinder of Queen Shub-ad is less beautiful, as it shows, in two bands, two seated and several standing figures engaged, apparently, in religious ceremonies. The third cylinder-seal is in similar style to the first, but has only one row of figures, the animals crossing each other and the lions attacking bulls being very symmetrically arranged. It is described as a "Cylinder seal of a servant of the daughter of King Sargon of Akkad." This daughter, En-khi-du-anna, like the daughter of Nabonidus, was priestess of the moon-goddess Nin-gal at Ur.

The Sumerians is a book well suited to the general reader, for whom it was written, but the specialist may also gain useful points from it. Not only are their history and antiquities treated of, but also their literatures and their legends. A fuller Index would have improved it. Special mention must be made of the work of Mrs. Woolley, Mr. F. G. Newton, and Mr. A. S. Whitburn, A.R.I.B.A., who have furnished restorations.

T. G. Pinches.

¹ For the whole design, see the Illustrated London News for 23rd June, 1928.


12½ × 9½. Budapest, 1929.

As Dr. Mžik observes, the Adriatic was but little known to Orientals during the first eight centuries of Islam, though already in the ninth century A.D. Saracen pirates had a nest in a Roman-Byzantine castle near Medua. It was not, however, till 1365 that a treaty between the Ragusan republic and the Turks, followed by an invitation, in 1385, from an expelled Duke of Durazzo, brought the Turks into Albania. Apart from the Arabic-Ptolemaic geographers (cf. A. R. Guest's article in JRAS. 1913, p. 305), the Islamic writers only begin to deal with the matter in the fifteenth century. The first 24 pages of the book before us are chiefly devoted to the identification of place-names.

The second part is double as long as the first and has appended to it a bibliographical list with 168 entries, which has a melancholy interest, for Baron Nopcsa tells us that after making a preliminary study, the results of which were published in 1916, his collection of over 200 maps of northern Albania was stolen in 1920. The oldest map is the Vienna Tabula Peutingeriana, the names in which have puzzled geographers from the sixteenth century, but are now intelligible.

The book as a whole is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of a subject in which the British names most prominent are: Durham, Evans, Faden, and Guest. The plates are clear and well reproduced.

O. W.
NOTES OF THE QUARTER
(April-June, 1929)

GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY
22nd April

Central Asia

At a joint meeting of the Society with the Central Asian Society, at the rooms of the Royal Society of Arts, the Marquess of Zetland, President, in the Chair, Dr. W. Filchner read a paper, illustrated by a film, on his explorations in Centra Asia entitled

"MY CENTRAL ASIAN EXPEDITION, 1925-8".

The following is an abstract of the lecture.

He said that although his main task was strictly scientific, it did not exhaust the aims of his undertaking. He hoped during his long sojourn in the heart of Asia to make other observations such as the history of civilization and ethnological matters.

The first stage of the journey, begun at the close of 1925, led via Leningrad and Moscow to Taschkent. His astronomic magnetic task was the connecting up of the European Western-Asiatic system with the Chinese system which had been created by the Carnegie Institute. It was proposed to lay down a continuous chain of survey stations along the line Taschkent or Kuldscha-Sining-fu to Kansu, the North-Western province of China proper. The distance between each station was not to exceed 50 to 60 kilometres. Spending the first winter in the neighbourhood of Sining-fu, he was to transfer the earth-magnetic work in the following spring to Tibet, with the idea of joining up the Chinese survey system with that of India. In spite of obstacles he was able to accomplish this task along the line Sining-fu on the East Tsaidam-Tangla-Nga-tschu-ka (north of Lhassa) thence in the direction of Leh in Kashmir, via Tschang-ling-korr-
Se-li-pu across the lake district. He was able to accomplish this scientific task, which was of particular importance in cartography, according to plan, and finally carried out the linking-up survey at Dehra Dun.

Altitudes were determined exclusively by means of a boiling thermometer (Siedethermometer) and theodolites and mainly at the astronomically fixed magnetic stations, the number of which exceeds 160. The whole length of the route covered in Tibet was determined by mapping out with the aid of a fluid compass. These points would be plotted in the gaps between the astronomically fixed points when working out the whole of the data.

The expedition, which finished in June, 1928, was hindered at the outset by the disturbed political condition of China. He found himself in the midst of civil war and his way led from one opposing camp to the other. Original distrust was soon displaced, however, by friendly assistance. Unfortunately the many privations and suffering from hunger and frost he was called upon to bear resulted in his falling seriously ill with gallstones just before the winter of 1926–7. Yet he was able to carry out his daily surveys, sometimes of twelve hours' duration, without a break. He was fortunate to find a real friend and helper in a highly educated Chinese salt mandarin, named Lu, who saved him from death by his devoted nursing, and he was given material assistance by missionaries and officials.

The journey across the Tibet plateau was delayed and obstructed by the well-known enmity of the Tibetan towards all foreigners. Every now and then, owing to superstition, he was forbidden to use his instruments. As all persuasive efforts failed, he was driven to cunning. The people were told he was to rest, but in reality he was working hard in his tent, making the necessary calculations through a hole in the canvas, thus completing the unbroken chain of observations. While his companions were resting at the stopping places he often had to work the whole night through. The astronomical
magnetic observations had to be carried out, diaries had to be written up, surveys checked, and dispositions for the next march day had to be made. During this time his feet were frozen and a few ribs, the right hand, and right foot were broken.

In view of the increasing insecurity on Tibetan territory, letters to the Viceroy of India and the Dalai Lama were smuggled through. It seemed not improbable that the expedition would be pushed up North without completing its task, even if nothing worse happened. Then one day a special messenger from the Dalai Lama brought instructions that he and his two white companions, an Australian and an American, should be given freedom to pass across Tibet in a westerly direction to Leh in Kashmir, and that they were to be treated in a proper manner. His Holiness sent them by a Tibetan dignitary a very welcome gift of foodstuffs, of which they were badly in need. From that time forward they enjoyed not only the best treatment, but were also supplied with provisions by the naturally hospitable Tibetans. The change came at a critical stage when his physical and mental powers were almost exhausted and his financial condition most deplorable.

The lecturer next gave an outline of the family life of the Tibetans, their dwellings and animals, and an account of their cloisters. He pointed out that in Eastern Tibet monogamy is practised as the sexes are approximately equal in number; but in Central and Southern Tibet where the number of women is considerably less, polyandry is usual. The several husbands of a woman must always be brothers. The children of the marriage belong to the eldest brother who is called "father" by the children, while the other husbands are called "uncle". Petticoat government obtained to a large extent in Tibet. The women were usually quite shy, but distinctly determined in dealings with their husbands.

In describing the fauna of the country Dr. Filchler paid most attention to the yak or "grunting" ox. He found the
yak very hardy and easily satisfied. After unloading, the
beast is allowed to run loose to find his own food, and the
catching of a yak for resuming the journey is a great art.
The animal can carry approximately a hundredweight.
At the beginning the expedition possessed thirty-five of them,
but most of the caravan was lost by robbery and shortage
in the mountainous districts between Kuku-nur and Tsai-dam.
After being miraculously saved by a camel troop he was forced
with his slender remaining resources to get together another
yak caravan. "Pinching" was considered an honourable
sport in Tibet, especially in the North-East. The Tibetan
was not ashamed of his brigandage, but rather the victim
was ashamed of not being able to prevent the robbery.

Tibet was described as a land of cloisters and religious
orders, not only for men but also for women. Every year
hundreds of thousands of pilgrims streamed from all parts
of Asia to famous Tibetan cloisters such as Sera, Potala,
and Dapung. The pilgrims were usually lodged in a caravan-
serai in the outskirts of the cloister. The Lamas were divided
into three classes—the Schabis or pupils, the Gethsul, and
the Geslong who were the ordained priests. They were
under vows of chastity, might not drink alcohol nor kill
any animal. Each monk had his own house of at least two
rooms in the cloister, and the richer monks possessed larger
houses with courtyards, servants' quarters, stabling, etc.
The monks carried no sword, but carried a dagger under their
robes. On a journey, however, they wore lay clothing and
carried weapons with them.

Describing the greatest festival at Kumbum known as the
Butter-feast, Dr. Filechner said that its object was a polite
invitation to the gods to listen to the recital of the holy
scripture in the tents. Two enormous platforms of masts
and precious carpets were erected in the cloister compound.
Under these platforms wonderfully formed and beautifully
painted images and symbols made of butter were displayed,
and in the middle a sea of light from butter lamps. Bands
of music consisting of flutes, trumpets, symbols, and drums continually played in the same rhythm. The spectators, crowded perilously together, sacrifice in awe to these butter gods. The Lama police prepared a way through the crowd for saints or distinguished visitors by means of whips.

One of the lantern slides showed the monks of Kumbum assembled for prayer. The custom is to recite in loud tones amidst ejaculations and hand-clapping. A Lama of high rank, Tschora-tschungo, who superintended the other Lamas, circled round the praying monks relentlessly punishing the inattentive or other offenders. A Geslong led the prayer in a deep bass voice, the others chanting melodiously. Tea and dried fruit were served in the intervals. Dr. Filchner said that he spent the terrible winter of 1926–7 almost starved and frozen in this cloister, and the Lamas counted him more or less one of themselves.

At the end of each year the far-famed dances take place at Kumbum. Their significance, Dr. Filchner said, could be compared with the miracle plays of the Middle Ages. A full knowledge of lamaistic mythology was necessary to understand their symbolism. In these dances Atzaras, fantastic beings who were supposed to meet the souls of the dead in purgatory, were to be seen. The object of the dances was to guide the thoughts of the spectators to the impermanency of things, to remind them how quickly time flies, and how suddenly death may overtake even the youngest. All the figures were represented by Lamas. The masks were artistic to the last degree and richly painted. The robes also were costly and extraordinarily tasteful. The dances are carried out to the accompaniment of a Lama orchestra.

In a concluding passage Dr. Filchner said that like all other strangers travelling in this wild mountainous country, cut off from the world, he stood under suspicion of being accompanied by the devil. Bears, wolves, and robbers were always threatening his unarmed expedition. The correct
treatment of the people, these children of nature, enabled their humanity to gain the upper hand. Primitive folk would sympathize with him and even respect him when they realized that he exposed himself willingly to the bitterest poverty and tremendous exertions in the interests of his task. One of the most valuable lessons learnt on such a tour over half the earth seemed to him to be the ability to think in continents and to see things in their true perspective, and the realization that mutual knowledge and understanding of the nations can only result in a nearer approach to each other of the peoples of the earth.

Sir Francis Younghusband, in thanking Dr. Filchner for his lecture and film, said he could not praise too highly the courage and endurance which had enabled him to carry out and complete his scientific programme. Sir Francis said he had had some experience of the Tibetan climate and the terrible Tibetan winds, but to go through three winters short of food, ill, and with broken ribs and with little money and to persevere undauntedly spoke of a magnificent strength of body and mind on which he congratulated the lecturer. Turning to the film, he said that in spite of their superstitions, the Tibetans in all they did showed a very real religious sense, they referred their actions to something beyond their material advantage. The dances which had been shown on the film could well be compared to the mystery plays of the Middle Ages.

The Chairman (Lord Zetland) congratulated the two Societies on having had this opportunity of seeing Dr. Filchner's remarkable film and of hearing from him something of his expedition. Sir Francis Younghusband had spoken of the courage which the lecturer had shown in carrying through his scientific programme; perhaps only those who had travelled in Central Asia and had experienced not only the climate and the hardships of travel, but the continual suspicion of the people, could appreciate it at its
true value. He congratulated the lecturer very heartily on his remarkable journey and was glad to say his safe arrival was in part due to an Australian, Mr. Mathewson, and to the help given him by the Government of India. He would like also to congratulate Dr. Filchner on his courage in lecturing so successfully in a foreign language, and hoped the two Societies might have an opportunity of hearing him at some later date.

30th April

Expeditions to the Alai-Pamirs

At a joint meeting of the Society and the Central Asian Society at the rooms of the Royal Society, Burlington House, Sir Francis Aglen in the chair, Mr. W. Rickmer Rickmers gave a detailed description of the expeditions he undertook to the Alai-Pamirs in 1913 and 1928. The following is an abstract:

"Travels in the Alai-Pamirs"

Mr. Rickmer Rickmers defined the term Alai-Pamirs as covering the mountainous regions between the Amu Darya, the Sir Darya and the Chinese border, and as therefore applying to the Pamir block and its westerly fringes. In the terms of political frontiers the region might be spoken of as the Russian Pamirs. He pointed out that besides having acquired a definite morphological meaning (a pamir—a valley of the Pamir type) the term had become very elastic in a topographical sense. There were divisions of the region just as there were divisions of London and the phrase "the Londons" would therefore correspond to "the Pamirs".

He said that the two expeditions which formed the subject of the lecture were separated by fifteen years, but were connected by the same fundamental idea, namely the exact survey of certain mountains. During the interval very little happened in a region which he had in heart reserved for
himself. In 1913, when he led the expedition of the German and Austrian Alpine Association, the late Dr. Deimler made a photogrammetric survey of Karateghin and more especially of the range of Peter the Great. After his early death, Dr. von Gruber prepared two maps from the negatives, one showing the Borolmas and the Kizil-su glaciers in great detail; the other being a ridge map of Karateghin showing the lower valleys. In 1928, Dr. R. Finsterwalder surveyed about 4,000 square miles of mountains and glaciers between the Sel-tau, Transalai and Zulum-art ranges and the Tanimas river. Notwithstanding the gulf of time the expedition of 1928 was the immediate continuation of that of 1913, for both together were the first attempt to produce a complete and satisfactory map of considerable mountain areas in the Alai-Pamirs.

The first expedition lasted from 2nd May to 13th December, 1913, and cost £1,350. To the itinerary which he gave he said there must be added a great number of side excursions, glacier explorations, and mountain climbs. The party ascended about thirty peaks, the highest being 5,700 metres. It was as yet too early for linking the stages of glaciation with those of the Alps. The formations seemed to point to some comparatively sudden change in which the shortness of the glaciers might have acted as a contributory cause. Altogether the Alai-Pamirs formed a glaciological laboratory, which owing to its accessibility facilitated and, owing to climatic contrasts, deserved continuous, systematic observation. As an island surrounded by deserts this mountain range formed a splendid object of comparison with the Alps.

He cherished the fond belief that the solution of the riddle of the dead cities of Chinese Turkistan was to be sought along the Pamir glaciers. Nothing seemed to warrant the assumption that the Tarim basin was a zone of rainfall cultivation in historical times. If the change of climate responsible for glacial periods also produced more rain in Central Asia, then it must have been before the advent of historic man, or, to be exact, before the immigration of peasants. The dead cities
lived on agriculture by irrigation which drew its water from rivers partly fed by residual ice, by dead ice not replenished from precipitation above the snowline. This store of ice left over after the last glacial retreat, or cessation of surplus feeding, gradually dwindled. Rivers decreased in volume, and after a time were unable to fill the irrigation canals of outlying districts. If that theory was correct, the problem of the historic desiccation of Inner Asia would be changed from one of rainfall to one of residual melting. Thus we should be able to detach this narrower problem from the wider one of climatic change which loomed beyond. The stoppage of supplies from the atmosphere must have been more rapid than the melting of old snows. This would point to a comparatively sudden change of climate. But then everything was, or appeared to be, sudden in Central Asia, a country where every difference was magnified into glaring contrast.

The expedition was led by the secretary of the Beg of Yakabagh to the cave of Kalaishiran in the limestone canyon of the Kala-sai torrent. The two porticoes of the cave opened out on the right bank of the cliffs at a height of about 2,400 metres above the sea level. The familiarity of the guides with the locality, the remains of torches and broken stalactites showed that the place was used for pilgrimages or tamashas. Legend called it Tamerlane's horse-stable, which seemed justified by the thick layer of droppings. Digging a hole they came upon layers of broken bones, and in a cranny found a very old clay lamp. One of the caverns was neatly walled up with alternate layers of blocks and wooden beams. Earth filled in behind made a wide platform. They went in about 500 yards through halls alternating with narrow passages. He refrained from excavations on a large scale for fear of spoiling the work of future experts. Kalai-shiran promised well, for its human record must stretch unbroken far into the dim past, though it remained doubtful whether neolithic man ever roamed in this neighbourhood, but cave animals there might have been.
The 1928 expedition, consisting of eleven Germans and eleven Russians, was not only very large, but was characterized by the close collaboration of two peoples. He thought that the latter feature had come to stay. Nations in whose territory there was something to investigate no longer cared to be what looked like the passive object of foreign scientists. They did not care to seem incapable of describing their own country; they did not see why their antiquities or ethnographical rarities should be the booty of museums abroad. No one wished to exclude helpful neighbours, but everywhere self-esteem had begun to formulate this condition: "No foreign exploration by others without our own active share as homeland explorers." Further, the modern exploring party showed the inevitable evolution from the journey of discovery to the journey of study or committee of investigation. To-day the world was discovered—that was to say known everywhere in outline. The finder was being replaced by the examiner, the prospector by the sinker of shafts, the eye by the instrument, the story-teller by the measurer and statistician. All human activity moved from extensive to intensive cultivation or organization. The nomad became a peasant, the peasant a gardener. But as movement could not be dissociated from life, nor travel from exploration, the new order of things had been brought about by a division of labour. Geographical exploration was split up into pure travel and pure study.

He drew attention to these considerations, so that his hearers might understand why he had nothing sensational to report. There simply had to be no adventures if the task of the expedition was to be done thoroughly, and in time. Formerly discoverers went out in search of adventure, for they opened up new ways through oceans and continents, and an unknown road always meant adventure. Now adventure had been driven from the high roads to the lanes and by-paths. Instead of the sensational fight with unexpected obstacles there was now the noiseless war with
detail, with equipment, tactics and accounts. He noted that the 1928 expedition was camouflaged during its inception as the Alai Expedition. They did not like to mention the Pamirs, fearing to arouse suspicion, for the Pamirs "are like three mighty hands clasped in a grip of steel, each holding on for dear life, yet hoping that the others might let go". Schemers of dark plots would not have taken a dozen foreigners into their confidence, least of all map-makers. All the same the Governor of Kashgar concentrated troops on the border, and many Kirghiz fled into Chinese territory when they heard of the coming of the explorers.

The lecturer thought that the secrecy surrounding certain easy Passes showing traces of constant use could only be explained by the wish of the Tajiks (Galchas) to hide them from the Kirghiz, so that they could be used for flight or for fetching reinforcements. The old Aryan population of Darvaz sat astride the boundary ranges so that on the northern slopes of the mountains of Peter the Great (Karateghin) and on the eastern slopes of the Sel-tau the Tajik were dovetailed into the Kirghiz. This zone of contact meant a state of silent war between the races, each trying to extend its pastures or fields. It was not a war between two nations as a whole, but a state of economic pressure giving rise to small local adjustments where families grew or dwindled. Here and there one found groups of stone hovels representing relinquished outposts of the Galchas driven back by the Kirghiz. It was not easy to see where the nomads had retreated, as they left no permanent buildings behind. Real battles on a large scale did not seem to take place, at least not since the Russian conquest of Turkestan. Curiously enough, the two even mixed quite readily in some localities.

The highest passes across the central Sel-tau were abandoned long ago. Being fairly easy for hardy mountaineers, although very long and strenuous, they had not been closed by the forces of nature, but had become obsolete for historical reasons. When the Russians went into the country, they did
away with small boundaries, welding tribes and minor states into one whole of law and order. Short cuts or loopholes for fugitives, spies and smugglers became unnecessary. He believed, however, that the Tajiks still used them in a small way, and that their memory for the passes was kept bright for future emergencies. Some of the finds of the expedition went to show that the upper Tanimas Valley had never been quite deserted. Besides hunters and shepherds, prospectors for gold were to be counted among its regular visitors. Indeed, the presence of the expedition might have been responsible for its look of utter desolation, a sort of camouflage by abstention.

An outline of the geographical, geological, botanical, and zoological results of the expedition was followed by a reference to efforts to penetrate to the mysteries of the Pamir dialects spoken by the various tribes. The languages belong to the East Iranian branch. He held that it was high time that science took stock of them, for they were in danger of being swamped by New Persian, Russian, or some nondescript caravan language. The political and economic opening up of the high valleys was making great strides, so that original traits of national life and character would soon be blurred. Dr. Lentz, the linguistic expert of the party, was surprised by the wealth of oral literature in verse and prose which he found in the miserable village of Bartang. He had brought home a great collection of texts, together with phonographic and musical records, and his scientific report would show a great step forward in our knowledge of an ancient people. Among the more conspicuous objects of Tajik handicraft were the woollen stockings and the ceremonial veils or chash bands. The many-hued stockings on which the svastica often recurred reminded one of Fair Isle work. The women went unveiled, but wore a beautifully embroidered face-curtain for the marriage ceremony. The outstanding ornamental symbol was that of the red cock. Some of these chash bands were hundreds of years old.
Professor Margoliouth presided in the unavoidable absence of the President, the Marquess of Zetland.

The following were elected Members of the Society:—

Miss Elsie Benkard.
Miss Wanden Mathews.
Mr. T. A. Kanakasabapathy Pillai.
Rao Sahib C. Y. Doraswami Pillai.
Mr. Hem Chandra Roy.
Mr. T. E. Veeraraghava Sarma.
Mr. Bal Kishan Batra.
Babu Shiva Charan Lal Jain.
Mr. F. H. Beswick.
Mr. Kishore Chand Joshi.

Mr. Asa Ram Kanshic.
Mr. Gopi Krishna.
Dr. S. Mangapatti Naidoo.
Aswini Kumar.
Rai Sahib Asharfi Lal.
Mr. Har Kishen Lal Manucha.
Mr. Amar Nath Pargal.
Mr. Parashu Ram.
Mr. P. K. Ramaswami.
Mr. T. S. Vennadhan.
Mr. C. V. Vijayapaliah.

Fifteen nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR 1928–9

The Society has lost by death the following members:—

Mrs. Beveridge.
Mr. W. Coldstream.
The Rev. Canon Gairdner.
Mr. Kanhaiya Lal Guru.
Dr. C. A. Hewavitarne.
H.H. the Maharaja of Jhalawar.

Dr. Phaniibhusan Mukerji.
Sir John Murray, K.C.V.O.
Prof. J. Samaddar.
Mrs. D. B. Spooner.
Mr. Moung Tsain.
Dr. T. H. Weir.

The following members have resigned:—

Mr. H. J. Cant.
Mr. O. K. Caroe.
The Rev. E. Donaldson.
Mr. H. J. Frampton.
Mr. Mysore Hatti Gopal.
Mr. J. Drummond Hogg.
Mr. W. G. Johnson.
Mr. W. E. Jardine.
Mr. M. Singh Kunwar.

The Rev. J. Vernon Lewis.
Mr. R. V. Malliah.
Staff-Surgeon F. R. Mann.
Prof. Radhakumud Mookerji.
Babu Manmatha Kumar Rai.
Mr. G. R. T. Ross.
Dr. R. Shamsastry.
Mr. W. F. Albright.
Under Rule 25d the following have ceased to be members of the Society:—

Mr. S. Sharaf Ahmad.
Rev. E. Ahmad-Shah, Lahore.
Mr. Syed Muhammad B. Alavi.
Mr. Upendra Mohan Basu.
Mr. Ram Behari.
Mr. Aboul Maali Syed Md. H. Bokhari.
Mr. Nalin Mohani Chatterji.
Mr. D. N. Ray Chaudhury.
Mr. Gokulnath Dhar.
Mr. S. K. Ghosh.
Mr. Mam Chand Gupta.
Mr. M. L. Sen Gupta.
Mr. Seth Sohan Gupta.
Mr. Dwijes Chandra Gupta.
Mr. Saras Ram Gupta.
Mr. A. K. Gurtu.
Rev. E. N. Harris.
Rev. J. P. Hodgkinson.
Mr. Shams ul-'Ulama Hosain.
Mr. Agha Akhtar Hosein.

Mr. Md. Siraj-ul Islam.
Mr. Sukbir Pershad Jain.
Mr. Ram Chandra Kak.
Mr. N. G. Saswad Kar.
Mr. Afque Ahmad Khan.
Mr. Nathu Lal.
Prof. H. W. B. Moreno.
Mr. B. U. N. Mozumdar.
Mr. Braj Lal Mukherjee.
Mr. H. B. Nanda.
Mr. Mian Sultan Nizami.
Mr. M. D. Raghavan.
Mr. M. Rashid.
Mr. Parimal Chandra Sen.
Mr. Madan Mohan Seth.
Mr. Mohammad Sharifuddin.
Mr. Vinod Chandra Sharma.
Mr. A. N. Singh.
Mr. George H. Singh.
Mr. Inder Singh.
Mr. M. Lal Talib.

The following eight Resident Members have been elected:—

Khan Sahib Farzand Ali.
Mr. A. Z. Alsagoff.
Miss Edith Clements.
The Hon. Mrs. Maurice Glyn.

Mr. Gerard Heym.
Mr. S. C. Nandimath.
Dr. Lal Dastur Cursetji Pavry.
Mrs. G. Swinton.

The following 103 Non-resident members have also been elected:—

Mr. Sh. Mohammad Abdullah.
Mr. Chaudhri Nahi Ahmad.
Mr. S. Srinivasa Aiyar.
Mr. Md. Hazur Alam.
Mr. Mulk Raj Anand.

Mr. Md. Anwar-ul-Hakik.
Mr. Munir Agha Ashhar.
Mr. H. W. Bailey.
Mr. V. S. Bakhe.
Mr. Rakhaldas Banerji.
Mr. Sita Ram Batra.
Mr. Raghunath Madhav Bhagade.
Mr. Mula Ram Bhatia.
Syed Abdul Wahab Bokari.
Major C. A. Boyle, D.S.O.
Mr. Paul R. Carr.
Mr. Harish Chandra.
Mr. Charanjiva.
Mr. D. L. Chetty.
Mr. Himanshu Ch. Chaudhuri.
Dr. S. K. Chowdhury.
Dr. Ishvara Datta.
Mr. Rames Chandra Dhar.
Mr. Myles Dillon.
Mr. Bibhutry Bhusan Dutt.
Prof. Abid Hasan Faridi.
Maulvi Feroz-ud-din.
Mr. Henry Field.
Mr. Radha Krishna Goel.
Mr. Mohamed Mahmud Gomaa.
Mr. M. Sahibuddin Haki, Khan Sahib.
Mr. N. M. Hashmi.
The Rev. H. Heras, S.J.
Mr. G. R. Hunter.
Mr. Mohamed Ishaque.
Mr. M. H. Ismail.
Mr. K. A. Narayana Iyer.
Mr. R. V. Jahagirdar.
Mr. M. H. S. Jalal-ud-din Ahmad Jafri.
Mr. Amrit Lal Jain.
Pandit Bhushan Joshi.
Miss Srimati Kamalabai.
Mr. Ganda Singh Kewal.
Mr. Abdur Rahman Khaki.
Mr. Aziz Ahmad Khan.
Mr. Diwan Hariramsh Lal Khanna.
Mr. Md. L. Koraishy.
Mr. P. D. Kora.
Mr. P. A. Krisnaswamy.
Mr. Shamsunder Lal.
Mr. J. N. Mathur.
Mr. Radhika Narayan Mathur.
Mr. Eduard Khin Maung.
Professor Antoine Meillet.
Mr. Shosen Miyamoto.
Mr. K. S. Hussain Mohamad.
Mr. G. Singh Mongia.
Mr. M. L. Motial.
The Rev. J. P. Naish.
Mr. Jagat Narain.
Miss Lachhi Bai Jagumal Narsian.
Miss Sita Bai Jagumal Narsian.
Mr. Peter Scott Noble.
Mrs. G. Pavitrans.
Mr. T. S. Dandeesvaram Pillai.
Mr. Paras Mani Lakshmi Pradhan.
Dr. Jwala Prasad.
Mr. Pande Jadunandam.
Mr. Md. Ibadur Rahman Khan.
Mr. W. S. de G. Rankin.
Mr. Ch. L. Narasimha Rao.
Mr. M. Sankum Rao.
The Rev. J. N. Rawson.
Mr. Hem Ch. Ray.
Mr. S. Babu Reddy.
Prof. Syed M. D. Riaz-ul-Hassan.
Prof. Edward Robertson.
Mr. M. H. Khan Muhamad Rowther.
Rai Sahib Dharam Rozdon.
Mrs. G. Sankunny.                        Mr. C. S. R. Somayajulu.
Dr. George Sarton.                         Mrs. W. S. Strong.
Mr. Nagendra Nath Sharma.                   Mr. Md. Siraj-ud-din Talib.
Mr. Raghunath Sahaya Sharma, M.A.           Mr. Mulla Ramoozi Tauheed.
Mr. K. V. Radhakrishna Shastri.             Mr. S. Bertram Thomas.
Prof. Abdul Majid Sheikh.                   Mr. Thakur Tomara.
Prof. D. C. Simpson.                        Mr. Ram Shankar Tripathi.
Mr. Sundar Lal Singhal.                     Prof. Guiseppe Tucci.
Devaki Nandan Prasad Singh,                 Mr. Hari Pal Varshni.
    Raja of Monghyr.                        Prof. Hutton Webster.

And three Non-resident Compounders:

Mr. Andrew Fleming, Mr. V. N. Sardesai, and Raja Sri Ravi Sher Singhji, Raja of Kalsia.

The *Journal* has continued to increase in size and interest and the membership has brought in £67 more than last year. Several new libraries have been added to the List, though many of the old ones have dropped off.

In publication the Society has been very active.

The Oriental Translation Fund brought out in 1928 the important work on the Principles of Shi’ite Philosophy, the *Al babu’L’Hâdî ‘Ashar* of Ibnu’l Mutakhar al-Hilli, translated by the Rev. W. M. Miller, and also accepted and has already published the Zoological portion of the *Nuzhât’ul Qulub*, edited, translated, and annotated by Colonel J. Stephenson.

The Prize Publication Fund produced Mr. Malalasekara’s *Pali Literature of Ceylon* and by the generous aid of the High Commissioner for India the Council has been enabled to undertake to publish a very valuable addition to our knowledge of the languages of the North-West frontier of India, in *Torwali* by Sir George Grierson.

The Asiatic Monograph Fund has just published Dr. Pran Nath’s *Study of the Economic Condition of Ancient India*. 
The Forlong Fund brought out during the year the new edition of Trenckner's *Milindapañho*, which publication as was mentioned last year has received pecuniary assistance from the Pali Text Society.

The Fund has in the Press at the present time, three other works, *Falaki Shirwāni*, by Professor Hadi Hasan, *Elements of Japanese Writing*, by Commander Isemonger, and *Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians*, by Professor Siddheshwar Varma.

The Triennial Gold Medal was presented on 8th May, by Sir Edward Maclagan, the retiring President, to Professor Margoliouth in recognition of his distinguished services to Oriental Research, and on the same day a luncheon was given in honour of Sir George Grierson to celebrate the completion of the Linguistic Survey of India. An account of both functions will be found in the *Journal* for July, 1928.

The Burton Memorial Lecture founded in memory of Sir Richard Burton was given by Mr. H. A. MacMichael on 20th July, the subject being "The Coming of the Arabs to the Sudan", and the Triennial Medal was afterwards presented to him by the President.

The Public School Gold Medal was won by Mr. A. J. Hobson, of Nottingham High School, for his essay on "Lord Cornwallis in India", and the presentation was made by the President on 12th February, 1929.

Lectures delivered during the year 1928–9 were:

- "Excavations at Ur, 1927–8," by Mr. C. Leonard Woolley.
- "Education in India," by Mr. A. Yusuf Ali.
- "Some Documents and Languages from Chinese Turkestan," by Professor F. W. Thomas.
- "Some Notes on Early Muhammadan Titles," by Mr. Harold Bowen.

*JNAS. JULY 1929.*
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**Total** **£4,098 6 11**

**Investments.**
£350 5 per cent War Loan, 1929-47.
£1,426 1s. 10d. Local Loans 3 per cent Stock.
£635 2s. 7d. 4 per cent Funding Stock 1960-90.
£132 16s. 3d. 4 ½ per cent Treasury Bonds, 1932-34.
## PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR 1928

### PAYMENTS

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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>765</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s.</th>
<th>d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rebuilding Chimneys</strong></td>
<td>97</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Painting House</strong></td>
<td>79</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s.</th>
<th>d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Leasehold Redemption Fund</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Salaries and Wages</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Printing and Stationery</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s.</th>
<th>d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Journal Account</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printing</td>
<td>1,039</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postage</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1,116</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s.</th>
<th>d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Library Expenditure</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Expenditure provided for by the Grant of £400 received from Carnegie Trust—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cataloguing</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Binding</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Books</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book Cases</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>115</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>General Postage</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Audit Fees</strong></td>
<td>56</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sundry Expenses</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teas</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parcels and Fares</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lectures</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diplomas</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest on overdraft</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Library Carpet</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Health and Unemployment Insurance</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sundries</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>95</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
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</table>

### Balances in Hand, 31st December, 1928—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s.</th>
<th>d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deposit Account</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Current Account</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carnegie Fund</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>162</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: There was at 31st December, 1928, a liability for repairing MSS. of which £50 is payable out of the Carnegie Trust Grant.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s.</th>
<th>d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>462</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s.</th>
<th>d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>4,098</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society, and have verified the investments therein described, and hereby certify the said Abstract to be true and correct.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

Countersigned:  

RICHARD BURN, Auditor for the Society.
### SPECIAL FUNDS

#### Oriental Translation Fund

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Receipts</th>
<th>Payments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 1</td>
<td>Balance 358 4 6</td>
<td>Printing and Binding Vol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sales 169 1 9</td>
<td>XXIX 69 8 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Interest on Deposit Account 8 15 3</td>
<td>Reprinting Vol. XVI 57 10 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sundrys 1 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10% Commission on 1927 Sales to General Account 12 10 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 31</td>
<td>Balance Carried to Summary 396 11 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>£536 1 6</td>
<td>£536 1 6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Asiatic Monograph Fund

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Receipts</th>
<th>Payments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 1</td>
<td>Balance 126 9 5</td>
<td>10% Commission on 1927 Sales to General Account 2 10 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sales 21 1 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 31</td>
<td>Balance Carried to Summary 145 0 11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>£147 11 2</td>
<td>£147 11 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### SUMMARY OF SPECIAL FUND BALANCES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fund</th>
<th>Balance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oriental Translation Fund</td>
<td>396 11 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asiatic Monograph Fund</td>
<td>145 0 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash at Bank</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On Current Account</td>
<td>191 12 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deposit Account</td>
<td>350 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>£541 12 5</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### LEASEHOLD REDemption FUND

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>£ s. d.</th>
<th>£ s. d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>Jan. 1. Balance</td>
<td>145 8 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Transfer from General Account</td>
<td>20 10 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dividends Received to be Invested</td>
<td>8 2 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>£174 1 10</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TRUST FUNDS

#### Prize Publication Fund

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>£ s. d.</th>
<th>£ s. d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>Jan. 1. Balance</td>
<td>175 3 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>33 19 7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dividends</td>
<td>18 0 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>£227 2 10</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Gold Medal Fund

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>£ s. d.</th>
<th>£ s. d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dividends</td>
<td>9 15 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>£71 6 5</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

# Burton Memorial Fund

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Receipts</th>
<th>£ s. d.</th>
<th>£ s. d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 1. Balance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dividends</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 9 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>4 10 6</td>
<td>1 9 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Investment</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£49 0s. 10d. 3% Local Loans.</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Payments</th>
<th>£ s. d.</th>
<th>£ s. d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gold Medal</td>
<td>2 12 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Report of Lecture</td>
<td>1 18 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>4 11 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 31. By Cash at Bank on Current Account</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 8 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>5 19 10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

# James G. B. Forlong Fund

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Receipts</th>
<th>£ s. d.</th>
<th>£ s. d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 1. Balance</td>
<td>53 0 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dividends</td>
<td>210 1 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sale of Books</td>
<td>29 3 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donation</td>
<td>82 11 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>374 16 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Payments</th>
<th>£ s. d.</th>
<th>£ s. d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Carriage of Volumes</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 11 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10% on 1927 Sales to General Account</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 19 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>374 16 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 31. Cash at Bank—On Current Account</td>
<td></td>
<td>369 5 11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society and have verified the Investments therein described, and I certify the said Abstracts to be true and correct.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

Countersigned:

L. C. HOPKINS, Auditor for the Council.

RICHARD BURN, Auditor for the Society.

March, 1929.
PUBLIC SCHOOLS' GOLD MEDAL FUND

1928.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jan. 1.</th>
<th>Balance</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s.</th>
<th>d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>62</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dividends</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

£83 4 2

1928.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Advertisements</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s.</th>
<th>d.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
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</table>

Dec. 31.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Balance Carried to Summary</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s.</th>
<th>d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>82</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

£83 4 2

SUMMARY OF TRUST FUND BALANCES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prize Publication Fund</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s.</th>
<th>d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gold Medal Fund</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s.</th>
<th>d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>46</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Public Schools' Gold Medal Fund</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s.</th>
<th>d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>82</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>154 19 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

£154 19 7

Trust Funds

- £600 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "B" Stock (Prize Publication Fund).
- £325 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "A" Stock (Gold Medal Fund).
- £645 11s. 2d. Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "B" Stock (Public Schools' Gold Medal Fund).
- £40 3½ per cent Conversion Stock (Public Schools' Gold Medal Fund).

I have examined the above Statement with the books and vouchers, and hereby certify the same to be correct. I have also had produced to me certificates for the Stock Investments and Bank Balances.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

Countersigned

L. C. HOPKINS, Auditor for the Council.

RICHARD BURN, Auditor for the Society.

March, 1929.
"The Bega Races of the Eastern Sudan," by Mr. D. Harcourt Kitchin.


"The Highway of Europe and Asia," by Dr. J. G. Andersson (in conjunction with the Central Asian Society).

"The Excavations at Nineveh, 1927–8," by Dr. R. Campbell Thompson and Mr. Hutchinson.

Much work in the Library has been done owing to the valuable help of the Carnegie Trustees. Over and above the Society's grant of £120 for buying books and binding, books to the value of £65 were bought during 1928 and binding amounting to £75 was carried out, besides a liability incurred of over £100 on repairing MSS. Fifty pounds was spent on buying two large bookcases, and the remainder of the £400 grant on preparing the Catalogue for publication.

The first letters of the Catalogue are ready for the printers, and good progress has been made in sorting and classifying the large collection of pamphlets in the Library.

The Central Asian Society, one of the Society's oldest tenants, finding they required larger premises, left us in March, and the Council have decided to take over the room thus vacated, for the Chinese Library, which since the move to Grosvenor Street has been very inadequately housed.

The Finance Report for 1928, shows an income of £3,653 7s. 9d., and an expenditure of £3,635 12s. 11d., the small balance being accounted for by two heavy expenses: one the triennial repainting of the outside of the house at a cost of £79 13s., the other a very unexpected order from the London County Council to take down and rebuild the chimney stacks, which were out of the perpendicular to a dangerous extent, of which the cost, just £100, crippled the spending powers for the year. The Society's landlord, the Duke of Westminster, has since given a donation of £25 towards this expense.
The other receipts and expenditure for the year were normal.

The recommendations of the Council for filling vacancies on the Council for the ensuing year 1929–30 are as follows:—

Under Rules 30 and 32, Mr. Hopkins and Professor Langdon retire from the office of Vice-President, and Dr. Blagden, Mr. Clauson, Dr. Gaster, and Professor Turner from the Council. Mr. Sidney Smith on his appointment as Director of the Iraq Museum resigned his seat on the Council. The Council recommend that Dr. Blagden and Dr. Gaster be elected Vice-Presidents and Sir William Foster, Dr. Hall, Mr. Hopkins, Professor Langdon, and Mr. Oldham ordinary members of Council.

Under Rule 31 Sir J. Stewart Lockhart, Mr. Perowne, and Mr. Ellis retire from the office of Hon. Secretary, Hon. Treasurer, and Hon. Librarian respectively. The Council recommend their re-election.

Under Rule 81 the Council recommend Mr. Hopkins and Sir Richard Burn as Hon. Auditors and Messrs. Price, Waterhouse & Co. as Auditors for the ensuing year.

Dr. Blagden, in proposing the adoption of the report, referred to some of the losses sustained by death, and notably those of Mrs. Beveridge, the Rev. Canon Gairdner and Mr. Ameer Ali, remarking that these names carried great weight among Orientalists. They had a certain number of resignations and also a certain number of removals from the roll under Rule 25d, which was a euphemistic way of saying that some members suffered from bad memories notwithstanding several reminders that subscriptions were due. They had satisfactory lists of new members, and on balance the year was one of substantial progress in membership. The Journal continued to show a satisfactory increase in size and he hoped they might say in interest. He was bound to admit that the interest was relative, owing to the necessarily large number of specialized contributions. A satisfactory feature was their activity in publications, for they brought out last year no less than
six works, and even when they made allowance for the fact that one of them was no more than a photographic reprint, this was a very creditable performance. They also now had three new volumes in the press. He thought the Society might congratulate itself on the support it gave to good and disinterested work in the cause of the publication of Oriental writings which otherwise might never be published at all. Of the presentation of the Triennial Gold Medal in the course of the year he would say nothing lest he should embarrass the Chairman that afternoon, Professor Margoliouth. The Public School Gold Medal, it would appear, now attracted very few competitors, and this was to be regretted. The list of lectures given in the report was satisfactory, but there was no feature of the report more gratifying than the reference to the library and the grant thereto by the Carnegie Trustees. The printed catalogue now under preparation would be extremely useful not only to their own members, but also, he did not doubt, to many other persons not known to the Society and to many other libraries. It would enable them to see that the library of the Royal Asiatic Society was in some respects unique. He thought the Society was to be congratulated on the year's working, and he had pleasure in moving the adoption of the report.

Colonel Lorimer, in seconding, said that their thanks were due to the various officials, including the honorary officers, who had carried on the work of the Society so efficiently during the year. He might be permitted to say something regarding their poverty—a matter which in his younger days was never talked about by people but which now was as common a topic of conversation as the weather. The accounts showed that they paid their way. The question was whether it was sufficient for a society of the distinction of the Royal Asiatic Society, which had now existed for over a hundred years, and had so many accomplishments to its credit, to merely carry on in the traditional way without new developments. Reference had been made to the library
and its prosperity. One would like to see the library better accommodated in a building where there would also be provision for a lounge for rest and conversation. Much was done with publications, but much more could be done, and he sometimes had visions of a Publications Committee which would always be in session and would not be prevented by financial stringency from giving support to satisfactory proposals from the scholars which made them. They ought to be able to subsidize research work much more fully than they did at present. He did not know whether they had anyone who could do for them what was done by Lord Curzon when he secured the removal of the Royal Geographical Society from Savile Row to Lowther Lodge. Their Society could not make the same popular appeal as the Royal Geographical Society, for geographical details were of more interest to the general public than Oriental research. But he felt that there was one possible line of appeal. They had a great number of Indian members who were scholars, but he believed that they had only a very few of the Ruling Princes of India on their roll.

Mr. Perowne as honorary treasurer gave details of the financial position. He said that last year the effective membership was 865, and this year it had risen to about 910 or 915. Having passed the 900 mark, it was reasonable to hope that their membership would be a thousand before long. The £400 received from the Carnegie Trustees was a most welcome support for the library; but it had to be borne in mind that the grant was strictly limited to the purposes of the library. In connexion with the enforced rebuilding of the chimneys he mentioned that the Duke of Westminster, the ground landlord, had kindly given a special donation of £25. While their membership was increasing, their expenditure was also increasing, and they needed a larger income in order to respond to the activities of the Society and provide against contingencies, the credit balance being only £128 10s. He hoped, therefore, that members would do their best to increase
the membership. He expressed his thanks to the assistant secretary, Mrs. Davis, for the help she had given in dealing with the accounts.

The Chairman said they would all share with him in his disappointment that their President, owing to his numerous engagements, was unable to take the chair. The Council of the Society would agree with him in an expression of appreciation of the services rendered by Lord Zetland. As a member of the Council, he could say how much they admired the wisdom of his advice which never failed when they had difficult questions to deal with. It was a source of pride to the Society that their President was the author of a great biography of one of our most distinguished statesmen, the late Lord Curzon. The Marquess of Zetland's life of that eminent statesman had been warmly received by those whose appreciation was most valued, and would be indispensable to all future historians of the eventful years with which it dealt.

It was the custom on these occasions for the chairman to say a little about the members whom the Society had lost by death during the year. Among them he would name, first, the Maharaja of Jhalawar, a good friend of the Empire and of the Society, a man of wide literary instincts, who composed books in Urdu, Hindi, and English, and corresponded in Sanskrit: an ardent traveller, who wrote books of travel which indicated keen observation and were fascinating in style: and a personal friend of many members. When, not many weeks ago, he (the Chairman) received in Calcutta an invitation to deliver the Wilson Lectures in Bombay, he was agreeably surprised by a visit in that city from the Maharaja's secretary, who, however, gave him the less agreeable intelligence that His Highness had gone to Bombay to obtain medical aid, and was lying ill at the Taj Mahal Hotel, but would be glad to see him. The Maharaja's intellect was so clear and his conversation so bright that he had no idea that the end could be so speedily approaching.

At the degree-giving Convocation of Calcutta University,
which he attended a few days earlier, the Vice-Chancellor called attention to the loss which that University had sustained by the death of Syed Ameer Ali. The Syed was for many years a counsellor of their Society, and when on his appointment to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council a dinner was arranged by the Eastern Question Association in his honour, the President of the Society, Lord Reay, was in the chair. Mr. Ameer Ali was personally known to and highly esteemed by many present. He won fame as a historian and as a lawyer. Though he belonged to a sect which had rarely been numerous, the Mu'tazilite Shias, his interest extended to all the Islamic peoples. The All-India Moslem League was to a great extent his creation. The great charm of his English style gave his writings wide circulation. As an interpreter of Moslem India to Europe he would not easily be replaced.

Canon Gairdner worked for many years as a missionary in Cairo, and made a profound study of the vernacular Arabic and of the phonetics of the language. He also devoted much attention to Islamic theology, and like another great missionary, Dr. Zwemer, adopted a sympathetic attitude. A gifted lady who co-operated with him in Cairo for some years, Miss Padwick, had composed a biography of Canon Gairdner, which would shortly be issued.

By the death of Professor Weir, of Glasgow, a scholar of great industry and ability, the circle of British Arabists and Hebraists had been seriously reduced. His work on the Sheiks of Morocco was familiar to those whose studies extended to French Islam. He also wrote on Biblical criticism. A fund was being raised in Glasgow to perpetuate his memory at the University. He also desired to refer to the loss the Society had sustained by the death of Mrs. Beveridge, who had co-operated for so many years with her husband in the study of Mogul literature, and of Mr. W. Coldstream, a member of the Society since 1908. He was a member of the I.C.S. for thirty-four years, and he contributed to the Journal a paper on the popular songs of some parts of India.
Owing to the enterprise and initiative of their ex-President, Sir Edward Maclagan, the library was entering upon a new epoch of its existence, becoming more expansive and more easy of access than before, though that spectre which loomed before all librarians, want of space, was already assuming threatening proportions. However, methods not of exorcising, but of tackling it were being devised. The developments had entailed more work on their honorary librarian, Mr. Ellis, but they knew how gladly he sacrificed his time and gave his knowledge for the benefit of the Society. The Journal, which like many others had become emaciated in consequence of the War, had now nearly recovered its former dimensions. Some members had complained and even left the Society because the articles which filled it were too technical in character. The Journal ought, they thought, to be more popular. This view was not shared by the Council, who meant to be stubbornly scientific. Another matter which might require handling was the scope of the Journal. As would be seen, they did their best to provide that no part of the vast region with which their title associated them should be neglected. There were now so many Oriental journals specialized and general that if the Locarno spirit developed some mode of dealing with this difficulty might be devised; the difficulty arose from the fact that each member of the Society was likely to be interested only in a small part of each Journal.

Mention of the Locarno spirit led him to say a little about the Congress of Orientalists, which took place in Oxford last August. It had something to do with the Society. In pre-Locarno days the R.A.S. and the similar societies of France, Italy, and the United States of America kept up the principle of co-operation by annual meetings, but when it was found possible to resume the old series of International Congresses, the R.A.S. was one of the first to give its adhesion. And when similar societies in Germany, America, as well as in France, Italy, Holland, etc., had signified their intention of sending delegates, the organizing committee, remembering the
skill and tact, the energy and the influence which Lord Chalmers had displayed when president of the R.A.S. in organizing its centenary festival, appealed to him to preside over the Oxford Congress of Orientalists. As an Oxford man who was Principal of a Cambridge College, as a former Governor of Ceylon and high official in the Government here, and as an Orientalist of fame, he appeared to them to be marked out as the ideal person to preside. The wisdom of the choice was in every way confirmed by the result.

The Report was adopted, and the recommendations of the Council for the re-election of officers, the filling of vacancies on the Council, and the appointment of auditors were accepted.

11th June

The Marquess of Zetland, President, in the chair.

The following were elected Members of the Society:—

Syed Mohiuddin Ahmad.
Mr. S. Masum Ali.
Dvijnath Pandit Sri Vishavambhar Nath Bajpai, B.A.
Mr. Nand Lal Singh Bhalla, B.A., B.T.
Baboo Sitaram Kanoujia, B.A.
Miss Florence Lederer
(Students).
Syed Abdul Majid.

Mr. Rashid A. Munshi, B.Ag.
Dr. A. Sitarama Nayudu, L.C.P., etc.
Major G. H. Rooke.
Mr. Kunwar Chandkaran Sarda, B.A., LL.B.
Mrs. Walter Sedgwick.
Pandit Suryadeo Sharma, M.A.
Pandit Hariram Solanki.
Dr. M. Zainulabidin.

Six nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Mr. Elden Rutter read a paper on "The Arabians", illustrated by lantern slides.

An abstract of the paper will appear in the October Journal.

Will any member give or sell to the Society Bengal Past and Present, vol. 2, pts. 1 and 2, 1908, complete with the coloured plate to pt. 1, also title pages to vols. 1 and 2 and the index which were issued in a supplement.
The Librarian would be grateful for the presentation of any of the following works of which the Library is in need. Information as to the existence of copies for sale would also be welcomed:—

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OBITUARY

Mrs. Beveridge

By the death of Mrs. Annette Susannah Beveridge at the age of 87, on Friday, 27th March, the Society lost one of its most widely known and scholarly members.

Mrs. Beveridge was born in 1842, her father, William Akroyd, being a member of a well-known Yorkshire stock. She was educated at Bedford College, London, where she entered in 1862, completing her studies in 1867. In 1872 she went to India, where she carried out a project of establishing an undenominational school for girls, which she successfully opened in the latter part of 1873. In 1875 she married Mr. Henry Beveridge, of the Bengal Civil Service, under whose guidance she entered upon the study of Oriental languages, especially Persian. Later on, she took up the study of Eastern Turkish.

Mrs. Beveridge is the author of several works of considerable importance for the history of the early Moghul Emperors of India. The chief of these are:

A translation from the German of Noer's History of Akbar (1890);

The Humāyūn-nāmah, or Memoirs of Gulbadan Begim, one of the Emperor Bābur's daughters, edited in Persian, with a translation, and published in the Oriental Translation Fund Series (1902);

A facsimile of the Turki text of the Memoirs of Bābur from the Hyderabad MS., with an analytical index, published by the Trustees of the Gibb Memorial (1905);

A translation of the preceding from the original Turki text, with copious notes, issued in four parts at intervals, during the years from 1912 to 1921.

Beside the above, Mrs. Beveridge is the author of a large number of articles on Oriental subjects, published in the Journal of this Society, and elsewhere. At the time of her death she was still engaged upon a revision of her edition and translation of the Humāyūn-nāmah.

A. G. E.
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CONTENTS FOR 1929.
The Genius: A Study in Indo-European Psychology

By L. D. Barnett

I.

HORACE well describes the Genius as conceived in Roman thought:

Scit genius, natale comes qui temperat astrum,
naturae deus humanae, mortalis in unum
quodque caput, voltu mutabilis, albus et ater.

(Ep. II. ii. 187 f.)

"The Genius knows, that companion who controls our natal star, the god of man's nature attached to each human being's head, changeful in aspect, white and black." With every person, family, and social group and place was connected a tutelary deity who from birth onwards controlled the destinies of the person or thing that lay under his sway, dispensing either happiness or trouble. The word genius probably means "natal, connected by birth", γένεθλιος, and to the Italian mind signified "the personality, the character, abstracted from the man and made into a god" (Roscher, Ausf. Lex. d. gr. u. röm. Myth., col. 1615, s.v.).

These Genii were regarded as forming the proletariat or commons of the Italian gods (Seneca, Ep. 110), and the month of December was sacred to them (Ovid, Fasti III. 58). There are some traces in Italy of evil genii corresponding to these good spirits; the idea of this dualism is at bottom IE.,
though the rigid schematic application of it is perhaps due to later developments. In art the Genius was represented as a young man with a snake, or a snake alone. The former combination is really a kind of compound hieroglyph, in which the man’s figure signifies youth or vitality and the snake stands for eternity, so that the combination means an eternal divine person, who was the guardian spirit or divine counterpart of a human being or place, quite distinct from the Manes or soul, which never could attain to divinity, and was liable to suffering after death. A very similar state of affairs ruled in Greece, where every human being had his γενέθλιος δαιμόνιον and every place its tutelary deity; and the corresponding κακοδαιμόνιον or evil genius was not wanting. Worship was offered to the ἄγαθος δαίμων of the household and the family, as well as of the individual, and he was represented as a snake, as in Italy (Rohde, *Psyche*, Eng. tr., pp. 173, 207). We may conclude that in these beliefs there lingered a remnant of the old IE. doctrine of a dualism which opposed to an Order of Light an Order of Darkness engaged in a constant struggle against it, and divided each Order into series of beings of successive grades of power for good or evil respectively. This belief had become attenuated in Greece and Italy, where in classical times the idea of evil Genii, as opposed to good spirits, played a very inconspicuous part. But it is very vigorously alive in the Ṛgveda, where the gods are often represented as warring against spirits of darkness and death, vṛtrāṇi and rākṣāṁsi, etc., and it is the leading feature in the religion of the Avesta, an uncompromising dualism falsely ascribed to Zarāvšāstra and really of IE. origin.

II. The Avesta conceives all life as divided into the Order of Light created by Ahura Mazda by means of his Holy Spirit (*Spontō Mainyuš*) and the Order of Darkness created by the Evil Spirit (*Anrō Mainyuš*). Between these two classes of beings a constant struggle is and must be waged, from the highest to the lowest. All the beings of Ahura’s creation,
not only gods and righteous men and women, but likewise the sun, moon, stars, earth, waters, plants, clean animals, and many other things, belong to the Order of Light, and have to carry on the conflict against the powers of Darkness. To each of these good beings, past, present, and future, is attached a Fravaši, a guardian genius or divine counterpart, existing from the beginning, who protects him, her, or it against the demons, and fights on the side of Ahura and good against the spirits of evil (Dīnā-i M.Kh. XLIX. 23, Šīkand-gūmānīk Vijār VIII. 59 f.). Probably in the earliest times Fravašis were assigned only to beings below the highest order of divinity, for these, being more or less inferior in holiness, needed the support of perfectly holy creatures; but in course of time priestly imagination and love of schematic completeness led the pious in Iran, as in Italy, to assign Fravašis to superior gods such as Ātar, Miθra, Sraoṣa, Nairyoṣanha, Raṣnu, the Holy Word (māθra spānta), the Saoṣyants or future saviours (Yt. XIII. 17, 85 f.), and the Amaša Spantas (Yt. XIII. 82 ff.), even to Ahura (Yt. XIII. 80, Y. XXIII. 2, XXVI. 2), and finally by a crowning absurdity of logic to the Fravašis themselves. They are attached to all good beings, whether past, present, or future (Yt. XIII. 20 ff., etc.). It is through their help that Ahura by his Holy Spirit established the heavens and the earth with its mountains, waters, and plants, and nurtures unborn children (Yt. XIII. 11, 20 ff., 28 f.; cf. Y. XXIII. 1). But for their aid the Evil Spirit would reign supreme in the material world created by Ahura, and there would be no men or animals in the Order of Light (Yt. XIII. 12 f.). Through their power and glory the paralysing grip of Anrō Mainyuš is removed, and the waters flow, winds blow, plants grow, women conceive and bear easily, the sun, moon, and stars travel in their courses, and eloquent men are born who successfully preach the true faith (Yt. XIII. 14 ff., 53 ff.).

The Fravašis are a vast host or hosts, whose home is in the summit of heaven, whence they descend when summoned
to aid their worshippers (Yt. XIII. 42), and to save them from perils of the way and of battle, for they are givers of victory over human and demonic foes (Yt. XIII. 17 ff., 31 f., 37 f., 63, 69 ff.). Together with Miθra, Rašnu, and the Wind-god Vāta they war in mighty troops, armed with helmets, swords, shields, and other weapons against the demons, and win for their worshippers victory over the malignant powers of nature (Yt. XIII. 37, 45 ff.), bringing forth the star Satavaēsa that it may give rain on Aryan lands (Yt. XIII. 43 f.; cf. Bundahišn VII. 1 f.), and streams of water pour forth from the lake Vourukaša (Yt. XIII. 65 ff.). It is they who, with Apam Napāt, the Wind-god Vāta, and the spirit of Glory (Xvaranah) distribute waters over the countries of the world (Yt. VIII. 34). Their troops, mounted on war-horses and armed with spears, guard heaven against the assaults of the Evil Spirit (Bund. VI, etc.). Myriads of them watch over the sleeping hero Sāma Karasāspa (Yt. XIII. 61, Bund. XXIX. 7); they guard the seed of Zarathustra, from which is destined to arise the future Saviour (Yt. XIII. 62, Bund. XXXII. 9), the lake Vourukaša, where stands the sacred Haoma-tree (Yt. XIII. 59) and the Haptōiringa stars which stand over the doors of hell (Yt. XIII. 60, Dinā-ī M.Kh. XLIX. 15 f.).

They are likewise the spirits of generation and guardians of the home. They bestow offspring on the faithful (Yt. X. 3, 73). They determine the sex of the unborn babe (Dinkarād VIII. xxxv, 8). At the time of the Hamaspaθmaēdaya—the 365th day of the year, corresponding to the special Italian worship of the Genii in December—the Fravāšis of the dead come back to their old homes on earth and stay there for ten nights in order to find out who will worship them, promising

1 In this aspect they bear a distant resemblance to the guardian spirits mentioned by Hesiod, Op. & Dies, 250 f.: "for there be on the much-nurturing earth three myriads of deathless beings belonging to Zeus, watchers over mortal men, who watch over plaints and evil works, clad in gloom, wandering everywhere over the earth." These Phūkares are probably the same as the Fravāšis in origin, but they have become more moralised in their function and limited to the guardianship of justice.
in return increase of men and cattle (Yt. XIII. 49 ff.). These days are the so-called Fravardikān, consisting of the five last days of the last month in the year with five additional days, and in them offerings of cakes are set for the Fravaṣīs.¹ The Sad Dar expands the thought by saying that when the souls of the dead return to earth on the days sacred to them they bring with them as guests 9,999 Fravaṣīs (XIII. 3). They likewise are healers: they restore the sick to health (Yt. XIII. 40), for they have the medicines of Aši (Yt. XIII. 32).

There is a curious story that the Amaša Spentas by order of Ahura framed the elemental body of Zarathuštra, placed his Fravašī inside (i.e. inside the elemental body, according to the wording of Dēnk. VII. 1. 14 ff. of the Bombay edition, and VII. ii. 14 of SBE.), and put them into a stalk of the Haoma plant, which was then kept for many years on a tree, whence it was taken by the father of Zarathuštra, who handed it over to his wife, through whom the Prophet was born in the flesh. The interesting point here is that the Fravašī is said to descend from Heaven inside the Prophet’s body, a connection which to the best of my knowledge is not mentioned elsewhere in Zoroastrian books. The Fravašīs are often described as protecting spirits in the mass, coming freely in troops to the help of any one who worships them; and on the other hand many of them are described as being individually attached to particular persons as their guardian spirits. We may therefore conclude that the ancient Iranians imagined them to be collectively a vast host of spirits residing, for the most part at least, in heaven, but individually dwelling in or beside the persons or things to whom they were attached as tutelary spirits: in other words, the Fravašīs, or a very large number of them, were thought to be at the same time in two places, in heaven and earth. Though this seems to us a reductio ad absurdum, it is quite in harmony with the general

¹ On their funeral cakes and meat offerings see Šāyast lā-Š. II. xi. 4; XVII. ii; Sad Dar, LXXXVII. 2; on their visits on their sacred days cf. Sad Dar, XXXVIII; Dēnk. VII. 10 ff.
principles of early Aryan religious psychology. It is the same as the idea of avatāra, according to which the person of a deity is present at the same time in his heavenly home and in the body of a being on earth. Instances of this primitive idea that the person of a deity may exist in his proper spiritual form and in many other shapes at the same time will be found in Hertel’s Die Sonne und Mithra, p. 69.

The Fravāšis are not mentioned in Zaraθuštra’s Gāthās, which are the oldest portion of the Avesta in its present form. But this is rather an evidence for their greater antiquity than the reverse, for Zaraθuštra rejected a large amount of primitive Aryan myth and ritual and doctrine, which nevertheless after his death was brought back into currency and falsely stamped with the authority of his name.

III. In India there exists, and for thousands of years has existed, a vast plebs of humble guardian deities, commonly known in the North as dēvātās. They inhabit particular spots, trees, and the like; indeed almost everything may possess, or be possessed by, one of them. As a rule they bear no name, and have only a vaguely defined character. Vedic examples are Vāstōṣ-pāti, the Lord of the Dwelling, and Kṣētrasya Pāti, the Lord of the Field. In ancient art and legend they often figure: the Yakṣas and Yakṣinīs of early Indian sculpture and story probably belong in the main to this class. In this innumerable multitude of nameless and colourless gods we may recognise the descendants of the ancient IE. Genii—not indeed descendants of pure blood, for many of them are of aboriginal stock, and others, such as the Yakṣas and Yakṣinīs, may well be of mixed strain, but still in the main descendants. Nevertheless the old Genii in India have not always been submerged in this commonplace crowd: a study of early myth will reveal to us some aspects in which they appear with the same vigorous qualities as are displayed by Genii in other regions of IE. Kultur. These characters are two: the Marūts and the Pūruṣas.
Precisely like the Fravašis, the Marúts in the RV. are a host dwelling in heaven and constantly waging battles in the sky against the powers of darkness and evil, especially revealing themselves in the lightning and thunders of the storms that bring rain to the parched plains of Northern India and revive the forces of nature. The Vedic poets exhaust their vocabulary in describing the awful battle-array of the Marúts, the splendour of their gleaming spears, their cars and horses, the terrors of their valour, and the like, in the same strain as the Avestic pictures of the Fravašis, but with vastly more literary elaboration. Owing to the peculiar climatic conditions of India, this function of ruling the storm and thereby giving rain has overshadowed the other aspects of the Marúts in Vedic India, and misled modern scholars into regarding them as primarily and originally storm-gods. They have other and equally important aspects.

Their parentage is rather uncertain. Commonly they are regarded as sons of Rudrá, or at least as Rudrá’s companions, and their mother is Pṛśní. Once (RV. I. cxxxiv. 4) they are said to have been begotten by the Wind-god Vāyu. They are, however, most often mentioned in connexion with Índra as aiding him in his heroic exploits against the demon Vṛtrá, although there is also an obscure legend of a quarrel between them and Índra (I. clxx. 2, clxxi. 6, Tāitt. Br. II. vii. 11. 1). Their rain-giving function is especially marked by their occasional association with Váruṇa, the god of the heavenly waters. They are described as “stimulated by Índra, guided by Váruṇa”, indra-prasūtā vāruṇa-praśiṣṭāh (RV. X. lxvi. 2); and in the Váruṇa-praghāsa rites they were worshipped after Váruṇa (Hillebrandt, Ritualitt, p. 116). For the same reason they are styled “children of the mother Ocean”, sindhu-mātaraḥ (RV. X. lxxviii. 6), and are said to dwell in the waters (Kāuṣ. Br. V. 4, Gūp. Br. I. 22). They are lords of the rain (Sat. Br. IX. i. 2. 5); they are even said to be the waters themselves, āpō vāi marutaḥ (Āit. Br. VI. 30, Kāuṣ. Br. XII. 8). Here, as often elsewhere, the Indian
mind seizes upon a particular feature and exaggerates it to monstrous proportions. Further we may notice the remarkable verse in a funeral hymn (AV. XVIII. ii. 22) in which the Marúts are invoked as "water-bearing, water-streaming", to carry the dead man's soul up to paradise, cooling it with "the goat" and sprinkling it with rain.

If, as is often maintained, Ahura Mazdāh is a successor and to some extent a modified reflection of the Vedic Várūṇa in Iran, then the connection of the Fravašis with Ahura and the Wind-god corresponds to that of the Marúts with Várūṇa and Vāyu, and in this point again the parallelism is close.

To the Marúts are given the epithets áhi-bhānu, "radiant as serpents" (RV. I. clxxii. 1), áhi-manyu "having the fury of serpents" (I. lxiv. 8, 9), áhi-suṣma "having the violence of serpents" (V. xxxiii. 5). Even if we substitute in translation the word "dragons" for "serpents", still these compounds are striking and unusual. It is noteworthy that such descriptive compounds of the word áhi are only applied in RV. to the Marúts, with the exception of the rare and obscure word áhi-māya.¹ The phrase "radiant as serpents" is peculiarly striking, for serpents are not particularly brilliant. It seems therefore that in religious tradition there was some old connexion between the Marúts and serpents; and this reminds us that the Italian Genius was regularly figured in art as a young man with a snake, and that the snake also typifies the áγαθος δαύτων of the Greeks. When we remember that the Marúts are termed in RV. márya, "young men," the parallel becomes still more striking. One is tempted to pursue this train of ideas further, noting that in Indian thought snakes are always imagined to feed on wind, and wind in post-Vedic India was identified with the Marúts, the word Marut being used to denote both indifferently.

¹ Explained in Ved. Stud. III. p. 138, as "listig wie die Schlangen"; but this meaning will not always fit the context. I omit from consideration the obscure ahū-āru (II. xxxviii. 3 only), which from its accent as a tatpuruṣa seems to belong to another class of compounds.
Storms are accompanied not only by lightning and rain, but also by wind; and this feature made a strong impression on the minds of the Vedic poets, who dwell upon it with much luxuriance of metaphor. The connexion between the Marúts and the winds grew stronger and stronger in the Indo-Aryan mind until in classical Sanskrit the words marut (in the singular) and the derivative adjective māruta came to designate simply wind, without any mythological association. But in early psychology wind is the same thing as the vital breaths of living beings, the prānas, and hence already in the Brāhmaṇas the Marúts are declared to be not only the powers controlling the breaths but the breaths themselves (prānā vāi mārutāḥ, Śat. Br. IX. iii. 1. 7; prānā vāi marutō svāpayāḥ, Āit. Br. III. 16). This idea probably underlies the Upaniṣadic parable (Br. Up. I. iii. 1 f., Ch. Up. I. ii. 1 f.; cf. Tālav. Up. Br. I. 60, etc.) according to which the breaths alone of the organs of the body were able to rout the demons—a function of the Marúts in the RV.—and it comes out clearly in the statement of Gātama (XXV. 1 f.) that the vital breaths of a student who breaks his vow of chastity depart to the Marúts, his strength to Índra, the god of strength, and so forth. The same thought is repeated in a somewhat garbled form by Manu XI. 122.

Not only do the Marúts fertilise nature by rain and thereby dispense wealth, but they likewise watch over generation and bestow offspring. Repeatedly they are prayed to grant not only riches but also progeny (RV. I. lxiv. 14 f., lxxxv. 12, clxv. 15, clxvi. 14 f., clxvii. 11, clxviii. 10, V. liii. 13, VI. lxvi. 8, VII. lvi. 15, 20, lvi. 6, X. lxiii. 15, lxxvii. 7, AV. VII. xxxiv. 1, XIV. i. 33, 54, etc.). To them is offered the embryo (Śat. Br. IV. v. 2, 16). They are likewise healers (RV. II. xxxiii. 13, VIII. xx. 23 ff., etc.; with Bhágá, Sóma, Índra, and Agní they are invoked to restore a dying man to life, AV. VIII. i. 2). In all these respects they are exactly like the Fravāšis.

As possessing these attributes, the Marúts already in Vedic times enjoyed a special domestic cult very like that of the
Fravāšis. They were worshipped as "house-keeping gods" (ṛṛha-mēdha, RV. VII. lix. 10, whence grhamēdhīya bhāgā, VII. lvi. 14, or grhamēdhīn in the Brāhmaṇas; cf. Hillebrandt, Rituellitt., p. 117). At the beginning of the Śāka-
mēdhas they were worshipped with Agnī as grhamēdhīn and sāntapanas and later on as krādin (Śat. Br. II. v. 3. 3 f., XI. v. 2. 4, etc.). They were invoked to anoint the furrows of the field with ghi and honey (AV. III. xvii. 9); in the rites for building a house they were entreated to sprinkle it with water and ghi (ib. III. xii. 4); when the plough was harnessed prayers were addressed to them with other gods, such as Īndra, Parjānya, the Aśvins, etc. (Pāraskara-grhya-sūtra II. xiii. 2). Their offerings, like those of the Fravāšis, were usually cakes: they were not "eaters of oblations" (Śat. Br. IV. v. 2. 16). Some of the qualities ascribed to them in these rites might be explained as developed from their character as rain-givers. But their functions as ṛṛha-mēdhas and bearers of the soul to paradise (AV. XVIII. ii. 22: supra, p. 738) cannot easily be derived from that source. It is much simpler to deduce their activities in rain-giving, fertilisation of nature, healing, and guardianship of the home from one comprehensive original function, that of the Guardian Genius.

In some parts of Greece worship was paid on the occasion of marriages to deities called τριτοπάτορες, who were believed to bestow fertility, and were also spirits of the winds. This suggests a comparison with the Marúts; and the suspicion of their kinship is confirmed by a study of their name. Τριτοπάτορες means either "they who have a third father, or third fathers", ¹ or "they who have Tritos as father", "sons of Tritos". Now Tritos is exactly the same as Tritā, who is a well-known minor deity of Vedic myth. Tritā is primarily a god of the waters, who in the RV. is often

¹ Rohde's explanation (Psyche, Eng. trans., p. 171, 203 f.) is grammatically unsatisfactory, for the word is a possessive adjectival compound, like φιλοπάτωρ, etc.
associated with Índra and several times with the Marúts in their legendary exploits against the powers of darkness. Notably he is said in II. xxxiv. 14 to bring the Marúts in his car for aid; and in X. cvx. 4 the winds (vāta) are said to approach Tritá (here perhaps equated with Agni) in order to comfort or strengthen him. If we may then assume that in one form of the myth, which is now lost, Tritá as saviour-god and water-genius was represented as the father of the Marúts, this will form a pendant to the existing legend which makes them out to be sindhu-mātarah, sons of the Mother Sindhu, who is the goddess of the sea or river.

The Marúts of the RV. are thus in origin a host of genii, of uncertain number and equally uncertain parentage, whose primary duty is the guardianship of the Aryan and his family. They are not so much spirits of storm and rain as spirits working in storm and rain for the welfare of men and other beings of the Order of Light. Their number is unlimited: the sporadic attempts to fix the figures that we find in the RV. and Bráhmanas are merely priestly figments. The truth lies in the statement that they are "the most numerous of the gods", marutō vāi dévānām bhūyiṣṭhāh, which is repeated in Tāïtt. Br. II. vii. 10. 1, Tāṇḍ. Br. XIV. xii. 9, XXI. xiv. 3. The RV. terms them mārya, "young men" (cf. the Biblical use of this epithet); the Bráhmanas more explicitly style them the yeomanry of the gods, viś or vāiśya, the commons of the celestials (viś, Tāïtt. Br. I. viii. 3. 3, II. vii. 2. 2, Šat. Br. II. v. 2. 6 and 27, III. ix. 1. 17, IV. iii. 3. 6, Mahābhār. XII. ccviii. 7588; dēva-viśah, Āit. Br. I. 9, Kāuṣ. Br. VII. 8, Tāṇḍ. Br. VI. x. 10, XVIII. i. 14; Šat. Br. II. v. 1. 12; cf. mārutō hi vāiśyah, Tāïtt. Br. II. vii. 2. 2, and ib. II. iv. 8. 7).¹ The ordinary man, the ranker in the Aryan armies, saw in the Marúts the celestial counterpart of himself, as distinct from the Great Gods, who were represented on earth by his generals and kings. The Marúts

¹ This is the reason alleged for giving to the Marúts cakes, not oblations: cakes are the food for plebeians (Šat. Br. IV. v. 2. 16, Āit. Br. VII. 19).
were the big brothers of the common man-at-arms. The Marúts also are said to be the intermediaries through whom the worshipper approaches the great celestials (Āit. Br. I. 10). Thus they are not far from the Iranian Fravašis, conceived as divine counterparts of all living good beings, who link the latter to the greater Yazatas. The Marúts in the mass correspond to the Fravašis in the mass.

IV. But we have yet to find in Vedic and Upaniṣadic India a deity corresponding to the individual Fravaši, a tutelary spirit attached to every person and thing. Here the Marúts seem to fail us: in the RV. and Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads they appear only in troops, never singly. We may then conclude that among the early Aryans of India the tutelary genii were bisected: in their collective aspect, as powers battling against the Order of Darkness and bestowing wealth, offspring, and healing ab extra, they became the Marúts, while their character of individual dēvatās dwelling within particular persons and things survived in the Púruṣas.

According to the Upaniṣads, there dwells in the heart of every human being a Púruṣa, literally a "man" (or, as we may say, a mannikin or homunculus), who, though said to be no bigger than a thumb, or even smaller than a rice-corn or barley-corn or mustard-seed or canary-seed (Ch. U.p. III. xiv.), is nevertheless a god to whom worship is due. The RV. makes no mention of such beings: apparently the priestly poets had no use for them in their theology, and left them to the popular faith, whence they passed into the Upaniṣads. To these Púruṣas of the microcosm corresponds a Great Púruṣa of the macrocosm, the deity dwelling in the universe as a whole, who is celebrated in the Puruṣa-sūkta of the RV. (X. xc.), and ultimately identified with Bráhma. Further the Upaniṣads speak of a third class of Púruṣas, those who reside in general departments of nature such as water, fire, etc. These have exact parallels among the Fravašis; and they are given in the Upaniṣads the vague general title of dēvatās, deities. In course of time the Upaniṣads, eager
to identify the ātmān or individual soul with the Cosmic Force or Brāhma, extended this equation to embrace also the Pūruṣa in man and the Pūruṣa of the universe, while they occasionally contrast these with the Pūruṣas of the divers departments of nature as the whole with its parts. Thus in Br. Up. II. i. 1 f. (cf. Kāuṣ. Up. iv.) the Pūruṣas in the sun, moon, lightning, ether, wind, fire, water, mirrors, and space, the Pūruṣa of the shadow, and the Pūruṣa in the ātmān (in the sense of body) are all shown to be subordinate to the ātmān or soul, which is the synthesis of macrocosm and microcosm; and similarly in Br. Up. II. ix. 10–26 the Pūruṣas residing in earth, desire, form, ether, darkness, water, seed, etc., are contrasted as parts with the all-embracing āupaniṣada puruṣa, the Pūruṣa which according to the Upaniṣads is the synthesis of the microcosmic and macrocosmic soul. These and other passages show that the term pūruṣa was used to mean something very like a fravaši, dwelling in man and in all classes of beings. Here our chief concern is with the use of the word as meaning the spirit dwelling in man. As such, the Pūruṣa was at an early time confused with the ātmān or individual soul, just as in the Avesta the urvan or soul was sometimes confused with the Fravaši. Another point of resemblance between Pūruṣa and Fravaši is that the Fravaši is declared to be never infected by the sins of the soul and body to which it is attached (Dādīstān-i Dinik XXXVII. 80), and the same is always claimed of the Pūruṣa. As we have seen, there is some evidence that the Fravaši was believed to dwell in the body, at least under certain circumstances; the Pūruṣa is usually represented as residing inside the body during the waking state, and issuing from it during sleep

1 Some traces survive of an early distinction between Brāhma and Pūruṣa, as is shown by Hertel in his edition of the Mundaka.

2 For other examples of the antithesis which the Upaniṣads set up between these nature-deities (dēvatās = puruṣas) and the Ātmān-Brāhma cf. Br. Up. I. v. 22, II. iii. 3, III. vii. 14, Ch. Up. I. v. 2, vi. 8, III. xviii. 1–2, IV. iii. 2, etc. In Bhag.-gitā, VIII. 4, the macrocosmic Pūruṣa is styled adhidāśvata, "the one who is over deities," i.e. the divine sum of them.
and swoons and after death. The belief that the Puruṣa left the body in sleep and swooning was, however, probably borrowed from the old IE. theory of the soul’s activities, after ātmān was identified with Puruṣa.

It is unfortunate for us that the Upaniṣads, in their passion for identifying the Ātmān with both the Puruṣa and Brāhma, as well as everything else, have obscured the distinction between Ātmān and Puruṣa, and thus broken away from the old Aryan psychology. In the Avesta, which remains at the early Aryan standpoint, there is no such thing as a soul in our sense of the word, i.e. a psychic unity or monad: it knows only a complex of psychic forces, namely the urvan or soul proper, which is the main subject of psychic experience and travels after death to heaven or hell, the manah, the baodah, the cisti, the daēnā, and at the back of all these the divine Fravaşi. In India the Ātmān (in the Upaniṣadic sense of the word) corresponded to the Avestic urvan: it was the subject of finite consciousness, conceived as a positive entity composed of vital breath, yet superior to breath, like the Arabic nafs and the Hebrew nepheš, and like them came also to be used as a reflexive pronoun.1 The Ātmān goes

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1 The word ātmān occurs 22 times in RV. In 11 cases it signifies”breath”, prāṇā, in general, and twice (I. cixii. 20, cixiii. 6) it means the physical consciousness, θεοκόσ. It is further used of the vital power in 5 cases (IX. cixiii. 1, Īndra is bidden to put strength into his ātmān by drinking Sōma; IX. ii. 10, vi. 8, Sōma is ātmān of Sacrifice; IX. lxxxv. 3, Sōma is ātmān of Īndra; X. xvii. 11, the ātmān of phthisis perishes under the exorciser’s spell). In X. cixii. 5-6, where phthisis is conjured out sārvasmād ātmānāh, it denotes the person as an aggregate of organs, a meaning familiar in the earlier Upaniṣads; and probably the sense is the same in X. xvii. 4 and 8, where an exorciser boasts to his sick patient that he will win the latter’s ātmān, i.e. he will preserve him with all his vital powers from destruction. In short, the word in RV. denotes (1) breath, (2) vital breath, (3) functional soul, and (4) the person as an aggregate of vital organs. The functional soul in primitive psychology is quite different from the alter ego or spirit-form, φύτικός, which is a shadowy double of the live man and goes out of the body in sleep or on death, and for which the RV. has no proper term (cf. E. Arbman, Tod u. Unsterblichkeit im vedischen Glauben, in Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft, xxv, p. 354). In the Upaniṣads both these "souls" are occasionally denoted by the
to heaven or hell, or, according to later doctrine, is reborn in other bodies; but the Pūruṣa, corresponding to the Fravaṣi, seems to have been originally thought to pass at once after death to the Great Pūruṣa in the sun (Ch. Up. IV. xv. 5, Br. Up. II. iii. 3, VI. ii. 15), and possibly in some cases into the moon. After Pūruṣa and Ātmān had become confused and the doctrine of transmigration of souls was generally accepted, the old belief was fitted into the new frame by the revised theory of déva-yāna and pîtr-yāna given in Ch. Up. V. x., Br. Up. VI. ii. 15 f., which added that they travelled back from the moon into earthly rebirth.

V. There are in the RV., Brāhmaṇas, and Upaniṣads some traces of connection between Marūts and Pūruṣas which deserve notice.

The word pūruṣa or pūruṣa in RV. is used (including compounds) sixteen times in the common classical sense of a male of the human species; six times it has the meaning of the macrocosmic World-spirit; and once it bears a peculiar sense, scil. in X. li. 8, where the gods are prayed to bestow "fatness (literally ghi) of waters, pūruṣa of plants, and long life of Agní", ghytām cāpām pūruṣam cāusadhīnām, etc. "Fatness" of waters means their vivifying, fertilising power; but that power is conceived not as an abstraction but as the manifestation of a real divine person or persons, the dévatā, or what the older Upaniṣads would call the pūruṣa, of waters, as is shown by the parallel phrase pūruṣam ēṣadhīnām, which must mean a native spirit of fertility dwelling in plants. When we remember that in the Avesta waters and plants have Fravaṣiš attached to them, these word ātmān. Neither of them, however, can be easily linked up with the macrocosmic Pūruṣa of RV. X. x., an indwelling spirit conceived anthropomorphically as a divine person, or with the thumbling microcosmic Pūruṣa of the Upaniṣads; only the Āupaniṣads’ mania for monism could lead to the belief that they were all the same.


2 The Marūts are prayed to give ghi: see above, p. 740.
words become more intelligible. A like phrase is gārbham ḍasadhinām, used of Agnī, VII. ci. 1. g. virūdhām, also of Agnī, II. i. 14. We may fairly conclude that gārbha and pūruṣa are both used in the same meaning of an indwelling spirit. The word gārbha denotes (1) womb, (2) a babe in the womb, (3) a babe generally, (4) offspring, and it is several times applied to gods conceived as residing in some class of natural objects (scil. Agnī as dwelling in water and plants and trees, Sōma in water), or in the rtā or divine law (scil. Sōma and Viṣṇu), or in the sacrifice (scil. Sōma). Sometimes the word is used by itself without a determining genitive: thus Sōma is simply called gārbha in IX. cii. 6, and so with Agnī in VI. xv. 1, X. viii. 2. Thus the word in RV. may denote any indwelling spirit; according to circumstances this spirit may be one of the great gods—Agnī, Viṣṇu, or Sōma—or a subordinate genius or Fravaši, and when he is thought of as residing in a limited material home, such as a tree, a faggot, or a pail of water, the word implies also smallness of body, so that it is in a way parallel to the Pūruṣa, the trembling spirit in the heart.

These facts help us to explain two obscure passages of RV. They are:

I. vi. 4. āha svadhāṁ ānu pūnar garbhātvām ērīre ḍadhānā nāma yajñīyam. "Then indeed according to their natural power they again established themselves in the form of gārbhas, taking to themselves a worshipful name."

I. lxxxvii. 5. yād īm indraṁ śāmy īkvāna āsātād in nāmāni yajñīyāni dadhirē. "When singing they joined Índra in the fray, they took to themselves worshipful names."

These passages refer to the mythical exploits of Índra against the powers of darkness, by which he freed the waters and nature generally from the paralysing grip of the demons, and in which he was aided by the Marúts. We get a better view of the scene if we compare the parallel myth in the Avesta, according to which the material world after it had been created by Ahura was assailed by Anrō Mainyuš and
his legions of darkness, who laid their numbing grasp upon it and prevented waters from flowing, plants from growing, winds from blowing, and stars from moving in their courses, and so forth, until Ahura with the help of the Fravāšis overcame the evil spirits and released nature from their spell. The phrase garbhatvām ērirē means with the context: "they again became gārbhas, vindicating for themselves the character of deities worthy of worship by the faithful." As gārbha denotes an indwelling spirit, whether it be a great god or a minor godling, we may conclude that in saying that the Marúts again became gārbhas the poet meant simply that they, after having fought as an armed host on the side of the Order of Light against the demons of darkness, descended from heaven and again became spirits dwelling within the beings of the good order as their tutelary genii, as they had been before they were summoned to battle as a host on the side of the Great God. This, of course, is not to say that henceforth they were to be always confined to material bodies: according to Aryan ideas, they would continue to lead a double life, as a host in heaven and at the same time as genii attached to finite beings on earth. But the great conflict was now over: henceforth only minor struggles remained to be waged.

If this explanation of the word gārbha is right, it will throw some further light on the ritual of Šat. Br. IV. v. 2. 16, in which the embryo, gārbha, is offered to the Marúts. Not only were they inter alia spirits of generation, but they were also called gārbhas, in the sense of "The Little Folk Within", and so had a double claim to have the gārbha of the victim as their share of the offering. Other gods—Agni, Viṣṇu, and Sōma—were also styled gārbhas, but they were not deities of generation, and so there was no question of offering the embryo to them.

We may further observe that one passage at any rate represents the Marúts as Púruṣas. This is Br. Up. II. i. 6, where the Púruṣa of Wind is identified with Indra Vaikuṇṭha.
and the "unconquered army", obviously the Marúts. This indicates that in Upaniṣadic times the Marúts, in company with their leader Índra, were regarded, at least by many people, as constituting collectively the tutelary spirit, the Púruṣa or Fravaši, of wind. As the wind was the department of nature in which their activity had most strongly impressed popular imagination, their other aspects were ad hoc ignored.¹

The ancient tutelary genii of nature and man in general, it would thus seem, were denoted by the word Púruṣa, and in certain aspects were styled Marúts. In ordinary men's thought Púruṣas and Marúts came to be regarded as more or less distinct. Finally, popular religion ceased to concern itself with Marúts and Púruṣas of the definitely characterised types which we have noticed, and ultimately reduced all the highly coloured divisions of Genii to the rather drab uniformity of the modern dēvatās.

¹ We may further connect the Púruṣas with the Vālakhilyas, who according to legend were a troop of pious sages no bigger than a thumb, sons of Brahma's mind-born son Kratu, who quarrelled with Índra, and are associated with the Sun. Charpentier (Suparṣasage, pp. 177 ff. and 332 ff.) suggests that they were originally "Seelelnwesen" dwelling in the sun. I would go further. These Tom-Thumb saints, I believe, have grown in popular fancy out of the old Púruṣas or tutelary gods who reside in the hearts of men and on death pass into the sun, where there is a Great Púruṣa (cf. above, p. 745). It is perhaps noteworthy that in the Mātrī Uṣ, II. 3 ff., the Vālakhilyas are introduced as asking Kratu to teach them the nature of the soul, the Púruṣa-Ātmān, especially as manifested in the vital breaths, prāṇās, which we saw were often identified with the Marúts, and their conversation is reported by another sage to King Bhadratha, who is entitled Marut. Even the quarrel between them and Índra may be an echo of the Vedic legend mentioned above (p. 737). In a much-distorted form this story seems to have preserved some of the features of an ancient itihāsa of thumbling genii with power to bless and scathe, and with some of the traits of the Vedic Marúts and the Upaniṣadic Púruṣas.
The Decorative Art of the Aborigines of the Malay Peninsula

By P. Paul Schebesta, S.V.D.

(Translated by C. O. Blagden)

(Plates X-XIII)

The decorative art of the aborigines of the Malay Peninsula has already been described in some detail by various writers. The best known and most important of these contributions to our knowledge of the subject are those of A. Grünwedel in the Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Bd. xxvi, p. 141 (under the title "Die Zaubermuster der Orang-Utan") and Bd. xxv, p. 71. In Bd. xxxi, p. 137, of the same periodical Th. Preuss enlarged on the same theme. W. W. Skeat also devoted many pages in vol. i of his Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula to this subject, and J. H. N. Evans has recently expressed his views on it in the Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums, vol. xii, part i.

The matter had been invested with so much importance because Vaughan Stevens, a pioneer fieldworker among the aborigines, had evolved a "flower theory", which attributed a deep significance to their decorative patterns. According to that theory, the decorations on bamboo combs, blowpipes, and quivers are all divisible into individual designs and patterns, each of which has its special meaning and magic potency. But although Vaughan Stevens' writings on this subject, containing as they do a large number of the Sêmang names of these patterns, confirm the fact that he carried out his research in close contact with these tribes, his "flower theory" is entirely baseless. Of that there can now be no doubt whatever. As frequent references will have to be made to Vaughan Stevens in this article, it will be convenient to begin with a few remarks about the tribes among whom he carried out his investigations.

Even after a superficial examination of his notes, which
are preserved in the Berlin Museum, I was able to determine certain points.

In the first place, he invariably distinguishes sharply between the Pangan (or, as he calls them, Pangghan) and the Sēmang. It has always been supposed that by the name Pangan he meant the Sēmang tribes of the states of Kēlantan and Pahang. That, however, is not the case. Writing on the 20th September, 1893, Stevens gives a list of wild tribes including inter alia "(3) the wild Pangghan, i.e. the Sēmang of Ulu Sēlama mentioned in the J.R.A.S." (Straits Branch, No. 5). "(4) the Pangghan of the West or Sēmang together with western Blandass, and (5) the Tummeor."

The wild Pangan, of whom Stevens constantly speaks as being the genuine Sēmang, are therefore the Negritos of Ulu Sēlama, whom I got to know by their tribal names, Kenta Bogn and Kensiu. The fact is of importance, because the objects which Stevens collected and whose decorative system he described, actually belong to these tribes, as a comparison of his collection with mine, and also the names of the individual decorative patterns, conclusively prove. Evans, after only seeing illustrations of the objects collected by Stevens, and comparing them with his own collection, arrived at the same conclusion.

In another place Stevens also calls these "wild Sēmang" or "Pangghan" by the name of "meneek" (i.e. meni', "man"), which word is in fact used only by the Kenta-Kensiu group.

What then does he mean by the western or tame Sēmang, whom he associates with the "western Blandass"? In my opinion this refers to the Sabub'n Sēmang tribes living near Batu Gajah and perhaps also near Kuala Kangsar, which have now been absorbed by the Sakai and speak a Sakai language. Stevens still found Sēmang at Sapali, "sixteen miles above Tēlok Anson"!

Occasionally he speaks of the Tummeor, whom it would now be better to call Tēmer or Tēmiar. Tumeor is a name
used by the Chinese to denote the Sakai. While the real Tēmer or Tēmiar live in Kēlantan territory on the Prias and Beteh rivers, which are feeders of the headwaters of the Nēnggiri, Vaughan Stevens’ Tummeer dwell on the border between Perak and Pahang. They are the Semai of Ulu Pahang, along the mountains from Batang Padang towards Slim. He also styles them the “wild Sakais”; “these are the very Tummeer I am now among,” he writes, after narrating an attack made by them on some Chinese who were on the way from Tapah to Silensing (portfolio 13).

He also indicates the geographical position of the Tēmebe’ fairly correctly, though it appears that he did not visit them. “As to Clifford’s Tembe, they are a settlement of Blandass of the Sinnoi settled on the river of that name (Blandass river) one of the small feeders going north-east into the Pahang river from the most northern edge of the old Sinnoi territory” (letter of 3rd September, 1894).

I found the Tēmebe’ on the Tanum river; they are Semai, and also call themselves Tēmebe’. The name Sinnoi is to be interpreted as meaning Sakai; the word sen’oi in the Sakai language means “man”.

Having premised thus much, we can approach the real problem. According to my experience, the decoration on objects of general utility is by no means uniform in extent among all the aboriginal tribes, but occurs in some stage of development among all of them, though most feebly among the Jakudn. These latter are entirely unacquainted with bamboo combs; while bamboo blowpipes, so far as they occur among them at all, and quivers are only slightly and feebly decorated, the most ornate being those of the western Jakudn, the Mantra.

Among the Sakai, the Semai use bamboo combs of a type peculiar to themselves. I found these in great numbers in the eastern region of Pahang territory, but did not see any in the Batang Padang region, though they have been recorded there by earlier investigators. The Ple-Temiar, with the
exception of the group in the neighbourhood of Ipoh (Kinta),
are entirely unacquainted with combs, but their blowpipes
and quivers are decorated.

The Sēmang, however, much surpass the above-mentioned
Sakai and Jakudn in the decoration of the things they use.
There are only certain groups of them that are unacquainted
with decoration, namely the Mos in Siamese territory, and
the Batek, who only know the rudiments of the art. The
Menri to the eastward have also not developed it to anything
like the same extent as the Jahai, Kenta-Kensiu, and Sabub'n,
among whom it would be difficult to decide which tribe held
pride of place. Without a doubt we must maintain that
the Sēmang at the present time possess the most developed
decorative art of all the aborigines of the Malay Peninsula;
and yet it is very probable that they borrowed the art from
their neighbours the Sakai.

It seems to be impossible to assert anything certain about the
origin and development of this decorative art; it was probably
brought into the Peninsula by some one race, and that might
well be the Sakai, who really brought with them the blowpipe
and quiver, which were subsequently adopted by the Sēmang.

This cannot be asserted a priori of the comb, though there
is one circumstance suggesting the inference that it too was
derived from the Sakai. The following considerations point
to that conclusion.

In the first place, there are in the Peninsula hairpins made
of bamboo (Fig. 1a). I found them only among the Sakai.
The Sakai likewise have combs that are made by lashing
thin rods or pins together with black fibre, so that their
bottom ends diverge while the top is so arranged that only
two horn-like ends project (Fig. 1b).

This type of comb can therefore be regarded as a mere
combination of a number of thin hairpins made into a comb.
Later on these hairpin combs were replaced by bamboo combs
made of a halved or quartered bamboo with the teeth cut
out of it. Now it is a striking fact that in this type of bamboo
comb, which is most closely related to the hairpin comb, horn-like projections are carved at the top and a decorative pattern is engraved on the face of the comb (Fig. 2). The carved projections are nothing but a survival of the horn-like ends of the hairpin comb, and the line ornamentation is an imitation of the fibres which held the hairpin comb together. This becomes quite evident when one examines, for instance, the decorative designs of the Sakai of Serau.

A further step in development was to turn this linear ornamentation more and more into conventionalized geometrical patterns to which meanings were then attributed. The projections at the top often disappear, and then we have the usual Sēmang comb, consisting only of teeth and face, the latter being plentifully and often quite tastefully ornamented. These considerations tend to show that the Sēmang comb is the final stage of a process of development which began with the hairpin, or hairpin comb, of the Sakai; and accordingly the Sēmang comb would also be of Sakai origin. If, however, the blowpipe, quiver, and comb are of foreign extraction, the decoration with which they are covered must certainly be so too.

On this occasion I will confine myself to a more detailed consideration of the Sēmang combs. As already mentioned, the bamboo comb is not known everywhere, the Mos in the region between Patalung and Trang are certainly not acquainted with it, and did not know what to do with it when I showed them one. The comb is called ken'ai, a name that may have been derived by means of the infix in from the word kai. The expression kai bunga' means to engrave decorations (literally "flowers"), to decorate, so that kai must signify something like to make, to engrave, to draw, or perhaps also to shape. Accordingly ken'ai would mean that which is prepared or engraved. Vaughan Stevens was acquainted with the word (he writes kenje = drawing, representation), and he calls the comb simply tin-leig, a word I never heard.
The comb consists of two parts, the teeth called med or mad (literally, eyes) and the was, which means forehead and denotes the solid surface of the comb above the teeth, where the decorations are engraved.

I never came across the word pawër, of which Stevens makes so much. But the Jahai call the lines enclosing the patterns by the name uer, which may well be connected with pawër. Têpi, on the other hand, is a Malay word meaning edge or rim, and mos is a Kenta word meaning end, tip (Malay hujong). The determination of the meaning of these words seems necessary because Stevens makes so much use of them in the discussion of his flower theory. It may be, as W. W. Skeat says, that Stevens was misled by the expression kai bunga, to engrave flowers, which he took in its literal sense, whereas in this case bunga in fact means patterns. The Sêmang call everything that is decorated or ornamented "adorned with bunga". If we suppose that Stevens in fact thought the decorative designs were intended to represent a flower or flowers, it is comprehensible that he regarded the three terms têpi, pawër (?) and mos as being three parts of a flower, e.g. mos as the calyx, pawër (?) as the petals, and têpi as the stamen and pistils. This is only a surmise; but there is no doubt whatever that Stevens grossly deceived himself in thinking that the decorative ornament represented the parts of a flower. It is true that flowers do occasionally occur as decorative designs on combs, but that is not always the case.

The other names of individual decorative designs, as given by Stevens, must also be accepted with much caution. It may safely be said that in most cases his interpretation of them is wrong. Thus he is obsessed by the idea that the middle panel on a comb is a disease ornament, that is to say a prophylactic against some specific illness. That is certainly not the case, as the very meaning of the names goes to show. Evans has already rectified the interpretation of some of these names in the above cited journal.
Many of the names of the decorative patterns, whether on combs, blowpipes, or quivers, are derived from the Cenoi language, the sacred language of the Séfang, and are therefore all the harder to explain as this differs from the common colloquial. With the help of the Kenta I have been able to elucidate the meaning of some of these words, as rendered by Stevens in his complicated transcription, but the greater part remains unexplained.

What then can be definitely asserted at present about Vaughan Stevens' deductions, his flower theory, and the Séfang decorative patterns?

(1) The theory was invented by him, probably in consequence of his being misled by the term *bunga*, which means "flower" and also "decorative design".

(2) His collection of combs is altogether of inferior quality, if not indeed actually misleading. Even a casual glance reveals to the expert that the combs were made to order, and are not combs that had been used by the Séfang. If that is so, and after seeing the Berlin collection I have no doubt about it, it may well account for Stevens having obtained to his order combs of so many different patterns. It looks as if the makers had endeavoured to meet his wishes in the matter. I bought up all the available combs in pretty well all the settlements I visited, and am therefore in a position to assert that the patterns do not vary as much as Stevens would have us believe. His statement that the Séfang women often wear eight, and at times even sixteen combs, together in their hair, is also certainly a mistake, and it seems as if he had been intentionally misled on that point by the Séfang makers of his combs, perhaps with the object of inducing him to buy more of them. In actual fact a woman seldom has more than one comb, and I often met women who had none at all.

(3) His assertion that the combs are worn as prophylactics against various diseases is only true in part. On that matter, I was able to ascertain the following facts:—
(a) The combs are in the first place ornaments and are worn only by women. They are fond of fixing fragrant herbs and flowers between the teeth of the combs and sticking them into their hair. According to the Jahai, the combs serve merely as ornaments; that is also their chief purpose among the Kenta-Kensui, and for that reason they are worn when there is singing or dancing.

(b) Further, the Kenta-Kensui women wear them at the time of childbirth, and the comb has to remain in their hair for seven days after the birth. There is no doubt that in this case it is meant to serve a magical purpose. The comb is a protection against epilepsy in children, and against all sorts of evil spirits (hantu). (It may be noted that the Sêmang who have not been under foreign influence have no natural fear of evil spirits.) Combs are also put on when there is a great storm.

On the other hand, combs must not be worn
(a) during a thunderstorm, when no sort of ornament may be worn for fear of the wrath of the god Karei, and
(b) for seven days after the death of a member of the camp or settlement.

The decoration of the comb seems to be left entirely to the taste and fancy of the person who makes it; at least that is the conclusion one is forced to arrive at after comparing them with one another. It is true that one of my Kenta authorities assured me that it was not so, but that while in the large middle panel of the comb any decorative design could be introduced, or it might even be left blank, yet above and below there were always three similar patterns, viz:—

1. boh padei (rice grain).
2. ūus ai (monkeys' teeth).
3. bêlo patig'n.

This last is said to be a prophylactic against the prevailing wind. It must be mentioned that Stevens always insisted that the germs of disease were deemed to be carried by the winds, against which germs certain special comb patterns
were prophylactic. This seems to be in harmony with the fact that the bêlo patig’n looks like a sort of fence or stockade, such as I have seen among the Sakai, who thus barricade paths in order to block the way of the spirits of disease coming from one settlement to another.

But an examination of the Kenta combs shows that these three patterns are by no means always present, so that practice and theory do not seem to agree.

A few of these comb patterns must now be presented in detail:

Fig. 3 is a Kenta-Bogn comb from the Kupang River; between its teeth was stuck a bundle of fragrant herbs, called lebèg.

The first pattern is called sudah manau, the second boh (or kelpō) manòg’n, the third is ŋus ai (monkeys’ teeth), and then comes boh manòg’n again. In the middle panel is the design called hêli yawil (yawil leaves), and underneath this are three patterns which are not quite similar to the ones above, and rather lead to the presumption that want of space caused the one next to the yawil to be on a much reduced scale.

Fig. 4. The uppermost pattern is again sudah manau (Malay pêlêpah buku hitam), but attention must be drawn to the fact that it differs completely from the sudah manau of Fig. 3, although the two combs came from the same settlement and the pattern was in both cases called sudah manau by the same informant. The second pattern is boh padei, rice grain, then again comes ŋus ai. In the middle is hêli yawil, and under it come ŋus ai and boh padei. The long lines are called enâm.

Fig. 5 is similar, but with a difference. The first pattern is pêsuaah cenbeg (Malay humoh bërtam), elsewhere always styled sudah manau. Beneath it are boh padei and ŋus ai. In the middle is bunga timun, cucumber flower, and under this again come ŋus ai and boh padei.

Fig. 6 is a Kensiu comb, differing in shape from the foregoing
inasmuch as it has horn-like projections on the top engraved with the *bunga timun* pattern. It is to be noted that in this and similar combs the *was* (i.e. the surface above the teeth) is decidedly narrower. The uppermost pattern is *sudah manau*, underneath it is *ketô menlag’n* (Malay *kulit buah chêmpédak*, skin of the Artocarpus Maingayi fruit), then follows *niąs ai*, and finally *sudah manau* again.

Another Kensiu comb, not figured here, has the following patterns: (1) *sudah manau*; (2) *boh padei*; (3) *ceg’n manog’n*; (4) *tenueag*, scarf; (5) *bunga timun*; (6) lines and intermediate strokes, known as *kiögn tagan*, or *ihu tagan*.

Another Kenta comb has only the patterns called *bunga tadug* (Malay *bayas*, Oncosperma horrida) and *avei ked’ô* (Malay *rotan dahanan*). A Jahai comb from the settlement at Tadoh has the following patterns: (1) *jeëg’n ikan*, fish bones; (2) *hali enreg’n*, leaf of the *enreg’n*-tree; (3) *sinsig’n rampau*, teeth of the *rampau* monkey; (4) (in the middle) *bunga raya*, which resembles *bunga timun*; (5) *sinsig’n tabog’n*, teeth of the *lotong* monkey and (6) *hali enreg’n*.

Fig. 7 represents a Jahai comb from Bërsiak. The pattern in the middle, representing some sort of leaves, is a new one, but those above and below it are the already mentioned *boh padei* and *ńüs ai*.

Fig. 8 resembles the preceding so closely that one is inclined to suppose that it was carved by the same hand. It came from the same settlement. In the middle it has the *bunga timun* pattern.

Figs. 9 and 10, on the other hand, are of unusual types. Fig. 9 in particular has peculiar patterns, the names of which I unfortunately failed to record. It came from Ijok, and is therefore a Sabub’n comb.

The comb patterns which have been briefly described here show no trace of any complicated Sëmang system of magic picture-writing. The matter is really quite a simple one. It has already been said that the patterns sometimes have a magical character, and it must be admitted that identical or similar patterns usually have the same name. But they
do not constitute a system of picture-writing; they are merely pictures. That, however, is just the point where error has crept in. We may say that many patterns, which might be interpreted as ideograms, are lacking in the determinative element which would have rendered them unambiguous. Every Sémang knows that a particular design represents monkeys' teeth, but only the man who made the pattern could tell us what species of monkey was meant. It is the same thing with other patterns, and in actual fact I found that similar patterns were called by various names by various persons. There can, therefore, be no question of any system of picture-writing, nor is any such thing intended.

According to Vaughan Stevens the patterns are meant to represent diseases or remedies for specific diseases. That statement is inaccurate. The explanation is probably as follows:—The Sémang are acquainted with all sorts of remedies for many diseases, such remedies being derived from herbs, trees, and flowers. What could be more natural than that the artist in the jungle should represent these same kinds of healing herbs, flowers, and bark in his patterns, especially on combs, which are worn by women, who are also the principal collectors of these herbs and flowers? As already observed, the purpose of the patterns being primarily decorative, it was natural to select for that purpose the most highly prized plants. Vaughan Stevens' mistake was also a natural one, for if he inquired what this bunga cenburg, for example, was for, the Sémang of course replied, for such and such a disease, not meaning thereby that the pattern (bunga) engraved on the comb, but the real cenburg flower, was the remedy. It may, however, be admitted as a possibility that among certain individuals, perhaps even among certain communities, the idea may have grown up that the mere pattern of a plant might serve as a prophylactic or remedy against disease. But I found no evidence of such a belief, though the possibility of such an association of ideas is obvious. Moreover, one cannot quite see why the Sémang should protect themselves
by means of prophylactic patterns of plants when the plants themselves were available, as was in fact the case.

The Kenta have the following legend about the origin of the decorative patterns. They say that their ancestor Ta Piago taught the men how to make patterns on blowpipes and quivers, while his wife instructed the women how the combs should be decorated. But, in my view, this legend tells us nothing about the real origin of the decorations.

In this connection it may be of interest to note that the Negritos of the Philippines also use combs. William Alland Read ("Negritos of Zambales", *Ethnological Survey Publications*, vol. ii, part 1, Manila, 1904) figures several such combs on his plate xxxvi and writes about them as follows:

"Hair ornaments are not generally worn, but nearly every Negrito, male and female, especially in Southern Zambales and Bataan, possesses one or more of the so-called combs of bamboo. A single style prevails over the entire Negrito territory, differing only in minor details. A section of bamboo or mountain cane, varying in length from 5 to 10 inches, is split in thirds or quarters and one of these pieces forms the body of the comb. Teeth are cut at one end and the back is ornamented according to the taste of the maker by a rude carving. This carving consists simply of a series of lines or cuts, following some regular design into which dirt is rubbed to make it black. The combs may be further decorated with bright-colored bird feathers fastened with beeswax or gum to the concave side of the end which has no teeth. The feathers may be notched saw-tooth fashion, and have string tassels fastened to the ends. In lieu of feathers, horsehair and a kind of moss or other plant fibre are often used. The most elaborate decorations were noticed only in the North, while the combs of the South have either no ornamentation or have simply the hair or moss. These combs, which the Negritos call 'hook-lay', are made and worn by both men and women, either with the tasseled and feathered ends directly in front or directly behind" (p. 38).
Fragments of Two Assyrian Prayers

By Cecil J. Mullo-Weir

I

Professor Langdon informs me that the prayer (K. 2407) which he edited in Z.A. 36, 209 ff., is continued and completed by IV R. 21* c, col. ii, of which the first twelve lines are a duplicate of K. 2407, rev. 2–13. The context of the prayer is, accordingly, a long ritual used in connection with the building of a house. For a full discussion of the magic images mentioned in this ritual see Woolley, “Babylonian Prophylactic Figures,” in JRAS. 1926, 689 ff., where a translation of several similar ritual fragments is given by Sidney Smith.

In the edition of the Rawlinson text which follows, the restorations in italics are from K. 2407; those in roman type are conjectural; Sumerian words also are rendered in roman letters. For many of the interpretations, restorations, and notes I am indebted to Professor Langdon, and Mr. C. J. Gadd has very kindly collated for me a few of the signs, confirming in every case the excellency of the copy.

IV R. 21* c, col. ii


10.1 [i-te]-mir-ru-ba bitāti uradu nig-kalag-ga šá rīgim-šu gal-tū] 3

Into the houses shall enter the copper bell (?), whose sound is awesome;

11. [na-š]i ū Rammanū bēl bir (?) ĕ-ki ú-sá-aš-ga-ma elī-[š[u]

Rammanu, lord of lightning, who removes (it), shall roar over it;

12. [mimm]a lim-nu šá elī 5 biti an-ni-ī ibaššu-ū 6

All evil whatsoever that is upon this house—
13. [ina ki-b]it u9 Nin-giš-zi-da sa-ši-ip-šu7 lišta[lik]8
   At the command of Ningishzida, who overthrows it,
   may it perish;
14. . -ha9-šu ina eli5 biti kisi u tarbaši an-ni-i pi-ik-da-[š]u
   . . upon this house, supporting-wall and yard,
   commit it
15. ana u9 Nin-giš-zi-da guzali irši-tim rapaš-tim
   unto Ningishzida, throne-bearer of the wide earth10;
16. il[ān]i11 ka-mu-tu lil-k[u]-šu
   May the bound gods take it;
17. Ṣu Ne-dû ni-dû-gal12 pa-nu-uš-[šu bāba (?) li-t]e(?)-dil
   May Nedu the great watchman, bolt the door before it;
18. hûl-[i]-ik har-gul-li [ina pi-šu li]-iz-ziz13
   Destroy (it); may a gag stay in its mouth;
19. la i-t[a-r]a la i-sa-[ni-ka ana biti] u nîšè-šu
   May it not return, not encroach upon the house and
   its people;
20. šedu lamassu [ana el]i biti lu ka-iš-an
   May the protecting genius and the guardian spirit be
   continually on the house,
21. ina ki-b[i-ti-ka šir-ti šá la uttakka]-ru an-ni-ka ki-nim
   sá la enû-u
   By thine14 august command that alters not, thy
   steadfast favour that does not change.

22. kiśa an-nam ana pan [šalam úu Lugal-gir-ra šá ina
   rēš i]gari iš-ru iman-nu15
   Thus shall he recite before the image of Lugalgirra
   which is fashioned upon the top of the wall;
23. ana pan šalam (?)16 [iš Enkum17] ki-a-am iman-nu
   before the image (?) of Enkum he shall recite as follows:

24. én dînîr Enkum18 [maĝ du-kug]-ga ub-ba al-gub-ba19

---

1 This line = K.2407, rev. 11.  
2 Semitic apparently nikkalaggû; cf. CT. 16, 24, 25-7; or it may be read erad dannu. It is a copper
   instrument used in rituals; probably a bell, or perhaps a drum. Cf. Langdon,
25. û Enkum [ṣ]i-ru šub-tum [el-li-tu šá ina tu]-ub-ki iz-za-az-zu
O Enkum, far-famed one of the holy chamber, who stands without.

II

K. 8601 (= Craig, Religious Texts, i, 21) is a variant of Ebeling, KAR. 39, lines 1–17 of the reverse. By the courtesy of the British Museum authorities, I am able to give a fresh copy, which differs in some respects from that of Craig. In the edition which follows, the Ashur text, being the more complete, has been taken as the ground-text, but the prayers which precede and come after it are in their present condition too fragmentary to be worth editing here. The restorations in roman type are purely conjectural; all the others are from K. 8601.

PBS. x, 332 and 339, 14: also nig-balag-ga urudu, Thureau-Dangin, Rit. acc., 140, 342. 2 Cf. CT. 16, 24, 27. 4 So we must surely read. The scribe has written RUŠ. 6 The ideogram is SU. 8 Here ends K. 2407. 7 For saḫipīš ; cf. Ebeling, Quellen, i, 28, 22, ina ki-bit-ka-ma. 8 Restore ṣu-ja-[lam], rather than the adverb ṣu-ja-[riš]. * ṣa is the end of some noun, or of a verb in the Imperative. 10 I.e. of the underworld. 11 Restore dingir-[dingir]. For the "bound gods" Professor Langdon compares Ebeling, KAR. 38, 35, li-qa-ku-nu (said of ilâni kamâti) ik-bu-nim-ma "(god and goddess) ordered your capture". Cf. Langdon, Epic of Creation, 145, n. 12; CT. 17, 37, 1, where they rise from hell (here = the dead !); CT. 15, 44, 14, the bound gods in the pantomime of the Epic of Creation are Zu and Assakku, see Langdon, ibid., 30, n. 2. See also Langdon, OECT. vi, 74, n. 2, below. 12 ni-du = atû, and gal = rabû, but we should probably read nidugallû, since gal = rabû has usually a phonetic complement. There was evidently a loan-word nidugallû, cf. CT. 16, 13, 49–50, and Ebeling, KAR. 227, iii, 19 (a close parallel to our line), where the construct state occurs, nidugalli irsi-tim. 13 Uncertain. Cf. Mašû, i, 54; KAR. 71, 6, nadda ina pi harûlû, to place a bit in the mouth. 14 I.e. Lugalgirra's. That the appeal for purification of the house is to Lugalgirra is proved by ZA. 36, 210, 14. 15 Restored from iv. R. 21a, 29 and 30; cf. also Zimmern, Ritualtaf., No. 53, lines 10 and 14. 16 Doubtful. The ideogram SAB appears here to stand for salmu, cf. iv. R. 21a, 30, where the usual NU occurs. 17 Restored from line 24. 18 On Enkum or Isimu, see AJSL. 39, 164, n. 11; Langdon, Paradis, 224, 29. 19 Restored from Zimmern, Ritualtaf., No. 53, 15.

JRAS. OCTOBER 1929.
KAR. 39. Reverse.

[*1. . . . . . . . ra (?) . . ]
[*2. . . . . . . . a (?)-ta-ka[l (?)] ¹
[*3. . . . . . . . ši-ta-ti] ¹
1. . . . aš . ina ru-šu-m-ti (?) ² na-[da-ku]
     . . . . . . . in the slime I am cast;
2. ³ . . . di-im ⁴-tu ⁵-tūm ⁶-tal-la-an-ni reše-[[a šu-uk-ki] ⁷
     . . . . . . . with tears thou hast filled me; exalt thou my
head! ⁸

3.⁹ [ašar ta-pa][l (?)]-su ¹⁰ amēlu šū ¹¹ i-bal-luṭ ina ni-š
   éné-k[a]
   Where thou regardest, the man recovereth,¹² by the
lifting up of thine eyes.
4. [mu-up-pa][l (?)]-sa-a-ta ¹³ ki-niš nap-li-sa-ni ¹⁴ ḫa-a-[ši] ¹⁵
   Thou art one who regardeth; faithfully regard me,
even me! ¹⁶
5. [lib-bi ȗ]-iū ana ¹⁷ ašri-šū ¹⁸ li-tu-[a (?)]
   May the heart of my god return to its place!

K. 6601. Obverse.

Revers.

Incantation: O my god, holy, magnified one, bestower of life, I lift up the torch;

7. [as-ḥur]-ka ʾil-ī maḥar-ka az-ziz eš-e-ka ʾil-ī šá-pal-[ka ak-
mis] ʾI

I have turned unto thee, O my god; before thee I have taken my stand; I have sought thee, O my god; in front of thee I have bowed down.

8. [li-ši]i un-ni-ni-ṣa pu-ṭur ʾil-t[i-ja]

Accept my supplication; undo my ban;

9. [kil]-a-ti-ja pu-ṣur šir-ti lum-ni-ṣa ʿu-[suḥ] (= K. 8601, Rev. 2).

Loosen my disgrace, the guilt of my wickedness; remove

10. [ma-ru]-uš-ti dup-pir murs-ī ʾI an-ni idā-ū Ṽa idā-[ū ūk (?)-tal-līl (?)] ʾI

My disease; drive away my sickness; a sin I know (or) know not I have committed;

11. [ana ar]-ni abi-ṣa abi abi-ṣa ar-ni ummi-ṣa um[mi ummi-ṣa]

On account of a sin of my father (or) my grandfather, a sin of my mother (or) my grandmother,

12. [ana ar]-ni aḥi rabē-e ʾI aḥati rabē-tu ana ar-ni kīmt[i-ṣa]

On account of a sin of an elder brother (or) an elder sister, on account of a sin of my family,

13. [nišṭi-ṣa ʾI šalāṭi-ṣa ʿa (?)] ʾI KI i-sab-ba-s[i]

Of my kinsfolk (or) of my clan . . . . . .

14. [ki-mi]-ti ili u iṣṭarī ʾI is-ni-ku-ni ḫa-[a-ši]

The wrath of god and goddess have pressed upon me.

15. [e-n]in-na a-ḳal-ṭu šalmāni-ṣu-nu ina ma-ḥar ilu-ti-ku-nu

rabī-[ṭi]

Now, I burn their images in front of your great divinity.

16. ʾI [ma-mi (?)-t]-ūm pu-ṭu-ra-a-ma ḥa-li-li-ku-nu lud-lul

Dissolve ye the curse, and I will verily sing your praises.
Dissolve my ban; provide for me peace.

1 Restored from the variant. 2 Var. has probably $[IM\cdot RI]\cdot A = [ru\cdot sum]ti$, or possibly $[ru\cdot sum\cdot ti\cdot i]a$. 3 Var. inserts a line: ... $[k\cdot ni\cdot st]\$ nap-li-sa-an-ni. 4 So the var. reads. 5 Var. -ti. 6 Var. tu-um. 7 Cf. Ebeling, Quellen, i, 9, rev. 6, ul-li ri-ši-ja; ibid., 4, 31, mu-la-at (Predicative ?) rēšē-ka; King, Magic, 2, 16, ša-kā-a (var. šaḫā-a) ri-ša-a-ka. Professor Langdon calls my attention to the fact that in this last passage LAL = šaḫū "high"; cf. also King, Magic, 4, 9, LAL-tū, with its duplicate, Zimmern, Rit. 26, iii, 47, šā-ku-tū; the ideogram occurs also in King, Magic, 4, l. 11, šaḫū-tū, and l. 12, šaḫū-ū par-šu-[ki]. 8 Lit. "heads". 9 Var. inserts a line: $[mu\cdot up\cdot pal\cdot sa\cdot a]ta kī-niš nap-li-sa\cdot an-ni, but omits the latter half of line 3. 10 Var. $[ta\cdot pal\cdot la]\cdot as\cdot ma$. 11 Var. šu-ū. 12 Lit. "liveth". 13 So read, rather than $[nap\cdot lu\cdot u]\cdot sa\cdot a\cdot ta$; cf. King, Magic, 2, 37, and 21, 17. The first sign in ll. 3 and 4 is surely BAL. 14 Var. $sa\cdot an\cdot ni$. 15 Var. omits ša-a-ši. 16 Var. repeats ll. 3 and 4. 17 Var. a-na. 18 Var. āš-ri-šu. 19 For restoration, cf. Craig, RT. i, 13, 12. 20 Var. inserts a line: ... $[šā l]a in\cdot nin\cdot nu\cdot u ki-[bi\cdot su]$. 21 Cf. this line and l. 15 below with Ebeling, Quellen, i, 30, ll. 17 and 20, and Maqlū, i, 100. 22 Cf. iv. R. 60, rev. 19. 23 Var. omits from usūh to murṣi and has instead a blank line. 24 Var. $[i\cdot d]u\cdot u lu i\cdot du\cdot u [k(?)\cdot la\cdot līl(?)]$. Cf. l. 19 of this text, ū-[kal]-līl. 25 Var. rabiš-ir. 26 Var. inserts u. 27 Or BAL(?), or IK(?). 28 Var. ili-ta ištari-ša. 29 Var. omits this line. 30 The variant follows this prayer with the well-known line of ritual; $[kīkīṭtā\cdot šu lu i\cdot na riše lu i\cdot na ni\kern-2pt knakki tepp-ūš, which was probably followed by a colophon.
Assyrian Prayers

BY MICHAEL SIDERSKY

THESE prayers, the text and translation of which are given below, are but a few of those I copied some time ago from tablets in the British Museum. Owing to various reasons I have been unable to publish them before.

I have revised the copies and have given full notes and mentioned all other sources dealing with the subject and I hope that my work may be of some use to those interested in that branch of study.

I beg to thank Dr. R. H. Hall, Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, for having given me, on behalf of the Trustees of the British Museum, permission to publish these tablets. My thanks are also due to his assistant, Mr. Gadd, my friend of old Oxford days.

DEDICATION OF A BED AND THRONE WITH A MINIATURE SHIP TO AŠŠUR. K. 8664

1. (a-na īu Ašur) šar ilāni ab ilāni ša-kū ba-nu-u īlu rabā

2. (a-ši-ru) īu Igiigi u īu A-nun-na-ki ta-me-ilī și-pi (?) šami-e

1 Unto Ašur king of the gods, father of the gods, the lofty, the creator, the great god.

2 The musterer of the Igiigi and the Anannaki, that holdeth the canopy of the heavens,

---

1 A large four-column tablet, K. 2411, published by Craig, RT. 76–8, of which the Obverse is destroyed, has in Col. 1 of the Reverse a copy of a dedication of the same objects to Aššur by Senecherib, who probably plundered it from the temple of Marduk in Babylon. K. 2411 contains the copy of Senecherib’s dedication by the scribe of Asurbanipal, who ordered it to be erased from the bed, after which a dedication by Asurbanipal was engraved. K. 8664 probably contained the original dedication of the plundered relics by Senecherib. For an edition of K. 2411, see Streck, Asurbanipal, ii, 292–303.

2 ŚI or ME. The root šapū “to cover, overlay” exists in Assyrian + șa-pu (var. zu-pu zumur-šu “his body is clothed”), Gilgamesh Epic, xi, 257; cf. șa-pi (?), Küchler, Med. 30, 42, dup = ši-pu, Syn. lamû, Syl. C. 40 șuppû, Syn. lubbû, VR. 30, 65; cf. Mašlu, vii, 65.
3. ( . . . ) libbu ru-šu ma-lik
ra-ma-ni-šu muš-te'-u

4. ( . . . ) -di 1-du mu-šim
šimāti šar-ḫu git-ma-lu

3. . . . . of the unsearchable heart, his own counsellor, the solicitous.

4. The . . . . , decreer of fates, the illustrious, the perfect.

K. 8664
Obverse

1 Uncertain. Also ṣag, ka or la pa possible. Read ṣarradu la pa-du.
5. (mu-ma-)’-ir kul-lat gim-ri
   sa-niš ilāni šu-ut šamē
   irššim
6. e-mu-ki širāti ¹ ša a-na mati
   a-šar e-ta-gu
7. ū nit-tu ² šak-na-tu šu-us-
   pu-nu a-bu-biš

Reverse

¹ For this title of Nergal, see CT. 25, 49, 8, of Marduk, Streck, Assurp. 276, 2.
² Probably from natū on the analogy of saltu, bartu. Cf. the same word employed in the sense of house breaker, RA. 11, 70.
8. ̄u kul-lat kib-rat irbit-tim
la ma-gir ŠAG-GAN 1 KI-
BAD 2
9. a-bu-bu na-aš-pan-ti eli-šu-
u nu u-ša-aš-ba-šu-ma 3
10. biltu u man-da-tu iḫ-me-du 4
ši-ru-uš-su-(un) 5
11. ̄u-mešam la na-pär-ka-a e-
zab-bi-lu dupšik-su
12. bēl gim-ri mu-kil šir-rit
šami-e irṣi-tim a-šib E-har-
sag-kur-kur-ra 6
13. ki-ṣ-su raš-šu at-ma-nu 7
ši-ru ru-ṣu-un-na
14. da-a-ip 8 ma-ta nam-ri-ir-ri
ša a-na šakkanakī-ṣu-nu
15. (ina . . . . )-ti-ṣū rabī-te ri-
e-mu i-raš-šu-u
16. (ša laban ap-)pi u te-me-ki
ur-ru-šis i-lak-ku-Šu un-ni-
uš

8. and who as to all the four
hostile regions the pestilence
of death,
9. and a cyclone of devasta-
tion causes to befall them.
10. As for them on whom he
has placed tribute and
presents
11. daily without ceasing they
bear his service.
12. Lord of all, that holdeth
the reins of heaven and
earth, dweller of Eharsag-
kurkurra,
13. The terrible abode, far-
famed building the adorned.
14. Him that repelleth the land
with brilliance, who upon
their governors
15. in his great . . . . . takest
mercy.
16. Who receiveth quickly the
prayer of him of humiliation
and entreaty.

1 A title of Nergal as god of flocks, but here a general title of the pest
god.
2 KI-BAD = ̄kabru " grave, hence death (?) ". Uncertain, cf. the
KI-BAD of Tammuz and Nergal, CT. 28, 44, R. 4 and 9.
3 šabû " to capture ", in Hebrew and Aramaic. In Arabic sab'a'a " to
purchase ". The original sense of this root is " to raise, bring in ".
4 emēšu, Arabic 'amada " to support ". ́ḥ for áṣín.
5 un is omitted on the tablet.
6 Cf. BA. v, 652, 8.
7 Arabic wa'tan " dwelling ". See Landsberger, ZA. 25, 384.
8 dēpu, Hebrew קֵרֵּן. Arabic ḏahaba " repel, thrust back ". For this
sense see Langdon, PBS. x, 195, 16, irti id-i-pu " my breast they have
repelled ".
17. Who against the hostile and troublesome causeth his angry weapons to be bitter.

18. a way of rejoicing.

Reverse

1. e ammat ...
2. (ina) išśiršu
3. (3 ammātī) višalsu (su)
   ammat ina išten ammat šarrī mūrab šā iškussī ¹
4. (1) ammat 2/3 ammat rupuš-šū
   šažlamassāti idāti ² i-lab-bu-
   ni
5. 4 šažlamassāti ina muḫḫi
   2 gi-si-e ša šid šal-ši. 2
ditto ina pu-u-te
6. ina ² iškussī
7. 1 ammat 2/3 ammat mūrab
   iššmā-tūr-ri 3/8 ammat mū-
   lu-ū ⁴
8. 3/8 ammat rupuš-šū ku-up ⁵-te
   a-di mušrušši

¹ This line = Craig, RT. 78, 29.
² A var. of ID(ā) = idu, pl. idāti.
³ So read ās not pap, Craig, RT. 78, 32.
⁴ mūla “height”. The Sumerian technical term for “height” is sukū, gūd, usually rendered by mēlā, see Sumerian Grammar, 218.
⁵ Or uḫ?
⁶ Prow? In any case mušruššu is here the name of a part of the ship
9. da-ba-bu šá ina eli širši  
šá ina eli kussi
10. ša še-pa-a-te ?  -ma šu-u
11. ša le'i  la ša-ṭir

11. Not was it written on a tablet.

K. 1290

HYMN OF ASURBANIPAL TO THE QUEEN OF NINEVEH AND ARBELA

1. šu-uš-ka-a šu-uš-ri-ša ilat be-lit šu Ni-(na-a)
2. šur-ba-a na-i-da ilat be-lit šu Arba'-ili
3. šá ina ilāni rabāti šā-ni-na la i-šā-a
4. šu-šu-šu ši-ši-na la i-sa-a a-na šat Ištarati
5. ma-ša-ša-ša la un-da-ašša-ša-ša kališu-nu parakkē
6. ši-ši šap-te-ši-na ilu gibil nap-šu
7. at-mu-ši-na kun-nu-u a-na da-riš
8. a-na-ku Ašur-bani-apli (na-) ram lib-bi-ši-in
9. zēr ilū-tū pár-ku bur-  (ki ilat be-e) l-ti šu Ni-na-a

1. They are exalted, they are made glorious the Queen of Nineveh,
2. They are magnified, they are revered, the Queen of Arabela.
3. Who among the great gods a rival have not.
4. Precious is their title unto goddesses.
5. The sanctuaries all of them equal not their cult centre.
6. The word of their lips is a blasting fire.
7. Their speech is made excellent for ever.
8. I am Ašurbanipal, beloved of their heart.
9. The offspring of divinity enclosed in the lap (of the divine) queen of Nineveh.

1 Bezold read DIS, Pinches, KA (?).
2 šuššA, probably an error for šušDA = lešu ?
3 A permansive on the analogy of a lamedh guttural root.
4 The text of this line is very uncertain.
10. bi-nu-ut bit ri-(du-ti . . . .
. . . . . . . . . . -)ú bélit kala-ma

10. The begotten of the house of rulership, the . . . .
of the queen of the universe.

11. ša ul-tu lībbī bit r(id-du-ti
a-di ? . . . )-ba mār šarru-
uti

11. Who from within the house
of rulership unto (?) . . . .
of crown prickedom.

12. ina pi-i-si-na el-li û la-bar
"kussi-ja

12. By their holy command and
(unto) old age of my throne,

13. ul i-di abu u um-me ina
dur (?)-ki a-na ḫumu-ja 1
ár-ba-a ana-ku

13. Although I knew not father
and mother, 2 in the
palace (?) unto my . . . .
I grew up—even I.

14. it-tar-ru-un-ni-i-ma ilāni ki-
ma la'-e 2

14. The gods have guided me
like a weakling.

15. im-ni u šu-me-li it-tal-la-ku
it-ti-ja

15. They have walked with me
at my right and left.

16. šēdu dum-ki lamassu dum-ki
u-kin-nu i-di-ja

16. The kind sedu, the kind
lamassu have upheld my
arm.

17. a-na nasi-rūti šul-me u balaṭi
u-pak-ki-du napis-tim

17. They have entrusted my
soul unto the guardians of
peace and life.

18. šap-(. . . .)-ak kat-ti ú-
dan-ni-nu a-mu-ki-ja

18. I became . . . . in form,
they fortified my strength.

19. ú-sab-bi-u zi-kir šu-(mi-ja)
eli ka-li-šù-nu ma-li-ki

19. They longed for the mention
of my name more than for
all rulers.

1 Cf. ḫammumu " rulership (?) " , Ebeling, RT. 122, 10 ; Streek, Asurb. ii,

2 The name of Asurbanipal's mother is not found in the inscriptions,
but he, of course, knew his father, Assurhaddon, who for some reason passed
over his elder brothers and appointed Asurbanipal crown prince at the
end of his reign. The above reference to his childhood is explained by
the fact that he was not at first educated and intended for the kingship.

2 Hebrew ע"ל.
20. *im-mu-ú-ma i- (. . . . ) i-ru-bu* ¹ bal-tum
21. (. . . . . . ) *šip-ša-a-ti ša la ik-nu-šu a-na šarrani abē-ja*

20. The augmented . . . . . , they increased vigour.
21. The powerful . . . . . which submitted not to the kings my fathers,

---

¹ The ordinary preterite of erēbu, "to increase," is erib, Streck, Babyloniaca ii, 231. erub is probably a case of analogy with erub, "he entered." immu is here taken conjecturally from namu, Arabic namai, "to grow, augment."
22. ....... aš kat-ra-a la e-me-
du-u-ni ma-ḫar-šu-un
23. (a-na-ku) Ašur-bani-apli bi-
nu-ut ḫaté iláni rabúti
24. ......... li'-tiš

22. and ...... ly gifts placed
not before them.
23. I Asurbanipal the creation
of the hands of the great
gods,
24. ......... with might.

Reverse

1. ............... ? ni
2. ........... -a ki-bit-su-un
3. ......... -i-nim-me-šù-un
4. ul (ina ........... )-ni-ia
   ul ina da-na-ni ṣuḫašti-ja
5. ina e-muḫ (iláni-ja ina)
da-na-ni ʾistarāti-ja
6. matāti la (....... )-ri-ja ú-
   šak-ni-šā ana ni-ir ṣuḫAšur
7. igisi-e (ṣad-lu-ti) la na-pár-
ka-a šat-ti-šam
8. ú-du-nim-ma ka -ma Ašur
   u ṣuḫNin-lil i-na-ša-ru ú-me-
   šam
9. ina pa-da-na ʿu teš-pi-te
   u-ba-i'-u sa-la-me
10. ina šu-ul-li-e u su-up-pi-e
    u-nu-aš-sá-ku šepu-u-a
11. ia-a-ti ṣuḫAšur-bani-apli lib-
    lib-bi šarru-u-te

1 Or read bab(ka-)ma.
2 The verb from which piḫu (not pitnu!) "music, song", is derived.
12. su(?)-ul-lil šip-šu-u-te mu-ni-iḫ lib-bi ilāni

12. The suppressor of tyrants, who appeases the hearts of the gods.

13. ú-tak-kiš-un-ni-i-ma ilāni rabūti ik-ru-bu kakke-ja

13. have the great gods encouraged and they have blessed my arms.

14. ilat be-lit ivuNi-na-a um-mu a-lit-ti-ja

14. The divine queen of Nineveh, the mother my bearer,

15. ur-ru-ka šarru-u-tu šá la šá-na-a-ni

15. prolonging of kingship unrivalled

16. ilat be-lit ivArba'-ili tu-(. . . . .)-ti-si tak-ba-a-ti la da-ra-a-te

16. And the divine queen of Arbela, the . . . . commands not annulled

17. i-ši-ma ši-ma-a-ti be-lu-ut kal da-ad-me e-pi-ši

17. Have decreed as (my) fates—even to exercise dominion over all habitations.

18. šarrā-ni-šu-nu u-sak-ni-sá še-pu-ú-a

18. Their kings they have caused to bow down at my feet.

ilat be-lit ivuNinâ be-lit za-ma-ri šarru-ú-ti li-šar-bia-na da-ra-a-ti

The divine queen of Nineveh, the queen of the song of kingship will I extol Forever.

A Prayer to Ninlil, K. 3515

Obverse

1. ........... ilu ........... 1. ........... god ...........

2. ........... u-ša-az-na-(an) 2. ........... ...........

3. ........... i-ba'-lat-ul 3. ........... ...........

1 Probably identical with su-li-lu-u, Syn. ṣahhiru, Poebel, PBS. v, 106; i, 15.

2 dadâ "remove, annul". Cf. tu-tar-ra zal-pa "thou seizest away the wicked man", ZA. 4, 33, 3; cf. Delitzsch, HW. 2288.
4. ..... nādin ḫatī ḫussi palu-u ..... 4. ..... who gives a sceptre and a royal throne ..... 5. (mu-rap-pi-šat a-lit)-ta-šu- 5. Who extendest their off- un pa-ti-ḵat ka-la-me spring, who fashionest everything. 6. ..... a-na hi-is-sat-i-šu 6. ..... at her wisdom the īgigi i-ḵal-lu-ṭu Igigi tremble. 7. (a-na ..... ša) uš-ra-bi- 7. At her ..... the Anunnaki bu 1 īn-un-na-ki toss in terror.

---

1 A quadrilateral on a ṣephel formation. It is due to the palatal r that ušrabu becomes ušrabu.

JRAS. OCTOBER 1929.
8. (a-me-lu-tum ni-ši) šal-mat Ḫakkadi a-na ba-lat napis-ti-ši-na i-ba-la-ki
9. (mal-ka-tu rim-ni-tu) gam-ma-al-tu ša-ki-na-at ri-e-me
10. (muḫad-di-at liḫ) muttallaki ša-bi-ta-at ḫati ina dan-na-te
11. mu-up-pa-li-sa-at ḫa-ab-lu u šak-še mu-bal-li-ta-at mi-e-tu
12. . . . . na-at en-ši u dun-na-me-e ša ỉ-li-ku a-ku-tam
13. . . . . ma-šarrat be-lit ri-e-me u sa-li-me
14. ta-šak-ka-ni ri-e-mu tu-šar-ši-i sa-li mu
15. Ỉst Nin-lil na-di-na-at šul-mu u balaṭi a-namuš-te' u aš-ri-ša
16. ana-ku arad-ki Ỉlu Ašur-bani-apli ša ib-na-a ḫatē-ki
17. (ba)-la a-bi u ummi ša tu-rab-bi-i ša-ḫu-tu šarratu
18. . . . . ki ša balatam tah-tin-in-ni-ma ta-ɑ-su-ri napis-ti
19. (epšēt) taš-ri-hi-ki da-ab-ba-ku ma-gur-tam-ki dal-lak
20. . . . . . . .
21. . . . . . . .

8. Mankind, the blackheaded race pray unto thee for their life.
9. Merciful, gracious queen who institutes mercy.
10. Who gladdenedest the heart of him in distress, who takest the hand in trouble.
11. Who lookest at the despised and downtrodden, who givest life unto the dying.
12. . . . . the weak and feeble, they that live in poverty
13. . . . . queens, mistress of mercy and peace.
14. Thou sendest mercy, thou causest peace to be.
15. Ninlil giver of happiness and life unto him that seeks for her place.
16. I thy servant, Asurbanipal, whom thy hands have made without father and mother, whom thou O ! lofty queen hast reared.
18. Thy . . . . whom thou hast secured unto life and whose soul thou hast protected,
19. The deeds (?) of thy might I speak of, thy grace I praise
Reverse

1. tak-ni
2. tu-ri-ši-in-ni
3. (ša+Nin-lil belit) ilaši asšur-ki ka-aši
4. (e-ti-ru ù) ga-ma-lu ti-di-e šubat susikta-ki aš-bat

5. (hi-ti kab-ta (?) aš-ta-da-ad na-sa-â ul idi-e
6. (ina ar-ni) idu-ù ù la idu-ù e-te-niš a-na-ku

7. (ina an-ni ša epu)-šù ù la epu-šu a-ka-ti be-el-ti
9. (ù) ša mu-ār ili idu-ù ù la idu-ù a-šu-uš ma'-diš

10. (ud-da-ka) m-ma be-el-ti liṭ-ta-rid lum-ni
11. (šár-ki) tābu li-zi-ša-ma ik-lit limmir
12. (ina) puški u dannâti u-šap-ša-ša ku katē-ja šab-ti
13. (ai) eš-lim ḫa-tu-ù-â ša is-tam-ma-ru eli-ia

1. . . . . . . . . .
2. . . . . . . . . .
3. O! Ninlil, lady of the gods,
   I have turned unto thee.
4. To spare and to show
   favour thou knowest. Thy
   mantle I have taken
   hold of.
5. A heavy sin (?) I carry,
   I know not to bear it.
6. Because of (my) trans-
   gression known and un-
   known I have become weak.
7. Because of the evil I have
   done and have not done
   I perish, O! lady
8. (Because) of the sin which
   since the time of my youth
   I have carried
9. And which the apostle of
   god has known or not
   known I suffer greatly
10. Daily (?) O! my lady may
     my evil be expelled.
11. May thy good breath blow
     and the darkness be
     brightened.
12. From trouble and calamity
     that distress take thou my
     hand
13. May not my offender
     prosper who exults over me.
14. May I live, may I prosper
     and the greatness of thy
     great divinity ever shall
     I cherish.
15. . . . . . bi-bil lib-bi ikrib
   ṭat Nin-lil šarrat rim-mim-tu
   ša pit-ku-diš izzazu

16. (e-kal ṭušur-bani)-apli šar
    kiššati šar mat ṭušur
    apli ṭušur-aḫi-iddin šar
    mat ṭušur apal apli ṭušur Sin-
    aḫé-criḫ šar mat ṭušur-šar

17. . . . . . . . tak-ki . . . . . bu-
    kur na-an-taš šar ilišu
    ṭušur

18. . . . . . . . . la ši-pir
    ni-kil-tu ū . . . . . .

Tablet of Prayers and Rituals to Nergal for the Purification of Places. K. 3507

1. . . . . . .
2. . . . . . ta-da . .
3. . . . . ti biti-šù ma . .
4. . . . ul iš-šù . .
5. . . . maḫar ṭi-kā lit-tal-lak
    réma (ma) riši(ši) ši- (mi teš-
    li-t)
6. (u ana-ku ananu) mar
    ananni lu-ub-lu-ul dašil
    ṭušer Nergal u ṭat Ereš- (ki-
    gal ?) . . . . (lud-lul)
7. enin-enin-ma ina múlānē
    ina pa-an ab-ri (su-tu-ki)

1. . . . . . .
2. . . . . .
3. . . . . .
4. . . . . .
5. . . . . before thee may he
    walk; have mercy and
    (hear my prayer)
6. And I someone, son of some-
    one, may live; the praise
    of Nergal and Ereškigal (?)
    . . . . may I sing.
7. Incantation at the expulsion
    of pests from an enclosure.¹

8. Incantation: To bring silence upon the plains, bar and gates to . . . . .

9. To place the bolt, to cause the bound gods to mourn.

10. To open the gates of the wide heavens

11. for the great gods of the night who heed (you, is in your power).

12. the crushing of the gods of the night, the great stars,


1 The gods of the night or the constellations are the giants of chaos who were bound by Marduk and chained to the stars. The similar prayer to them in Ebeling, RT. 38, Obv. 35, states that "god and goddess ordered their being captured".

2 The gods of the night are the subjects of a prayer in Ebeling, ibid. No. 38, 9-23, where they include all the constellations I(Anu-Enlil-Ea) kal iláni rabáti). Here Anu-Enlil-Ea refer to all the stars which were divided into three parallel bands assigned to these three deities. In the prayer referred to, the stars Dilbat, MUL-MUL (i.e. Taurus), BIR, and Mâlîtu the bride of Anu are mentioned. Dilbat, here, is probably the constellation Medusa (Tammuz and Ishtar, p. 102, or Pisces, Weidner, Handbuch. 115). The constellation BIR or kalitu "Kidney", rise, in the first deecn of Elul before Corvus, Astrolabe-Pinches, Kugler, Sternkunde, i, 229, and Astrolabe Berlin, Weidner, Handbuch 66, which has ka-li-tu. Rm. 105, 12 = Virolessaud, Ishtar, No. 26, explains mul BIR by ili ni-ru =E-a. The Babylonians, therefore, saw a star near Corvus and Virgo which resembled a kidney or a yoke. Weidner identifies BIR with the sail and keel of Argo, ibid., p. 69. It was one of the many stars identified with Nergal, CT. 26, 42; ii, 15, BIR is mentioned also in K. 3507, 14.

3 Musir = niri "yoke", and kešda = rakfu, age šarrūtī. VR. 45, 47, and ii R. 47, 22. Identified by Kugler, Sternkunde (Ergänzungen) 57 with the head of Boötes, but it included Corona as the commentary in ii R. 47, 16-22 indicates. Corona or the Crown was identified with Anu and hence mul Musirkešda is ́Anin rabû šamē, CT. 31, 1, 19; VR. 46, 12. This constellation belonged to the zone of Enlil.

For notes 4 and 5 see next page.
14. ūkakab Mar-gid-da ūkakab
Ne-bi-ru ūkakab Bir ūkakab
En-te-na-maš-lum ūkakab
Dil-gaš ( . . . . . . )

15. sa-ba-nim ilāni mu-ši-ti is-
ta-( . . . . . . )

16. sūtu iltanu šadū amurrū
(šarê)

17. ir-bi ăr Nin-ši-an-na ăr
Belit ra-bi-tū û ma-a-du-te
ūkakabānī A-HI-A (su) . . .

18. ša ha-si-is-ku-nu i-ka-sá-du
ni-is-mat ăr ( . . . . )

19. an-na-an-na ha-si-is-ku-nu
i-ka-sá-du ( . . )

14. The Wagon Star,¹ Nebiru,²
The Kidney Star,³ The Boar
Star,⁴ The Canal Star,⁵ . . . . . . .

15. The crushing of the gods of
the night . . . . . .

16. The South Wind, North
Wind, East Wind, West
Wind, the four winds

17. Ninsianna the Great Belit
and the multitudinous stars

18. Who attain unto your
wisdom, the desire of . . . .
they . . . . . .

19. Some one, attaining unto
your wisdom . . . . . . .

⁴ The ordinary name of Jupiter in heliacal ascension, but here Sulpaed
is a constellation.
⁵ Orion. As a constellation Sibzianna was identified with Papsukkal,
mesenger of Anu and Ishtar, CT. 33, 2; n, 2, Weidner, Handbuch 85, 45,
and Ninsubur, a form of Tammuz, is Capsukkal. Orion is then identified
with one of the types of Tammuz, who was bound in the month of Tammuz,
Weidner, ibid. i, 50, and SBII. 1456, 13, the kimitum of Tammuz. Tammuz
as a god who was confined in hell figures among the "bound gods".
¹ The Ursa Major of classical astronomy, but known also to the Greeks
as Wagon Star. The Great Bear or Wagon Star was identified with the
earth mother Ninil of Nippur.
² Nibiru is originally a constellation which in the Aries period rose
in the seventh month, i.e. Tešrit, and marked the sun's passage of the
equator at the Autumn equinox. The most probable constellation is
Libra.
³ See note on line 11.
⁴ Entenamašlušu (or maš-šûšu), the Boar Star, was identified with Ningur-
su. For its identity with the Centaurus of classical astronomy see RA.
14, 22, n. 8.
⁵ maš Dil-gaš = ikâ, Weidner, HW. 85, identified with Cetus + Aries by
Kugler, Sternkunde (Erganzungen), 14.
⁶ The ordinary name of Ishtar as the planet Venus, but also of Ishtar
as Algol or Medusa, Tammuz and Ishtar, 102.
20. ul-tu ul-la-ma ša-ki-in ma-ga-ru (.............)
21. ba-ās-tu te-eš-mu-ū bu-ul-ulu-tu i-ba-āš-ši (it-ti-ku-nu)
22. i-ba-āš-ši it-te-ku-nu pa-ṭa-ar 'i-il-te uz-zu li-ib-ba-tā u ni-ki-il-(ti)
23. iz-za-ka-ru-ku-nu-ši mu-ug-ra a-ma-aš su-ul-li-a a-ma-as (.............)
24. (............)-a iz-za-ka-ru-ku-nu-ši mu-ug-ra a-ma-aš su-ul-li-a a-ma-aš (.............)
25. (.......)-a šá ku-zu-ba-at i-lut-im : ak-ku 2 kem (.......)-ši-e kemšašku el-lu .........
26. ............ 7 akli kır-ra-mu-tā ki-i ra-bu-ti bi-il-la RU (?) ............
27. ............ ši-ti ............
28. (............ ana-ku annan-nu) mar annanni (lu-ub-lut)
29. (dalil ...... u ............ ludlul) 4
30. enim-enim-ma ............

20. Him since eternity instituting mercy ............
21. Vigour, favour, giving of health are in your power.
22. It is in your power to dissolve the ban, anger, rage, and craft (of evil).
23. They urge upon you mercy, confidence in my praying, confidence in ............
24. (and in my ......). They urge upon you mercy, confidence in my praying, confidence in ............
25. ............
26. ............
27. ............
28. ............ and may I someone, the son of someone live.
29. (The praise of Nergal and Ereskigal ......... may I sing.
30. Incantation for ............

1 The Assyrian cognate of Hebrew נל "eternity" occurs here for the first time. ultu ullanma is a variant of the more common ultu, ullanumna, ullanma, and ullahu, are both locatives derived from ullu, demonstrative pronoun, see Langdon, PSBA. 1913, 194. For the locative ending am for aim, cf. Brockelman, Vergleichende Grammatik, p. 393.
2 amasu, probably the cognate of Hebrew יס ני
3 Read ak-lu (?).
4 The contents of this remarkable prayer to Marduk (?) and Sarpanit (?) as the keepers of the bound gods is important for its bearing upon the epic of Creation and the mysteries of the pantomime of the New Year
Reverse

1. ḫu ( . . . . . . . . . . )
2. bitu šuātu (?) (ma ?) ag-ra
   . . . . . . . . . .
3. TUM-ma-: tu-nu
   . . . . . . . . . .

4. enim-enim-ma ḫu (bur-ru-da-kam)

4. Incantation to (atone) a city.

5. kikiṭṭa-ṣu ina pī abulli . . . .
   ta . . . . . . . . . . tašakka-an
   karpatā (gubba . . . . . . . . )

5. Its ritual is: At the entrance to the city gate shalt thou place a water bowl . . . . .

6. 30 ka zēri tasāppa-(ak) 10 ka kēmi, 2 + ? akli . . . .
   an . . . .

6. Thirty ka of seed corn heap up, 10 ka of meal, 2 + ? breads . . . . .

7. 1 ka šaman ḫalṣa (?) . . . .
8. išten-it e-di . . . . . . .
    -e ši-kin ra-a-

7. One ka of filtered oil . . . . .
8. One . . . . . . . . . . . . . . a work of . . . . . .

Festival in which the tragedy of the gods bound by Marduk and detained in hell by Nergal was represented. This myth is referred to in the poem translated in BE. 31, 35, from a text published by Pinches. It is discussed by Zimmern, Zum Babylonischen Neujahrfeiert, 29, 49. In view of its importance, the fragmentary state of the text is regrettable. The bound gods of the constellations are here represented as intercessors with their captors on behalf of the supplicant. In l. 20 the unnamed redeemer is probably Nergal. But for Nergal as kamū limnūti “binder of the evil ones”, see IV R. 21*, iii, 27, and it is possible that in line 29 the names of the deities should be Nergal and Ereškigal.

1 Cf. CT. 23, 16, 14.
2 Cf. RA. 17, 70, 8, has šaman ḫalṣa; Zim. Rt. 176, 14; Küchler, Medizin, 83, hence Jensen renders BARA-GA here by (šaman) ḫalṣa, “filtered oil”, KB. viii, 48, n. 3. For šaman BARA-gu, see also RA. 17, 86, 9. AJSL. 36, 80, 28, and variants BARA-GE, RA. 17, 68, 24, and BARA-GA, Ebeling, RT. 101, 17.
9. išten-it ........ tu-ku ša
   AN-URUDA ...... sa

10. ište-en más-gal ša iluti-ku-nu
    1 immer ............

11. 1 immeru balṭu 1 immer

12. šiptu: šu Nergal bělu pākidu¹
      (muš-tam-di-ilḫ šami-e u
       īršitīm)

13. duppū 181 -kan ṣn-ē-(nu-
    ru)

14. ē-gal šu Ašur-ban-apli šar
    kiššati (šar mat Aššur-ki)

15. ša a-na šu Nergal ḫar-rad
    īlāni (tak-lum)

16. ša šu Nabu šu Tašmetum¹
    uzn u rapšatum (išrukūšu)

17. i-ḫu-uz-зу ṣn-ē ni-(mir-tum
    ni-sik τu[pšarrūti)

18. ša ina šarrāni a-li(k) (maḫri-
    ḫa, etc.)²

9. One .................... for the copper god (?)

10. One great kid for your
    divinity, one lamb ....

11. One live lamb, one lamb

12. Incantation: Nergal, ob-
    servant lord, who traversest
    heaven and earth.

13. One hundred and eighty
    first tablet of the series
    "Incantation of the house
    of Nuru".²

14. ............................

15. ............................

16. ............................

17. ............................

18. ............................

¹ Var. King, Magic, No. 46, 11, read ŠID-KAK = pākidu.
² I.e. House of šu-Nu(n)-ur-ra, Nurra, as title of Ea. For the expla-
    nation of this title see Langdon, JSOR., vol. v. The series É-nu-ru is probably
    identical with the namburbi series, or the "Atonement", K. 3464 =
    Craig, RT. 67, a ritual and prayers for the prosperity of a wine house
    (Zimmerm., ZA. 32, 164), is the 135th tablet of Namburbi and iv R. 60, is a
    tablet of Namburbi to prevent evil results from the eclipses. This
    Namburbi series contains a prayer with the title ēn ē-nu-ru. But Bezdol,
    Catalogue, 540, read ṣu-ila for ē-nu-ru.
Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's Journey to Bulghār: Is it a Fabrication?

By Stephen Janicsek

The Moorish traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa occupies a peculiar place in medieval geography, not only because his journeys were so extensive, exceeding in length even those of Marco Polo, but because the record of them contains such a fantastic mixture of items of information, some valuable or precise, others worthless or vague in the extreme, regarding the different cities, provinces, and distinguished men that he had seen. Everyone who has traced out his journey step by step must agree that there are serious arguments against the trustworthiness of his statements regarding several of the cities which he claimed to have visited. On the other hand, it is exceedingly difficult to substantiate the suspicions thus aroused. He was a skilful narrator, and did not himself, as is well known, write down the record of his journeys; consequently the existence of one or two errors in his account of a city or a district does not prove anything against him, since it must be allowed that his memory occasionally played him false. Besides, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was a typical son of the medieval East, a fact which explains certain systematic faults in his narrative. For example, he is very inconsequent; sometimes he speaks at length of a small village, and sometimes devotes no more than one or two words to a celebrated city. Sometimes, but not always, he gives an impression of sincerity, saying frankly that he was badly treated by so-and-so, or that he was told about such and such a city or country, but did not himself visit it. For this reason one is naturally inclined to accept his word when he says that he personally visited a place.

In spite of the difficulty of maintaining an objective attitude towards the trustworthiness of his claims, I propose in what
follows to show that his long journey to and from the city of Bulghār is a positive fabrication.

If we study the narrative of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's globetrotting from start to finish we may observe that his system is as follows. In general he describes cities, villages, celebrated localities and countries in a few sentences, which are sometimes very expressive and ingenious. After this his custom is to mention the fruits and other products of these localities, and finally to say something about local customs and the history of celebrated persons of those places, about whom he relates one or two anecdotes. We find, of course, many exceptions to this general method. Sometimes he omits the description of a city and prefers to describe different buildings in it, and on other occasions he says nothing about a locality but relates instead a long history, or a hikaya referring to some famous shaykh or amīr of the district. In this latter exceptional case, it is important for us to observe that if a city, village, or country does not interest Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, he contents himself with mentioning its celebrated persons, or environs, or some special features, such as its waters, fruits, ruins, intact buildings, or culture, or incidents from its history, or local customs or ceremonies, or some hikāyas relating to it. There are only about twenty insignificant villages in his entire travels, of which he mentions nothing but the names. In most cases the reason for this was that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa only passed through these villages, or spent the night in them, on his way to some greater city, in consequence of which they did not interest him.

On applying these general principles, however, to the narrative of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's journey to and from Bulghār, and to his account of this famous city, we find that it constitutes a striking and unique exception to his methods in dealing with all other cities and countries mentioned in the course of his wanderings. This narrative, as dictated by himself to Ibn Juzay, runs as follows ¹:

¹ Ed. Defremery, ii, 398-9; ed. of Cairo, i, 217.
This part of his journey is followed by an account of the Land of Darkness. It is important to note that he says expressly that he did not personally visit the Land of Darkness, but only heard about it at the city of Bulghār. The following excerpts from this precious description are of special interest to us:

... والدخول إليها من بلغار وقينها مسيرة أربعين يوماً ... فإن تلك المغامرة فيها الجليد فلا يثبت قدم الآدمية ولا حافر الدنيا فيها والكلاب لها الاظفار فثبتت أقدامها في الجليد ... وعدت من مدينة بلغار مع الأمير الذي بعده السلطان في صحيحي فوجدت محلة السلطان على الموضع المعروف بش دغ وذلك في الثامن والعشرين من رمضان وحضرت معه صلاة العيد وصادف يوم العيد يوم الجمعة.

I. It is well known that from Bish Dagh to Bulghār is a distance of about 1,300 km. Ibn Battūta says explicitly that the aim of his journey from Bish Dagh to Bulghār was to visit the latter city itself. From this one would expect to find in his book a detailed description of this famous city, which must still have been a considerable one at that time. Bulghār lay far out of his direct route, and we know very well that whenever he has occasion to make a special detour to visit some city, he either describes the city itself or else says something about its history, celebrated persons, ruins, waters,

1 Ed. Defremery, ii, 399–400, 402; ed. of Cairo, i, 217–18.
fruits, etc. To this general rule the sole exceptional case in his whole record is the city of Bulghār, about which he gives no details whatsoever, and has nothing to say of its history or other features. This is a striking point which can by no means be neglected.

Only one insignificant fact is mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in connexion with his sojourn in the city of Bulghār, namely the remarkable brevity or length of the days and nights during the winter and summer respectively, in addition to the fact that he prayed there. We must add that his prayers seem to be mentioned for the express purpose of proving the extreme shortness of the summer nights, as he had himself experienced them at Bulghār.

This phenomenon, as is well known, had already been described in an old account included by Muḥammad 'Auff in his Jawāmi' al-ḥikāyat,¹ the origin of which is connected by Markwart with the name of al-Jayhānī.² It is referred to also in the works of Mas'ūdī, Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥauqal, Muqaddasi, Idrisi, Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusi, Qazwīnī, Abu'l-Fidā, etc. In consequence of this we may assume with certainty that the alternation of long and short days and nights during the summer and winter at the city of Bulghār was widely known in all the lands of Islam in the Middle Ages.³

Now if a careful comparison is made between the text of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa’s statements on this subject and those of Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥauqal, etc., it will be observed that there is an unquestionable similarity between their expressions. I suggest, therefore, that not only did Ibn Baṭṭūṭa not observe this phenomenon at Bulghār, but that he compiled this part of

¹ Brit. Mus. Or. 2676, fol. 70a; India Office, Nr. 600, fol. 514a.
² Joseph Markwart, Ein arabischer Bericht über die arktischen (uralischen) Länder aus dem 10 Jahrhundert. (Ungarische Jahrbücher, Berlin und Leipzig, IV Band, p. 293.)
³ "Die Redensart, durch welche unser Text [i.e. Muḥ. 'Auff], Ibn Faḍlān und al-Mas'ūdī die kurzen Sommernächte von Bulghār veranschaulichen, ist offenbar ein stereotyper volkstäumlicher Ausdruck." (Markwart, op. cit., p. 280.)
ERRATA

p. 793 l. 15: For تلك read تلك

ib. l. 19: For رمضان ومضان read رمضان

ib. l. 25: Delete and substitute: which was still a beautiful place at that time.

p. 795 l. 19: For الصيف للصيف read الصيف

ib. l. 23: For الأربع الأربع read الأربع

p. 797 ll. 3-4 (Arabic text): Transfer to footnote 1.

[To face p. 794.]
his text from one of the authors mentioned above. Had he really visited the city of Bulghār, the degree of latitude of which is only about 55°, he would have been forced to observe that the summer nights there are actually much longer than he describes them. It appears to me that, apart from other sources, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa knew the Risāla of Ibn Faḍlān, and the Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik of Iṣṭakhri or the Kitāb al-Masālik wal-Mamālik of Ibn Ḥauqal, and drew from these works, somewhat transforming it in the process, his account of the brevity of the summer nights at Bulghār. Ibn Faḍlān’s statement is as follows ¹:

وَخَيَّرَ أَذَّنَ العَشَاءَ فَذَا بِهِ الْإِذَاثَانَ فَخُرِجَانَا مِنَ الْقَرْيَةَ وَقَدْ طَلَعَ الْفَجْرُ فَقَلَتَ لِلَّمْوَّدَانِ إِنَّ شَيْءًاٌ أَذَّنَتْ فِي الْفَجْرِ فَقَلَتْ عَشَاءُ الْأَخِيَرَةَ قَالَ نَصْبِيَّةً مَعَ الْمَغَرِّبِ قَلَتْ فَالِيلُ قَالَ كَاْ تُرْىَ وَقَدْ كَانَ أَقْصَرَ

Iṣṭakhri’s account is as follows ²:

وَأَخْبَرَنَا الخَطَّابُ بِهَا أَنَّ الْلِّيْلَ عِنْدَهُمَا لَا يَنْهَوْنَ لِنَسِيَّةِ الْأَنْسَانَ أَكْثَرَ مِنْ فِرْسَخٍ فِي الصِّفَّ وَفِي الْشَّمَاءُ يَقُسُرُ النَّهَارُ وَيَطُولُ الْلِّيْلُ حَتَّى يَكُونَ نَهَارُ الْشَّتَاءِ مِثْلَ لِيْلِيَّ الْصِّفَّ

Finally, Ibn Ḥauqal enlarged Iṣṭakhri’s account as follows ³:

وَأَخْبَرَنَا الخَطَّابُ بِهَا أَنَّ الْلِّيْلَ عِنْدَهُمَا فِي وَقُتِّ الْصِّفَّ لَا يَنْهَوْنَ لِنَسِيَّةِ الْأَنْسَانَ أَنْ يُسِيرَهُ فِرْسَخِينَ وَشَاهِدُتْ مَا يَدُلُّ عَلَى صُدُقَّ ذَلِكَ عَنْ دَخُولِيِّ فِي الْشَّتَاءِ الْيَمِينَ أَنَّ النَّهَارَ كَانَ بِمَقْدَارِ مَا صَلَّى الْإِرْبَعِ صَلَاَتَ كُلِّ صَلَاَةٍ فِي عَقِيبِ الْأَخْرَى مَعَ رَكَعَتِينَ بَيْنَ الْإِذَاثَانِ وَالْإِقْامَةٌ

We have seen from the text of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa that he remained in Bulghār for three days.⁴ I suggest that it is not plausible

¹ Yāqūt, ed. Wūstenfeld, i, 725.
² Ed. de Goeje, 1870, p. 225.
⁴ Markwart (op. cit., p. 287) calculates the date of his visit to Bulghār as 16–18 Ramaḍān, 732 = 11–13 June, 1332.

JRSA. OCTOBER 1929.
to make a long journey in wagons occupying 30 to 35 or more days (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, as we have seen, makes it 10 days), then after a short rest of three days to travel again by "telega" for 30 to 35 days. Probably he was wrongly informed, or he thought that it was no more than a ten days' journey from Bish Dagh to Bulghār. A rest of three days for a double journey of ten days is quite sufficient, but not for a long journey of twice 30–35 days (which is the actual distance between Bish Dagh and Bulghār.) We know very well that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, though a zealous globetrotter, was a man fond of comfort, and that, judging by what he reveals of his character and psychology in his works, he would have remained at Bulghār at least ten or fifteen days, had he actually gone there. We shall see, moreover, from the dates of his stay at al-Mājār, Bish Dagh, and Ḥājj Tarkhān (Astrakhan), that the limitation of his stay at Bulghār to three days is intentional, and cannot be attributed either to the defect of his memory or to an error on the part of the copyist.

Further, it is curious to note that he does not mention that the Volga (Etil) flows not far from the city of Bulghār. From the records of his travels it seems to be evident that he visited three cities close to or on the Volga—as-Sarā, Ḥājj Tarkhān, and Bulghār. (About the identification of the Ukak which he mentions there are some difficulties.) In the cases of as-Sarā ¹ and Ḥājj Tarkhān ² he states that they lie on the Volga, but in speaking of Bulghār he does not mention the river. This, too, is a fact which cannot be overlooked by anyone who knows how scrupulously and exactly Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions the names of rivers, of streams, and even of rivulets flowing by the places which he visited. We see, moreover, from the text that he visited the city of Ḥājj Tarkhān after his journey to Bulghār, in consequence of which he must have seen the Volga before his journey to the former city. Yet, when we study his account of the Volga, as a river which passes by

¹ Ed. Defremery, i, 79, and ii, 446 (Cairo ed., i, 22, 230).
² Ed. Defremery, ii, 411 (Cairo ed., i, 220).
Astrakhan, it appears that it was there that he saw it for the first time. This seems to suggest that he was not conscious of the fact that the Volga flowed near Bulghar, and therefore that he never saw the city.

II. There are other curious features to be observed in Ibn Battuta's account of his journey to and from Bulghar. Elsewhere on his travels, if he undertakes a journey to a place lying so far out of his predetermined route, he always mentions some localities lying between the starting-point and the place for which he is making, or he describes the physical features, rivers, mountains, forests, etc., or the races and tribes of the almost uninhabited territories lying between these two points, or else narrates some anecdotes referring to the journey. In this respect again the solitary exception is offered by his journey to the city of Bulghar, about which he says nothing at all. This point also cannot be neglected. Further, on his way from Bish Dagh to Bulghar, Ibn Battuta was bound to cross the Volga, which elsewhere he mentions among the ten greatest rivers in the world. Now in the other sections of his text, when he crosses a river on such a long trip as that to and from Bulghar, and this river is one which he has included among the ten greatest rivers in the world, he invariably mentions the crossing. In most cases, indeed, if he crosses even a rivulet, he notes the fact. Here, too, we find the journey to Bulghar constituting an exceptional case, for he omits all mention of his crossing of the Volga.

Yet another point worth noticing in this part of his text is that Ibn Battuta does not mention the name of the amir who, he says, was his companion on the journey to and from Bulghar. Elsewhere, however, he is always exceedingly careful to give the name of his companion, or that of a caravan, or of a tribe, on such a long uninterrupted excursion.

1 See ii, 411 (Cairo ed., i, 220):
2 Ed. Defremery, i, 79 (Cairo ed., i, 22).
Moreover, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa puts the distance between Bish Dagh and Bulghār at a ten days’ journey, a mistake so glaring that it arrests attention. If we study all the distances given in his text, we find that on the whole they are fairly accurate, allowing for the fact that he was a true son of the Orient and lived six hundred years ago. Where he is mistaken about distances, he errs generally on the side of overstatement rather than understatement. It may be noted that in this very case of Dasht-i Qipchaq he always gives the distances correctly (e.g. those between Qiram and Azāq,1 between Bish Dagh and al-Mājar,2 between Ḥājjj Tarkhān and as-Sarā,3 etc.). From the time taken on these journeys we know that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa travelled 30–40 km. a day on Dasht-i Qipchaq. Consequently, if he had actually gone to the city of Bulghār, we must allow for his journey from Bish Dagh not, as he says, 10 days, but at least 30–40 days. On this calculation the total time occupied by the journey from Bish Dagh to Bulghār and back, including the three days spent in Bulghār itself, must have been 60–70 days, instead of the 23 days which he explicitly allows for it. Such a striking error in time cannot be found elsewhere in all the distances which he records.

Nor can it be argued that the source of this error is that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa forgot the real distance between Bish Dagh and Bulghār, or that it is the fault of the copyist. If we examine the text cited above, we see that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was fully convinced that his journey to and from Bulghār took no more than 23 days, and he seemed to be quite unconscious of the fact that it required two months at the very least. This is clear from the following dates which he gives. He arrived at the camp at Bish Dagh on 1st Ramaḍān (ii, 380), and thereafter set out for Bulghār; he mentions that his stay at Bulghār also occurred in Ramaḍān; he was back at Bish Dagh on the 28th of the same month, and still there on 1st Shawwāl, while

1 ii, 367–8 (i, 209).
2 ii, 379 (i, 212).
3 ii, 446 (i, 230).
on 10th Shawwâl he started for Constantinople from Astrakhan (ii, 412).

III. Finally, when we examine the excerpts cited above from Ibn Baṭṭûta's text referring to the Land of Darkness we shall find in them some items of interest to us. He says, as we have seen, that he did not himself visit the Land of Darkness, but only heard about it at the city of Bulghâr. In regard to this Markwart has already observed: "Der zweite Abschnitt [i.e. the article on the land of Yûra excerpted by Muḥammad 'Auﬁ for his Jawāmi' al-ḥikâyāt] enthält Nachrichten über das Land Yûra (Jugra), die grosse Übereinstimmung zeigen mit der Erzählung des Ibn Baṭṭûta (1332 n. Chr.) über das Land der Dunkelheit ¹... Angesichts der Armut der zeitgenössischen Berichte sind drei Punkte in der Erzählung Ibn Baṭṭûtas höchst auffällig:

1. die Naturwahrheit seiner Schilderung,

2. demgegenüber seine Misverständnisse—er glaubt, dass das Land Jugra auch im Sommer mit Schnee und Eis bedeckt sei und die Reisen dahin auch im Sommer stattfinden, und vermengt es mit dem Lande der Finsternis—und die Unvereinbarkeit seines Berichtes mit denen der Zeitgenossen,

3. andererseits seine weitgehende Übereinstimmung mit unserem Texte.

Daraus erhellt, dass er seine lebendige Schilderung nicht etwa vom Hörensagen hat, sondern einer älteren schriftlichen Quelle verdankt, sowie, dass Ibn Baṭṭûta und 'Auﬁ fast mit Notwendigkeit auf eine gemeinsame Quelle zurückweisen." ²

It is clear, as Markwart has observed, from the text of Ibn Baṭṭûta, that he really thought that from Bulghâr to the Land of Darkness the ground was covered with snow and ice during both winter and summer. Yet he claims to have visited Bulghâr in late spring or early summer, and we must add that if he had actually been at the city of Bulghâr he was bound to have

² Ibid., p. 302.
seen for himself or to have heard there that the ground in the
environs of Bulghār was not covered with snow and ice during
the summer.

* * * * *

In conclusion, it may be asked: what reason had Ibn Baṭṭūṭa for deliberately telling a falsehood about his journey
to Bulghār?

The answer would be as follows. If we study the whole
narrative of his travels, we see that his principal intention
in undertaking them was to visit all the countries of the earth
inhabited by Muslims. Probably he had heard, or had read
in the works of Ibn Faḍlān, Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥauqal, or other
writers, that at that time the most northerly city inhabited by
Muhammadans was Bulghār. In consequence of this I suppose
that he was very eager to visit this famous city, and on reaching
the camp at Bish Dagh he proposed to do so. But when he
heard that it was so far away, instead of going to Bulghār
in person, he preferred to write or dictate his trip to Bulghār
as if he had actually accomplished it.

When his statements on the city of Bulghār and on the
Land of Darkness are carefully investigated it appears very
probable that it first occurred to him to claim to have made
this journey at the time when he dictated the story of his
globetrotting to Ibn Juzay in Morocco.

In my opinion, the trip to and from Bulghār which Ibn
Baṭṭūṭa claims to have undertaken is the only narrative in
the whole record of his wanderings which seems to be, beyond
all doubt, a falsification.
Assyrian Prescriptions for the “Hand of a Ghost”

BY R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON

The following translations are from the texts in my Assyrian Medical Texts for sick men suffering from diseases brought about by the “hand of a ghost”.

No. 260. AM. 93, 1 (68-5-23, 2, and K. 2492)

2. ... LAL-plant, kelp (?), *liquidambar male and female, ... sulphate of iron, borax (?), akûšmanu(?) -plant, seed of tamarisk, ... thou shalt mix, sulphur, tamarisk-root together thou shalt bray, in cedar-blood thou shalt mix, anoint, and he shall recover.

5. (Dup. AM. 70, 2, 22 + 94, 7, 9; cf. also AM. 33, 3, 1.) [If the hand of] a ghost seizes on [a man], with fennel-root, sulphate of iron, iron, lime (?), *liquidambar thou shalt anoint him.

6. (Dup. ibid. 23 and 10.) [If ditto], semen of a man thou shalt enfold in wool, put on his neck.

7. If the hand of a ghost seizes on a man, sulphate of iron, *liquidambar, sulphur, kelp (?), LAL-plant, paint (?)


2 = * Tragacanth (JRAI. 1924, 452.

3 Šī(?)-mit, from šindu (= šintu), but šimat is the usual form (see AM. 15, 3, 16; 73, 1, 11). Cf. E. xiv, 27.
from the doorposts of the temple of Marduk right and left, these six drugs thou shalt take, bray together, anoint him in oil (therewith), and he shall recover.¹

10. If a ghost seizes on a man, for his recovery thou shalt fumigate him with pig-dung, dog-dung, jackal-dung, fox-dung, gazelle-dung; *Ammi, Salicornia-alkali, hart's horn, sulphur, bitumen, human bone, glue (?), in fire.

13. If the hand of a ghost seizes on a man, thou shalt pound together pine-turpentine, sulphur, strain, mix with the fat of the kidney of a kid that has been covered,² spread on a skin, anoint the place with cedar-blood, bind on either his head or his neck, and he shall recover.

15. Fir-turpentine, pine-turpentine, roses, sulphur, wheat flour, kelp (?), together six drugs thou shalt pound, strain, steep in rose-water, spread on a cloth, bind on his head.

Reverse

... flour (powder, dung) of a sea-locust, flour of *barley, dates of Dilmun, thou shalt spread on a [cloth], bind on his [head].

3. ... roses, flour of *barley, wheaten flour, fine-ground flour, ... thou shalt spread on a skin, bind on [a cataplasm] for blains.

6. ... gum of Andropogon (?), ... together thou shalt mix, bind on, ... a cataplasm for blains.

9. ... *galbanum, *maple seed, tops (juice) of poppy, ... sulphur (?), gazelle-dung, ... a cataplasm for blains.

¹ The characters at the end may be read in several ways. Cf. A.M. 35. 3, r. 6.
² MÁS.(?BIR).ZU. Cf. A.M. 1, 4, 3 (No. 241), reading text thus in both.
12. ... *Calendula, *Chrysanthemum segetum, mustard, ... thou shalt bray, he shall drink in beer, and he shall recover.


Obverse. Col. I. (Here is AM. 94, 2)
1. . . . thou shalt pour into his anus, with oil anoint. . . .

2. (Dup. AM. 78, 4, rev. 1.) If ditto (fourth), thou shalt mix reddish urine, milk of white ewes, (mountain) honey, wine, strong vinegar, kurunnu-beer, oil together, pour into his anus, and he shall recover.

4. (Probably dup. of AM. 78, 4, rev. 4.) If ditto (fifth), thou shalt boil fir-turpentine, pine-turpentine, gum of Andropogon (?), Salicornia-alkali, *galbanum, gum of *galbanum, *Ferula communis, Asa foetida, in six ḫa of kurunnu-beer until it has become two ḫa, mix therewith half a ḫa of urine, half a ḫa of scented (?) oil, once, twice, thrice, thou shalt pour into his anus: after this thou shalt ... 1 UD.ŠAR, šikku, *Solanum, Lolium, pour into his anus; after this thou shalt boil fir-turpentine, pine-turpentine, Salicornia-alkali, *galbanum, dates, flour of roast corn, in urine, [add] oil and kurunnu-beer thereto, pour [into his anus] and he shall recover.

9. (Similar to AM. 56, 1, rev. 7 and 69, 8, 13.) If ditto (sixth), myrrh, roses, Asa foetida, fir-turpentine, Salicornia-alkali, chamomile, *Ammi (?), saffron, in beer and urine in an oven thou shalt heat, take out and dry [the whole], add oil thereto, pour into his anus; after this, thou shalt pour sweet milk into his anus, and he shall recover.

1 Ta-pa-ḫar.
12. . . . [for] his recovery seed of tamarisk, *liquidambar . . . the man, on the fire thou shalt fumigate him (therewith).

Col. II

1. . . . borax (?) . . . thou shalt bind his temples. . . .

3. . . . and talks much . . . the hand of a ghost, *Ammi, saffron, . . . *Acorus calamus, oleander (?), *Ferula communis, a basket (?) of aromatics . . . thou shalt boil in kurunnub beer, add oil thereto, pour into his anus.

7. If ditto (second), nettles, poppy, hellebore, pine-tar, gum of *Aleppo pine, *styrax, alum, together thou shalt pound, strain, mix in fat, make a suppository, put it to his anus, with gum of Andropogon (?) (and) *galbanum thou shalt fumigate.2

(No horizontal line on tablet.)

9. If ditto (third), fir-tar, pine-tar, *Ferula communis, shell of crab,3 Salicornia-alkali, *styrax, Ricinus,

1 Text as given here, but šu-tuk(lut) (?) "basket" in l. 11.
2 Tak-ti-ru, one of the curious forms in A.M.
3 BAL.GI.HA, a well-known "fish", occurring with ŠA.KA + IM (= ILLAMMA).NA.HA (e.g. Bavian, Pognon, 63, l. 28). For literature on this latter cf. Dennefeld, Geburts., 28, 55; Hunger, Tieromina, 160, SAI. 9236; MA. and HWB., s.v. KAR. 91, r. 11, BAR BAL.GI.HA BAR ŠA.KA + IM.NA shows at once that these are water animals with a shell or carapace, BAR being kultu ("bark" of tamarisk, JRAS. 1924, 454, "rind" of pomegranate, PRSM. 1926, 44, n. 1).

Additional evidence is LA ŠA.KA + IM.NA.HA for the latter (A.M. 94, 2, r. 9), LA being used of the shell of an ostrich-egg (AH. 279), as well as for pomegranate-"rind".

Equally interesting is KAR. 61, r. 15: "Incantation. From one bēru of IM TUM (= tit tabali, mud of the dry land, i.e. the dry bank) of the Tigris, two bēru of the dry mud of the Euphrates, BAL.GI.HApl.-ša ditto ("its BAL.GI-fish, ditto"), KA + II (?) H.Apl.-ša ditto ("its KA + II (?)-fish, ditto.")." In other words the BAL.GI (and KA + II (?)) "fishes" are water-beasts which inhabit dry land.

We have therefore only to settle which is the tortoise (turtle) and which the crab, which are the only two freshwater animals of Mesopotamia
known to me proper to these identifications. They are both common in the rivers. It was Boissier who first suggested "tortoise" for BAL.GI.ĦA (Doc. Ass., ii, p. v, 4, noted by Hunger, MDVG. 1909, 161), but Meissner (Bab. Ass., ii, 308, and Arch. Keils., ii, 24) considers the tortoise ŠA.KA + ŠM.NA.ĦA. But besides the "shell", the BAL.GI.ĦA has "feet" and "hands" (if a newborn babe has feet and hands like those of a BAL.GI.ĦA, iii, R. 65, 42, 43a: cf. CT. xxvii, 17, 42, 43), and what is still more indicative, a penis (KAR. 186 r. 18), which at once gives it almost a certain preference for "turtle" (the tail contains the "large copulatory organ", EB. xxvii, 66).

We find ŠA.IM + KA.NA.ĦA thus in vocabularies, after šururu and anduḫallatu (lizards):

\[
\begin{align*}
[IH \, ?].ĦA &= še-li-bu-u \\
[ŠA.KA + IM.NA].ĦA &= ditto \\
[. . .].ĦA &= pi-lu ditto \\
. . . &= a-par ditto \\
\end{align*}
\]

(Scheil, Rec. de Trav., xxxvi, 186).

\[
IH = še-lib-bu-u
\]

\[
ŠA.KA + IM.NA.[ĦA] = ditto
\]

(Weidner, Rev. d’Assyr., xi, 120-1, iv, 9-10).

šelibbu(b)bû is doubtless connected with šelibu "fox". In the above pilu = "egg", and apar (possibly connected with apâru "cover", Meissner) may perhaps be read ša-par in Scheil’s copy, connected with šururu "nail", i.e. the crab’s claw. It is possible that pilu "egg" refers not to the actual egg of the crab, but to the shell-like body. In our present text in A.M. we have also the "flesh" mentioned. It may be added that a usual value for IH is "louse", in which case šelibbu with its probable value "crab" would also have the meaning "crab-louse" (i.e. Phthirius inguinalis).

The fact that [ru]k-ku ("tortoise," Meissner, l.c., probably rightly) continues the text in R.A. xiii, after the last ditto of šelibbu, surely indicates the beginning of a fresh animal, for which we may perhaps supply BAL.GI.ĦA in the Sumerian column.

We may thus accept BAL.GI.ĦA = "tortoise" or "turtle" (almost certainly Trionyx euphratica) and ŠA.KA + IM.NA.ĦA = "crab", the former being suggested by Boissier.

Out of this arises (a) the similarity of the name BAL.GI.ĦA ("tortoise") to p(b)ulakku, the Cancer of the Babylonian astronomers, who, it must be remembered, represent this sign of the Zodiac on their boundary stones as a tortoise or turtle, the crab not being included; (b) the interesting sign KA + IM "breath in mouth" shows the great capacity of the Assyrians for observation; "as a rule, crabs breathe by gills, which are lodged in a pair of cavities at the side of the carapace, but in the true land-crabs the cavities become enlarged and modified so as to act as lungs for breathing air" (EB. vii, 356); (c) "tortoise" cannot be accepted as a philological equivalent for šelibbu "crab" nor šelibbu (tortoise) (as Holma, ZA. xxviii, 156).
old cedar, myrrh, *galbanum, gum of *galbanum, gum of *Andropogon (?), *Acorus calamus, suadu, a basket (?) of aromatics in reddish urine in an oven thou shalt heat, take out, and mix therewith oil and beer, wash him and he shall recover.

12. If ditto (fourth), Cannabis, *styrax, oak, Ricinus, **Oenanthe, linseed, kelp (?), myrrh, wax of honey, lidruša-plant, sweet oil, together thou shalt mix, anoint him therewith in oil.

14. If ditto (fifth), *Calendula, *Chrysanthemum segetum, thyme, hellebore, *tragacanth, besides its seed, seed of tamarisk, seed of laurel, lime (?), Asa (fætida), kelp (?), sulphur, glue (?), human bone, urtim-plant, Artemisia, *balsam, *sagapenum, pine-turpentine, fir-turpentine, oleander (?), suadu, cedar, ... myrrh, these twenty-five drugs a salve for the hand of a ghost. ... [This] is a treasure of Medicine.

19. [If ditto] (sixth), sulphate of iron, lime (?), mil'u salt, ... black [mil'u salt (?)], magnetic iron ore, TUR.MI.NA stone (breccia ?), iron-stone, Asa (fætida) together (?) [thou shalt bray] (here is AM. 96, 8) mix, ... anoint him, and he shall recover.

21. If ... a man, as though it were the staff of Sin affects him, and his ... bends and straightens ... a ghost which pursues has seized on him in the desert ... (here is AM. 88, 4, rev.) fruit of BAR.HUŠ, suet of the kidney of an ox, like the surtu (?)-cult of a dead man, ... thou shalt dry, bray; doves' blood, ... of the river thou shalt dry, bray together, mix in fat ... a month anoint and he shall recover.

(26) (Dup. KAR. 184, 9.) If a ghost seizes on a man and he is hot (and) cold (alternately),¹ his terror approaching ²

¹ L-mi-im ı-ka-az₂[a-a-m]a.
² ḫa-a-a-(at)-ta-šu kar-bi (t), i.e. (sudden) fits of terror coming on him.
(so that) he (can)not rest by day or by night, his voice uttering in [s]leep (?) like the sound of the wind: it is the hand of a hostile \(^1\) ghost in ruins which has seized on him. For his recovery thou shalt rub \(^2\) his body (\(v.\) his flesh) with \textit{U. SA-beer}, thou shalt let cool; thou shalt dry \(*\text{Solanum},\) bray, in blood of cedar (\(v.\) in oil, \(v.\) in refined oil) mix, anoint him; with . . . stone, \textit{arzallu}-stone, \textit{ia'ertu}-stone (with seven colours), red carnelian (cinnabar), black iron oxide, . . . , \(^3\) \textit{mil'u} (?)-salt, . . . lupins in a skin on his neck thou shalt put, the ghost . . .

(31) (\textit{Dup. KAR.} 184, 14.) Charm: O Spirit, rest! O Demon, rest! O Ghost, rest! O Devil, rest! O God, rest! O Fiend, rest! O Hag-demon, rest! O Ghoul, rest! O Robber-sprite, rest! The incantation is of Ea, the warrior Marduk, the son of Eridu; the speech is of Nin-aḫa-kuddu, the Lady of Incantation. By earth be ye exorcised, by Heaven be ye exorcised!

This Charm thou shalt recite over salve and potion.

\textit{Col. III.} (\textit{Here is AM.} 88, 4, obverse.)

(1) (\textit{Dup. AM.} 99, 3, 14, and 33, 3, 16 (?).) \textit{Artemisia, šaṣumtu}-plant, \(*\text{Ammi},\) saffron, \[*\text{Calendula} (?),\] \(*\text{Corn-margold} (?),\] šumuttu-plant, total seven fumigations for the hand of [a ghost (?)].

3. (\textit{Dup. AM.} 99, 3, 16.) Fir-turpentine, pine-turpentine, roses, \(*\text{Ferula communis},\) in . . .


5. (\textit{Dup. AM.} 99, 3, 18.) Sulphur, borax (?), glue (?). . . . \(*\text{Ammi},\) \textit{Salicornia}-alkali, ox-skin: . . . .

\(^1\) \textit{Aḫi} (foreign), \(v.\) \textit{aḫū}.

\(^2\) \textit{Tukar}, \textit{PRSM.} 1924, 18, n. 2.

\(^3\) \textit{KAR}. Sulphate of iron (?), ending the prescription here.
7. (Dup. AM. 99, 3, rev. 1.) Ox-fat, lion-fat, acacia which on [a grave grows (?)], Kursuti (?)-plant, snake-skin together thou shalt bray. . . .

8. (Dup. AM. 99, 3, rev. 3.) Hellebore, *liquidambar, . . .

(9) (Dup. AM. 99, 3, rev. 4.) Fruit of BAR. HUŠ, Cannabis, *Ammi, saffron . . . DUM. KID. 1. . . .

(10) (Dup. AM. 99, 3, rev. 6. Here is joined AM. 95, 2, iii, 1, to AM. 88, 4, obverse.) Seed of tamarisk, ash of skull, acacia, hart’s-horn . . .


3. If a man is sick with the hand of a ghost, half a ka each of urine of a sahiru 2 and a female sahiru (v. “water of the river”). . . .

4. (Cf. AM. 97, 1, 1.) If the hand of a ghost is oppressive in a man’s body, and is not loosed, . . .

5. If ditto, reddish urine thou shalt heat in an oven, on an “evil day” at the cross-roads he shall wash himself therein and [recover].

6. To remove and free the hand of a ghost; flesh of an owl thou shalt give him to eat, and he shall recover (?). DUM. KID 3 in fire thou shalt reduce, mix with cedar blood, recite the charm “Evil finger” 4 over it, touch his temples (therewith), and it shall not return, nor touch [him].

8. (Dup. of KAR. 184, 19.) If the hand of a ghost seizes

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1 See PRSM. 1924, 10, n. 2.
2 Sahiru may be a kind of cattle; see MA. s.v., and cf. AM. 103, 6.
3 See PRSM. 1924, 10, n. 2.
4 See AM. 102, 7.
on a man and the sorcerer\(^1\) cannot remove it, \textit{LAL}-plant, \textit{Oenanthe}, \textit{Asa (dulcis)},\(^2\) \textit{Asa (fætida)}, yellow saffron, fruit of \textit{BAR.HUŠ}, fruit of caper, \textit{Crataagus Azarolus (?)}, lupins, \textit{EL.KUL.LA}-plant, seed of tamarisk, human bone, together in oil (\textit{v.} oil of cedar), thou shalt anoint him, thou shalt make it into a purse, put (it) on his neck (and he shall recover).

12. \textit{(Dup. of AM. 97, 1, 1.)} If the hand of a ghost is oppressive in a man's body, and is not loosed, for his recovery basic sulphate of iron,\(^3\) kelp (?), a newt (??),\(^4\) carob, in fire thou shalt reduce, grind, mix in blood of cedar, recite the charm seven times: Charm: \textit{Ka.Kib Ka.Kib}, O King; \textit{Ka.Kib}, O king; \textit{Ka.na.kib}, O king, thou dost conjure (repeated, \textit{AM. 97, 1}), O Lord eminent (and) mighty, king of the gods, Ninurta,\(^5\) thou dost conjure, free the evil that it approach not. Recital of the Charm.

Charm \textit{(Dup. of AM. 86, 1, iii, 5, and 97, 1, 8, and cf. the quotation of it in 85, 1, "vi," 14)}: O thou who art angry, wrathful, raging, murderous, stubborn, powerful, hard, evil, hostile! except Ea, who shall appease thee, except Marduk, who shall calm, thee? May Ea appease thee, may Marduk calm thee! Recital of the Charm.

19. \textit{(Dup. AM. 97, 1, 14.)} This charm seven times over the salve thou shalt recite, and, when it troubles him, anoint and he shall be assuaged.

\textit{(Ll. 20–5 mutilated: AM. 97, 1, which has provided duplicate paragraphs for ll. 12–19, follows on with a text different from that on AM. 95, 1):—}

\(^1\) \textit{V. am.MAŠ.MAŠ.}
\(^2\) \textit{KAR.} omits.
\(^3\) \textit{takTU}: see my \textit{On the Chemistry}, 110.
\(^4\) \textit{Amittu}, cf. \textit{AM. 40, 5, 17, and 62, 1, iv, 8}; distinct from \textit{amittu "pestle"} (\textit{CT. xiv, 16, K. 240, 9}), but clearly the same drug as in \textit{CT. xiv, 10, 15}; 42, K. 4140 B, 12; 43, K. 4419, 5, \textit{amittu nāri arkī}, "a green amittu of the river." Possibly \textit{nī} is not the equivalent \textit{hul̄mēnum} and \textit{hulmittu}, but perhaps of \textit{amittu}, but very doubtful.
\(^5\) Var. Marduk.
16. Charm: O Shamash, this is not [my] sin (?), this is nought of [my] mouth (?), which is in my body, my flesh, and my muscles. My temples ache (?), my eyes roll, my taste is dry (?), my flesh is poisoned, the right side of my body and the left side of my body are without strength. After me they pursue, to cut off my life they come. O Shamash, in thy sight I seek him, I turn, . . . creature of flesh.

Col. IV. (From the successive numbers to these receipts, given in the text, it is possible that this Column must be reckoned as AM. 95, 2, iv + 98, 1, 1, dup. of AM. 99, 3, rev. 14 (?) (certainly 20) + 80, 6 + 76, 7):

(1) (AM. 99, 3, r. 14.) If a ghost seizes on a man, thou shalt take a lizard with two tails, a pizallurtu of various colours (?), alive, and shave (or, skin) (it), thorn which has sprung up on a grave, gazelle-dung, these five drugs together thou shalt bray, in fire his nostrils [thou shalt fumigate, and he shall recover].

(4) If (ditto =) second, thou shalt take the dung of the anus of an ass from the ri[ght] and left side, wiping the

1 I-ḫi-ısı-su-u.
2 Ub-ba-[al ?].
3 I-ḫa-ba-[ku], for ittabaku ?
4 Ana na-šaš.
5 It is doubtful whether "they" in the preceding sentence is correct, or "him" (instead of "it") here.
6 Cf. KAR. 182, r. 35.
7 Cf. pizalluru, Rev. d’Assyr., 1914, 123, and p. ḫa-šeri = ṭummibittu (Weidner, AJSL. 1922, 198).
8 MI ḫa-ḫa-la-ša-aši-imīti(?) u šumelī telškī(ki)-ma. A suggestion comes from AM. 2, 1, obv. 1 + K. 2354 (= No. 285): "Practical prescription for this: a dung-cake (?) (ḫallutanā) which the foot of a [pure] woman [hath trodden ?]," etc. This word ḫallutanā = MI. PAP. HAL. ANŠU (CT, xiv, 45, 16; cf. 43, 11). MI = pitā (Brūnnow, 8921) and as both ḫallu and PAP. HAL (= puridu), meaning "anus," are used in conjunction with pitā (pit ḫalla and pit puridī), pitā is obviously the value for MI here. But pitā would seem certainly to mean "dung" in
excrement with wool; glue (?), hair of the tail (here is joined AM. 80, 6) of a black dog . . . a dog; (here begins AM. 95, 2, iv, 2) these drugs together thou shalt mix, in fire his . . . together thou shalt fumigate [and] he shall recover.

6. (Here is AM. 98, 1, 2, joined to AM. 95, 2, iv, 4, dup. of AM. 99, 3, rev. 20 + 80, 6, 3.) [If (ditto =) third] Salicornia-alkali . . . (?),¹ sulphur, hart’s horn, glue (?), human bone, gum (skin of the jaw) ² of a male pig together thou shalt mix, ³ in fire fumigate [him (therewith), and] he shall recover.

(8) (Dup. AM. 76, 7.) If (ditto =) fourth, human skull, Andropogon (?), turmeric, like bread cooked in ashes thou shalt . . . (?), ⁴ together in ox-fat thou shalt mix, in fire fumigate him (therewith) and he shall recover.

(10) If (ditto =) fifth, *Ricus, kallu (?) of a human skull, gazelle-dung thou shalt pound, together in ox-fat thou shalt mix, in fire fumigate him (therewith), and he shall recover.

(12) If (ditto =) sixth, . . . (?), ⁵ of a human being, fat

A.M. 73, 2, 4 (No. 182), pi-ti of a sudinnu-bird, just as hallu must mean the same in JRAS. 1924, 454, where a plant is described as "like the halla (dung, rather than vent) of the raven", and asa foetida as like halla of a dove. Both pi-tu and hallu therefore would seem to have transferred meanings. Hallutanu, presumably derived from hallu, must surely have some more special meaning than merely that of hallu, and as in the text quoted it is described as "which the foot of a woman . . . " the probability is that it means the round cake of dung for fuel, which the women in Mesopotamia tread out with their feet before plastering on the wall to dry. Hipéti will be the pieces of the dried cake.

¹ ŠAR, v. ŠAR.A.
² La-as-hi.
³ A.M. 80, 6, omits.
⁴ Kina GAR.HAR.RA ta-sa-mu-ud (t). GAR.HAR.RA = akal tumri "bread cooked in ashes" (see my CT. xvii, 6, 7, and Devils, ii, 18); also probably ripu (SAI. 9337). If ripu is also "bread cooked in ashes" it is quite possibly Syr. ܒܥܘܐ (= ܢܝܐ) "bread baked in ashes", the metathesis being similar to dišpu = ܕܐܐ. Samádu is unknown to me; cf. ܢܲܟܟܬ (said to be ܪܟܟܝܠܐ) "fine meal".
⁵ Ki-im zu-ra-am.

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from the left kidney of an ox, fenugreek, [Lathyrus ?] thou shalt mix, with human skull in fire thou shalt fumigate him and he shall recover.

(14) (Here is joined AM. 63, 4, to AM. 98, 1.) If (ditto =) seventh, jackals' dung, tooth (?) of assibi (?), lion-fat, fat from the left kidney of an ox, . . . thou shalt mix together, in thorn-charcoal thou shalt fumigate him (therewith), and he shall recover.

(16) [If (ditto =) eighth ?] . . . human bone, and thigh of ox together thou shalt mix, with human skull [thou shalt fumigate him (therewith)] and he shall recover.

(18) [If (ditto =) ninth ?] . . . of a dead man, oil of a KIN.TUR fish, oil of . . . thou shalt anoint . . .

(20) . . . human penis . . .

No. 262. AM. 70, 2 (K. 3420) + 94, 7 (K. 8962) (text of this last in KMI. 68).

11. (Dup. KAR. 182, rev. 22.) . . . for his recovery nu-kil-tum (?) . . . *liquidambar, borax (?), kelp (?), into a purse thou shalt make, put on his neck. [Seed] of tamarisk, seed of laurel, kazallu, together thou shalt bray, in oil thou shalt anoint him: with . . . seed of *Arnoglossom, seed of HAR. HUM. BA. SIR plant thou shalt anoint him.

16. (Dup. of KAR. 182, rev. 29, and AM. 96, 4, 1, Rm. ii, 484, and very near to AM. 4, 6, 8, PRSM. 1924, 15.) [If ditto], the left horn of an ox, (and) hart's horn thou shalt reduce, with the powder of engraving 1 thou shalt mix 1: cadmia

1 KU a-ru-ul-te ta-man-za'. Aruštē (see PRSM. 1924, 15, n. 2) occurs Sarg. Ann. 201, A.BAR munammur aruštīnuu “antimony which brightens their aruštī”. Aruštī may well be from 𒋫𒈗 (ḫirū) (in spite of hirū ?) “engrave”, and consequently the “antimony” here will be plumbago, as Dr. B. Lambert, F.R.S., has suggested to me, to make the characters stand out in the stone. It is the same idea as in Job xix, 24, where his wish is that his words “were graven with an iron pen and lead in the rock for ever” ; probably not the usual interpretation that the characters are filled with molten lead, but brightened with plumbago.
(tuske)\(^1\) of the smith, *Ammi*, alum, caper, seed of tamarisk,

\(^1\) Tus(δ)-ki-e. I was entirely wrong in PRSM. 1924, 28 ff., in reading this word as *KU ka-a* "cornflour". It must be the same word as the *tu-us-ku-u* of the Chemical texts, which in my *On the Chemistry*, 30 ff., I tried to show was oxide of tin, or even cadmia (p. 38), a form of zinc, and possibly the origin of the word tutty. According to Berthelot (Coll., 241) tutty replaced the cadmia of the ancients, which was (ib. 38) an impure oxide of zinc, mixed with oxide of copper, nay, even with oxide of lead, and oxide of antimony, arsenious acid, etc. Cadmia was found in furnaces where copper was smelted (Pliny, Ibn Beithar, Roscoe, see *On the Chemistry*, 38); Pomet gives the method of obtaining tutty as follows (*Hist. of Drugs*, 1712, ii, 341): " Tutty is found sticking to Rolls of Earth, which are hung up and placed on Purpose on the Top of the Furnaces where the Founders cast their mixed and Bell-metal to retain the Fume or Vapour, like the Smoke in Chimmies, and by the Means of these Rolls the Vapour is retained and reduced into a Shell of the same Figure as these Rollers."

In the Chemical Texts one part of *tusku* to 360 of clear crystal glass renders the glass opaque (*parute aššaki*), and half a part more of *tusku* gives it a reddish tinge. There is a difficulty about this latter proportion, which is very small, if "oxide of tin" is accepted as correct. But it is one of the essentials in making [red coral], by adding 32 parts with one of gold to 7,200 of *zuku* glass (together with 20 of antimony and some *mil'ul-salt*), and here oxide of tin would suit this ancient receipt for the "Purple of Cassius" well. In the Medical Texts *tus*(*δ*)-*ka-a* or *tu-us*-ka-a occurs thus: (a) *tus-ka-a* is one of the ingredients for an eye-salve (*AM*. 9, 1, 34; PRSM. 1924, 28); (b) it is to be brayed alone and put into *kurunnu* beer, boiled, mixed with honey and refined oil, allowed to steam, and then be given "without a meal" to a man with a cough, and the result will be vomiting (*AM*. 80, 7, 7, No. 132); (c) *tu-us-ki-e* (*δ* *amnappa*) *nipṣa* (here), probably for a seizure of some kind (*nipṣa*, see *MA*. s.v., *nipṣa* *eré*, with the same ideogram as *ipri* *eré* "dust of copper"; cf. also *AM*. 14, 5, 7, No. 287, *ni-ip-ṣa* *eré*; the root is *ṭṭu-* "crush"); (d) *taṭtu-us-ka-[a] with arsenic, etc., for painful eyes (*AM*. 15, 4, 5).

Now every one of these instances is evidence for cadmia: in (a) and (d) the use for eyes (cf. *SM*. ii, for eyes *passim*), with the indication that it is a mineral in (d); in (c) the mention of the "smith", indicating the source (the "furnace" of Pliny, etc.); in (b) particularly its use to make a man with a cough vomit, with which cf. Quain, *Dict. of Medicine*, 1883, 311: " An emetic of ipecacuanha, sulphate of zinc (italics mine), or mustard, may be useful in relieving cough, by expelling secretion when this has accumulated in large quantity." Sulphate of zinc "may be prepared by dissolving the oxide of the metal in dilute sulphuric acid; but it is always procured by acting on the metal itself, which is oxidized by the decomposition of water, with the oxygen of which it combines and evolves the hydrogen" (*Penny Cyclopaedia*, 1843, xxvii, 783). The mediaeval method of obtaining tutty is described by Pomet (*Hist. of Drugs*, 1712, ii, 341).

The fact that the word is written *tusku* or *tusku* interchangeably is not,

20. (Dup. KAR. 182, rev., 38 (?), and AM. 96, 4, 7.) If ditto, iron¹ kanšam plant, sulphate of iron, male and [female (?)] *liquidambar thou shalt make into a purse, put on his neck.²

21. . . . sulphate of iron, iron, . . . thou shalt anoint him.

22. (Dup. of AM. 93, 1, 5.)

23. (Dup. of AM. 93, 1, 6.)

24. (May perhaps be dup. of AM. 95, 1, 4.)

No. 263. AM. 95, 1 (S. 353).

3. If a man is sick of the hand of a ghost . . .

4. (For the preamble, cf. AM. 99, 3, r. 11: cf. AM. 70, 2, 24.) For the result of the oppressive hand of a ghost [which the sorcerer cannot remove] . . . for its removal, mustard . . .

6. If ditto, root of . . . for anointing,³ the tree pu . . ., . . . mustard, helébore thou shalt take, [these] seven drugs . . . in an oven thou shalt heat, in a small copper pan [thou shalt mix up, (rub on ?)] . . . until his flesh holds sores (?) ⁴

I think, of serious importance; it is not a common word, and is found only in specially medical or chemical texts, as far as I know. I propose to take it as cadmia or tutty.

¹ But note in l. 20 that there are traces of ŠIM as determination (i.e. "liquidambar").
² KAR and AM. 96, 4 include "anoint with oil".
³ ṬuZa (?)-sur ana pašăši.
⁴ Ibaru ukal, see AM. 5, 7, 3, and 98, 3, 5; and cf. Dennefeld, Bab. Ass. Geburts., s.v. ibaru.
... tarhu-plant, *Calendula, *Chrysanthemum segetum... thou shalt anoint him, and squeezed grapes. ...

12. If the hand of a ghost is oppressive on a man's body. ...

13. Potions (and) food. ...

14. [If] a man at the seizure of the hand of a ghost. ... (Colophon.)

No. 264. AM. 96, 1 (K. 4054).

1. (Preamble, dup. of KAR. 202, iv, 35.) For the cataplasm of a swelling either of the right [or left],1 dates, squeezed 2 tappi of *barley, *Ferula communis, linseed, *Ricinus, U.SA-beer separately thou shalt bray, in kurunnu-beer together [thou shalt mix], on the fire thou shalt boil, on a cloth (v. on a skin) [thou shalt spread], while it is yet hot thou shalt bind on; as thou takest it off 3 thou shalt wa[sh him] in water of Vitex.

8. If ditto, Lathyrus, fenugreek, spelt flour, wheaten flour, flour of..., flour of *barley, powder of suadu, powder of fir-resin, powder of pine-resin, dates, sweet U.SA-beer together on the fire thou shalt boil, with oil (v. curd) thou shalt anoint the surface of the swelling, spread on a skin, bind on, and [he shall recover].

12. Mustard, roses, Lathyrus, thou shalt grind, Lolium... therein thou shalt add, mix in wine, [bind on] the swelling.

14. If the hand of a ghost has seized on a man, and it turns it to a swelling, Artemisia, *balsam, *sagapenum, thou shalt dry, pound, strain, wheaten flour thereto thou shalt

1 Note dup. on KAR. 202.
2 Saghindu (from KAR.) 2am compressit: cf. nurmd sah-ma (AM. 69, 12, 4) "squeezed pomegranate". Cf. also AM. 98, 3, 2.
3 Tap-ta-[jar].
add, either ... in beer or corn in milk thou shalt mix, spread on a cloth, the surface of the bruise anoint with oil.

17. [If a man] is sick from a swelling of a chariot, and his stomach and his bowels ¹ hurt him, into water of *Vitex* thou shalt put him, rub him with ..., let him drink refined oil, thou shalt pound together pine-turpentine, fir-turpentine, ... [tops (juice)] of pomegranate, tops (juice) of *Vitex*, strain, mix in fat, bind on.

20. (Mutilated remedy for a swelling also from a chariot.) ²


1. If the hand of a ghost seizes on a man (or) *bennu* (epilepsy ?) [seizes on him], or the demon "He that holds his head for evil" seizes on him, or *Lugal-ur-ra* ³ seizes on him, or the hand of a goddess seizes on him, or the "hand" of a tabu [seizes on him] ... or an evil *alū*-demon envelopes him ... anger, ⁴ wrath ... his ears sing, ... with his stomach ... speaketh and ... in the night terror ... in the house strife (?). ... 

No. 266. *AM*. 99, 3 (K. 8867) + *AM*. 80, 6 (K. 6761)

Obverse

3. ... gold ... *mušallim*-plant, *Ammi*, to ...

4. (Cf. *AM*. 96, 4, 9.) If a ghost lies on a man, the fat of *iškippi* male and female (?) ... 

5. (Dup. 33, 3, 10.) If ditto, sulphur, hellebore, *liquidambar*, hart's horn, ash of human skull, gum of

¹ *TU = takaltu.*
² Here should be quoted the fragment *AM*. 6, 7, l. 4, [*INIM. INIM*.] *MA di-kiš.* ...
³ This is a demon producing the result of squinting right and left (*JRAS*. 1924, 452). There are a large number of receipts for anointing a man on whom this demon has seized in *KAR*. 186, obv. 23 ff. Mentioned *CT*. xiv, 16, No. 93084, rev. 6.
⁴ *Uz-za-zi."
Andropogon (?), fat of the left kidney of a black ox, Artemisia, *balsam, *sagapenum, gazelle-dung, gazelle flesh, human flesh, nitre (or) . . . total fourteen drugs as a fumigation for the hand of a ghost.

10. (Dup. 33, 3, 13.) Lupins, *Calendula, *Chrysanthemum segetum, hellebore, gum of *Aleppo pine, . . . gazelle-skin, carrot, kelp (?), shoot of . . . (?) . . . garlic, pine-turpentine, old fat of an ox, fourteen drugs . . . in cedar blood thou shalt mix together, over the fire (fumigate).

(For obv. ll. 14–rev. 7, see No. 261, iii, l. 1 ff.)

8. For the oppressive hand of a ghost . . .

9. Mane of a white stallion,¹ glue (?), seed of tamarisk, . . . asses’ dung, seed of fennel, fruit of BAR. HUŠ, sulphur, borax (?). . . .

11. (Cf. AM. 95, 1, 4, and 95, 2, ii, 8.) For the result of the oppressive hand of a ghost which the sorcerer cannot remove, for its removal a human knee-cap (?),² glue (?), . . . seed of tamarisk, womb (?) of a woman who has had intercourse,³ together thou shalt bray, in fire fumigate . . .

(For the remainder see No. 261, Col. IV.)

No. 267. AM. 97, 4 (K. 4075)

2. . . . and his . . . side (?) troubles him . . . sumach (?), *Ricinus, kelp (?) . . . caper [root], acacia-root, oak-galls (?), . . . [together] thou shalt bray, anoint him, and he shall recover.

¹ Bu-ša-li piš.  
² Ku-bu-us kim-ši ameluti. Kubu is a “turban” or other headgear, and as there is no doubt about kim-ši this is the only suggestion I can make for it, unless it means “leg-binding” (puttee).  
³ Rim innisiti pa-kar-ti, the latter word new, doubtless the equivalent of the Syr. *Ω (Etpa.) deflorata est.
6. [If a man]’s face (?) is distorted, he sinks down upon a bed and lies, it is the hand of a ghost: thou shalt rub his temples with human semen,1 bray together sulphate of iron (and) *liquidambar, mix in oil, anoint him.

9. If a ghost seizes on a man, mil’u-salt, white mil’u-salt, black mil’u-salt, magnetic iron ore, male sulphate of iron, šū-stone, Asa (dulcis), akusimanu(?)-plant, seed of tamarisk, EL.KUL.LA-plant, MUḪ.KUL.LA-plant, fennel-root in refined oil and cedar-blood thou shalt mix, anoint him, and the hand of the ghost shall be removed.


16. If a ghost seizes on a man, with human skull, Andropogon (?), turmeric, in oil thou shalt anoint him.

18. If the muscle of a man’s neck hurts him, it is the hand of a ghost: thou shalt put (?) . . . the dust of the crossroads, encircle his neck therewith; oil, water, and kurunnu-beer thou shalt beat up together and let it stand under the stars (?) : in the morning before anyone has spoken to him, let him rub his neck and his body and [he shall recover].


23. Thou shalt anoint his temples with the dust of a fallen ruin (and) Crataegus Azarolus (?) in cedar oil.

25. (Dup. CT. xxiii, 44, iii, 3; KAR. 182, 10.) If a man at the seizure of a ghost his temples hurt him, sulphate of iron, lime (?),2 mil’u-salt, black mil’u-salt, magnetic iron ore, iron-stone, these six drugs3 thou shalt bray together, mix in cedar-blood, anoint his temples, his eyes, and his neck,4 and he shall recover.

1 = *Tragacanth (JRAS. 1924, 452).
2 Omitted in CT. xxiii, which adds instead ʷAŠ, Asa (dulcis) at the end.
3 KAR “Seven drugs,” adding ʷAŠ, Asa (dulcis).
4 Different order on AM.
30. (Apparently dup. of KAR. 184, 33.) If a man has an ache of the temples, his ears singing, his eyes glittering, the muscle of his neck hurts him, his side holds poison, his kidney "strikes" him, his stomach is troubled, his feet are weak, that man a ghost of the roads pursues him. For his recovery:

(37) On the fifteenth day (of the month) when the moon and sun stand (visible) together, that man thou shalt wrap in a cloth, thou shalt spread red iron oxide on his temples, letting its "blood" exude: thou shalt let him sit down in a reed hut: thou shalt set his face to the north: unto the moon in the west thou shalt offer a censer of pine gum, (and) thou shalt make a libation of cow's milk; to the sun in the east thou shalt offer a censer of cypress, (and) thou shalt pour a libation of kurummu-beer: that man shall say as follows:—

(43) "On my left is the Moon, the crescent of the wide heaven: on my right is the father of the black-headed race,

---

1 Ibarrura. Cf. CT. xxiii, 23, i, 1 (dup. KAR. 202, 1, 1, and TCMP. 1, my No. 285), i, birratu, and for bararu, PRSM. 1924, 18.
2 Rimutu, from ramâ "be loosed". Cf. A.M. 20, 1, 36 (dup. of KAR. 188, r. 14), and 38 (dups. of CT. xxiii, 40, 4 and 6), "if a man has tib (v. tib (ib)) ŠAK.KI and has rimutu"; 52, 5, 4, "[If] . . . his flesh has šimmatu and rimutu"; 82, 2, 7, "To ease a man of šipir mišitti, and rimute . . . ."; KAR. 185, iv, 5, Ana šimmatin u rimutim; A.M. 5, 6, 7, "to ease a man of . . . and rimutu." Cf. KAR. 157, 18, and Langdon, Bab. Wisdom, 45, 10, kal pagri-ia itāhash rimutu.
3 Ridat (v. ridāti, l. 45); cf. Maqlu, iii, 147, edimmu (v. utukku) ri-da-a-ti šarrani-ki u-ša-as[ . ] The parallel har-ba-ti "ruins" in A.M. 88, 4, 6, shows that we probably have here a word from ridā "tread", i.e. roadways, or perhaps (forgotten) tracks haunted by ghosts. The addition of the phrase "an evil wind hath blown on me" (išippani, šēpu) as concomitant, indicates the idea of the ghostly visitant coming with the wind. The patient is set with his face to the north (= IM.SI.SA, the direction of the "right" wind) to counteract this.
4 šušakâ, a cloth. For tušKA "red iron oxide", see my On the Chemistry, 123, and note the quotations on pp. 122, 123, for the quality of the oxides in giving a blood-red colour. The use here is obviously magical to symbolize blood.
5 It must be the full moon, or nearly, not the crescent.
the sun, the judge; the gods on either hand, the fathers of
the great gods, make decisions of wide-spread mankind. An
evil wind hath blown ¹ upon me, and a ghost of the roads ¹
pursueth me. So am I perturbed,² distressed, and troubled:
rescue me by your judgment that I be not overwhelmed.”
Seven times he shall say (this) and come forth from the reed
hut, and (then) change his clothes, putting on clean ones.³
He shall say as follows:—

(48) Charm: “O Nannar, ‘marble’ of heaven and earth,
remove the evil sickness in my body” seven times he shall
say; and unto the Sun he shall say as follows:—

(50) “O Sun, judge of the black-headed race, let the evil
wind which hath settled on me go forth like smoke to heaven:
I pay thee my devotion” three times he shall say: (not
complete ?).

No. 266. AM. 96, 7, (K. 6413)
1. If there is on a man the hand of a tabu, the hand of
a ghost, the hand of a man . . . , the hand of a goddess,
he speaking and not . . . behind him it is bound on, a god
or goddess is angry with him . . . his [sleep] oppresses him,
his dreams being evil . . . he seeing . . . not good, terror
of . . . he has anger of heart, trouble ⁴ of heart . . . hatred
in the mouth of men . . . the prince his advancement ⁵ will
promise him but will not give him . . . his flesh holds poison
. . . yellow, red, and black his body changes . . . his [words]
he forgets, a woman his heart does not lo[ve] . . . ⁶

¹ See note 3 on previous page.
² Assaku, presumably for aššaku, parallel in meaning to the other two
verbs.
³ Symbolic for the cleansing, but also perhaps that the ghost should
not recognize the patient.
⁴ Nullate, see PRSM. 1926, 73, n. 8.
⁵ Du-rik-šù. The root darāku, comparable to 𒂊𒈵 “tread, march”,
occurring in dirāku, darkatu similar to aḫrātu “posterity” (coming after-
wards). Darku must have the meaning of “step”, i.e. “promotion” or
“advancement” here. It would be too fanciful to see in this the dariku
“Dariš” of a later period.
⁶ SAL libbi-šu la ir-’-[am].
1. If the hand of a ghost . . . s a man . . .

2. Practical prescription for this: *nupuḫi* *(nuputi)* of a man . . ., an *IB. LAL*-garment 
1 the first day thou shalt . . . (?) 
2 . . . , *kurunnu*-beer, wine . . . three times with water (?) . . .


No. 268. *AM*. 94, 6 (K. 13387). Fragment "When the hand of a ghost seizes a man", to be compared with *AM*. 97, 6, 1.

No. 269. *AM*. 76, 1 (K. 4609 B). (Text in *KMI*. 73.)
1. . . . "the hand of a ghost lifting its head for evil", lupins, . . . seed of laurel, alum, hellebore, sulphate of iron, . . ., *Asa fətida* *(nuḫurtu)*, *mint*, *Asa fətida* *(tiḏtu)*, twelve drugs for "the hand of a ghost lifting its head for evil."

4. [If a man]'s [ear (?)]'s are deaf, 
3 the roof of his mouth 
4 is dry, 
5 his . . . have poison, water . . . (?) , has "fire of his stomach", [his sleep ?] upon him is not good, a woman his heart desires but he sees a woman and his heart is not lifted up, [his voice] in speaking is low, 
6 that man the hand of a ghost pursues 
7 him. For his recovery, [tarḫu-plant ?], 
*Calendula*, *Chrysanthemum segetum*, hellebore, nail of a black dog, *mint*, *Asa fətida* *(nuḫurtu)*, *Asa fətida* *(tiḏtu)*, powdered alum, . . . thou shalt pound, sift, let him drink in beer or wine, and he shall recover.

11. [If a man in] the seizure of the hand of a ghost his

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1 See *SAI*. No. 3383.
2 *Taḫ-zib.*
3 *It-te-nim*(?)-mi-ru.
4 *Ur pî-šu*; cf. "if his tongue and *ur pî-šu*" (CT. xxxvii, 37, 13).
5 *I-ta-nab-b*[al].
6 . . . [i (?)]-na da-ba-bi ša-pil.
7 *US* (= *ridû*-šu.)
epigastrium "blows fire" (or) has "fire of the stomach", his epigastrium "cuts" him, lupins, *Calendula, *Chrysanthemum segetum, mustard, seed of tamarisk, seed of laurel, *mint, *Solanum, *Asa faetida (tiatsu), *Asa faetida (nuhurstu), in kurunnu-beer let him drink a sample and he shall recover.

15. [If] a man in the seizure of the hand of a ghost his epigastrium "cuts" him, for his recovery tarhu-plant, *Calendula, *Chrysanthemum segetum, mustard, tamarisk, water of *mint, seed of tamarisk, seed of laurel in beer let him drink.2

17. If a man the hand of a ghost seizes him and pursues him, for his recovery tarhu-plant, *Calendula, *Chrysanthemum segetum, mustard, hellebore, *mint, *Solanum, seven drugs to free the hand of a ghost thou shalt bray, in beer let him drink, and he shall recover.


23. If ditto, *Calendula, seed of tamarisk, alum, three

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1 *Ma-al-fa-ra, cf. ana maššāti "correspondingly!", A.M. 83, 1, r. 17 (No. 135), and Kuechler, Beitr., iii, i, 27 ff., where the patient is (e.g., l. 34) to drink sašlanu (alone) in strong wine, if his symptoms are that he neither eats nor drinks, but his stomach ana paré šiteniša rupušta ndirī šittadi méina pi-šu māššāti illaku, etc. Tell-el-Amarna (Bezold-Budge), No. 11, rev. 52, . . . șaI-u-ni aššāti-ia li-il-lik . . . a-na ma-al-la-ri-iš ma šummar-[šipri] . . . șaI-u-ni aššāti-ia a-na . . . li-il-li-ku a-na ma-al-la-[šiš] . . . (section ends). Doubtful.

2 NAK.MEŠ, obviously equivalent to NAK.NAK in the preceding receipt. Cf. also the use of the plural sign in KAR. 184, rev. 1, šumma NA edimmu iṣbat-su ma UŠšu, where UŠšu is clearly the equivalent of UŠ.UŠ here in l. 17.

3 UŠ. UŠ-šu.

4 UR.
drugs for the hand of a ghost let him drink in beer, and he shall recover.

24. If a man the hand of a ghost seizes him and pursues him, *Tarh[pu]-plant, *Calendula, *Chrysanthemum segetum, mustard, ... seed of tamarisk, seed of laurel, seed of *Tragacanth, seed of fennel, *Crataegus arzorolus (?), ten drugs for the hand of a ghost in beer let him drink and he shall recover.

27. [If ditto] ... *Calendula, *Chrysanthemum segetum, mustard, hellebore, seed of laurel ..., alum, human bone ..., let him [drink] and he shall recover.

No. 270. *AM. 94, 5 (K. 11772)
1. If a man a ghost seizes him and pursues *(Uš-Uš) [him] ... from the middle of his brain ... his cheek ...

No. 271. *AM. 100, 2 (K. 7846) (text in KMI. 74) (Section 1, an ointment; 2, fourteen drugs including *Andropogon (?), *Ferula Persica, gazelle-dung, flesh of gazelle, harts-horn, etc. 3, 4, for the hand of a ghost.)
Bhāmaha, Bhaṭṭi and Dharmakīrti

By H. R. DIWEKAR

THE relation between Bhāmaha and Bhaṭṭi is very interesting. It was once¹ believed that Bhāmaha preceded Bhaṭṭi. But Dr. Jacobi’s discovery² that he has borrowed Dharmakīrti’s doctrines and phraseology has changed his relation to Bhaṭṭi. Not only is it now presumed that “Bhāmaha probably knew Bhaṭṭi’s work”,³ but that he even “clumsily repeats in almost identical terms”⁴ a verse of Bhaṭṭi. The point, however, does not appear to have been definitely settled, and a few remarks will not be deemed unnecessary in reviewing the entire question.

It must first be seen in what connection Bhāmaha wrote the verse in question. It occurs in the second pariccheda of his Kāvyālāṅkāra. Bhāmaha describes Alaṅkāras in this and the next pariccheda. He first considers the question of long compounds, and emphasizes the two qualities of a poem, prasāda and mādhurya. He then mentions the five Alaṅkāras

Anuprāsah sayamako rūpakaṃ dipakopame⁵

and treats the first two in verses 5 to 18. In verse No. 19 he incidentally mentions prahelikā as nānā-dhātvartha-gambhīrā yamaka-vyapadesinī, and then writes the verse in question, i.e.:

kāvyāny api yadimāni
vyākhyāgamamāṇi śāstravat
utsavah sudhiyām eva
hanta durmedhaso hatāḥ.

“Even if these, which, like scientific treatises, can be understood only by commentaries, be poems, it is only a festival

¹ Jacobi, ZDMG. lxiv.
³ S. K. De, Sanskrit Poetics, p. 51.
⁴ Keith, History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 116.
⁵ Bhāmaha, Kāvyālāṅkāra, ii, 4.
to those who have a fine intellect, but alas! undone are the dull-witted.” It is quite clear from the context that Bhāma, in his usual ironical style, criticizes here not a sargabandha mahākāvyā, but detached verses like prahelikās, which come under his fifth species, anibaddha kāvyā, and which are not only vyākhyāgamya, but śāstravat vyākhyāgamya. That a sargabandha mahākāvyā cannot but be vyākhyāgamya appears to be a fact tacitly accepted by Bhāma from the verse i, 20, where he says that a mahākāvyā should be nātīvyākhyeyam rddhimat,

and not

avyākhyeyam samṛddhimat.

The butt of his irony, therefore, appears to be not vyākhyāgamyaatva or vyākhyeyatva, but śāstravat vyākhyāgamyaatva or ativyākhyeyatva.

But the idea that Bhāma criticizes Bhaṭṭi seems to be so strong in Dr. Jacobi’s mind that it makes him unhappily improve the reading of one of Bhāma’s verses, and see in it the same irony. In verse i, 36, of Bhāma the word nitāntādi appears to him “sinnlose”, and he is tempted to read tiṇantādi instead. It must be here explained why the reading nitāntādi is not senseless, but, on the contrary, wholly in consonance with the sense and that the reading tiṇantādi is quite unwarranted and inadmissible. It must be remembered that in verses i, 35, 36, Bhāma is expressing his view, which is neither wholly in favour of Gauḍīya nor wholly in favour of Vaidarbhā. In i, 35, he says:

alaṅkāravat agrāmyam
arthyam nyāyyam anākulum
Gauḍīyam api sādhīyo;
Vaidarbhām iti nānyathā,

and it is to illustrate the last line of this verse that he writes

na nitāntādimātreṇa jāyate cārutā girām,

1 Cf. ibid., iv, 7; vi, 12, 14.
2 Ibid., i, 18.
which means "mere words like nitānta, etc., do not beautify the speech". Bhāmaha, who writes "after seeing various works of others and after drawing his own inferences", has here very aptly chosen the word nitānta to illustrate the tendency of the poets to use such words to beautify their verses. The word is rarely used by writers other than poets, with whom it appears to be a favourite word. To leave other poets aside, Kālidāsa alone has used it not less than ten times. The word is formed of syllables which suggest mādhurya, and has, moreover, a sense which makes it so easily applicable. Bhāmaha himself has it in ii, 5:

kim tayā cintaya kānte
nitānteti yathoditam.

On the other hand, the word tināntādi will be quite out of place, as the verbal forms are not supposed to adorn the style. Even in the parallel passage of Vāmana, cited by Dr. Jacobi, we have:

suptīnsamskāramātram yat
kliśtavastuṇgunam bhavet.

It is not at all therefore necessary to emend nitāntādi into tināntādi, and to see Bhāmaha’s irony directed against Bhaṭṭi.

Let us now see how far it is possible for Bhāmaha to make Bhaṭṭi a butt of his ironical remarks. That Bhāmaha assigns a great importance to grammatically correct forms is quite manifest from his sixth pariccheda, where, after metaphorically describing the science of grammar as like an ocean, he says:

nāpārayitvā durgūḍham
anum vyākaraṇārṇavam
śabda-ratnam svayamgāmam
alaṅkartum ayam janaḥ | (3) |

1 Ibid., v, 69.
2 Böhtlingk and Roth, St. Petersburg Dictionary.
3 Kārya-prakāśa, viii, 9.
4 Vāmana, iii, 2–15.

JRAS. OCTOBER 1929.
He knows that the unintelligent are afraid of learning sciences because they are difficult to understand, and himself advises the writing of treatises on scientific subjects sweet-seasoned with poetry. He has also illustrated his method by giving some of Pāṇini’s rules in verses 32 to 60 of his sixth pariccheda. He has as far as possible followed the order of the Āṣṭādhyāyī, as can be easily seen from the following table:

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Bhaṭṭi, on his part, does the same. He also holds grammar in high esteem, makes a nice combination of pleasure and profit, and tries to illustrate in order the rules of grammar. Can there be then any reason whatsoever for Bhāmaha to criticize Bhaṭṭi, whose views seem to be completely in accord with those of Bhāmaha?

On the other hand, there is at least one verse of Bhāmaha which raises strong doubts in the readers’ minds as to the pre-existence of the Bhāṭṭi-kāvya. The verse is vi, 62.

*Sālāturīya-matam etad anukramaṇa ko vakṣyaṭiti virato’ ham ato vicārāt śabdārṇavaṣya yadi kaścid upaśī pāram bhīmāmbhasaḥ ca jaladherr iti vismayo’ sau.*

1 Ibid., v, 3.
"The thought, 'who can possibly describe these views of Sālātuṇḍiya in order?' makes me desist from this. It will be equally wonderful if one goes to the other side of this ocean of words or of the ocean itself full of frightful waters." Does this verse not show that a work like the Bhatti-kaṃva could not have been in existence when Bhāmaha wrote? Does it not appear more likely that these lines of Bhāmaha may have incited Bhaṭṭi in the first place, and Bhaumaka in the second, to write poems illustrating the rules of Pāṇini in a regular order?

But what has Bhaṭṭi himself to say about his poem? He expresses his opinion in the last verse but three of his work. In xxii, 32, he calls the poem "wonderful owing to ways of expression", "well-composed", and "leading those to success who either speak or have a desire to speak (Sanskrit)". In verse No. 33 he says: "This composition is like a lamp to those who have an eye to the characteristics of words, and is like the touch of a hand to those who are without grammar, blind." What he means to say is that those who have already mastered the science of grammar will be able to perceive with the help of this work many similar forms, but those who do not know grammar will be able to recognize at least the forms which actually occur in his poem, just like the blind, who, even when they are unable to see other things, at least recognize those things which they can feel by their hands. It is thus useful for both—those who have studied the science of grammar and are speaking Sanskrit; as well as those who have not learnt grammar, but have a desire to speak Sanskrit.

But still Bhaṭṭi seems to be conscious of one thing, and that is that his poem is not sufficiently lucid. The very fact that he calls that part of his work which illustrates the science of rhetorics prasānna-kāṇḍa, clearly shows the importance which he assigns to lucidity or prasāda-guṇa in a poem. It is under this prasānna-kāṇḍa that he illustrates Alankāras,  

1 Bhaṭṭi-kaṃva, Colophon to Cantos x, xii, xiii.
Madhurya, Bhavikatva, and Bhasha-sama.\(^1\) It was therefore quite likely that an objection might be raised against his work, as being aprasanna or vyakhyaagamyam. And it is in anticipation of this objection that Bhatti writes the verse No. 34:—

\[
\text{vyakhyaagamyam idam kavyam}
\text{utsavah sudhiyam alam}
\text{hatat durmedhasa casmim}
\text{vidvat-priyatayMaya.}
\]

"This poem is explicable by a commentary! It is, however, sufficient that it will be a festival for the intelligent, and it is because I like the wise, that I have not thought much of the dull-witted." It is not thus a boast, but rather an excuse. If a poet is to boast of his poem as being a hard nut to crack, he will boast that the learned and not the dull-witted will find it difficult. To puzzle the dull-witted is not a thing to be proud of, and this is why Bhatti gives vidvatpriyatat as an excuse for that. It will, therefore, not be wrong if it is said that the verse of Bhama, whose conception of a poem is 

\[\text{avidvadanganabalaapraitAtarham prasadavat,}\]

must be the original, and the verse of Bhatti, who also accepts that conception, is based on Bhama's words. The word alam which signifies a pratisedha (contradiction), and the reason vidvatpriyatat put forward, makes this position quite clear in the minds of the readers.

Another point of importance in connection with Bhatti is his illustration of Alanakaras in the tenth canto of his poem. So much has been made of this canto by writers on the history of Sanskrit literature that a few remarks will not be out of place in this connection. The canto is written particularly to illustrate the Alanakaras, but Bhatti himself does not give the names of the Alanakaras, which are afterwards indicated by the Jayamangala. But to infer from these names that they were the only Alanakaras known to Bhatti is going too far. One or two striking examples must

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\(^1\) Bhatti-kavya, Colophon to Canto xiii.

\(^2\) Ibid., ii, 3.
be first given in support of my view. In case of *Arthālaṅkāra* it is not easy to declare whether the poet purposely used that *Alaṅkāra* or whether it was unconsciously used by the poet and was afterwards observed by readers. But with reference to *Sabḍālaṅkāra*, it can be safely decided whether the poet intended or not to use it. Let us take for example the verse x, 36—

\[ \text{ahṛta dhaneśvarasya yudhi yaḥ sametamāyo dhanaṁ} \\
\text{tam aham ito viloya vibudhaiḥ kṛtottamāyodhanam} \\
\text{vibhavamadena nihnutahriyā' timātra sampannakam} \\
\text{vyathayati satpathād adhigata' thaveha sampan na kain.} \]

The *Jayamaṅgalā* notes this as an example of *Arthāntara-nyāsa*, but that the verse illustrates a subspecies of *Yamaka*, in which the first line is rhymed with the second and the third with the fourth—a subspecies rarely noted and followed by Sanskrit rhetoricians and poets—is a fact which, though unperceived by the *Jayamaṅgalā*, cannot escape the notice of others. Is it to be supposed that this exceptional subspecies of *Yamaka*, which is invariably followed by *Marāṭhī* and other vernacular poets, was unconsciously used by *Bhaṭṭī*? The same may be asked concerning the verse ii, 19—

\[ \text{na taj jalam yan na sucārupaṅkajam} \\
\text{na pāṅkajam tad yad alāṅṣaṁpadam} \\
\text{na śatpado' sau na juguṁja yaḥ kalam} \\
\text{na guṁjitam tan na jahāra yan manaḥ.} \]

It cannot be said that the idea of a chain, in the form of a connection between *jala, pāṅkaja, śatpada, guṁjana*, and *manohara*, was not present in *Bhaṭṭī*’s mind at the time of composing this verse.

Mallinātha, in his commentary on the *Bhaṭṭī-kāvya*, has noted therein the following *Alaṅkāras* :

1. *Atiśayokti*, viii, 2, 71; ix, 62; x, 27, 41, 45; xii, 19.
2. *Ananvaya*, x, 68.
4. *Apahnuti*, x, 57.
5. Arthāntaranyāsa, ii, 6; vi, 24; x, 36, 66; xi, 11; xii, 74; xiii, 9.
6. Ākṣepa, x, 38.
7. Utprekṣā, i, 6; ii, 3, 4, 12, 25, 47; vi, 13; vii, 97, 98, 106, 107, 108, 109; viii, 15, 35, 39, 49, 50, 67; ix, 25, 34, 55, 56, 64; x, 26, 34, 44, 47, 60, 62, 69; xi, 2, 3, 7, 20, 28; xii, 3, 6.
8. Udātta, v, 27; x, 52, 53.
9. Upamā, i, 4, 7, 8; ii, 2, 8; iii, 19; iv, 16, 44 (mālopamā); x, 28, 30, 31, 33, 35, 59; ix, 5, 6, 134; xi, 15, 16, 37; xii, 84.
10. Upameyopamā, x, 64.
12. *Kāranamālā, x, 22.
13. *Kāvyalinga, v, 42, 43; x, 23, 24, 37, 40, 48, 71; xii, 14; xiii, 11.
14. Tulyayogītā, x, 54, 56.
15. *Drśṭānta, x, 72; xii, 82.
16. Nidarśanā, viii, 82, 92; xii, 77; xiii, 43; xvi, 16, 17, 18.
17. Parikara, xii, 49; xiv, 38.
18. Paryāyokti, xi, 43.
19. *Pratīpa, x, 46.
20. Prīyas, x, 73.
21. *Bhrāntimat, ii, 9; x, 49; xiii, 42.
22. Yathāsaṅkhya, ii, 5; ix, 120; x, 43; xi, 1; xii, 5; xv, 92.
23. Yamaka, viii, 132; x, 2 to 21, 36; xxi, 21.
24. Rūpaka, ii, 28; vi, 104; viii, 51; ix, 8; x, 25, 29; xi, 26.
25. Virodhābhāsa, i, 1, 16; x, 58, 63; xi, 24.
28. Vyatireka, v, 65; x, 39.
29. Śleṣa, x, 55.
30. *Sama, i, 5; x, 61.
31. Samāsokti, xi, 14.
32. *Samuccaya, i, 2; iii, 22; v, 1; xii, 81; xvii, 1.
33. Sasandeha, ii, 18, 41; x, 67; xi, 10.
34. *Sahokti, x, 32, 65.
35. Samsuṣṭi, i, 3; x, 70; xi, 36; xii, 10; xx, 37.

The list is by no means exhaustive, and it will be hard to think, in presence of these examples, that all the Alaṅkāras in the above list marked with an asterisk and not mentioned by the Jayamaṅgalā were unknown to and unconsciously employed by Bhaṭṭi.

It must be well borne in mind that Bhaṭṭi was no theorist. He writes his poem to illustrate the rules of grammar and rhetoric. Nowhere does he say that he follows a particular work or illustrates according to a particular order. He is thus quite free to base his illustrations on more than one work and to make changes, add, or omit where he thinks necessary. The names given to the sargas or kāṇḍas simply follow the well-known Sanskrit maxim, "prādhānyena vyapadeśā bhavanti," and indicate principally the topics illustrated. But it will be far from right to infer therefrom that each verse of the tenth canto must illustrate an Alaṅkāra, and that no Alaṅkāra not illustrated therein was known to him. Even the tradition naming the Alaṅkāras in canto x points no Alaṅkāra in the last verse, whereas we do find in other cantos some Alaṅkāras unmentioned in this canto. It would have been surely a different case if Bhaṭṭi himself had indicated the names of the Alaṅkāras. But there is no proof that he gives the names, and the above discussion will show that he does not follow rigorously any work either in the order or the number of Alaṅkāras.

Let us now closely examine the commentary Jayamaṅgalā, which indicates the names of these Alaṅkāras. From the commentator’s way of giving the name of the Alaṅkāra ending with iti, like a pratīka, it can be safely said that the commentator does not himself name the Alaṅkāras, but is commenting on the words as given in the manuscript before
him. But, when we look to the details furnished by him in explanation of those words, we can clearly see that he follows no author but Bhāmaha. In thirty cases out of thirty-eight Alaṅkāras he quotes Bhāmaha's definitions in verses. In case of Dipaka, instead of quoting Bhāmaha's line

amūni kurvate 'nvarthām
asyākhyām arthadīpanāt

the Jayamaṅgalā simply says: vākyārtha - prakāśanād dipakam ucyeate; whereas in the cases of Vārttā, Preyas, Urjasvin, Samāhita, Udāra (Udātta), Hetu, and Nipuṇa he gives a short explanation for each. Coming to subspecies of the Alaṅkāras, we also find that the Jayamaṅgalā gives similar explanatory notes on the names of the Alaṅkāras, the only new quotation given by him being in the case of Cakravāla-yamaka as

padānām avasāne tu
vākye syāt tulyavarṇatā |
pratipādam bhaved yatra
cakravālam tad ucyeate ||

In two cases more he gives the opinion of others, once as

yamakesu kriyāpadasya abhidheyatvam na duśyati, and then once as
tad eva anyaih khandarūpakam iti ucyeate.

In all other cases the Jayamaṅgalā has nothing to say but what Bhāmaha says in his work. We shall thus be not far from right if we say that the commentator knows particularly Bhāmaha, and tries to conciliate the names of the Alaṅkāras recorded in the manuscript before him with the definitions of Bhāmaha. How far he has succeeded in doing so need not be said. But, to be fair to him, it must be admitted that he has tried his best to explain the names indicated in his text.

1 Ibid., ii, 26.
2 Jayamaṅgalā, on x, 6.
3 Jayamaṅgalā on x, 19.
4 Jayamaṅgalā on x, 27.
But can the names in the text before the *Jayamaṅgalā* be supported? We see that in case of *Dīpaka* in verses 22 to 24 the commentator has not been successful. The three subspecies of *Dīpaka* are explained by him as based on the position of the verb: *Kriyāpadasya ādau śrūyamāṇatvāt, ante nirdīṣṭatvat, and madhye nirdīṣṭatvat*, which is not clear at all. Verses Nos. 32 and 65 are exactly similar and cannot be examples of two different *Alaṅkāras*. One is unable to understand how he illustrates *Vārttā* in verse 45 and *paryāyokti* in verse 49. He takes the name *Uḍāra* to mean *Uḍāta*, and says that *Nipunam* in verse 73 is also to be counted under *Uḍāta*. I see, therefore, no reason to support the names accepted by the *Jayamaṅgalā* in this canto. That the text before the *Jayamaṅgalā* was not free from corruption is plain from the reading of the second line of the last verse:—

*Sriḍharasūnu-narendra-pālitāyām,*

which has been explained by the *Jayamaṅgalā* as:—

*Sriḍharasūnuma Narendra-nāmna nṛpeṇa pālitāyām raksitāyām,*

where the correct reading appears to be

*Sriḍharasena-narendra-pālitāyām.*

It seems, therefore, quite reasonable to think (1) that Bhaṭṭī himself followed no one author rigorously to illustrate the *Alaṅkāras*, (2) that the names indicated in the manuscript before the *Jayamaṅgalā* might have been written by someone who tried to find out the *Alaṅkāras* illustrated by Bhaṭṭī.

But even if the commentary of *Jayamaṅgalā* is set aside, the parallelism between Bhāmaha and Bhaṭṭī is no doubt very remarkable. In addition to the resemblance noted between Bhāmaha, ii, 20, and Bhaṭṭī, xxii, 34, the following may be pointed out. In Bhāmaha, ii, 70, one reads:—

*svavikramākrāntabhuvaś
citrāṁ yan na tavoddhatīḥ |
ko vā setur alam sindhor
vikāra-karaṇam pratī ||*
Compare with this Bhaṭṭi, x, 37:

rddhimān rākṣasā mudhāś
citram na asau yad uddhataḥ |
ko vā hetur anāryānāṃ
dharmyā vartmani vartītum ||

The gato' stam arko of Bhāmaha, ii, 87, may be compared with gato' stam induḥ of Bhaṭṭi, xi, 3. Single words having some grammatical peculiarities are naturally common to both and need not be pointed out.¹ But the following cannot be disregarded. In Bhāmaha, ii, 31, we read:

yatheva sabdau sādvyām
āhatur vyatirekinoḥ |
dūrvākāṇḍam iva śyāmān
tanvī śyāmā Lalā yathā ||

Bhaṭṭi makes Śūrpanakhā describe the beauty of Śiṭā to Rāvaṇa in the following words:

yosid vṛndārikā tasya
dayītā hamsagāmiṇī |
dūrvākāṇḍam iva śyāmā
nyagrodha-parimandalā || (v, 18)

Jayamangalā simply explains:

dūrvākāṇḍam iva śyāmā, dūrvāstambam, tadd iva śyāmā.

But Mallinātha and other commentators really find it difficult to explain. Mallinātha says: Dūrvā-kāṇḍam iva śyāmā | Etac ca purāṇāntare draṣṭavyām kalpabhedena vā | anyathā Rāmāyaṇa-virodhat. In Rāmāyaṇa, ii, 62, 8, we find the words śyāmā padmadalekṣañā. Will it be, therefore, far from the truth that the word in the Rāmāyaṇa, on which work is based the poem of Bhaṭṭi, with the stock example of Upamā quoted by Bhāmaha, may have given Bhaṭṭi's phrase:

Dūrvākāṇḍam iva śyāmā?

¹ The common particular works like aranyāni, jāgarā, pinḍisāra, etc., may be, however, noted.
It may be thus seen that the internal evidence inclines more to the suppositions that Bhāmaha existed before Bhaṭṭi, that the remark of Bhāmaha in vi, 62, may have incited Bhaṭṭi to write his poem, and that this explains better the parallelism between Bhāmaha and Bhaṭṭi. The only point to be considered further is the relation between Bhāmaha and Dharmakirti. The publication of Diṅnāga’s Nyāya-pravesa¹ helps us better now to decide the question.

Bhāmaha commences his treatment of logic in v, 5, which runs thus:—

\[
\text{sattvād arthaḥ pramāṇābhyām} \\
\text{pratyakṣam anumā ca te} \\
\text{asādhāranasāmānaya-} \\
\text{viśayatvam tayoḥ kila.}
\]

The reading sattvādayaḥ has been emended on comparison with the beginning of the Nyāya-bhāṣya—

\[
\text{pramāṇam antareṇa na arthapratipattīḥ.}
\]

Bhāmaha clearly mentions here two pramāṇas, in opposition to the ancient school of logic, and thus shows his preference for the Buddhist school of logic, and which rejects the other two pramāṇas, Upamāna and Ṣabda. He apparently follows here Diṅnāga’s Nyāya-praveśa, sūtra 53. It must be noted here that Dharmakirti, in his Nyāya-bīdu does not consider Pratyakṣa and Anumāna as pramāṇas, but as samyag-jñānas.²

The second line may be compared with the sūtras :—

(12) Tasya (pratyakṣasya) viṣayah svalakṣanam.
(16) Anyat sāmānya-lakṣanam.
(17) So’numānasya viṣayah.

And the tīkā on the (12) :—

\[
\text{Svam asādhāraṇam lakṣaṇam tattvam svalakṣanam} \\
\text{vastuno hy asādhāraṇam ca tattvam asti sāmānyam ca.}
\]

¹ Gaikvad Oriental Series, No. xxxix (Tibetan text).
² Nyāya-bīdu, sūtras i, 2, 3.
But even here Dharmakīrti owes his sūtra 12 to the Nyāya-praveśa, sūtra 59:

... raṇ. gi . mtshan . ŋid . kyi . yul . ŋid . las ...

In verse v, 6, Bhāmaha states two definitions, the first of which is found in the Nyāya-praveśa, sūtra 54, and the second is mentioned as that of Vasubandhu by Vācaspati Miśra. Dharmakīrti improves this definition of Diṇṇāga by adding the adjective abhrāntam to it, while his definition of kalpanā in Nyāya-bindu, sūtra v, is worded quite differently from that of Diṇṇāga, which latter seems to be quoted by Bhāmaha. Verses 7 to 10 simply comment on these two definitions of Pratyakṣa, and verse 11 gives us again two definitions of Anumāṇa.

The second of these, viz. tadvido nāntarīyārtha-dārṣanam, is supposed to be that of Diṇṇāga by Vācaspati Miśra. Dr. Jacobi supposes the first definition, Trirūpāl liṅgato jñānam anumāṇam, to be based on that of Dharmakīrti, viz.:

Tatra trirupal liṅgad yad anumeye jñanam, tad anumāṇam, Nyāya-bindu, ii, 3.

But Dr. Jacobi appears here to have overlooked the difference made by Dharmakīrti between Svārthānumāṇa and Parāthānumāṇa. After the sūtras

Anumāṇam dvidā, ii, 1,

and

Svārtham Parārtham ca, ii, 2,

Dharmakīrti gives the above definition, which, as explained by the Nyāya-bindu-tīkā, is not the definition of the general anumāṇa, but that of the particular svārthānumāṇa. This fact is quite clear from the definition of Parāthānumāṇa given in the Nyāya-bindu as Trirūpa-liṅgākhyānam parārthānumāṇam, iii, 1. Bhāmaha’s definition should not be supposed

to be based therefore on that of Dharmakīrti; it appears to be rather based on that of Diṅnāga in the Nyāya-praveśa.

55. rjes . su . dpag . pa . ni . rtags . las . don . mthun . baho, and
56. rtags . ni . tshul . gsum . .

And the second line of verse v, 11, need not, therefore, be read as . . . cā' pare viduḥ, but should be kept as it is— . . . cā' paraṁ viduḥ, meaning that this is the second definition of anumāna according to some.

Verses v, 12 to 20, treat of Pakṣa, Pratijñā, and Pratijñādoṣas. And here we are faced with a still greater difference between the views of Bhāmaha and Dharmakīrti. The definition of pakṣa¹ is based on the Nyāya-praveśa, sūtra 3 :—

. . . phyogs . ni . rab . tu . grags . paṭi . chos . can .
   rab . tu . grags . paṭi . khyad . par . gyis . khyad .
   par . du . byas . pa . .

while the definition of pakṣa given by Dharmakīrti is quite different, as mentioned in Nyāya-bindu, iii, 40,

Svarūpeṇaiva svayam istor nirūktaḥ pakṣa iti.

This definition is clearly erudite, and Dharmakīrti himself has to write sixteen sūtras to explain it. As to Pakṣabhāsas, Diṅnāga² gives nine varieties of them, Bhāmaha mentions only six, while Dharmakīrti gives importance only to four.³ The examples given by Bhāmaha also appear to be suggested by the Nyāya-praveśa. For example, instead of saying: mātā me vandhyā, Bhāmaha says: yatir mama pitā,⁴ and then, to avoid the different possibilities of the father's being an ascetic, goes on adding adjectives: bālyat and sūmar yasya aham and aurasaḥ. Instead of suci śirah-kapālam of the Nyāya-praveśa,⁵ Bhāmaha has sūcis tanuḥ.

Verse 21 defines hetu. When compared with the sūtras of Dharmakīrti, Nyāya-bindu, ii, 5, 6, 7, we can clearly see

¹ Ibid., v, 12.
² Nyāya-praveśa, sūtra 6.
³ Nyāya-bindu, sūtra iii, 55.
⁴ Ibid., v, 14.
⁵ Nyāya-praveśa, sūtra 14.
that Bhāmaha's definition lacks the words showing certainty, viz. eva, eva, and eva niscitam, and thus appears to be more in consonance with the Sanskrit reading of the Nyāya-praveśa, sūtra 4, supposed to be the original by Vidhuśekhara Bhāṭṭacārya.\textsuperscript{1} Bhāmaha thus seems to have written his definition before the improvement was made in the definition of the Nyāya-praveśa, either by Dharmakīrti or by other contemporary scholars with whom Hiuen-tsang may have studied.

Verses 26, 27 describe drśṭānta. Its two-fold character, given in verse 27, clearly appears to be based on the Nyāya-praveśa, sūtra 7. It is to be noted in this connection that Dharmakīrti does not consider drśṭānta as a separate sādhana-vayava. In Nyāya-bindu, iii, 122, he says:

\textit{Trirūpo hetur uktah \mid Tāvataivārthapratītīr iti na prthag drśṭānto nāma sādhana-vayavah kaścit \mid Tena nāsyā lakṣaṇam prthag ucyate gālārthatvāt}

Lastly come Dūṣana and dūṣanābhisāsas. Bhāmaha defines dūṣana[m] nyūnatādyuktiḥ,\textsuperscript{2} and Dr. Jacobi supposes this definition to be derived from Dharmakīrti's Nyāya-bindu, sūtra iii, 138:

\textbf{Dūṣanāni nyūnatādyuktiḥ.}

But a little consideration will show that this is not the case. We cannot suppose that Dharmakīrti framed this definition, for nowhere in his Nyāya-bindu has he said Nyūnatā, etc. Even after reading the explanatory sūtra iii, 139, ye pūrṇam nyūnatādayah sādhana-soṣah uktāh teṣām udbhāvanam dūṣanam \mid tena pāreṣṭārthasiddhi-pratibandhāt, we cannot understand what is nyūnātvādi and why sādhana-soṣas are so called. Dharmottara, in his commentary on sūtra iii, 57, explains:

\textit{Trayaṇām rūpāṇām nyūnata nāma sādhana-soṣah,}

and on sūtra iii, 139, says:

\textit{nyūnata-dayo' siddhaviruddhānaiṅkāntikāh},

\textsuperscript{1} Nyāya-praveśa, Gaikvad Oriental Series, No. xxxix, p. xx, Intro.
\textsuperscript{2} Ibid., v, 28.
but even he has not tried to explain the word ādi. It is therefore quite evident that the term nyūnatādyukti was quite current in the time of Dharmakīrti, and that, just as in some other cases, the original is to be found somewhere else. The word nyūnatokti, ma . tshaṅ . ba . ŋid . brjod . pa, is found in the Nyāya-praveśa, sūtra 64, where it is followed by other four uktis: pakṣadosokti, asiddhahetukokti, anekāntahetu-kokti, and viruddhahetukokti, and the word nyūnatādyukti unmistakably refers to these dūṣaṇas, beginning with nyūnatokti.

There remain now only the words jātayo dūṣaṇābhāsās,¹ which correspond to those of Dharmakīrti in sūtra iii, 140, dūṣaṇābhāsās tu jātayāḥ. But when one notices so many differences between the opinions of Bhāmaha and Dharmakīrti, one cannot admit that Bhāmaha has taken this definition from the Nyāya-bindu. Both the words jāti and dūṣaṇābhāsa existed long before Dharmakīrti and the mere fact of equating them does not prove the one’s borrowing from the other. Then again it may be pointed out that Bhāmaha makes no mention of jātyuttaras as Dharmakīrti does, but the last portion ² of his treatment of logic refers to the twenty-four jātis, mentioned in Nyāya-sūtras, v, 1.

The internal evidence shown above makes it difficult to believe that Bhāmaha wrote after Bhaṭṭi and Dharmakīrti. It rather makes one conclude that he must have lived before Bhaṭṭi and in a period between Diṇnāga and the visit of Huen Tsang. I need not add that the suggestion as to the word guru in gurubhiḥ kim vivādena,³ referring to Prabhākara, is not at all convincing.

¹ Ibid., v, 29.
² Ibid., v, 29.
³ Ibid., iv, 7.
On the phonetic value of the Tibetan characters རི and འི and the equivalent characters in the hPhags.pa alphabet

BY G. L. M. CLAUSON AND S. YOSHITAKE

It is one of the curses of Central Asiatic linguistic research that no language of this meeting-place of nations can be studied without reference to the history of its neighbours and predecessors, which often belong to entirely different linguistic families. It is therefore only persons of singular erudition, or, like ourselves, of that hardihood which is bred of ignorance, who venture to dogmatize on any really difficult question of Central Asiatic phonetics or lexicography.

In the course of the study of the history of the Mongol language, on which we are at present engaged, we were recently confronted by the problem of the exact phonetic value of that character of the hPhags.pa alphabet which corresponds to the Tibetan འ, and this in its turn raised the problem of the phonetic value of རི. As the problem in isolation seemed practically insoluble, we felt compelled to sally out into the unfamiliar fields of Tibetan and Chinese phonetics. To the experts in those subjects we hasten to express our apologies for any mistakes which we may unwittingly have committed, urging in self-defence that we would never have trespassed if we had not been compelled to.

The evidence which is marshalled and discussed in this paper falls into four classes:

(1) The prehistory of the Tibetan character འ.

(2) The purely Tibetan evidence, especially the statements of the native grammarians and the modern practice.

(3) The early (? eighth to tenth centuries A.D.) transcriptions in Tibetan characters of Chinese Buddhist religious texts of which three specimens have been published in recent years by one of ourselves in collaboration with Dr. F. W. Thomas.

(4) The hPhags.pa texts in the Mongol and Chinese languages.

JRAS. OCTOBER 1929.
(1) The Prehistory of a

The earlier European students of Tibetan recognized the derivation of the Tibetan alphabet from an Indian prototype and produced various theories more or less correct regarding its history and evolution, but as far as we are aware it was reserved to Dr. A. H. Francke and the late Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle to tell the whole story and to clear up the doubtful points. Dr. Francke’s work is contained in his article “The Tibetan Alphabet” in vol. xi, p. 266 ff., of Epigraphia Indica; Dr. Hoernle’s in his Introduction to the Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan, published under his editorship in 1916 by the Oxford University Press.

These two scholars are not in agreement on some points and on these we accept the conclusions of Dr. Hoernle, who had the advantage of following Dr. Francke and having access to some evidence not available to his predecessor.

For the purposes of our present inquiry the salient points are the following. The Tibetan alphabet was invented by the great Tibetan scholar Thonmi Sambhoṣa on the basis of that Central Asiatic derivative of the Indian Gupta alphabet, which was used in the Khotan district in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. to write the local contemporary Iranian dialect which is known inter alia nomina as “Khotanese” in English scientific works and as “Nordarisch” in German.

The Khotanese alphabet, whether under the influence of the descendants (especially Soghdian) of the Aramaic alphabet which were current in Central Asia before the arrival of the Indian scripts, or for genuine phonetic reasons, or perhaps even simply for the sake of simplicity, had dropped the old Indian characters for initial i, u, e, o and wrote those vowels with the initial character for a supplemented by the attachment of the vowel signs which were used to indicate the attachment of such vowels to an initial or medial consonant.

Thonmi Sambhoṣa accepted this principle for the alphabet
invented by him, and the character for ḵ is one of the twenty-four characters taken direct from the Khotanese alphabet.

To these twenty-four characters, which were common to the Khotanese and Indian alphabets, Thonmi Sambhoṭa added six new characters to represent sounds not hitherto written. Three of these, ts, tsh, dz, are derived direct from the characters c, ch, j by the addition of a diacritic mark, and there can be no doubt regarding their phonetic value. ŋ, a reversed j, is as easily explicable and its value is certain. Ń is less easily explicable since it was created by adding a diacritical mark to the dental nasal n, but its value (the sound of the French j in jour and jardín) is quite certain.

There remains ā. Hoernle is no doubt right in suggesting that the form of this character is derived from the curved line which was probably first used in the Khotanese alphabet to represent ā, and was subsequently attached also to characters bearing other vowel signs to indicate a lengthening of the vowel.

To sum up its early history, ā was invented by Thonmi Sambhoṭa to represent a sound which did not exist, or, at any rate, was not represented graphically, in the Indian languages or Khotanese, and which was sufficiently weak and indistinctive in nature to justify its representation by an adapted long vowel sign. At the same time the sound was of such a nature that it could not correctly, or at any rate conveniently, be represented by the existing character ḵ, possibly, of course, because the latter character had been given a value which was not necessarily absolutely identical with the value which it had possessed in Khotanese and the Indian dialects.

(2) The Tibetan Evidence

In considering this aspect of the question we cannot do better than consult the mnemonic verses (ślokas) in which Thonmi Sambhoṭa himself laid down the rules of spelling and

Before considering this evidence, however, it is necessary to mention one value of the character, which is the most primitive but yet is not used in writing pure Tibetan words and is therefore not mentioned in the Ślokas. Tibetan contains no long vowels, and no provision, therefore, is made for their representation. In writing Sanskrit and other Indian words containing long vowels, however, र is used as a subscript letter in its original function, that is to indicate the presence of a long vowel. Thus, while ए, इ, उ, etc., are written ए, इ, उ, आ, इ, उ, etc., are ए, इ, उ, and so on.

Coming now to Tibetan itself, it is first necessary to recall the fact that Tibetan is a monosyllabic language, that the centre of each monosyllable is the radical, and that (leaving out the question of superscript and subscript letters as irrelevant to the present discussion) that radical may be preceded by one of five prefixes, and must, at any rate theoretically, be followed by one, or sometimes two, of ten suffixes. र may fulfil each of these three functions, i.e. it may be a radical, a prefix, or a suffix. The suffix is an important feature of the language, since the form of the postpositions which indicate the cases of nouns and other shades of meaning in many cases depends on the identity of the suffix of the monosyllable to which they are attached.

As there is reason to believe that the exact phonetic value of र varies to some extent according as it is used as a radical, prefix, or suffix, it is necessary to consider the three cases separately.
As a preliminary to this consideration we must quote what the commentary on the Ślokas has to say on the subject of pronunciation, using M. Bacot’s translation (pp. 47–8):—

"Si on applique aux lettres simples les trois éléments de la phonation, localization, articulation et effort, nous aurons:

1. (Localization.) K, kh, g, ŋ, a, h, and ʊ viennent de la gorge

ə, ʊ viennent du palais ...

ə, ʊ viennent des levres ...

2. (Articulation.) Les gutturales et les labiales sont articulées par leur propre organe émetteur. Les palatales sont articulées par le milieu de la langue.

3. (Intensité.) Quant à l’effort, de l’effort externe ou interne (expiration et inspiration), l’expiration, qui ressemble à la propulsion d’un sons au dehors, est le plus intense.

"C’est pourquoi [various letters including] a ... ʊ et les quatre voyelles, demandant un effort de propulsion au dehors, sont appelées sonores.

"[Various other letters] ne demandant pas une propulsion au dehors, sont appelées sourdes.

"... ʊ et les quatre voyelles, demandant un grand souffle, sont appelées très vivantes. En dehors de ces lettres-ci, toutes les autres lettres sont peu vivantes.

"Les inspirées devant être prononcées après que le gosier s’est ouvert, à l’exception de ʊ, sont appelées très vivantes à gosier ouvert. Quant à ʊ, qui se prononce avec le gosier fermé, il est dit fermé.

"Un phonème préfixé par g est émis du palais. Un phonème préfixé par d est émis avec un amollissement de la pointe de
la langue. Un phonème préfixé par \( b \) ou \( m \) est prononcé avec occlusion des lèvres et principalement par le nez. Un phonème préfixé par \( a \) est émis du fond de la gorge."

It will be observed that nothing is said about suffixes here. On this subject the following passage (Bacot, pp. 44–5), of which the first sentence is part of a sūloka, while the remainder is commentary, is in point:

"... sans l'adjonction de l'un des dix suffixes il sera impossible de mettre (un) mot en relation avec les autres mots.

..."

"Exemples pour illustrer la pensée exprimée par le maître dans la règle ci-dessus:

\[\text{di}_a; \text{de}_a; \text{be}_a; \text{ka}_ax.\text{ba}; \text{ka}_ax.\text{ba}_ax.\text{ma}_ax.\text{ro}; \text{ha}_a\]

"Bien que dans ces exemples les lettres simples ne puissent pas ne pas être suivies de suffixes, les Lotsavas, qui vinrent après (Thonmi Sambhota) et traduisirent la Parole et les Commentaires, supprimèrent la plupart des lettres \( a \) qui auraient été trop nombreuses. (Note. La suppression du suffixe eut lieu longtemps après Thonmi Sambhota, vers le Xe. siècle. Les manuscrits de Touen-houang l'ont encore le plus souvent. On y rencontre des formes telles que \( \text{bka}_ax.s; \text{be}_ax.s \).)

Bien que, sauf quelques \( a \) exceptés par nécessité comme dans \( \text{dga}_a; \text{da}_a \) (i.e. to distinguish these words from \( \text{dag}; \text{ad} \)), les \( a \) ne figurent plus aujourd'hui comme suffixes par abréviation pour économiser la place; conformément à ce qui a été expliqué plus haut de la détermination par le sens, des cas et des particules..., sans un suffixe quelconque on ne peut chercher à employer aucun mot. (Note: On \( ' (Le maître) n'a pas voulu qu'on employât aucun mot'. Il serait important de pouvoir déterminer le sens exact de \( \text{a}_ax.dod \). S'il s'applique au maître comme au sūloka, cela voudrait dire que le rôle flexionnel des suffixes serait artificiel.)"

So far as the use of \( a \) as a radical is concerned, the meaning of the passages quoted above is pretty clear. The commentator clearly regards \( a \) as a sign indicating a smooth
vocalic ingress, that is as implying that the vowel attached to it is to be pronounced without the slight initial movement in the throat which is known as a glottal stop, while ཤ represents the glottal stop, an audible opening of the throat (Thonmi Sambhoṭa's "gosier fermé"), similar presumably to that represented by the Arabic ی (hamza).

We refrain from discussing here whether this glottal stop existed, and was represented by the ancestor of ཤ, in the Indian dialects and Khotanese, partly because we do not feel competent to do so and partly because such a discussion would not be strictly relevant to our subject.

It is also pretty clear that in the commentator's view, the rôle of ད as a suffix, whether a final suffix, as in kaྷ, or a penultimate suffix, as in baྷm, was conventional rather than phonetic, i.e. that it had no phonetic value but was merely intended to indicate the position of the vowel in the monosyllable and, where final, to call attention to the fact that the syllable was an open one and therefore required the attachment of those postpositions appropriate to monosyllables of this form.

The meaning of the description of the phonetic value of ད as a prefix is less clear, but the best explanation seems to be that monosyllables carrying this prefix are to be pronounced as if preceded by a very short vowel, like the Hebrew שֶׁוָא, presumably, since ད and not ཤ is employed, without glottal stop, i.e. དa is to be pronounced 'da, and so on.

The description, since it specifically mentions nasalization in the case of prefixed b and m, must be taken to exclude any such element in the case of ད. At the same time, in practice, it will be found very difficult to pronounce this sound without some of the breath escaping through the nose and giving a nasal element to it, particularly if the monosyllable in which it occurs is in the middle, and not at the beginning of the sentence, and if care is taken to avoid introducing the glottal stop. This fact will be found of significance later.
To make the account complete, it should be added that ल may be attached as a prefix only to the following radicals: kh, g, ch, j, th, d, ph, b, tsh, dz (whether in their simple form or, where permissible, when compounded with subscript letters, e.g. khy, khr, etc.), but to no others.


These bear out what has been stated above. According to Jäschke (section 4), the distinction between ल and ल as radicals, while it has disappeared in Western Tibet, is still strictly preserved in Eastern Tibet, so much so that in the case of ल and ल the effort to avoid the glottal stop produces a sound which resembles wo or vu, as the case may be. This information is repeated by Bell.

Jäschke says nothing of ल as a suffix. Bell (section 5) says “ळ [as a suffix] is not itself pronounced but lengthens the sound of the vowel preceding it. No vowel except the indirect a precedes it, e.g. नमळक = nam.khā”.

According to both Jäschke (section 8) and Bell (sections 22 and 26) prefixed ल is normally not pronounced, but in some cases has a nasal value, particularly in compound expressions of which the first member ends in an open vowel, e.g. dge.लdun, often pronounced gen-dun. In some cases, too, prefixed ल apparently alters the tone of the word.

To sum up the Tibetan evidence, therefore, the primary phonetic value of ल as a radical is the smooth vocalic ingress, as opposed to ल which represents the glottal stop or hamza. As a suffix it is a mere conventional scription with a reminiscence of its original function (also preserved when it is used in non-Tibetan words as a subscript) of lengthening the vowel. As a prefix it was originally probably a very short vowel, which has since disappeared, and in some cases it has a slight nasal value. This evidence seems to justify the usual
British system of transliterating ဃ as ʰ, i.e. a silent ʰ like the ʰ in the French word heure, and ဗ as ḋ, the usual sign for hamza, as against the continental system of using ḋ for ဗ and leaving ဗ untransliterated.

(3) The Sino-Tibetan Evidence

The texts which we have consulted in this part of our paper are the two texts of Chinese Buddhist works in Tibetan transcription published by Thomas and Clauson ("A Chinese Buddhist Text in Tibetan Writing," JRAS., 1926, p. 508 ff.; "A Second Chinese Buddhist Text in Tibetan Characters," JRAS., 1927, p. 281 ff.) and the Chinese Buddhist text with interlinear Tibetan transcription published by Thomas, Miyamoto, and Clauson ("A Chinese Mahāyāna Catechism in Tibetan and Chinese Characters," JRAS., 1929, p. 37 ff.). These texts were discovered at Tunhuang by Sir Aurel Stein and date presumably from about the eighth to tenth centuries. The second of them contains forms which seem to indicate that it is somewhat earlier than the other two.

As these texts date from so early a period they should contain valuable evidence regarding both Tibetan and Chinese phonetics, if used with proper discretion. Unfortunately, the value of this evidence is to some extent impaired by the fact that the Tibetan transcription is by no means systematic or scientific and in some cases frankly careless. This is very much to be regretted.

The rules of Tibetan orthography do not, of course, apply to these transcriptions. ဃ is the only letter employed as a prefix, and as such is prefixed to several letters to which it could not grammatically be prefixed in Tibetan. It is also used as a radical, but hardly ever as a suffix. It is, however, used comparatively frequently as the character bearing the second vowel of a diphthong (a usage also occurring in certain circumstances in Tibetan). ဗ is used freely as a radical, but as in Tibetan is never used internally in diphthongs.

In considering the question of Chinese phonetics we are
now fortunate in being able to consult the works of Professor Bernhard Karlgren. This scholar has pointed out in the Introduction (p. 20) to his *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese* (Paris, Geuthner, 1923) that in Ancient Chinese, i.e. the language of the sixth century A.D., precisely the same distinction as in Tibetan existed between the smooth vocalic ingress known to the Chinese themselves as *喻 u* and the glottal stop known to the Chinese as 影 *jing*, indicated by Karlgren by means of a raised dot placed before the vowel.

These two series are distinguished carefully by Karlgren in his *Analytic Dictionary*, and it is exceedingly interesting to find that in the overwhelming majority of cases the distinction between the use of *u* and *a* corresponds to Karlgren's conclusions regarding the phonetic value of the Chinese sign.

In the following tables the first column contains the Chinese character, the second the number of its group in Karlgren's *Dictionary*, the third the transcription of the character in the texts under review, the fourth the text (numbered I, II, or III as the case may be) or texts in which it occurs, and the fifth Karlgren's "Ancient Chinese" phonetic value.

*Table I. Cases in which *u* represents a Glottal Stop in Ancient Chinese.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>阿</th>
<th>414</th>
<th>'a, 'an</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>'á</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>惡</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>'ag</td>
<td>I, III</td>
<td>'ák</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>愛</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>'e, 'i hi</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>'ái</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>一</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>'i, 'i ir</td>
<td>I, II, III</td>
<td>'iét</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>意</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>'i</td>
<td>I, II, III</td>
<td>'i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>於</td>
<td>1323</td>
<td>'i, 'u</td>
<td>I, II, III</td>
<td>'i&quot;o, &quot;uo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>依</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>'i</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>'i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>億</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>'ig</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>'iök</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>益</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>'ihu</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>'iák</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>音</td>
<td>277</td>
<td>'im</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>'im</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>輝</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>'im</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>'im</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
因  273  ‘in   II, III  ｉēn
應  287  ‘i̯in  I, II  ｉiēnɡ
汚  1317  ‘o   III  ｕo
温  1316  ‘on   III  ｕon
畏  1310  ‘u   III  ｗei
温 (1316)  ‘un  III  ｕon
ｈun (sic!)

Total seventeen cases, of which one belongs also to Table IV (‘un/ｈun).

Table II. Cases in which ュ represents a Smooth Vocalic Ingress in Ancient Chinese.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>3rd</th>
<th>1st</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>薬</td>
<td>568</td>
<td>ｉ‘ag</td>
<td>ｉak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>免</td>
<td>1132</td>
<td>ｉ‘en</td>
<td>ｉ‘el’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(for 逸)</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>ｉ‘ihu</td>
<td>ｉjiou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>又</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>ｉ‘ihu, ｉchu</td>
<td>ｉjiou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>有</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>ｉ‘ihu</td>
<td>ｉjou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>引</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>ｉ‘in</td>
<td>ｉon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total six cases, of which one is uncertain (‘en). It is perhaps significant that four others come from 3rd, which is one of the later texts. There is also the possibility in these cases of a confusion between the very similar characters ュ, ｮ, and NewItem.

Table III. Cases in which ゆ represents a Smooth Vocalic Ingress in Ancient Chinese.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>182</th>
<th></th>
<th>1, 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>以</td>
<td>ｉhi</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>ｉ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ye, yi)</td>
<td></td>
<td>I, II</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>園</td>
<td>ｈu</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>ｊwei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>遠</td>
<td>ｈu</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>ｊwei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>爲</td>
<td>１313</td>
<td>ｈu</td>
<td>I, II, III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>謂</td>
<td>１309</td>
<td>ｈu</td>
<td>III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>云</td>
<td>２91</td>
<td>ｈun</td>
<td>I, III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ｈu, ｈun)</td>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total six cases, of which two have alternative transcriptions.
Table IV. Case in which a represents a Glottal Stop in Ancient Chinese.

The form 向, 137, *hon*, III, *xiang* is totally irregular and possibly an error of transcription. Cases in which *h* is used medially to carry the second vowel of a diphthong are frequent. Examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>照</th>
<th>1181</th>
<th>cihu</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>t'ijâu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>大</td>
<td>952</td>
<td>{dehi, de}</td>
<td>I, II, III</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>d'ai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The only examples which we have found in these texts of *h* as a suffix are such alternative readings as *ha* for *ha* 何, and *ghi* for *qi*, *ghi* 義, and the reading *dah* for 那.

As stated above, *h* is the only character which is used as a prefix in these texts, and as such it is exceedingly common. As the value to be attributed to it in this position is a question of very great difficulty, we give below a list of all the words in which it occurs. The list is in rough alphabetical order, but the words are arranged in groups according to the phonetic value of the initial consonants in Ancient Chinese as shown in Karlgren's Dictionary. To facilitate discussion these groups are numbered.

<p>| 1. 惡 | 209  | {h'ag, 'ag} | II | 'āk |
| 2. 煩 | 227  | hban | II | b'iwan |
| 善 | 756  | {hbu, bu} | I, II | b'uo |
| 復 | 54   | hbug | I | b'iuuk |
| 分 | 29   | {h bun, pun, phun} | I, III | {p iuun, b'iusat} |
| 佛 | 47   | {bur, phur} | I, III | b'ji |
| 比 | 714  | hbyi | II |    |
| ( )) bu  | III | puot |
| ( ) pu, phu | I, II | piuot |
| ( )) bur  | II | piu&quot;ang |
| ( )) baَ | III | ma |
| ( )) be  | III | mi&quot;an |
| ( )) ban, bun | I | mi&quot;ei |
| ( )) bar  | I, II | miu |
| ( )) bu  | I, II, III | mjun |
| ( )) bun  | III | m( )un |
| ( )) buber, byeph | III | miu |
| ( )) byer  | I, II | m( )t |
| ( )) byi, myi | II | m( )et |
| ( )) byir  | III | ji&quot;ang |
| ( )) cu  | III | t( )si( )o |
| ( )) cu, chi  | II | d( )a |
| ( )) de, deh  | I | d( )iei |
| ( )) dar  | II | d( )at |
| ( )) dab  | II | nap |
| ( )) dah  | I | na |
| ( )) dan  | II | nan |
| ( )) han  | III | niei |
| ( )) de  | III | nau |
| ( )) dehu  | II | niet |
| ( )) der  | III | nji |
| ( )) dai  | I | nong |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Character(s)</th>
<th>Pinyin</th>
<th>Tone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>856</td>
<td>hṇ̃n, hṇ̃n, hṇ̃n, do (sic!), nṇ̃h</td>
<td>III</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1343</td>
<td>hṇ̃van</td>
<td>III</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>654</td>
<td>hṇ̃ve</td>
<td>III</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>252</td>
<td>hṇ̃dzíhú</td>
<td>II</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dzíhú</td>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>hṇ̃ga</td>
<td>II, III</td>
<td>nga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hṇ̃gah</td>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>205</td>
<td>hṇ̃ge</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>ngaí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hṇ̃gi</td>
<td>II</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>229</td>
<td>hṇ̃geb</td>
<td>I, II</td>
<td>ngipv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>316</td>
<td>hṇ̃gehú</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>ngpng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>248</td>
<td>hṇ̃gem</td>
<td>I, II</td>
<td>ngjım</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hṇ̃gen</td>
<td>I, II, III</td>
<td>ngim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>312</td>
<td>hṇ̃gavan</td>
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<td>III</td>
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<td>204</td>
<td>hṇ̃gi</td>
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<td>1281</td>
<td>hṇ̃gu</td>
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<td>hṇ̃gíh</td>
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<td>205</td>
<td>hṇ̃gih</td>
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<td>ngji</td>
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<td>1281</td>
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<td>hṇ̃gu</td>
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<td>hṇ̃gíwṇ̃ṇ̃n</td>
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<td>1344</td>
<td>hṇ̃gíwṇ̃ṇ̃n</td>
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<td>1347</td>
<td>hṇ̃gíwṇ̃nt</td>
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<td>775</td>
<td>hṇ̃gíwṇ̃nt</td>
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<td>hṇ̃hari</td>
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<td>hṇ̃pṇ̃har</td>
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<td>hṇ̃pṇ̃har</td>
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A superficial examination of this list shows that the groups fall into two classes: (1) those in which the prefixed 閒 has no apparent influence on the pronunciation of the radical; (2) those in which the prefixed 閒 nasalizes the radical.

It will be noticed that in a number of cases two parallel transcriptions occur, one with an initial 閒 and one without it. Of these cases, as might have been expected, the great majority fall in the first class.

The groups belonging to the second or nasalizing class, Nos. 4, 8, 10, 11, and 14, are among the largest in the list, and between them form an overwhelming body of evidence in favour of the nasal value of 阔 as a prefix in certain cases.

It is significant that although the letter 阔 is used fairly frequently as a final, the initial guttural nasal denoted with
ng- by Karlgren is invariably represented by ḫg-, initial Ṽ- being unknown in these texts.

The exact value of prefixed ḫ in the cases falling in class 1 remains a mystery to us. That it had some value seems to be proved by the fact that it was used with such freedom; on the other hand, that that value was a very slight one seems equally to be proved by the number of cases in which alternative forms ± ḫ- occur. We have considered whether any question of tones is involved, but there does not seem to be any evidence to show that this is the case, and all things considered we are disposed to think that the most reasonable hypothesis is that in these texts, as in Tibetan, initial ḫ-, when no question of nasalization is involved, represents a very short initial vowel.

To sum up, the evidence of the Sino-Tibetan texts confirms the purely Tibetan evidence of the phonetic value of ounder.

(4) The ḦPhags-pa Evidence

There is a gap of several centuries between the Sino-Tibetan texts discussed above and those in the ḦPhags-pa alphabet. This alphabet was invented by the famous Tibetan divine ḦPhags-pa in compliance with the orders of the Mongol Emperor Kubilai, to form an official alphabet for the transcription both of Mongol and Chinese, and was introduced by imperial decree in A.D. 1269. Its use was never popular and few specimens of it now survive, but these include a copy of what was no doubt the official alphabet in its proper order, together with the phonetic values of the various letters represented by Chinese characters.

From this alphabet it appears that the first thirty letters of the alphabet were simply the letters of the Tibetan alphabet in their proper order ending with Ṽ a. There follow four new letters, composed of horizontal lines with the vowel signs for i, u, e (closed e), and o attached. These letters are apparently inventions of ḦPhags-pa's, possibly under the influence of the mediaeval Indian alphabets with which he was probably familiar.
Next follow four letters representing (1) apparently the Chinese sound represented by hs in the Wade alphabet, (2) χ, (3) hw or, possibly, f, (4) γ. The last three letters are not independent letters at all, but are the vowel sign for e (open e, distinguished in this alphabet from closed e) and the subscript signs for v and y.

In imitation, no doubt, of Chinese the alphabet is written not horizontally but vertically in columns running from left to right.

The method of writing is strictly syllabic not only in Chinese where, the language being monosyllabic, it might have been expected, but also in Mongol. The letters of each syllable are joined to one another, while a gap is left between each syllable even when two or more form a single word.

While, as stated above, the alphabet was designed primarily for Mongol and Chinese, there also exists in the great hexaglott inscription of Chū Yung Kuan a transcription in this alphabet of a Sanskrit dhāranī.

It is interesting to find that in this text the letter 㾯 is used in the same way as in Tibetan to represent long vowels, but, the method of writing being vertical, the vowel sign, when the vowel is other than ṣ, is written below the 㾯 and not above the radical; for instance, ㄏ, which in Tibetan would be , is written ㄏ.

This convention in writing long vowels has puzzled some earlier scholars who dealt with the Mongol ḡPhags-pa inscriptions without considering the evidence afforded by this dhāranī, and did not realize that long and short vowels were distinguished in these inscriptions. It is, however, the case that a number of long vowels are so represented in the Mongol inscriptions, in such words as ḡān "Khan", ṛū "post-horse", etc.

Apart from its use as a subscript letter, 㾯 is also used at the beginning of syllables, and the question naturally arises whether there is any difference of phonetic value between
and өн. After carefully considering the evidence, we are definitely of the opinion that there is no such distinction and that both characters alike represent a smooth vocalic ingress. This is exactly what might have been expected, since, as far as we are aware, it has never been suggested that the glottal stop exists in Mongol side by side with the smooth vocalic ingress, while it is commonly held by Chinese scholars that this sound had disappeared in Chinese before the thirteenth century.

The actual use of the two characters differs in the two languages.

In the Mongol inscriptions өн is used only at the beginning of words, and never at the beginning of medial syllables. At the beginning of words the special characters referred to above are used for e-, i-, o-, and u-. өн is, of course, used for a-, and also, in conjunction with the vowel sign у, for o- and u, which are written eo- and eu-. For some reason which is unknown to us, perhaps to indicate that it is a loan-word, the word өртпини или өрдипини "jewel" (Sanskrit ratna) is written өөртпини или өөрдипини, although all other words beginning with e- are written with the special initial character for that sign.

а is very rare as an initial. It is, in fact, so far as we are aware, only so used on five occasions:—

(1) өөм мев (Inscription of A.D. 1314, l. 16) "convent", a Chinese loan-word.

(2) өөхөн (Inscription of A.D. 1314, l. 2) "help", which appears in the form өөхөн in the Чü Yung Kuan Inscription, East Side, l. 1.

(3) өөгөч (C.Y.K., East Side, l. 1), a word of uncertain meaning, perhaps equivalent to or connected with the Classical Mongol word өөгө "not having", which appears elsewhere in this inscription in the form өөгө.

(4) өөгөлгөн (C.Y.K., West Side, l. 7), probably derived from the Classical Mongol өөгөл "to speak, say, mention".

(5) өөржине (Inscription of A.D. 1321, l. 4) "to the people", Classical өөржин-е.
On the other hand, it is exceedingly common at the beginning of medial syllables, where a syllable ending in a vowel is followed by one beginning with a vowel, e.g. \( a r i h u e \) "pure", \( a j u h u e \) "he was", \( b o l u h a d \) "having been", and many other examples.

In the Chinese inscriptions the practice is somewhat different.

In the first place, the special initial letters \( e-, i-, o-, u- \) appear not to be used, and in the second place there is, of course, no question of medial syllables. Both \( \text{û} \) and \( \text{ă} \), therefore, are used exclusively as initials. \( \text{û} \) is used—

1. To represent \( a \) in the word 阿 \( a \).

2. In conjunction with the vowel sign for \( u \) to represent \( u- \) in such words as: 外, 爲, 位, 謂, 衛, 魏, 韋, 䍪, 蔡, all represented by \( u e \), modern pronunciation, according to Karlgren, \( u e i \) or \( u a i \).

3. In conjunction with the vowel signs for \( e + u \) to represent \( ù- \) in such words as: 獄, 雨, 宇, 液, 處, 御, 嘯, 于, 余, 魚, \( ù \), modern pronunciation \( ù \), and 永 \( ùn \), modern pronunciation \( yung \).

4. In conjunction with the subscript sign for \( v \) to represent \( yu- \) in such words as: 元, 員, 原, 源, 表, 阮, ‘ven, modern pronunciation \( uan \); 月, 越, ‘ve, modern pronunciation \( üe \); and to represent \( w- \) in such words as: 王, 往, ‘van, modern pronunciation \( wang \).

\( \text{ă} \), on the other hand, is used—

1. To represent \( a- \) in such words as: 安 \( han \), mod. pron. \( an \); 敕 \( haw \), mod. pron. \( au \); and 惡 \( haw \), mod. pron. \( o \).

2. In conjunction with the appropriate vowel signs as the initial of the following words:

- 焉 \( hên \) (also \( yên \)), mod. pron. \( ien \).
- 約 \( hêw \), mod. pron. \( üe \) or \( iau \).
- 邑, 依, 意, 懿, \( hi \), mod. pron. \( i \).
- 際, 腹, 飲, \( him \), 般, 印, \( hin \), mod. pron. \( yin \).
- 應, 英, \( hiùn \), mod. pron. \( ying \).
- 歐 \( hıw \), mod. pron. \( ou \).
於 hu, hū, mod. pron. u or ū.
蕊 hue, mod. pron. uei or ū.
郁 hū, mod. pron. ū.
雍 hūn, mod. pron. iung.

This list does not disclose any logical allocation of the two signs to distinct phonetic usages. u is not used as the initial of any words beginning with vowels for which separate initial forms are provided. On the other hand, those separate initial forms themselves are not used. a is used with all the vowels. It will be observed that even in this short list there is one word, 蕃, which is spelt both with initial u and initial a, while another word, 蕃, is spelt both with initial a and initial y. With more material it seems reasonably clear that it would be proved even more conclusively that in the ḪPhags-pa alphabet the difference between u and a is simply one of artificial convention and not of phonetic value, apart from the usage of a to indicate long vowels.
MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

FARAH-NĀMA-I-JAMĀLĪ

Only one copy of the Farah (or Farrukh) nāma-i-Jamālī was so far known in Or. 30 in the library of the British Museum. It is slightly incomplete at the end, as described by C. Rieu, in his Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts, vol. ii, pp. 465–6. Not long ago, Dr. Casey A. Wood, the well-known ornithologist, a professor of Stanford University, while on a tour in Kashmir, acquired another copy of this rare work, bound in one volume with the Nuzhat-nāma-i-ʿAlāʾi, and a fragment of another work in the same style. The copy contains numerous illustrations, and is almost complete, except for one short lacuna. It is dated the 4th Muḥarram, a.H. 899, i.e. the 15th October, 1493.

This transcript not only contains the last two chapters, missing in the British Museum copy, but also gives very interesting variants to the latter, in the passages relating to the date and the place of its composition.

Although Rieu in his Catalogue preferred to read the title of the work as Farah-nāma, following the statement of Ḥājjī Khalifa (No. 9011), both copies give it in the form of Farrukh-nāma. The work was intended by its author to be a supplement to the famous Nuzhat-nāma-i-ʿAlāʾi, by Shāhmardān b. Abīl-khayr, who dedicated it to

1 A Vienna MS. (No. 1449 in Flügel’s Catalogue) contains some extracts from this work.

2 The oldest and the only complete copy of this work (dated 703–1304) belongs to the Bodleian library (H. Ethé’s Catalogue, No. 1480); the Gotha copy (W. Pertsch’s Catalogue, No. 10) dates from about the beginning of the fifteenth century. It is a good, well-preserved, and clearly written MS., with archaic orthography. Dr. Casey Wood’s MS. (now in McGill University library, Montreal) is dated Rab. I 807, Sept., 1404, ends at the fourth maqāla of the second qīsm, and is illustrated. The copy of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta (see my Catalogue of the old Persian collection, 1924, No. 1358), dates from the end of the seventeenth century, and contains only extracts and summaries of different portions of the work. The Vienna copy mentioned in Flügel’s Catalogue, No. 1449, contains only a short extract.

In catalogues both works are classed as encyclopaedias of “useful” or of “natural” sciences. This is misleading. The Nuzhat-nāma and its supplement constitute a grand encyclopaedia of superstition in mediaeval Persia, and generally in the mediaeval Islamic world. They give an invaluable compendium of all possible superstitions, connected with every form of the organic and inorganic world, numbers, forms of divination, dreams, and some crafts. Very often scarcely disguised survivals of pre-Muhammadan popular beliefs in Persia seem to be found. A student of Persian folklore may regard these two works as precious documents, especially in view of their strikingly unrestricted spirit, which appears quite emancipated from all the bonds of orthodox Muhammadan prejudice. The authors of the later encyclopaedias, such as Nafā’isul-funūn, the books of Mustawfi Qazwīnī, Damīrī, etc., show more critical and scientific tastes, and their works differ from the present compendium in their spirit.

Instead of the date of composition, given in Or. 30 as Ramaḍān 580 (December, 1184), or the earlier date, 560–1163, given by Ḥājījī Khalīfa, the present copy has the month of Rabī’u’th-thānī 597 (January, 1201). The author, who was then less than 20 years old (in Or. 30 only 18), calls himself Abū Bakr ibn al-Muzhir (in Or. 30 Abū Bakr al-Muṭahhar) b. Muḥammad b. Abīl-Qāsim b. Abī Sa’d (in Or. 30 Sa’id) al-Jamāl ¹ al-Yazdī (the nisba al-Jamālī is not found here). The place of composition is called the village (qurya) Māliḥ (Or. 30 Māyakh) in the district (nāhiya) Bawān, or Bawwān (Or. 30 Tūn), in the province (kūra) of Ištakhr (written thus in both copies, probably because it was so pronounced, i.e. Ištakhr). There is no district in the province

¹ Probably instead of Jamālu ’d-dīn.
of Ištakhr called Tūn (which is the name of a well-known town in Khorasan), and the reading Bawwân should be preferred. Two districts with this name are mentioned in the works of the author's contemporaries, Yāqūt (i, 751–4), and Ibn al-Balkhî (JRAS., 1912, pp. 25 and 338–9, in G. Le Strange's translation).¹ One is in the kūra of Khūra Shāpūr, and therefore out of the question. The other (which is usually mentioned together with Marwāst, which still exists)² is most probably identical with the present bulūk of Bawānāt, some 50 miles north-east from Ištakhr, on the way to Yazd, with which it is connected by easier roads than with Shiraz. As Yazd often formed a part of Fārs in old days, and is still so regarded by the local inhabitants, the nisba of the author, Yazdī, might possibly favour the identification of his district with Bawānāt, which could be regarded as a dependency of Yazd. Very few authors use the nisba derived from their real birthplace, but usually call themselves after the province to which their little known village belongs.

The name of the village Māliḥ is an obvious mistake. For Māyakh there are possible alternative readings, Mānj, Mānkh, etc. It is very interesting that the Fārs-nāma-i-Nāširī (p. 181) mentions in the bulūk of Bawānāt the village Munj, probably the same as Mung of the map of the Survey of India (1915). Mānj and Munj sound alike in pronunciation; thus it may be possible that the name of that village is still preserved.

The headings of the two chapters (maqāla) missing in Or. 30, are: the 15th on prayers to different planets, and the 16th on burning the incense for the propitiation of the

¹ The Nuzhatu'l-qulūb, composed more than a century later, may be added (see the translation, Gibb Mem. Series, p. 121).
² Cf. the Fārs-nāma-i-Nāširī, p. 301, and the Indian Survey Map mentioned above. At present the bulūk is much decayed and depopulated. In autumn, 1928, I was assured at Shiraz that almost all its villages were ruined or abandoned.
planets given by those praying for their aid. It may be added that a collation with the Nuzhat-nāma shows that these chapters, as well as the 14th, are merely an abbreviation of the corresponding parts of that book (second maqāla of the second qism), to which nothing new is added.

These concluding chapters even in their headings reveal the freedom with which the authors treat the prejudices of Islamism. It is strange to read in a book by a Muhammadan these detailed prescriptions as to the figures which should be drawn (or engraved) on special rings, special dress, the incense and pose used in a prayer to a planet. It is difficult to believe that all these details are an invention of the professional magicians, and not survivals of the popular religion. The figures of planets, or rather of deities with which they were associated, seem to be inspired by some pictorial or sculptural representations. For instance, Zuhrā, i.e. Venus, or Nāhīd (Anahita, Anaitis) in Persian, has three images:

1. A woman, in a standing position, holding an apple in her hand.

2. A woman with two plaits, and with two children in her lap.

3. A naked woman wearing a chain (or necklace, silsila) on her neck (cf. the figure of Anahita in Yasht, v., 126, where the necklace is also mentioned). At her side is Murrīkh (i.e. Mars, with whom she is usually associated, forming a "divine pair"), and in front of her there is a child holding a sword on the shoulder (Mustawfi Qazwinī, in his Ajāʾib ibu l-makhlūqāt, gives the same picture).

It would be perhaps useful to give here also the description of two other representations of Zuhrā, which are given in a fragment of a work of the same type as the Nuzhat-nāma, where the heading is the same, the expression is used:

مقاله بانزدهم ذکر ادیعه کوآکی، مقاله شانزدهم در دخنه وری زی حاجت خواه،

In the Nuzhat-nāma, where the heading is the same, the expression is used:
nāma, by Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdi l-Jabbār al-Kātib al-Baghdaḍī, of whom apparently nothing is known. He wrote not later than the end of the fifteenth century, from which the manuscript dates. The figures are:

4. A woman, riding a camel (or horse?—bar ushtūri nishasta, but this may be the scribe’s mistake for the original sutūr), and playing a lute (barbat) leaning against her breast.

5. A woman, in a sitting position, with plaits which she holds in her left hand. She looks into a mirror which she holds in her right hand.

One cannot expect such minute details to be taken from engravings on seals only. It is interesting to mention the rites at which such rings were used. He who wore a copper ring, with or without a piece of lapis lazuli or turquoise set in, engraved with one of the above images, having special letters also on it, had to wear a fine garment made of coloured and painted cloth (with naqsh wa ṣūrat, i.e. perhaps some special paintings). He had also to wear a cap (tāj), and to be adorned with as many jewels and ornaments as possible. He had to be perfumed with scents such as that of the ispargham grass, etc. He had to behave (?) in the manner of women (bar zī-i-zanān bar āyad, i.e. probably imitating their dress and movements). Some special hours when the conjunctions of constellations are propitious for these rites are prescribed. The incense (dakhna) had to be prepared according to the special prescriptions given in detail. “When the smoke goes up he must say: O spiritualities of Zuhrā!” (meaningless expressions, apparently corrupted beyond recognition follow)—yā rauḥāniyyāt-i-Zuhrā. There is not the slightest allusion in this ceremony to any Muhammadan rites or du‘ā expressions.

The rites of the prayers to the Sun, Moon, and other luminaries are similarly described here.

The diction of the Farah-nāma is remarkably simple and unpretentious, perhaps even “rustic”, although it does not seem so archaic as that of the Nuzhat-nāma. There are
apparently no clear traces of any definite dialect, but here and there local words may be found. For instance in the Nuzhat-nāma in some copies (e.g. that belonging to Dr. Casey Wood and to the Asiatic Society of Bengal) the well-known word khurūs "cock" is consistently written as khurūh, so that it seems probable that this form was used in the original. The Farah-nāma has everywhere the usual form khurūs. Again, in the Nuzhat-nāma there are found occasionally strange forms as mānda'ī wa khaṣta'ī (مانداه و خسته) instead of the usual māndagī wa khaṣtagī; also bi-jumnadh = bi-junbad, etc. In the Farāh-nāma such forms are not found, at least in the present copy.

It is interesting that the author of the Farāh-nāma devotes a special chapter (the third fasl of the tenth maqāla) to an alphabetic list of some "Pehlevi" terms, although there are apparently no such matters dealt with in the Nuzhat-nāma. The list is fairly long, six large pages, but there are practically no terms which are not known in the Persian dictionaries. Only on one occasion the author adds to the word angasha (or angashpa) which means a peasant (barzīgar) a remark that this word belongs to the "language of Marw" (ba-zabān-i-Marw ast, or is it ba zabān-i-Marwāst?). Other "Pehlevi" terms, although all undoubtedly belonging to different local dialects, have no such remarks with them. It is difficult to find whether they all, or some of them, belonged to the local dialect which was the author's mother tongue. At present, as far as I could ascertain in Shiraz in the autumn of 1928, no special dialect was spoken at Bawānāt; the local language differed from that of the bazaars of Shiraz only in some slight peculiarities in accent. It may be noted here that the rare verb khajīdan, to try, to strive, is here given (as in some dictionaries) in the form of khakhīdan, and even the negative form of the imperative mood is mentioned: makh (= magūsh).

W. Ivanow.
A FURTHER NOTE ON BĀRĀ F₁-sā

In a recent number of this Journal (1929, pp. 581–3) the writer suggested a Tibetan connexion of the second member (f₁-sā) of this name. It has since appeared that bārā also may go back to a similar source.

In Mikir the pronunciation of bārā is pārōk "Kachari, foreigner", while in Tipurā borōk occurs independently and carries now simply the sense of "man".¹

The preservation of the final (k) here gives us the needed clue, and probably indicates basic identity with Tibetan ḥbrog "wild country, uncultivated steppes", ḥbrog-pa "inhabitants of the steppes, the nomadic Tibetans". Bārā f₁-sā should probably, in consequence, be reconstructed into *ḥbrog bu-tsa "descendants (sons) of the steppes".

The lack of final in the Bodo word is in complete keeping with its consistent rejection of k (g) in such position.² The preservation of the initial (b) here, while in bu-tsa it has become f, is perhaps interlinked with the presence of prefixed a in the Tibetan original which has possibly conditioned also the case of Bodo bir, Tibetan ḥpur-ba³ (perf. āpur) "to fly", but the cause of the varying change is not yet clear, and altogether too little is yet known of the sound changes of this area to admit of any but the most tentative explanations.

¹ See Stack and Lyall, The Mikirs, p. 23, and G. D. Walker, A Dictionary of the Mikir Language, p. 124. The Tipurā form is variously given. Anderson, A Short List of Words of the Hill Tippera Language (Shillong, 1885) has barag on p. 10, while in the LSI., iii, 2, p. 1, we have bārā(k) (there spelt "bārā(k)"). In the Dacca dialect of Tipurā it is borok (op. cit., p. 149).
² As in Bodo ḍā, ṛā six, Gārō dok, Tibetan drug; nū "house", Gārō nok; nu "to see", Gārō nik; sā classifier before numerals when used with human beings, Gārō sāk.
³ Tibetan also has ḥṣjur-ba "to mount", “to rise up”, ḥbur-ba "to rise up", “to sprout up”, "to spring up". Cf. also 飛 Anc. ḥjwi-i "to fly". For the i : u vowel relationship, see the former note on this name, p. 582.
The reconstructed name, as a whole, is of interest as indicating the persistence of a tradition of the tribe’s original affiliation for at least some time after its arrival in Assam, and also in its close approach in sense to Tibetan ḡbrog mi “people of the steppes”, as applied to their own nomadic element.

Stuart N. Wolfenden.

A CORRECTION

Dr. Ruben has written to point out that I have done him an injustice in saying in the review of his book, Die Nyāya-sūtra’s, that the term sāmānyato dṛṣṭam is not in the indexes. This I much regret, as it is given in the Glossar, p. 257, with a cross-reference under dṛṣṭa on p. 235. Perhaps I may be allowed to explain how the mistake arose. There are no less than four indexes, and preceding them is a Glossar. Index No. 1, like the Glossar, contains technical terms, but only “so weit die Stellen nicht durch das Glossar zu finden sind”. But it is not enough to find the word, or to find it absent, in one index. Many occur in both, with different references in each, so that two indexes must always be consulted. There are certainly pitfalls in the multiplication of indexes.

E. J. Thomas.

BUDDHIST LOGIC BEFORE DIṆṆĀGA

Owing to distance from England I was not supplied with proofs of my article, in which, consequently, there are a few misprints and mistakes.

p. 451, l. 3: read Giuseppe.

p. 454: The Yogācārya-bhūmi-sāstra has been proved by Ui to be by Maitreya: Studies in Indian Philosophy (in Japanese), i, p. 359, and Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik, Band 6,
Heft 2. So, while at first Asaṅga followed his guru’s views, he then altered his opinions.

p. 453, l. 2: The second Chinese character should be 祥.
ibid., l. 4: The fourth Chinese character should be 犕; so also in l. 8.

p. 458, l. 23: under item (a): gtoṅ.ba.
p. 459, under item (9): siddha-sādhya: corr. “when the probandum is already proved.”
p. 464, l. 24: t’ag.rin.ba.
p. 466, l. 10: The Chinese character must be read after “conventional assumption.”

p. 479: Even this definition of the drṣṭānta is in Uddyotakara; see my article on the “Vāda-vidhi,” Indian Historical Quarterly, vol. iv, p. 634.

p. 484, ll. 26–7: t’al.bar.
Instead of K’uei Chi and Shên T’ai read K’uei-chi, Shên-t’ai.

G. Tucci.
OBITUARY

Mark Lidzbarski

By the death of Mark Lidzbarski Semitic scholarship has lost one of its most eminent representatives. Born in 1868, he was educated at Göttingen; and he was holding the post of Professor of Oriental Philology at that university when he passed away, 13th November of last year. Little is recorded of his early life: *Wer ist's*, the German equivalent of our *Who's Who*, is scanty in the extreme. But there was recently published an anonymous book, subsequently known to be his own story of his early struggles as a Polish Jew. *Auf rauhem Wege: Jugenderinnerungen eines deutschen Professors* (Giessen), is a strikingly human document, and reveals to us the hard-working youth striving against endless difficulties, and winning his way through all.

To the world he was the man whose *Handbuch der Nordsemitischen Epigraphik* (Weimar, 1898) brought order into the mass of miscellaneous inscriptions and the ever-growing bibliography. It filled a gap in Semitic scholarship, and the critical study of Semitic epigraphy dates from that admirable work, which consisted of a handbook (of over 500 pages) and a volume of plates. The publication placed Lidzbarski in the first rank of Semitic experts; and from that date onwards he continued to pour out invaluable contributions to Semitic epigraphy, mainly in his *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*. Here he summarized, with critical remarks, new inscriptions and articles, writing also some veritable monographs (e.g. on the Elephantine papyri) and a number of important essays (e.g. the alphabet, Semitic abbreviated and pet names, Baal-Shamaim, etc.). He surveyed both North and South Semitic epigraphy, and Greek and Latin inscriptions of Syria and Palestine; and the series with its complete indexes has been indispensable. Vols. i and ii covered the years 1900-2, 1903-7, and the last heft of vol. iii appeared at the close of
1915. Whether Lidzbarski had prepared any further volumes I do not know. A series of Altsemitische Texte with brief notes, was also projected, but of this only the first section appeared (in 1907) on Canaanite Inscriptions (i.e. Moabite, Old Hebrew, Phoenician, and Punic).

Apart from a catalogue of the Neo-Syriac MSS. in Berlin (1896) and a Neo-Syriac version of the much-travelled story of Aḥikar (1894–5), Lidzbarski’s other great achievements have been in Mandaic. Here he published much needed editions of the Book of John (text, 1905; translation and commentary, 1915) and of the Ginza Rabba (1925). It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of these for the study of that ancient South Babylonian sect known as the Mandaean (or very inappropriately as St. John’s Christians). A new interest is being taken in the origin, or rather the origins, of their remarkable religion; and it is keenly debated whether it may not go back to the age of the rise of Christianity, if indeed it does not illuminate part at least of the environment in which Christianity grew up. The attitude of the Mandaean religion to John the Baptist and Jesus, its knowledge of the Old Testament, and the archaic flavour that distinguishes both the religious literature and the Aramaic dialect in which it is written, have given rise to conflicting though confident opinions. Lidzbarski, for his part, has no hesitation in ascribing the ultimate origin of the Mandaean religion to some heterodox Jewish sect which practised rites of baptism on the Jordan. For an opposing view it may suffice to refer to Dr. F. C. Burkitt in the Journal of Theological Studies, vol. xxix, pp. 225 sqq., who points out that the original Mandaeans may have used the Syriac translation of the Old Testament, and that it is an Anti-Nicene Christianity which is attacked.

Accordingly the question whether the Mandaean literature is a key to the mysteries of early Christian development receives very different answers, and in this Notice of the death of Mark Lidzbarski I am concerned merely to remark
that Lidzbarski's field of study gave him an authority few could claim. Quite apart from the literary evidence for the rise of Christianity, and its sects and heresies, a considerable amount of miscellaneous evidence of direct and indirect value is afforded by the archaeology and epigraphy of Syria and Palestine. These throw an unexpected light upon the background or environment of Judaism and Christianity; and such is the variety of religious belief and cult from Edessa to Petra that our literary sources give us a quite inadequate conception of the ebb and flow of religion and theology at a period which was essentially that of the revival of the old Oriental world.

Lidzbarski had a first-hand knowledge of the contemporary material—and of the epigraphical rather than the archaeological—and while I am not concerned to ask whether his views were erroneous or exaggerated, there is no doubt that he has made permanent contributions in his epigraphical and Mandaetic work, and has opened our eyes to the wealth of material which the epigraphy and archaeology of Syria and Palestine can supply to our knowledge of a period of the first interest to Jews and Christians alike.

It remains to say that unfortunately I can speak little from my personal knowledge of Lidzbarski. My own modest little Glossary of Aramaic Inscriptions appeared in the same year as his great Handbuch; and when I met him for the first and only time, in one of his visits to England, shortly after, I was impressed by his overflowing good-nature and energy. We corresponded spasmodically on friendly terms, and he was always ready to answer queries and lend his invaluable aid in deciphering and explaining new and difficult inscriptions. It is much to be hoped that there will be found a successor or successors who will carry on the epigraphical labours which placed us in his debt. I close this note with the Palmyrene salutation:

ל disparate שמה לאלמנה

S. A. C.
NOTICES OF BOOKS

OXFORD EDITIONS OF CUNEIFORM TEXTS. Vol. VI: BABYLONIAN PENITENTIAL PSALMS. By S. LANGDON, M.A.

The time was certainly ripe for a book devoted to the prayers prescribed by the Babylonian religion for the use of sick and-suffering men who attributed their ills to the wrath of gods neglected or estranged, and sought by confession and ritual observances to be readmitted to favour. Many additions have been made to this kind of literature, and knowledge has advanced, since the publication of Zimmern's Busspsalmen in 1885. It has therefore been the author's aim to collect all these prayers and to furnish them with an introduction, translation, and commentary; but the volume contains more than this. A number of other, mostly fragmentary, texts are added, in copy only, and the book ends with the important new fragments of the Creation Epic found at Kish in recent years. It thus provides the materials for a rich, if rather varied, feast.

The introduction is mainly devoted to tracing the history of the two principal designations of these prayers, er-sag-hun-qa and šu-ül-la. It appears that neither of these terms is early, and that the compositions which they denote, so far as they can be found at all in the early Sumerian, when it began to be written down under the kings of Isin and Larsa, are not used as private prayers. Indeed the latter phrase is always associated with prayers in Akkadian, not Sumerian at all, and it has recently been suggested that philological tests may establish the date of composition of these Akkadian prayers about the end of the Kassite period. That certain Sumerian prayers are called šu-ül-la in the Assyrian list of religious works only shows that the late scribes classified according to the categories used in their own times.

What opinion may be formed of the literary value of these texts must depend, for all but the specialist, on the translation

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read. Together with much that is repulsively superstitious in thought there sometimes goes a language of surprising nobility. That he has not always caught either of these traits sharply enough must be the principal criticism of Professor Langdon’s versions, since a detailed mention here of all points of possible difference would take far too long. A better instance of this could hardly be found than in the constant refrain šag-su šag-ama-tu-ud-da-gim, etc., which is translated “may thy heart like the heart of a child-bearing mother return to its place”, which certainly does not convey much to us, until it is observed that the image is strictly physical; the god’s inward parts (in particular, his liver as the seat of feeling) are considered as deranged by anger against the suppliant, who thus prays that the god may again feel inward relief, as the mother when delivered of the child. Precisely the same conception is present in the lines 8–13 on page 2, where also the translation does not convey the full meaning. Again there is a notable instance of a superficial, indeed a wrong, rendering on pp. 40, 41, in the lines 32–35 and 46, 47; the sufferer confesses, “I have eaten unwittingly what is abominable to my god, I have trodden unwittingly upon what is loathsome to my goddess”. The idea is grossly material; the suppliant’s presence is offensive to the god’s senses. But the author’s versions give no hint of this. Other instances of insufficiently strict translation could be found—p. 4, line 5, “he seeks thy place, he seeks elsewhere,” not “everywhere”; p. 27 Rm. 97, 16, the text is fragmentary but the translation given can hardly be right. Some timely end must be devised for the supposed deity Maḫunga on p. 55, line 13, in whom even his creator (see note 3) can hardly believe; we need not doubt that Ebeling’s copy should be restored and emended [er]-šag(!)-ḫun-ga, etc.; p. 43, lines 35, 36, “cast not away thy servant,” line 43, “great are my transgressions; tear them off like a garment”; p. 47, line 47, “put on him the glow of health”; p. 48, line 14, mudie riḵišunu surely not, “who knowest all of them”? On p. 74 ff. is a very
interesting and rather obscure text, to the understanding of which the translation does not help much. "Necromancer" is a curious translation for ša'īlu, and "satyr" even more curious for lamassu. Some translations are obtained with so much wrestling of the words that a suspicion of the text is fully justified, which only a careful revision could remove: e.g. on page 29, line 14, occur the words ina rap-pi, etc., for which one is surprised to see in the copy, plate xix, ina LUGAL-pi, a slip most difficult to explain. There are, too, some signs of haste or confusion in the composition, for a good many Corrigenda have had to be registered, particularly that of the extraordinary divorce of the paragraph on p. 101 from its place at the other end of the book. An inconsistency due perhaps to the same cause occurs between p. 44, where there is a note on the use of KUR = ekallu in the colophons, and p. 66 where the same expression is interpreted as matu; the point is, indeed, uncertain, but both versions should not appear in the same book.

C. J. G.


This is, it must be admitted, a hard book to read and even harder to review. For this no blame is due to the authors; on the contrary, no praise could be too high for their great and largely successful efforts to make an extremely difficult subject intelligible to both of the disparate classes of readers who are likely to use their work. Of the two classes, however, the Assyriologists have unquestionably the worse of it, since the astronomers can simply take the translated texts for granted, whereas the Assyriologists must strive to keep their feet upon the unfamiliar path of a discipline little congenial to the bent of their minds. That one, at least, did not abandon the unequal struggle (at least, before coming to Herr Schoch's
16 pages of Tables, which quite defeated him!) is no mean tribute to Dr. Fotheringham's gift of lucid exposition.

Here, then, are gathered together, for the first time, all the astronomical "omen-texts" concerning the movements of the planet Venus, which have their origin in observations made in the reign of Ammizaduga, a king of the First Babylonian dynasty. This most important fact is revealed by the insertion, in one of the omens, of the year-name given to the eighth year of this king, as was first detected by Father Kugler in 1912. Since this dynasty, if its date could be fixed, would give the key to the whole of Babylonian chronology, many attempts have since then been made to use these observations for obtaining for the old Babylonian period an astronomical date as securely fixed as that which the sun-eclipse of 763 B.C. gives to the later Assyrian period. The relevant texts are all late copies, including the newly discovered Kish tablet here published, and are by no means free of scribal errors in vital particulars. Their actual testimony, however, has been ascertained by the care of Professor Langdon, although it is true that his cuneiform copies still contain certain inexactitudes, which do not for the most part appear in his translations. The astronomical treatment of this material falls to Dr. Fotheringham, who has very ably summarized and criticized the whole discussion up to the year 1927, and has proceeded to set forth all the considerations which are to be taken into account; he concludes that the first year of Ammizaduga was 1921-1920 B.C.

It is obviously impossible to examine this conclusion without writing another book, even were the reviewer competent in these matters. All that can be done, therefore, is to observe two or three generalities. The first is one already noted by Schiaparelli (see p. 31 f.), the reference to the Umman-Manda. It is true that these peoples are now found to be mentioned as early as in the Hittite laws, but there is no proof that this takes them back beyond the fourteenth century before Christ (hardly the seventeenth as stated
on p. 32), and this should be a warning that perhaps not all even of the relevant part of the texts is as old as the First Dynasty; at least, there must remain a suspicion of later recasting. But the greatest difficulty resides in the observations themselves, which would, taken alone, fit various series of years at widely different periods. Consequently the choice of any one series has to be guided by a number of really extraneous considerations, such as the time of the date-harvest and other agricultural seasons as attested by the "contract"-tablets, and various tests with which Chapters IX to XII are concerned. The result, therefore, has not what is commonly regarded as a purely mathematical validity, and this must, at least in lay estimations, detract from its certainty. That this is a real weakness is sufficiently shown by the fact that Dr. Fotheringham's date, though now accepted by several scholars, does not command the assent of certain other distinguished astronomers. Beyond all this in weight, however, is the Babylonian and Assyrian historical tradition, always scanty, occasionally untrustworthy, and once or twice even inconsistent, but in spite of that yielding a system of chronology which itself reaches back to the First Dynasty of Babylon and even beyond it. Despite Professor Langdon's interesting attempt in Chapters XIII and XIV to reconcile it with the astronomical date, it does not, in fact, seem possible to bring the two results within a century of agreement, and to that extent scholars are likely to continue to differ until more conclusive evidence appears. At the distance of four thousand years the agreement is vastly more impressive than the difference.

C. J. G.

LA RELIGIONE BABILONENSE-ASSIRA. BY GIUSEPPE FURLANI.
Vol. I, le divinità.

The second volume of this work is to treat of the myths and religious life of the Babylonians; the whole will therefore
be extensive, if the second part is comparable in length with the first. Many readers will perhaps think that this is the least desirable quality of Dr. Furlani's book. His thirteen chapters take up 361 pages, but there is also another 70 pages of preliminary matter, mostly bibliography, and Chapter II itself is a survey of preceding modern treatises upon this subject. Chapter I, a very summary account of the geography and history of the River-lands, is not strictly necessary to the theme, and its omission would have diminished the length without much affecting the usefulness of the book; moreover, there are in this chapter several mis-statements of detail, such as the reference to a villaggio of Abu Shahrayn, and two dynasties of Ur (on p. 7), the rather theoretic views about the earliest inhabitants (p. 13), the date of 3600 B.C. for A-anni-padda (p. 16), the designation of Arrapha as the Gutian capital (p. 22), and the hazardous assertion (p. 24) that the empire of Ur-Nammu equalled that of Sargon and Naram-Sin. To begin with these complaints may seem a queer way of recommending the author's work, and yet his exposition of the general development of the religion and his detailed treatment of the gods themselves (Ch. III to the end) are indeed to be recommended. Not only does he describe in full detail the deities, considered in those associations wherein they were generally placed by native religious thought, but he finds place for the demi-gods and demons, and has a careful chapter on the liste e gruppi di deï compiled by the ancient theologians. In all this there is much to praise and hardly anything to criticize; about each god almost all the known facts are given in the text, and each god has his own notes at the end of the chapters—which indeed adds again to the length of the book, but these notes are so useful that it would be ungrateful to complain. The many imaginative epithets given to the gods in the religious literature need not, perhaps, have been so exhaustively detailed as they generally are here, for many are rather vague words of praise, often applied without much discrimination. As a whole the book is complete, trustworthy,
and useful, even if it cannot with candour be called interesting
to read. An index will, it is much to be hoped, appear in the
second volume.

C. J. G.

ANNUAL OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH,
Vol. VIII (for 1926–7). New Haven: Yale University
Press.

This volume is made up by four separate papers, three
of which are directly or indirectly concerned with Babylonian
studies. First in place as in importance is Dr. Speiser's
very interesting and convincing topographical study of Ashur-
našir-pal's campaigns against the land of Zamua. In the
course of his travels about the country between Kirkuk,
Sulaimania, and the plain of Shehrizor the author made a
careful investigation of the possible lines of march, and is able
to identify with considerable assurance the chief points
mentioned in the annals of these campaigns. He was fortunate
enough to obtain a bird's-eye view of the whole region from
an aeroplane, which convinced him of the general correctness
of his conclusions; these will hardly be disputed by anyone
who has not made an equally intimate acquaintance with the
country. Twelve photographs and five rather rough maps
illustrate his researches.

Professor R. P. Dougherty describes and pictures a few
(not very important, it must be confessed) antiquities
acquired by him, mostly from the neighbourhood of Warka,
during his survey of S. Babylonia, and President W. J. Moulton
tells the brief story of the ill-fated American Palestine Explora-
tion Society which lasted only from 1870 till about 1877,
when it came to an end through lack of support. Its short
career was not, however, fruitless, for it was the predecessor
of the present flourishing American Schools of Oriental
Research, which are fortunately in no danger of such an
inglorious fate. The last paper is that of Professor Barton,
on "The so-called Indo-Sumerian seals". Concerning these he presents nearly all that was known at the time of writing, though he is not, of course, in a position to add anything much towards their actual decipherment. He rightly points out that the hypothesis of direct connection between this script and the Sumerian is very precarious, though he perhaps undervalues the very good evidence of contact between the two civilizations. It is not by any means certain, however, that the apparent numerals are really numerals, and there is (the reviewer thinks) adequate proof that the script was read—in the impression—from right to left.

C. J. G.


Les Editions G. Van Oest have a well-deserved reputation for fine printing, good, though less notable reproductions, and able writing. The volumes are also, compared with similar English publications, distinctly cheap, even allowing for the fact that they require binding and the plates resetting.

The important Goloubew Collection of Persian, Turkish, and Indian paintings is well known as one of the finest in the world. It was exhibited in Paris in 1912, and thus contributed to the fashionable Parisian vogue for things Persian, of which M. Goloubew writes entertainingly in the Preface. A number of its items appear regularly (rather too regularly) in all the larger books on Persian painting. The collection has belonged since 1914 to the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston.
Formed as it was in an "époque de révélations, de découvertes et de tâtonnements", it has certain lacunae, the most obvious being the almost complete absence of pre-Timurid examples. There is no certain work by either Sulṭān Muḥammad or Mīrak, and some well-known Mughal artists are likewise unrepresented. A large proportion of the paintings are Ṣafavīd and Mughal, and of these schools, and of the Timurid, the collection contains some magnificent specimens. The greatest treasure of all is perhaps the "Prince with his suite in a garden" (Fig. 28), bearing Bihzād’s reputed signature. The other examples attributed to Bihzād are treated with commendable caution by Dr. Coomaraswamy. Among the most famous of the Mughal examples are the sketch of the dying ‘Ināyat Khān (Fig. 124), the completed painting of which is in the Bodleian, the great "Durbar of Jahāngīr" (122), the "Maulāvī Rūmī" (125), and "Shāh ‘Abbās and Khān i ‘Ālam" (123), probably by Bishan Dās, one of the two greatest portraitists of Jahāngīr’s reign.

The descriptions are of the excellence which we expect from the distinguished author; they are full of information, tersely given, and the notes on attributions are specially interesting. The inscriptions are translated. One of Dr. Coomaraswamy’s longest notes, in which he gives a convincing solution of a puzzling problem, refers to Jahāngīr’s painter, Āqā Rizā, whose work is almost, perhaps quite, unknown apart from the two Boston examples and a MS. of the Anvār i Suḥailī in the British Museum. Figure 112 reproduces a sketch, apparently the original of a remarkable painting, many times copied, which has puzzled successive writers. We may perhaps supplement Dr. Coomaraswamy’s note about it by a reference to the painting exhibited at South Kensington, which contains an inscription written by Shāh Jahān, stating that the artist was Jahāngīr’s favourite painter, Abū’l-Ḥasan, or Nādir al-Zamān.

The catalogue is admirably furnished with indexes and there is a full bibliography.
The author of *La Miniature Persane* makes it clear, in his preface, that he is alive to the fact that his, and any other history of Persian painting, must sooner or later be superseded; for the time has not yet arrived for propounding final solutions to all the intricate problems in which the subject abounds. Exploration, and the revelation of the contents of private collections, will in time bring further assistance. Meanwhile, M. Sakisian has succeeded in contributing considerable additions to our knowledge, more especially by his descriptions and reproductions of some of the manuscripts and paintings from the fine Constantinople collections, which he has had special opportunities of studying. Moreover, he has re-examined the Oriental literary sources, and from these, notably from the sixteenth century Turkish writer 'Ali’s *Manāqib i Hunarvarān*, he has been able to extract a certain amount of biographical detail about the painters and their work, and to clear up some misapprehensions. Though some of his conclusions will certainly be contested, we are grateful to him for a helpful and suggestive book, full of facts, concisely but seldom dully written, in which the author’s delight in his subject is agreeably apparent. Not quite so agreeable is the somewhat acid flavour of his references to at least one of his distinguished predecessors.

After a preliminary chapter, M. Sakisian launches his most contentious proposition, which is that there existed, in East Persia, a twelfth-century school of painting, strongly under Chinese influence, of which he believes he has found examples, illustrating the *Kalīlah wa-Dimnah* fables, in an album in the Yildiz Library. Of these he gives some attractive reproductions, judging from which we should imagine that the naskhī writing which accompanies the paintings should fix their date fairly accurately. M. Sakisian gives perhaps inadequate space to the early art-history, but on that of the Mongolian, Timurid, and Šāfavid periods he has much to say. He rejects the theory of an independent “Bukhārā” school, and explains the so-called Bukhārā productions as
the work of exiled Timurid artists, perhaps attracted to the Tartar capital after the conquest of Khurāsān by the Shi‘ah Ṣafavīs. The central chapters on “classical” painting, and “the art of the book” at Herat, include many pages on the Bihzād problem, but most readers will probably feel as undecided as ever after reading them. On the vexed Āqā Rizā-Rizā ‘Abbāsī question, M. Sakisian is convinced that these were two separate artists.

The reproductions, nearly 200 in number (two in colour), are satisfactory in quality and representative in character. Together with some old favourites, there are many striking, and some exquisitely beautiful, fresh examples. The specimens of bindings, especially, are a delight to the eye.

J. V. S. Wilkinson.


The well-known and justly praised Coptic dictionary of Amadeo Peyron was published more than ninety years ago; at that time only two of the five dialects now distinguished were represented by considerable remains, the business documents and letters extant in two of the dialects were as yet undiscovered, the nature and functions of the different verbal forms were very imperfectly recognized and the decipherment of the ancestral Egyptian language was too embryonic to be utilized. Peyron’s Dictionary, however, has remained the standard hitherto, and in 1921 Professor Spiegelberg only supplemented it with his valuable Handwörterbuch, rearranging the words in accordance with modern knowledge, adding new words and meanings, and indicating derivations from Egyptian.
The great dictionary of which we have now received the first instalment is founded on a new and exhaustive examination of practically all known material whether published or unpublished. Twenty years have been devoted to this task by Mr. Crum and his two helpers. As one of the results we see an addition of new words, at the rate, in this first instalment, of one to every five words recorded in other dictionaries: most of these are of very rare occurrence, some are of doubtful authenticity, and many are of doubtful meaning—names of plants, animals, tools, materials, etc.—but the inclusion of all was very necessary and will stimulate research. The illustration of the uses of words and phrases, as of verbs with various prepositions and adverbs, is rich indeed, and most instructive. Six close columns are occupied by εἰ “come”, and ten and a half columns by ἔφοβος and its relatives; in spite of large type a column of this dictionary is a formidable matter, for in the interest of economy and compactness, every resort of ingenious compression is utilized. This conciseness impedes the reading to some extent, yet one would scarcely ask to have it changed; and room is found for abbreviated contexts with the quotations—a great boon. The Sahidic form (where one exists) is very properly chosen as the leading type of each word; Greek words are included only when completely naturalized. A useful feature is the full collection of Greek equivalents of Coptic words in translated works, especially from the Biblical books, and the inclusion of numerous Arabic equivalents. It requires an acquaintance with a rather unusual vocabulary both in Greek and in Arabic to apprehend at once their significance, for no translations of either are vouchsafed. Egyptian etymologies are omitted, being well given in Professor Spiegelberg's Handwörterbuch.

The work is to be completed in four more parts, which, I understand, will be substantially larger than the first. In spite of the vast mass of Coptic writings already known, new discoveries are constantly being made; a supplement will be required some day, and a bulky appendix of the Greek
words employed in Coptic writing; but Mr. Crum's magnificent Dictionary is surely destined to be the standard for all time.

F. LL. G.

**Les Ruines d'El-Mishrifé au Nord-Est de Homs (Emèse):**
**Première campagne de fouilles à Qatna (1924).** By Count du Mesnil du Buisson. Paris: Geuthner. 1927. 75 Fr.

This is one of the publications of the Société française des Fouilles archéologiques, and is in every way worthy of the scientifically conducted work which it describes and the important character of the results. The site is 18 kilometres north-east of Homs, and was first introduced to the notice of the archaeological world by Père Ronzevalle, who published a view of it as well as some striking bronze figures and stone heads which had been found there.

Count du Mesnil's excavations have brought to light not only the gates and walls of the ancient city together with its necropolis, but also two temples, one of them being the great temple of the Sumerian goddess Nin-Egal, "Lady of the Palace," while the other seems to have been the Chapel Royal. Large quantities of pottery have been discovered as well as objects of bronze, ivory and the like, but the most important discovery has been that of cuneiform tablets, written in the official cuneiform and including inventories of the immense treasure that was stored in the temple of Nin-Egal. They have given us the name and history of the city; it turns out to have been Qatna which figures conspicuously in the Tel el-Amarna correspondence and of which Akizzi was at that time the king. The temple itself went back to the end of the third millennium B.C. About 1350 B.C. the city was destroyed by the northern enemies of Egypt and does not appear to have been inhabited again till the Neo-Babylonian period.
In the present publication, which is profusely illustrated by plans and photographs, Count du Mesnil gives an account of his first campaign. This has been followed by later ones, the last of which (in 1928) has not yet been published. The work has been carried out with scientific method and exactitude, and the description of it corresponds with the character of the work. The illustrations of the pottery are particularly valuable.

A. H. Sayce.


This is a very useful work and has been written with all the completeness and intimate knowledge of the subject which we expect from Professor Speleers. The area of his survey is strictly limited; Egypt and the Levant are excluded; so, too, is the excavation of Greek and later sites. The history of the excavations is divided into three periods, the first being what the author calls the Heroic Age when the great figures of Layard and Rawlinson and their compeers pass before our eyes, while the second and third periods are merely the pre-war and post-war subdivisions of the later age of excavation, when modern scientific methods are employed and the excavator's chief aim is to discover the history of the past and not monuments and objects for the museums of Europe or America. As a record of discovery and reference the book is of the highest value.

A. H. S.


Mr. Pilter's learned and lengthy volume reminds us of the works of the older scholars like Bochart and Hyde. It is packed full of facts, of the views of other scholars, and of references, and is nothing less than a monument of labour
and research. Mr. Pilter does not profess to be a first-hand authority on either Assyriology or Egyptology, but he is a good Hebraist and the authorities he quotes are first-hand. In all cases he is careful to give his references; I have found none that are otherwise than correct, and they bear witness to an extraordinarily large amount of reading and research. In fact, the book may be regarded as an encyclopaedic mine of information on the subjects to which it relates, brought up to the date of publication. The clergy, more especially, will find it useful.

The subject-matter falls into three divisions. The first and longest deals with Abram in his relations to the Babylonian Empire as described in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis. This is followed by a sort of Appendix on Abram, or rather Abraham, in Egypt and Ur. Then comes the second division of the subject: Joseph and Moses in Egypt. The third division is contained in a short chapter on certain matters connected with the story of the Israelites in the Sinaitic desert.

It is needless to say that Mr. Pilter’s point of view is conservative. In fact, no one who deals with the vast amount of archeological material which has been accumulating during the last few years can take any other. For the scientific archæologist the days are past when the history of the ancient East could be left to the subjective fantasies of the littérateur. In the Eastern and the Greek world alike the old traditions have been verified and the existence of a widespread literary culture has been pushed back to an early date. One of the most striking results of our new knowledge is not touched upon by Mr. Pilter—the conformity of the legal regulations implied in the narrative of Genesis with the enactments of the Code of Khammurabi.

But archæology is a science and therefore progressive. Fresh discoveries are constantly obliging us to amplify or correct our earlier conclusions so far as details are concerned. Moreover the conclusions themselves are often founded on
insufficient evidence and consequently give rise to diversities of opinion. When it comes to the interpretation of the evidence the archaeologist does not claim to be infallible. This is especially the case where philological considerations intervene; in so far as philology is a science its bearing upon history is necessarily restricted. Even the original seat of the Parent Indo-European family of speech—if indeed such a Parent ever existed—is disputed. And Mr. Pilter would have been well advised to have left Professor Grimm's Sinaitic interpretations alone; accidental or natural flaws in the stone or photograph are responsible for a good many of them.

As I have said, Mr. Pilter's work has been brought up to the date of publication. But already later discoveries have been crowding upon us, harbingers of others yet to come. In the field of Assyriology alone new vistas are opening out and the beginning of culture in the near East is being thrown further and further back into the past. In Palestine the excavations of Dr. Albright and Professor Kyle at Kirjath-Sepher and more especially the recent ones of Professor Garstang at Ai and Jericho have thrown light on the Israelitish invasion of Canaan and convinced two at any rate of the excavators that the Book of Joshua contains extracts from the note-book of a contemporary. Meanwhile in Egypt the discoveries of Mr. Firth at Saqqara have shown that in the age of the Third Dynasty the Egyptian script was already fully developed and that art and architecture had reached in many respects the highest level to which they ever attained. Anyone who wishes to compare our knowledge to-day of the ancient civilized world with the confident negations based upon the ignorance of forty years ago cannot do better than study Mr. Pilter's book.

A. H. S.

This is the first report of the very important excavations undertaken by MM. Charpoutier and Charbonneaux for the French School at Athens in the years 1922-4 at Mallia on the north coast of Crete. There they discovered a fairly well-preserved palace which was built in the first division of the Middle Minoan period, remodelled in the second division, and finally destroyed at the beginning of the Late Minoan age. For the first time, therefore, we have before us the picture of a Kretan palace which is contemporary with what may be termed the pre-Mykenæan epoch of Kretan history and which underwent no changes or rebuilding at a later date. For the study of Kretan architecture and archæology the discovery is naturally of exceptional value. Among the pottery have been found numerous fragments which are prototypes of the beautiful Kamares ware of M. M. II; on the other hand the Kamares ware itself is rare, while the rippled ware of M. M. III is again common, so that the excavators are probably justified in believing that the palace witnessed two occupations, one at the commencement and the other at the end of the Middle Minoan period, the site having been more or less deserted during the intervening Kamares epoch. In one of the rooms (Salle III, 8) tablets covered with hieroglyphic as well as linear inscriptions were discovered along with sealings, fragments of painted pottery and small vases, one of which has two hieroglyphs incised upon it. We hope it will not be long before the second volume containing copies of the inscriptions will appear. The present volume with its numerous illustrations and photographs, its broad margins and splendid type, is a sumptuous example of French typography.

A. H. S.

Professor Stephens has given us a useful book. Thanks in large measure to a discovery made by the peasants at Kara Eyuk (erroneously confused with Kul-Tepê) shortly before the war the number of Cappadocian tablets which we now possess is between two and three thousand and a considerable proportion of these has already been published. It was time, therefore, that an attempt should have been made to catalogue the proper names in them so far as was possible. This has been done by Professor Stephens together with an indispensable addition to the work, an analysis of the names. This implies not only an analysis of the elements contained in the Semitic names, but also the separation of the latter from names of Asianic origin. In many cases the attempt at separation can be tentative only at present and differences of opinion will be inevitable. The Asianic element -akhsu, for instance, is sometimes difficult to distinguish from the Semitic or Semitised ákh-su "his brother". Among other words terminating in -akh-su Professor Stephens notices Niwakhsu by the side of Niwakhsu-sar where we find as in several other names a suffix -sar, but he does not appear to have come across the simple Wakhsu-sar which occurs in one or two unpublished inscriptions and corresponds with the name of the city Wakhsu-sa-na, which we may compare with the "ᾲειως and "ᾲιος of the Greeks. The element Alâ, by the way, which he seems inclined to identify with el, īlu "god", is the Sumerian alâ which the Babylonians borrowed under the form of alû and the Hittites used in the sense of sedu "the divine bull".

A. H. S.
A Century of Exploration at Nineveh. By R. Campbell Thompson and R. W. Hutchinson. London: Luzac and Co. 1929. 7s. 6d.

This is a delightful book, entertaining and informative alike to the "general reader" and the scholar. Though containing only 146 pages of good-sized print it is packed with information, all given in an attractive style. The first half of the volume contains a history of the discovery and exploration of Nineveh, beginning with Rich and Layard and finishing with the author's own work there, first with Dr. King in 1904, and then on his own account in 1927–8. Next comes an intervening chapter entitled "Now-a-days" describing Mosul and the way to it as it has become since the war, a picture which it is difficult for those to realize who knew the country before the Great War. The latter half of the book deals with the history of Nineveh and the chief results of the excavations upon its site. There is a good index, and the volume is enriched with numerous plans and photographs. In fact, it is a complete and at the same time attractive presentation of the subject, and Dr. Campbell Thompson is to be congratulated upon his work.

As we read the earlier chapters the impression grows more and more upon us that there were indeed "giants in those days". And the explorers and excavators of Nineveh as well as the first decipherers of its inscriptions were all Englishmen. It is not without reason, therefore, that Dr. Campbell Thompson insists upon the fact that the site is essentially British, and that it is therefore Great Britain which should again take up the task of continuing and completing its exploration. The difficulties which beset the earlier excavators exist no longer; there are no longer Turkish officials to be bribed or Turkish fears to be allayed, and the motor-car and modern hotel have lightened the burden of travelling.

Dr. Campbell Thompson's excavations in 1927–8 had two chief results, one negative, the other positive. The ruins
of the temple of Nebo proved to be a disappointment; the tablets which had once existed in its library had disappeared. On the other hand, the palace of Assur-nazir-pal was discovered at a depth of 25 feet. The discovery was made only shortly before the expedition had to return to England and the palace, consequently, with its bas-reliefs and, possibly, store of tablets, still remains to be exhumed. Inscriptions found on the spot indicate that the palace was built on the site of one erected by Tiglath-pileser I, if, indeed, it was not the older palace itself in a renovated form. Especially interesting is one of these inscriptions which "gives in graphic, poetical style part of the history of Asshur-uballit, king of Assyria (c. 1380), and his troubles with the Kassites".

Another important discovery was that of a perfectly preserved prism of Esarhaddon which supplies the lacunae in the previously known edition of his Annals in the account of the murder of Sennacherib and the events that followed it. Thus in the passage relating to the murder the conjectural: "To gain the kingship [my brothers slew Sennacherib their father]" turns out to have been in the original text: "To gain the kingship they rushed against each other like young steers."

There are one or two unimportant misprints, and in the note on page 114 the numeral IV should be inserted after "Cappadocian Cuneiform Tablets".

A. H. S.


For some years Professor Garstang's Land of the Hittites has been the indispensable companion of the "Hittitologist". But a new edition of it has long been called for, and in place of it we have a new work designed to be "a survey of the History, Geography and Monuments of Hittite Asia Minor and Syria". The history, however, is merely sketched in
outline, the main part of the book being devoted to Hittite geography and the Hittite monuments which are described with exhaustive detail and accompanied by numerous photographs. Professor Garstang possesses the great advantage of having travelled over Asia Minor himself, of having excavated the Hittite site of Sakje-geuzi, and of having done the only really scientific archaeological work that has as yet been attempted at Boghaz Keui itself. One of the most useful portions of his former volume is retained in the shape of bibliographical indices of the monuments and of the authors who are quoted in the course of his work.

Under the head of "Hittites" Professor Garstang includes all the Asianic peoples to whom that title was given by the Babylonians, Assyrians and Hebrews, and consequently a large part of the book is occupied with an account of the monuments associated with the Hittite hieroglyphic inscriptions. On the artistic and cultural side, however, these cannot be separated from the monuments of Boghaz Keui and its libraries of cuneiform texts; the culture and civilization belonged to the same type, however much the races and languages may have differed. The Professor endeavours to distinguish to a certain extent between them by adopting Dr. Hogarth's distinction between "Hittite" and "Hattic"; I should prefer a distinction based upon archaeological and historical grounds and propose to divide Hittite history into the following three periods:—

(1) Proto-Hittite (to 2000 B.C.).
(3) Moscho-Hittite (1200–600 B.C.).

The ordinary classification derived from the use of metals does not apply to the Hittite world, since iron was worked in Asia Minor at a much earlier period than in other parts of the world—indeed the Cappadocian tablets (2300 B.C.) are already acquainted with barzi-ili "the metal of God", the Hebrew parzil, and the Khatti acquired their name from the fact that
they were "the Silver(-men)" who worked and exploited the mines of Bereketli.

Professor Garstang is certainly right in seeing an Amazon in the figure discovered at the Warrior Gate in Boghaz Keui. The breasts alone prove it. The Hittite name of the Amazon was kharâu (KBO, i, p. 72, 9, where the Assyrian equivalent is given as sarkhattum "heroine", the ideographic representative being .Encoding error: 'A-SAL "female mighty one") The battle-axe she holds with its hinder part in the form of a hand occurs frequently in the hieroglyphic texts with the value of kuwa(s) "consecrated one". The Professor further points out that many of the male figures in the famous sculptures have an emasculated appearance. This is borne out by certain of the cuneiform texts which show that the galli-priests of classical times were no new thing in Asia Minor and Dr. Forrer's recently published Forschungen, i, 2, contains some instructive pages on the same or an allied subject.

One of Professor Garstang's most interesting observations is the analogies he finds between the Indian Shiva and the Hittite bull-god (Tessub of Mount Arnuwandasa). It is fresh evidence for the fact that the earlier home of the Sanskrit-speaking tribes of North-Western India had migrated from Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, where we now know that the names of the chief Indian deities were still known as well as the Indian forms of the numerals in the fourteenth century before our era.

His attitude in regard to the identification of Hittite with classical or modern place-names is very cautious, but not more so than is justified by the present state of our knowledge. One of his suggestions is especially acute; Unnakhara which is coupled with Tarsa or Tarsus and Adaniya "the district of Adana" (the name still employed by the Arabic writers) must be the Ingirâ of Sennacherib long since identified with the Greek Ankhialê. But he has made a slip on p. 11, where he says that the Moschians were possibly Phrygians; we know from the classical writers that they came from the
eastern extremity of the Black Sea where Colchis was once in their territory. Even in Strabo’s time the mountainous land about Kars was still known as “Moschian”. It is possible that he may be right in another suggestion that Arinna, the city of the Sun-goddess, was Komana. Koma-na signifies “the land of Koma” or Quma and among the sacred “pools” of the Hittites was “the Pool of Quma” (altannis Qumayannis, KBO. ii, p. 60, 23). Ptolemy, however, distinguishes Phreata “The Pool” in Garsaura from Komana in Kataonia.

Professor Garstang’s book is rich in facts and references. I have been unable to find any misprints in it. But “Jerabis”, p. 226, should be corrected into the more correct “Jerabius” which is used elsewhere in the book, and “Phoenician”, p. 310, n. 5, should be “Aramaic”. The concession made in one passage to Dr. Forrer that he may conceivably be right in locating the country of Kizzuwadna on the Black Sea should be withdrawn; the tribute paid to the Hittite king by Kizzuwadna was argamanu “the murex purple”, and there is no murex in the Black Sea.

A note may be added on the representation of a great serpent upon one of the Moscho-Hittite monuments found at Old Malatiyeh which Professor Garstang aptly compares with the Hittite legend of the great serpent Illu-yankas. Since the publication of my article on the legend additional portions of the text have been found and published in Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi, xvii, 5, 6. The following is a translation of the fragment relating to the death of the reptile:—

(3) “So the god Inaras said to Khupa[siyas]: ‘All right,’ [and accordingly] (4) concealed him. And Inaras provided fo[od and drink]. (5) Thereupon the serpent Illu-yankas (6) he called up (sarā kallista) from his hole, [saying : ] (7) ‘See, I am celebrating a feast; (8) and so for eating and drinking it is all right.’ (9) Thereupon the serpent Illu-yankas [along with his wife] (10) came up; then they ate and drank.
(11) When they had drank up all the wine-jar (12) they were thoroughly drunk.  (13) They (ne) then descended into their hole, (14) and when they were gone Khupasiyas [reappeared] (15) and the serpent Illu-yankas with a chain (16) he ensnared (kalêlt).  (17) The god Tessub arrived; then the serpent Illu-yankas [and his wife] (18) he slew, and the gods were with him." After this Inaras built a house of granite for Khupasiyas in the city of Taruwa.  But here the tablet is unfortunately mutilated, though it would seem that the god Kuwarbis was seen coming out of the sea and making his way to Khupasiyas to whom "[the increase] of the field was given".

A. H. S.

RÂBI‘A THE MYSTIC AND HER FELLOW-SAINTS IN ISLÂM.
By MARGARET SMITH. pp. xxv, 220. Cambridge University Press, 1928. 10s. 6d.

Dr. Margaret Smith deserves the thanks of all Orientalists for her interesting and scholarly work on the life and teaching of the Muslim saint Râbi‘a and the position of women and women-saints in Islâm. Râbi‘a al-‘Adawiyya of Baṣra was born in A.H. 95 or 99, and died unmarried in A.H. 185/ A.D. 801. Amongst her associates were ‘Abd al-Wâhid b. Zayd, d. A.D. 793, Muḥammad b. Sulaymân al-Hâshimi, d. A.H. 172, Sufyân al-Thawrî, d. A.D. 778, ‘Abd al-‘Azîz b. Sulaymân Abû al-Rasîbî, d. A.D. 767, and perhaps the Egyptian mystic Dhû al-Nûn, d. A.D. 856. The author gives legends associating Râbi‘a with Hasan of Baṣra, but as Hasan died in A.D. 728, these legends must obviously be rejected.

More copious is the data relating to Râbi‘a’s share in the different stages of the Šûfi doctrine—Penitence, Patience, Gratitude, Hope, Holy Fear, Voluntary Poverty, Asceticism, Dependence upon God, and Love. When asked whether she hated Satan Râbi‘a replied: "My love for God leaves no room for hating Satan." On another occasion Râbi‘a
answered: "I have not served God from fear of Hell or love of Paradise, but only for the love of Him and desire for Him."

In the third and final portion of her work the learned author attributes the present degraded position of the Muslim woman "to Islāmic teaching which has prevailed since the second and third centuries of the Muslim era". It is acknowledged however, that "theoretically, at least, the Muslim woman was placed on a spiritual equality with man" (vide Qur'ān, xxxiii, 35). This equality was attained, if not surpassed, by such women as Umm Ḥarām, d. A.H. 28 or 29, Rābi'a of Syria, d. A.H. 135, Nafīsa, d. A.H. 208, Jahan Āra (daughter of the Emperor Shah Jahān), the Bābī Qurrat al-'Āyn martyred in A.D. 1852, and by Rābi'a of Baṣra herself. The existence of the Meccan convents of Hurrīsh, Bint al-Tāj, and al-Dūrī, and the Egyptian convents of the Hostel of the Baghdađīs' and Sitt Kalīla Dawla, also attest the religious zeal and sanctity of Muslim women.

HADI HASAN.

STUDIES IN ISLĀM. By the Rev. Canon SELL. pp. 266. Madras, 1928. 6s.

Studies in Islām contains six articles on Islamic mysticism, the Shi'ahs, the Fāṭimid Khalifate, Bābīism, the Derwishes, and the Qur'ān. Much has been written on these subjects in recent years, and in re-presenting his narrative the Rev. Canon Sell has the advantage of utilizing well-established conclusions. His book, however, is full of interest and will no doubt be welcomed by those desirous of having a general knowledge of Islamic tenets and beliefs. Especially praiseworthy is the discussion of Salāmān and Absāl in the chapter on Mysticism, of Bābī customs in the chapter on Bābīism, of the Sanūsiyya Order in the chapter on the Derwishes, and of the Sūratu'n-Nūrayn in the chapter on the Qur'ān. The Sūratu'n-Nūrayn (or the chapter of Two Lights, i.e. Muḥammad and 'Alī), of which the text and translation are
both given, is believed by Shi‘ahs to be the chapter suppressed in the final recension of the Qur‘ān, but "on the whole, the weight of evidence seems to be against the Shi‘ah claim".

HADI HASAN.


This book is the result of many years of travel and research carried out by the author in what is now known as the French Mandated Territory or Syria. Already, as far back as 1895, the author has published his Voyage en Syrie, and ever since he has continued his investigations into the topography and geography of Syria. There is scarcely a town or hamlet, a river or mountain, which has not been visited, or which the author has not tried to identify and to place by the help of those who preceded him. He starts, in fact, very early with these identifications, since the Bible is one of the sources he quotes, especially in the chapters affecting the localities in southern Phoenicia, and in the line of demarcation between Syria and the north of Palestine, which has now been traced between England and France. The author makes use of cuneiform literature, Syrian as well as Hittite, then the classical literature, the later Arabic geographers, and the results of modern archaeology. Thousands upon thousands of names—to be more correct, between five and six thousand names—have found their place in this book, and on the fifteen separate maps inserted therein, which have all been joined together to form the sixteenth. The whole ancient history seems to be rolled out before our eyes, and the description of successive rulers over these countries. It was no mean task besides to recover the old names, either entirely obliterated by the new Turkish names given to these localities during
the last centuries, or greatly mutilated in the course of ages. Copious references are given on each page, and a rich bibliography shows the vast reading of the author. The book will prove indispensable to anyone interested in this classic land of the ancient world, the home also of the Western civilization. The author draws on the maps also the routes which traversed the country, by which that civilization flowed from east to west. The book is beautifully printed, the maps are very well executed, and the author is to be heartily congratulated on this excellent piece of work.

M. GASTER.


The author of this book has found in the Bodleian Library a manuscript written in Hebrew cursive characters, dating from the sixteenth century, which contains the apocalyptic vision of the heavenly hierarchy ascribed to the High Priest Ishmael. There exists a large number of similar treatises varying in size and contents, which all bear the same title of Sefer Hekhalot, i.e. "The Book of the Heavenly Mansions, or, Heavenly Palaces." Some of these Ascensions are ascribed to Moses, others to Isaiah, and in the N.T. apocryphal literature, to Peter, Paul, and others. All these form one cycle, and go back unquestionably to a more ancient source of esoteric speculations. The writer of the Hebrew manuscript—which is of complex character, some portions being old, while others are of a more recent date—called it the Book of Enoch, although there is scarcely any mention made of this name, the real hero being the High Priest Ishmael. Still, this has led the author to call this book the Book of Enoch,
and as there are in existence already a first and second Book of Enoch, the latter in Slavonic, and of comparatively recent date, Mr. Odeberg has called his book "3 Enoch". He publishes now the text in full, with critical notes, and also an English translation with valuable annotations and parallels. The most important part of the book, however, must be sought in the long and elaborate introduction. The author displays here a consummate knowledge of the cognate mystical literature. It is a model of scholarly investigation, except in one point, the manner in which the problem of the Metatron is here treated. The heavenly being which meets Rabbi Ishmael and conducts him through all the heavenly abodes, is called Metatron. The exuberant fancy of the esoteric speculator has endowed him with all kinds of exaggerated and fantastic qualities, giving him almost a semi-divine character. Mr. Odeberg identifies Metatron with Enoch; and, impelled by what I believe to be an entirely wrong and unjustified conception, accepts every one of these attributes literally, and goes so far as to make him almost a divine hypostasis. He devotes therefore the largest part of his introduction in trying to prove it. Anyone who is acquainted with Jewish mystical speculations knows full well that between the divine godhead and all the celestial beings there lies such a gulf that even the most daring never ventured to bridge it; and to place any one of the celestial hierarchy upon a throne which could remotely resemble the divine throne has never entered the mind of any author of these apocalyptic visions. It is a pity that Mr. Odeberg should have been led astray by tendencies quite alien to his real subject, and should have thus impaired to some degree the undoubted high value of his publication.

M. GASTER.

This book contains a minute description of the French "peaceful penetration" into Syria and Palestine during the eighteenth century, by means of the numerous factories established in these countries. The title, if literally taken, would restrict the contents of the book to the trade of the sea-ports, and many of these are mentioned, such as Tripoli, Acco, Saida, Beyrut, and Jaffa. But we find also towns mentioned, notably Aleppo and Damascus, and other places, which are far from any sea-port. We obtain here a well-documented survey of the French trade, on the one hand, and, on the other, of the assistance given to the missionaries, and especially the establishment of various Consulates in the Levant, all intended to further the same object—to safeguard French interests in these countries. The author enters into a detailed description of the relations between the French who had settled in these places, first among themselves, and then with the other inhabitants and traders. We find an interesting and important note about the Maronites, the Druzes, and the Ansaria. A special annexe at the end deals with these sects more fully. The author also refers to the curious incident of a British "corsair" capturing a French ship and bringing it into a Turkish port, and the complications which arose out of this act of "piracy". In one place only more detailed reference is made to the activity of the English in Aleppo. Between the traders and the French Consuls there seems to have been constant friction. From time to time inspectors had to descend from France to inquire into the complaints of the traders. The author has drawn his information chiefly from the archives of the Chamber of Commerce in Marseilles, which was principally concerned with the French trade in the Levant, and from some of the archives of the Ministries in Paris. The book is an important
contribution to the history of trade, and of the ways by which the West has been able to influence the East. We recognize the same method which has been continued to our very days, first the missionary, then the trader, and finally the soldier. We see, on the other hand, that much that is very doubtful in character and of little value to human civilization also has come the same way, and has not benefited the nations of the East, to which it has thus been brought. The book furthermore shows the constant solicitude of the French government for its own trade, and its endeavour to eliminate as much as possible alien competition, especially that of the English. One might wish that the English Levant, or, Turkey Trading Company, which obtained a charter already in the time of Queen Elizabeth, would find an equally exhaustive treatment by competent hands. Only a little nibbling at this vast subject has been undertaken some years ago by Dr. M. Epstein, in a small monograph. Mr. Charles-Roux has added to this book, which is beautifully printed, also twenty-seven plates, copies of old engravings depicting various scenes of the life in Turkey during the period treated in the book. We have here excellent reproductions of audiences granted by the Sultan to French ambassadors, of some old ships, of types of French merchants, of a Turkish shop, of a view of Jerusalem, pictures of Ali Bey and Hassan Pasha, the Patriarch of the Maronites, and besides a number of maps. But curiously enough, there is no list of these illustrations to be found anywhere in the book, nor is there an index. In the latter case, however, a very full description in the table of contents makes it easy to dispense with it.

M. Gaster.
KARAIMITSCHE TEXTE IM DIALEKT VON TROKI. By TADEUSZ KOWALSKI. Eingeleitet, Erläutert und mit einem Karaimisch-Polnisch-Deutschen Glossar Versehen. 8vo, pp. lxxix + 311. Kracow (Polish Academy of Science), 1929.

On the eastern border of Poland, near the Ukraine and Lithuania, there live now some 800 souls belonging to the Karaite sect of the Jews, settled there probably early in the twelfth or thirteenth century. They inhabit five small settlements, with their centre in Troki, and although their number is small, the Turkish language which they speak is divided up into two dialects. Professor Kowalski is now the first who has undertaken a thorough investigation into the linguistic character of this language. He has studied it for four years, and he has been able thus to acquire a complete mastery. In this volume he is publishing the result of his long and painstaking investigations into the history of these settlements, the literature of the sect, exceedingly small and poor, and above all the language. He enters into a minute description of all the grammatical features of the language. He then compares it with other Turki dialects, and he comes to the conclusions, arrived at already before, if only tentatively, by Samoilevich, viz. that it belongs to the Kipchak family, which stretches from the Altai Mountains across the southern plains of Russia to the eastern borders of Poland. Professor Kowalski, however, is able to determine much more closely the affinity between the language of the Karaites, and especially that spoken by the Troki community, and that of the Armenian community living in the neighbourhood, who speak a similar language, and above all with that of the Kumans. The dialect of Troki has preserved most of the archaic features of the language, and it proves invaluable for the better understanding of the language of the Kumans, of which hitherto only the glossary published by Geza Kuun has been preserved. In the latter we have only single words, whilst the language of the Karaites furnishes us with the full
grammar, morphology, and syntax. It is a living language, still spoken, and therefore of extreme value. Any elucidation as to the true character of the Kumans is sure to prove of extreme interest in connection with the problem of the Scythians, and also on that of the nationalities inhabiting Hungary and Rumania, from the tenth to the fourteenth century. This question lies, however, outside the investigations of Professor Kowalski. They are referred to here in order to show how these small remnants can contribute towards the solution of bigger problems. The author publishes here a number of texts, faithfully transcribed, some from printed books, and some from manuscripts, the latter being of a popular character, and he adds at the end an exhaustive vocabulary covering no less than 130 pages, with a Polish and German translation.

M. Gaster.


In 1916 Dr. v. Mžik published an edition of Alkhowārizmi’s Arabic version of Ptolemy’s Africa. This was part of the same author’s great geographical work, which is now supplemented by the edition of the volume mentioned above. As to the importance of this publication, there can be no two opinions. Its author lived in the first quarter of the ninth century, and is presumably the earliest Arab geographer. According to the editor’s description of the MS. upon which he had to rely, his task was a most arduous one, and only one who is really competent could hope to bring the edition to a successful issue. Fortunately, he was able to fill many gaps, correct faulty readings, and restore missing or damaged passages from
Al Suhrāb's 'ajāb al-qaṭā'īm, a MS. of which is in the British Museum and an edition in preparation by Dr. v. Mžik himself. In spite of this help, Al-Khwarizmi's book, with its various perplexing features such as copyist's errors and confusing abbreviations, must have put a severe strain on the editor's critical powers. To this must be added the difficulty of correctly reading a mass of cyphers, numbers, and ligatures with uncertain or missing diacritical signs. This, together with the post-classical character of the diction, is discussed in the editor's prefatory remarks. They show that the author did not write in his native language but in an acquired one, which he had some difficulty in mastering. The editor was well advised to leave the text untouched, but to insert certain signs to direct the reader's attention to irregularities. Corrections are given in the footnotes. The facsimile specimen of the MS. as well as the four maps in phototype, of which that of the Nile is particularly interesting, are instructive examples of early historical cartography. The editor deserves unstinted praise for the thoroughness, precision, and scholarship which distinguishes his work. It will secure him the genuine gratitude of all interested in the subject, while the promised German translation with the commentary will be eagerly looked forward to even outside the circles of Arabists.

H. Hirschfeld.


This volume of the Cambridge History will be welcomed by all students of Indian annals, as containing a critical version of the records translated in four of the eight volumes of Elliott, checked by and collated with others. A chapter on the Arab conquest of Sind opens the story of Muhammedan invasion, and is followed by eight more dealing with the
dynasties which gradually extended their rule to Delhi and into the peninsula, till the Lodis fell at Pānipat before the victorious arms of Bābur. Next comes a series of chapters dealing with the minor kingdoms established during the period, and though the main scheme of the volume is to trace the fortunes of India from about 1200 to 1526, Sir Wolseley Haig has carried these on to more appropriate dates where necessary. The Hindu states in northern and southern India receive separate notices, and there are chapters on Burma, Ceylon, and the monuments of Muslim India. A recital of these topics is sufficient to indicate the magnitude of the undertaking, and Sir Wolseley Haig must be congratulated on its successful completion. Besides being editor of the whole he has himself written eighteen of the twenty-three chapters.

As an efficient guide to the mazes of dynastic struggle the work is admirable. It will be invaluable in the colleges of India and the studies of Europeans interested in oriental history. It should also attract the attention of students of history whose main interests lie in other fields, and who complain that they can extract neither profit nor pleasure from earlier books on the subject. Some of these will no doubt complain that a history of India should trace the varying fortunes of the people of the country as well as the exploits, virtues, and faults of foreign rulers. Vernacular literature begins in many parts of India during the period, but with the exception of the first two notable Urdu poets Amīr Khusrau and Hasan-i-Dīhlavī, and the translators who worked under the rulers of Bengal and Kashmir, hardly a reference is made. The revival of popular cults in Bengal, in Gujarāt, and in south India, is of great importance, and deserved more notice. In these matters the chapter on Burma contributed by Mr. G. E. Harvey, I.C.S., is the best in the book. Students of revenue administration will find little new, and will doubt the correctness of the suggestion at p. 161 that the orders of Firūz Tughluq indicate a knowledge of scientific agriculture.
The historical setting of the book would have been better if a considerable portion of chapter xx dealing with the Native States of north India had preceded the account of the conquests and administration of Muhammad bin Sām. As planned, the book is three-parts ended before it gives (except by names on Map 1) a view of India as it was when the real conquest began. Apart from this the arrangement is convenient, and the editor has been skilful in avoiding repetition as a rule, and in supplying needful cross-references from one narrative to another. More help is however needed to show the connection between the jejune account of the history of Ceylon, and that of India. Sir Wolseley Haig's own style is at times disfigured, and his narrative made obscure, by a careless use of pronouns (e.g. lines 3–6, p. 68), and an accumulation of dependent sentences (e.g. first nine lines of the account of Multan, p. 503). His most satisfying achievement is in the two chapters dealing with the Kingdom of the Deccan. The chapter on the Hindu States of southern India by Professor S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar contains a number of unnecessary repetitions, sometimes with apparent contradictions.

The exhaustive chapter by Sir John Marshall on the Monuments of Muslim India will be welcomed by many classes of student. It contains a clear and sympathetic account of the manner in which Muhammadan architects appreciated and made use of indigenous styles. They thus evolved a system which, though it remained true to the ideals of Islam, incorporated qualities of strength and grace, and produced magnificent results. From one of his assertions it may be permitted to dissent. Bengal is not now, and probably never was, distinguished for artistic crafts except in the case of weaving. More than a hundred illustrations contained in fifty-one plates illustrate this chapter, and add greatly to the value of the book. That such a profusion could be included is due to a generous contribution by Sir Dorabji Tata to the cost of production.
Additional help is given to the student by bibliographies arranged according to chapters, by a chronological table, and dynastic lists and genealogies. To the first of these the addition may be suggested of Dr. G. P. Taylor's "The Coins of the Gujarât Saltanat," *JBBrAS.* xxi, and Dr. L. White King's "History and Coinage of Malwa," *Num. Chron.*, ser. iv, iii, pp. 356–98 and iv, pp. 62–100. The reference under Bengal to *JASB.* 1872 and 1873, should refer to Blochmann's articles in 1873, 1874, and 1875. In the text of the book more use might have been made of evidence furnished by coins. Whether, as Sir Wolseley Haig suggests, Tughluq is a tribal name or not, his coins show that Muhammad invariably described himself as "bin Tughluq", not as Muhammad Tughluq. The coins struck in the name of puppets like Shams-ud-din Kayîmars, Shihâb-ud-din 'Umr should have been mentioned, and the inscriptions show that the child placed on the throne when Muhammad bin Tughluq died was called (Ghiyâs-ud-din) Mahmûd, not Muhammad. Sir Wolseley Haig does not refer to the problem offered by the coins of Zafar, son of Firûz Tughluq, which indicate that he was recognized for a short period early in 1389.

As a second edition of the book will be required before long, it is worth while to point out some minor slips. Râmpur is no longer surrounded by a bamboo hedge (p. 20), though such hedges may still be seen in Oudh. At p. 57, Kuramân and Baniân should be read for Kirmân and Bâmiyân. Mu'izz-ud-din Muhammad placed a Sanskrit translation of the Kalima on his coins and used the Nâgârî character, but not Hindu legends (p. 89). "Oudh" is referred to *passim* as a tract, while in this period "Awadh" usually refers to the town now called Ajodhya. The correct rendering in note 1, p. 166, is possibly *Hammâr*, the ass driver. Sir Wolseley Haig has rightly avoided foreign terms as much as possible, but the use of a word like fief (p. 213) or governor (of Sâran, p. 245) is equally to be deprecated as suggesting misleading analogies. The Bhadauriyas (p. 233) were and are a distinguished clan.
of Rajputs, not a "predatory tribe". In the chapters on Muhammadan dynasties, the clans of Rajputs, where known, should be stated. At p. 237 we should have Mārahra and Sakīt for Mārhara and Suket. The identification of Bīdar with the old capital of Vidarbha (p. 400) is based on legend only, and the identification of Raja Vijaya Sena is difficult. The Valabhis of the solar line cannot have succeeded in A.D. 319 the Guptas, whose era begins only in that year. Possibly the reference is to the Western Satrap of that name who may have succeeded the Andhras about A.D. 236. The account of the Hoysalas at p. 474 is very distracting. Vina- yāditya was succeeded in the governorship of Gāngavādī by Ballāla I, whose territory had the same boundaries, and who was followed by Vīshnuvardhana. Yet the greatest achievement of the last-named was the conquest of Gāngavādī. In 1130 (p. 476) the Hoysalas were supreme over the whole area of the present Mysore State, but later on the same page we find that it was not till 1137 that the records show this. At p. 477 (lines 4–6) "Vīshnuvardhana . . . did not venture to assume the royal dignity"; (lines 9–10) "he marked his accession to royal power in this year [not stated] by the performance of the royal act of 'tulā-purusha'"; (lines 6–7, second para.) " . . . he never ventured to assume the royal title." Were the Kalachūryas of Mysore (p. 479) connected with the Kālachūris of Chedi? At p. 506 Trilochan, the other name of Jaipāl II, should be mentioned. Sangrama, destined to fall on the field of battle (p. 529), actually died of poison (p. 530). Sikandar Lodī defeated Bārbak not Husain as stated on p. 625 (cf. p. 258). In the survey of buildings of the Jaunpur school (pp. 627–8) the mosques at Etāwah and Kanauj deserved mention.

In spelling place-names, the usage of the Imperial Gazetteer has been generally followed. That usage was based on the principle of transliterating most names from the modern local vernacular spelling, but preserving the rougher forms used in English where these had obtained considerable
currency, e.g. Cawnpore. Though Sir Wolseley Haig objects to two examples of the latter class, Owsa and Kistna, they appear on his map in those forms. He also describes Fatehpur as a vulgarism, but the name is a hybrid, and Fatehpur is as well established in the vernaculars as Lancaster in English. It may be doubted whether "Bahlool" ever called himself, or was known as, "Buhlül." Some inconsistencies or errors in spelling should be noted for correction. The coins indicate that Qubācha is to be preferred to Qabācha. At p. 64 both Gurait and Kurait cannot be correct. Deogīrī in many places contrasts with Devagiri at p. 630 and Deogiri in map 2 (p. 64). Budaun (passim) in the text is Budāon in map 4 (p. 192), and Badaun at p. 624. The name of the Mughul leader (p. 111) given as Kabk certainly contains "p" as the middle consonant, though the vocalization is doubtful (? Kupuk). Koil (p. 193) and Kōil (p. 582) should be Kol. For Kumāon (p. 213) read Kumān. For Kuntit (p. 237) read Kantit. Īrij (p. 253), Erīj (p. 355), and Īrich (p. 625) should all be Erachh. For Tarpūliya (p. 304) read Tripauliya or Tirpauliya. Medeni (p. 318) and Medni (p. 366) should be Medini. Begarha (p. 310, and chap. xiii passim) contrasts with Bigarha (p. 358). The vulgarized name Rājahmundry appears with the correct form Rājamahendri at p. 96, but also as Rājamandri at p. 473. It is confusing in a book like this to have both Rāhtor and Rāthor, Penukonda (p. 489) and Penugonda (p. 493), Tomara, Tomāra, and Tonwār, as the index maker has found. Rāi (p. 534) and Rāi (passim) should be Rāe or Rāy. Vīra Narāyan (p. 513) also appears as Bīr Narāyan at p. 536. If the Sanskritized form Vīra is used, the spelling should be Nārāyana. Junāgadh is used occasionally for Junāgarh. (Mahmūd) Gāvān and Gāwān both occur. Solā khamb (p. 636) should be solah khamba (or khambh or khambha) if the phrase is Hindoostānī, or solā khāmbh if it is Marāthī. A number of misprints have been noted. Read Bahrāich for Balrāich (p. 29, note 1), Gul for Gal (p. 152, line 7), Girnār for Gunar (p. 170), 23° 10′ for 25° 10′ (p. 170, note 2).
Reviews of Books by Jarl Charpentier


The present writer had the great pleasure of reviewing, in the January issue of this Journal, the first volume of the excellent work on Indian Archaeological Bibliography
published by the Kern Institute under the able leadership of Professor Vogel. With a rapidity which is unfortunately as unusual as welcome, this precious volume has been followed by a second one which fully equals or, if possible, even surpasses its predecessor, in the matter of completeness and careful editorship. By this as well as by numerous other useful and brilliant works the ancient University of Leyden is upholding its old position as one of the leading centres of learning of the world.

The volume opens, as is only befitting, with a paper on Mohenjo-Daro, being an extract from the well-known reports of Sir John Marshall once published in *The London Illustrated News* (January, 1928). The exact position of the old civilization of the Indus is so far not certainly known, and we wait, with increasing curiosity, for the great work promised us by Sir John Marshall himself. But of the connections of this civilization with the more westerly ones of the Nile and of Mesopotamia there can already now be no doubt whatsoever. The problem, however, of its extension towards the East and South within India herself does not seem so far to have been studied at all. To predict is always dangerous and would, in a case like this, be hazardous and even stupid. Still we cannot refrain from the remark that the discovery of an extension of this "Indus" civilization over the whole or greater parts of the Indian continent would not only be a stupendous thing in itself, but also lead to a total revision of the problems connected with the pre- and proto-history of India.

That the horse of Troy should find itself portrayed by some Græco-Buddhist artist of Peshāwar origin is rather curious, and gives a hint of the intimacy of Hellenistic connections with the North-West of India. Hindu writers who looked down upon foreign "barbarians" with a contempt scarcely to be equalled by that cherished by any foppish Athenian, have preserved nothing of what they may eventually have learnt of the traditions and myths of Greece. But if
Greek myths and legends were really depicted on Indian objects of art, we may be fairly sure that the accompanying stories also made their way eastwards. Dr. Laufer has shown us numerous examples of classical stories retold by Chinese authors.\(^1\) And were it not for the fanciful and assimilating methods of the Hindus which strongly contrast with the somewhat dry and matter-of-fact ways of the Chinese, we would perhaps be able to discover some remains of Greek lore within the Indian disguise.

The *Annual Bibliography* brings further excellent articles on the finds at Nāgārjunikonda which may well be identical with the last earthly resort of the great Nāgārjuna; on the Gāndāvatāra at Māvalivaram; on the excavations at P'ong Tūk in Siam (from a note by M. Coedès), and on certain new discoveries in Indonesia and Iran. In this connection we are pleased to find that Professor Herzfeld has now finally accepted the old identification of Pers. *satagu-* with Skt. *satagu-*; which, in spite of the contentions of other scholars, is the only possible one. Unfortunately, the Greek form *Σαταγυδαυ*, given by Herodotus (iii, 91) and others, is by no means clear. There exists, as far as we know, no Iranian word *guda-* "cow*.\(^2\) Nor would the Slavonic *govedo* prove the existence of such a form.

After these introductory papers there follows the whole extensive and excellent bibliography. No praise could be too high for the exertions of Professor Vogel and his collaborators for the welfare of all their colleagues. Long live the activity of the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* and may it always be able fully to uphold the glorious traditions of its start.

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\(^1\) Cf. the *Festschrift E. Kuhn*, p. 198 seq., and other of Dr. Laufer’s publications.

\(^2\) Dr. Ipsean has repeatedly contended that the IEur. *gudu-* is borrowed from an old Sumerian *gu(d)*. We do not believe this, and besides that would not help us here, as the final -d should have disappeared in Sumerian ere the word was borrowed by the original Indo-Europeans.

The Śūtras of the Vaikhānasas, which are undoubtedly of the highest interest for the study of Hindu ascetical life, have hitherto attracted but slight attention from the majority of Sanskrit scholars. Apart from the thesis of the late Th. Bloch, published in 1896, and from an edition of not too high value by the late MM. T. Gaṇapati Śāstri (1913), the indefatigable energy and unparalleled acquaintance with Indian ritual texts of Professor Caland have alone penetrated the difficulties of the Vaikhānasa texts. It is thus the more welcome that a young German Sanscritist, Dr. W. Eggers, has seen his way to considerably increase our knowledge of these texts, which are important as well as not easily accessible.

Dr. Eggers has wisely refrained from giving a Sanskrit text of the *Vaikhānasa Dharmasūtra*, which, with the scanty materials now at hand, might be a somewhat hazardous undertaking, perhaps even a partial failure. Instead of that he has provided us with a complete translation followed by a critical commentary which seem to satisfy even high-raised expectations. There might possibly be some minor points on which we should differ from the learned author, but such detailed criticism can find no room here; and besides such remarks would detract nothing from the general value of the work.

The introduction, which deals chiefly with the position, initiation and life of the *vānaprastha*, is clearly written and furnishes us with materials for many fascinating problems and meditations. Of especial interest are the enumerations and classifications of the different sorts of *vānaprasthas* with which Dr. Eggers deals on p. 20 seq. In our Dharmasūtra (i, 7, 2), in the *Āśrama Upanisad*, and in *Bhāg. Pur.*, iii, 12, 43,
there are lists of four groups of wandering ascetics, all of which include the three names audumbara, vālakhiliya, and phenapa. As the fourth name, the other two sources give vaikhānasa, while our text has vairīṇa. Now the last name must mean an ascetic in some way connected with Brahmā, for brahmā is = vīriṇci, the derivation of that word be what it may.¹ Vaikhānasa, of course, is derived from vikhanas, which is also said to be = brahmā; but the unfortunate thing is that while the derivative vaikhānasa is a word of great age, the root-word vikhanas is known only from late and none too trustworthy sources. As for phenapa, Dr. Eggers rightly suggests it to mean “a drinker of foam”; and the Mahābhārata tells us (i, 3, 46 seq.) that Upamanyu, one of the disciples of old Dhaumya Ayoda, at one time sustained his life by licking off the foam from the mouths of sucking calves. In the following chapter (i, 8) there are enumerated further thirty-two classes of ascetics. Amongst them those who hang with their heads downwards are known in the Jātaka by the characteristic name of followers of the “bat-vow” (valgulivrata), and several others are known also amongst Jains and Baudhāyas.

On p. 33 the author has made a rather curious mistake in telling us, from the commentary of the Padhāna-sutta v. 16, that those who have decided to abandon their life in battle adorn themselves with a bundle of muñja-grass. If he had studied the well-known paper of Pischel called “Ins Gras beissen”² he would have found that the words:

esa muñjaḥ parihare dhir atthu idha ājīvitaḥ

have quite the opposite sense, as is already clear from the second line of the verse:

saṅgāme me matam seyyo yaṇ ce ājīve parājito.

On the same page there is an interesting passage on the “great journey” (mahāprasthāna). It sufficiently proves to

¹ Cf. Ludwig, VOJ., xviii, 135.
us that Sāyaṇa was right in commenting upon RV. x, 95, 14:

*sudevo adya prapated anāvrt parāvatam paramāṁ gantavā u
he says: athavānāvṛtāḥ san paramāṁ parāvatam
dūrād eva dūradēsaṁ gantavai gantum mahāprasthānagamanam
kuryāt.*

Misprints are rather numerous, and we are somewhat astonished to find very famous Sanskritists styled Bournoff and Jakobi. But on the whole this is a good and sound piece of work, and we wind up by wishing Dr. Eggers further success in his special field of research.


Quite close upon the publication of his weighty work, *Über das Wesen der altindischen Rechtsschriften*—not to mention his previous monumental translation of the Kauṭiliya—Dr. J. J. Meyer has presented us with a new book of research dealing with the mutual interrelation between law-book and Purāṇa in old India. Let us admit at once that the book undoubtedly possesses great merits, owing to the author’s wide learning and thorough acquaintance with his topic; let us also admit that it shares with its nearest predecessor the demerit of being next to unreadable owing to its lack of proper disposition and its partly most peculiar style.

The trend of the work is throughout a polemic one. Dr. H. Losch in his thesis, *Die Yājñavalkyasmytī, Ein Beitrag zur Quellenkunde des indischen Rechts* (1927), tried to prove that the law-book known by the name of Yājñavalkya has been pieced together from various extracts which are to be found, in an older and more correct form, in the Agni and

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1 Reviewed by Dr. Barnett, *JRAS*. 1928, 429 seq.
Garuda Purāṇas. He also showed himself totally opposed to the idea of Dr. Meyer that individual authors were at the bottom of the ancient Indian law-books and formally declared his disbelief in the main doctrines of the author of Über das Wesen der altindischen Rechtsschriften.

All this has evoked from Dr. Meyer a very spirited opposition. Not only does he firmly stand his ground and contest all the arguments of his opponent; he also scarcely hesitates to tell us that Dr. Losch is still somewhat unripe to give an opinion on things as important as these. Of the points in dispute we shall at once confess ourselves to be no competent judges, though it appears that the balance is somewhat in favour of Dr. Meyer, and would certainly be still more so if his arguments were couched in more readable language. But of one thing we feel fairly certain, if Dr. Losch tries to deny the magical foundation of most precepts of Indian law and interpret them according to methods of modern European jurisprudence then he is on a dangerous path. Some eminent philosophers and lawyers amongst my own countrymen have recently proved, with fair success, that magic is the real foundation of Roman as well as of modern law. Nowhere does this fact appear more clearly stated than in India; and nowhere has it been more thoroughly explained than in the previous work of Dr. J. J. Meyer.

As for the etymology of avīcī (p. 30) consult also Johansson, Monde Oriental, ii, 97 seq.


This is a translation into modern Persian of the Gaṭhās of the Avesta prepared by Aga Poure Davoud, a Persian poet and scholar who has studied in Europe as well as in India. On the merits of that translation we can pass no judgment whatsoever; the author, however, tells us that he has throughout followed the late Professor Bartholomae's translation published in 1905. In that he has certainly done well,
for, though any translation of the Gāthās is so far a very problematic thing, the one by Bartholomae may well earn our applause for its general soundness of method.

To this translation is affixed an introduction which has also been rendered into English by Mr. D. J. Irani. It deals with Zarathushtra and the Avesta according to the results hitherto achieved by Western scholars. To European students it can scarcely prove very useful, but may be of value to the countrymen of its author.

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KARHĀD, being No. 11 of the series of publications brought out by the Bhārat-itiḥās-Sarśodhak-Mandala of Poona.


Karhāda—in the earliest inscriptions Karhakaṭ and Karhākaḍak—is a small town situated at the confluence of the rivers Krishṇa and Koyanā in the Satārā district of the Bombay Presidency, which seems to have given its name to the Karhāḍa Brahman community of Bombay. Mr. Gupte's little book gives an account of the town's history from the earliest times, and of the numerous monuments, in and near it, left by Buddhists, Hindus, and Mahometans. Mr. Gupte is a Sub-Registrar of the Bombay Registration Department, trained for scientific inquiry by the Archaeological Department of the Government of India, in which he served for some years. It is all to the good when native Indian officials show a scientific interest in the history of their own country, and can find time and inclination to present their conclusions to their countrymen in their own vernaculars. This little book is carefully and judiciously written, and well printed. The photographic reproductions are not very clearly done, and might be improved.

C. N. S.

The writer of this bulky Urdu book, which is packed with an enormous quantity of matter, is a well-known scholar of the Farrukhabad district in the United Provinces. He must now be a very old man, as the present reviewer, who held charge of the Farrukhabad district for most of 1898 and 1899 as Collector, has a distinct recollection of him as a minor official in those bygone days.

Maulavi Maqbul Ahmad is a scholar of the old orthodox school, gifted with a great command both of the Arabic and Persian languages and literatures and also of Islamic history and theology, with all their minor and complicated ramifications. It is to be feared that a book of this kind, replete with discursive knowledge, will make an appeal to a very limited circle of readers. Only those who besides having a competent knowledge of Urdu are versed in both Arabic and Persian can attempt to read it with any degree of ease. Such persons are becoming lamentably few even in India.

This book purports primarily to be a biography of an eighteenth century scholar, who was born at Bilgrām in the Hardoi district of Oudh, but it teems with digressions of all kinds, and apart from this the actual text of the book is of relatively small account compared with the gigantic amount of matter contained in the numerous and lengthy footnotes, which deal with all sorts of ancillary matter, biographical, historical, topographical, and literary, in a most exhaustive way. To illustrate this it may be mentioned that each one of seven consecutive pages (pp. 201–7) contains only one single line belonging to the main book, but has a footnote in small type which if translated into English would fill from two to three pages of an ordinary English book.

The author is a very thorough and accurate scholar, painstaking in matters of detail and gifted with a very retentive
memory. Points of chronology and other minor details are treated by him with great and minute care.

Maulavi Maqbūl Aḥmad comes from a famous old Saiyid family, in which learning is traditional. His father was a famous scholar and helped Mr. Irvine in his well-known history of the Bangash Nawābs of Farrukhabad. It is pleasing to note that a footnote on page 11 of this book contains a very full and appreciative account of Mr. Irvine and his career (1840-1911), and his scholarly activities. The names of Irvine, Growse, Crooke, and Vincent Smith will always constitute a source of pride to the Civil Service of the old North-Western Provinces.

This lithographed book is on the whole easy to read, except in some of the Arabic quotations, especially those in verse. Both parts of the book (it consists of two parts separately paged, 273 and 209 pages respectively) have a very full list of contents, but as is usual in Urdu books of this kind, there is no index.

The production of this volume must have been a labour of love to the venerable author, and the few who are competent to read it with understanding and sympathy will derive both pleasure and instruction from it.

R. P. Dewhurst, I.C.S. (ret.)

__KAMARATNA TANTRA. Edited by PANDIT HEMCHANDRA GOSWAMI TATTABHUSAN, of the Assam Civil Service (retired). 8\(\frac{1}{2}\) by 5, 110 pp., with 20 pp., of diagrams. Shillong: Assam Government Press, 1928.__

This little book consists of an Assamese version of an older Sanskrit work, accompanied by a translation into English. The original Assamese text is said to be written on oblong strips of bark and to be not less than 300 years old. The present text is taken from a copy of this original book, which is in the possession of the Na-Gosain family of North Gauhati. It consists of 129 magical formulae or recipes, many of which are grossly indecent. It is not possible to quote any of these,
but some idea of the general character and scope of these recipes may be formed by quoting No. 121, which is headed, "To make oneself invisible." The two recipes given are as follows:—

(1) "The liver of a black cat should be ground in oil, and the leaves of the China rose should be made into a paste with this oil. The Mahakali mantra should be repeated ten thousand times over this paste. Then a collyrium should be prepared by holding this paste over a light kindled on the wick made of the threads obtained by breaking a stalk of white lotus. A man will make himself invisible if he puts this on his eyes."

(2) "A black cat should be killed and kept buried for 25 days at a crossing of two roads. Then it should be taken out and washed in the current of a river. The bones that will be found to move upstream should be taken and ground with the bile of a mongoose."

The translator in his preface naively says: "To an ordinary eye the book will appear full of indecencies, but in the light of science everything will appear instructive and illuminating." He further remarks that the Tantras used to be despised as works on black magic and condemned as "meaningless jabber", and adds that he cannot conceal his amazement and delight on seeing that a European scholar, Sir John Woodroffe, has delivered this branch of the religious literature of India, so interesting to the student of comparative religions, from the degradation to which it was consigned. The foreword, which follows the preface, contains several references to and quotations from this same European scholar. There can be no doubt that in spite of the grotesque indecency of much of its contents, this book has some interest from a historical and anthropological point of view, since it describes methods of enchantment which were once in common use and in which there was a general belief. It is not, however, a book which can be recommended virginibus puerisque.

R. P. D.
Social and Economic Conditions in Mediaeval India.
Allahabad: Indian Press, 1928.

In March, 1928, four lectures were delivered in Urdu by Mr. Yusuf 'Ali, of the Indian Civil Service (retired), before the Hindustani Academy at Allahabad. These lectures have now been published with a list of contents, an introduction written by the Secretary of the Academy, a laudatory poem in Urdu by Saiyid Zamin 'Ali, a bibliography of the authorities cited in the footnotes, and, what is a comparatively rare feature in Urdu books, a comprehensive index.

The subject-matter of the lectures is interesting, though they are slight and do not claim any originality. The first lecture was mainly of an introductory nature, the second dealt with the seventh century and the light thrown on it by a study of literature, art, and epigraphy, the third discussed the social conditions prevailing in the tenth and eleventh centuries, while the last lecture treated the position in the fourteenth century as revealed by the works of the Hindi poet Chand Barde, the Persian poet Amir Khusrau, and the traveller Marco Polo. Mr. Yusuf 'Ali's interesting preface shows that he is not unwilling that his lectures should be considered from a linguistic point of view, so in this brief notice I shall confine myself to a few minor linguistic points.

The phrase (p. 3, ll. 11-12) "گون کر ذہن پریلیہ سے زهر آلوده" seems to be a literal rendering of an English original, which would probably be meaningless or misleading to a reader unacquainted with English. (p. 9, l. 19) "آنگر" is a misprint for "آنگز". On page 18 "شہ" appears twice by error for "شہ". On the same page (ll. 5 and 10) "شیرندگی" and "گنچائش" should both have "ی" instead of hamza. In the sixth line we find "ماہرین کی اکثریت", apparently an attempt to express "the majority of experts", but that "اکثریت" can be legitimately used in this sense seems doubtful. The phrase
(p. 20, l. 1) for "tribute of praise" seems to me altogether too literal. نانك (p. 26, l. 6) is an obvious error for نانك (play). معاون (p. 31, l. 3) can hardly be used in the sense of a tributary river. For Shiva we find شوحي (p. 30, l. 3) and شوحي (p. 34, l. 14), while for the adjective Shaivite we have the strange form شتيو (p. 34, l. 15, and again on p. 54, l. 8). تستعمل (p. 67, l. 16) is a metathesis for مطبوع. تنظيم (p. 83, l. 1) is a strange mis-spelling of مقاموت. In مقاموت (p. 92, l. 9) and in several other words (e.g. سمحت, p. 86, l. 6) the hamza is quite unnecessary. مولو (p. 98, l. 10) is an unjustifiable corruption of سميت. سميت. مولو (p. 104, l. 8) is a transliteration of the English word Mongol and should be written مغول. As a whole, admitting the difficulty of treating social and economic matter in a language to which these subjects are new, it must be conceded that these lectures are stimulating and suggestive from a linguistic point of view. The typography, though a little blurred in places, is on the whole very clear and legible.

AN OUTLINE HISTORY OF PERSIAN LITERATURE (A.D. 822–1926). By 'Abid Hasan Faridi, M.A., Professor of Persian, St. John's College, Agra. 6\(\frac{1}{4}\) by 4\(\frac{3}{4}\), pp. 142. Agra: Ram Prasad and Brothers, 1928.

This is a brief epitome which contains very little that is original. The long formal dedication to a relative and the rather stilted expression of thanks to a brother of the author in the preface seem to indicate that the author takes his little brochure more seriously than a sense of proportion might have dictated. He is obviously greatly indebted to Professor Browne in compiling his summary account of a very big subject, and there is little to suggest an intimate acquaintance with the works of some even of the most important Persian writers brought under survey. From the point of accurate scholarship,
in points of detail the book is very slipshod and teems with minor blunders. We find Zahuri and Zuhuri on the same page (p. 123). Hafiz is said to have died in 1389 (p. 108), and a page later his death is said to have occurred in 1389 or 1390. Rudaki appears as Rodaki, ‘Unsuri as Unsari, and Minuchihri as Manuchihri (p. 60). Ottoman appears for Ottoman (p. 49), and Noh Siphr for Nuh Sipihr (p. 29). Ruqqaat (p. 43) appears for Ruqa‘at. The author’s English is in many places very eccentric, as the following few extracts will show:—

(p. 121) “Urfi was so self-conceited and self-egotist that he always sung high praises of his ancestors and never cared for the respect of others. He often treated his contemporary writers slightly in his poems.”

(p. 88) “Dispense with him with the remark that Zaheer was only a cringy (sic) sycophant panegyrist. Indeed, he gave another but finishing touch to Qasida-writing.”

(p. 87) “It was he (Nizami) who first wrote Masnavi in all the five metres; it was he who expurgated Qasida from praise and eulogy.”

Such quotations, which could be multiplied easily, will suffice to show that although this little book may be of some use for examination purposes to Indian students who offer Persian as a subject in the Indian Universities, owing to its cheapness, it can have little value in the eyes of European scholars.

R. P. D.

ON ALEXANDER’S TRACK TO THE INDUS. Personal Narrative of Explorations on the North-West Frontier of India.

It is difficult to believe that any traveller has ever equalled Sir Aurel Stein in literary output, or that any scholar has travelled so far and, if the expression may be allowed, so importantly. Hardly had we received the scientific report,
Innermost Asia, on the great Third Journey, than we find ourselves presented with the preliminary and popular account of Sir Aurel's journey through Swat and Buner. In due course no doubt we shall receive the scientific report on this journey, simultaneously in all probability with the preliminary report of the next journey.

There is much to interest us in the present volume. Not only is there a full account of the present condition of one of the most interesting and remote parts of the Frontier and two admirable maps of it, but also a learned and entirely convincing discussion of the route followed by Alexander between Bactria and the Panjab.

It had, of course, been known for a long time that the two towns "Ωρα and Βάζαρα and the rock of "Αορβοσ must have been situated in the Swat region, but Sir Aurel has not only been so clever (it is real skill not luck that is in point) as to find localities on the ground which correspond with the geographical data, but has actually found surviving local names Ude-gram, Bir-kōṭ, and Ùna in connection with those localities which correspond exactly, after making the necessary phonetic adjustments, to the names in Arrian. It would be difficult to make out a more complete case and the identifications carry complete conviction.

G. L. M. Clauson.


Students of Oriental history and geography owe a great debt of gratitude to the Gibb Trustees for the publication of this translation of Professor Barthold's famous book.
It is true that it is not in fact a history of Turkestan in the usual sense of the word and that it does not cover the whole period down to the Mongol invasion, but merely the latter part of that period, but this does not detract from the solid merit of the book. It is in fact a summary of the information regarding the geography of Transoxania, that is the Amu Darya—Syr Darya Doab, which is contained in Moslem mediaeval authors, and a history of that country in the Moslem period down to the fourteenth century, with an introductory essay on the sources.

The difficulty of compiling such a work is manifest, and only a scholar with the author's encyclopaedic knowledge of those sources could have achieved it. At the same time, the book is a gold mine rather than a jeweller's shop, and a gold mine in which the extraction of the precious metal is often a somewhat laborious process. Russian books are notorious for their disdain of the adventitious aids which careful typography can bring to the reader in the shape of leaded cross-headings, marginal summaries paragraph by paragraph, and so on, and it is perhaps unfortunate that no use of these devices was made in the English translation. The result is that the reader has to plough through page after page of solid type unrelieved by anything except frequent footnotes and a marginal note at the beginning of each page of the Russian original, the latter, of course, invaluable in a translation of a book quoted as frequently as this one. It is, therefore, unfortunately all too easy to lose the thread of the narrative of one of the most difficult and complicated pieces of history which it would be possible to find.

There is another rather more serious defect in this work; the map is definitely a bad one, it is a purely modern map of the area on a rather small scale, with no ancient names on it and by no means all the modern ones which are mentioned in the text. The result is that the conscientious student, if he is really to follow in detail the course of the campaigns
and even to understand the geographical description of the area, is almost compelled to construct a map of his own to do so. It is a great pity that this work was not done once for all by the author, who is after all the person best qualified to do it, since it would have added enormously to the value of the work. It is also perhaps to be regretted that so little effort was made to restore the original forms of the numerous Iranian and Turkish place and personal names scattered through the book. The history and geography is presented entirely in its Persian and Arabic dress with very little effort to pierce the veil which is thus so often cast over the area. However, it would be ungracious to press minor criticisms against a book of such great and permanent value.

G. L. M. Clauson.


Four years ago J. Bacot gave us his terse and vigorous French rendering of Milarepa's Life, with an illuminating and brilliant introductory essay, under the title Le Poète Tibétain Milarépa. Dr. Evans-Wentz's Tibet's Great Yogi Milarepa is different in style and in scope, as, besides a complete English translation (based on the late Lāma Kazi Dawa-Samdup's) in rather studied and archaic language, it contains full explanations of and comments on the subject matter, especially on the beliefs and practices of the Kahgyütpa (Bkaḥ-rgyud-pa) ascetics, of whom the eleventh century Milarepa (Mi-la-ras-pa) was the most famous. The two
translations, each excellent in its own way, are based on different Tibetan MSS., the publication of which would be welcome to the Tibetan student.

Either version will enable western readers to follow for themselves the simple story of a truly remarkable man, who after repentance from the evil deeds of his youth, attained by almost incredibly severe discipline to the lofty spiritual goal at which he aimed—a story ever popular among the religion-loving people of Tibet.

For the high value deservedly placed upon it in the country of its origin, we cannot do better than refer to Dawa-Samdup’s well-expressed appreciation on pp. 27–8 of the introduction, some sentences of which we repeat here. “Milarepa,” he writes, “is looked up to and admired by all Tibetans, of every sect and school, as the Ideal Ascetic, or Yogi, and . . . is no less esteemed as a poet and song-writer . . .” Besides its deep human interest, its humour and pathos, its blending of the ordinary events of everyday life with the supernatural in a way peculiarly attractive to the Tibetan, the original narrative is “set down in such a plain and simple style of language that any ordinary Tibetan of to-day who can read at all can read it with ease and enjoyment.” In this respect it, though a classic itself, differs from the many translations from Sanscrit into Tibetan, the language of which is highly artificial and difficult even for the erudite. Perhaps this is why it has survived out of the many records about the saint, mentioned by Rechung in chapter xi.

The Jetsün-Kahbum (Rje-tsun Bkah-hbum) is no less worthy of the attention of the western reader, who, with due allowance for its conventional miraculous and supernatural ingredients and the inevitable later additions and accretions, will find in it what is in substance an authentic record of the Saint’s life, mostly in his own words, taken down by his disciple Rechung (Ras-chuń). And no more need be said to justify the editor’s selection of it for publication or to commend it to the reader hitherto unacquainted with it.
The production of this volume, the typography, the well-executed illustrations, leave nothing to be desired, and in these matters it resembles *The Tibetan Book of the Dead*. The editor's arrangement and disposition of his explanatory apparatus, too, is similar. He has aimed at and has succeeded in making the book complete in itself by reproducing liberally from his sources instead of giving bare references. He has also given considerable original material, obtained by him from Dawa-Samdup and other Buddhists and Hindus in the East, especially with regard to the obscure and elaborate treatises, with grandiloquent titles, which set forth the various practices whereby detachment may be achieved and Enlightenment won.

The editor sympathetically states the Yogi's claim that his methods are as "careful and scientific in their own realm" as those in western physical science, and warmly combats the sceptical view, common in the materialistic West, that the hermit seeker after Enlightenment is a selfish fugitive from life's responsibilities and useless to society. Here it suffices to mention that Milarepa considered his solitary meditation and austerities the means to enable him to effect the deliverance of others as well as his own. But, as in his last words he warned his disciples, "one should not be over-anxious and hasty in setting out to serve others before one hath oneself realized the Truth in its fulness; to be so, would be like the blind leading the blind," and the whole matter is bound up with the lofty Bodhisattva theory of the Mahāyāna. However, when all is said, but for the strongest and loftiest minds, asceticism and monasticism have their pitfalls as much as the "World".

In his introduction of thirteen sections and notes, the editor's enthusiasm for mysticism and esotericism is evident, though it is generally more restrained than in his previous work. His sympathy with his subject is hardly less fervent than that of Rechung, the disciple of Milarepa, who wrote the Tibetan introduction. Without such enthusiasm and
sympathy, his Buddhist and other friends in the East would certainly have been less communicative, and Dr. Evans-Wentz would have produced a less complete, a less informative, and duller book.

But, undoubtedly, a more dispassionate and critical treatment would commend itself to serious students of northern Buddhism, and comparative religion. For, to some, the editor’s information and views may seem suspect owing to his partiality for the mystical, his tendency to range somewhat widely for parallels, his frequent over-emphasis and highly coloured language, which are, perhaps, due to his anxiety that the importance of his subject be not fully appreciated. However, this criticism does not affect the main part of the book, which is the actual translation, and he, who reads with discrimination, will find in the essays and notes much valuable information necessary to the understanding of the narrative. And we are anyhow grateful to Dr. Evans-Wentz for presenting to us in a worthy English guise, this most delightful of Tibetan books, which introduces us intimately to so lovable and noble a character—a book which in Tibet has more than fulfilled its author’s pious hope that it may be "a feast of delight to all scholars and lovers of literature".

H. Lee Shuttleworth.


This is the deeply interesting record of a journey made under appalling hardships of every kind—hunger, cold, illness, accident—and of important scientific work carried on by sheer force of will in the face of obstacles which would have cowed a less determined nature and perhaps permanently ruined a less robust frame.
Dr. Filchner, who began his career as an explorer in 1903, has already published several books on his travels in Central Asia, full of information about native life in Tibet, Mongolia, and China.

The journey of which this book tells the story was undertaken by the author to supplement his former work. While collecting as many facts as possible about the inhabitants, their religious rites, their customs and folklore, his main task was to be the taking of astronomical and geo-magnetic measurements, the mapping out of uncharted regions, and the determining of the height of his various camps and of any outstanding geographical features along his route.

His object was to link up the magnetic triangulation system of Europe and Western Asia with that of China on the one hand and of India on the other, by a chain of stations at intervals of not more than 50 kilometres (30 miles). The connecting links between the European and Western Asiatic system and that of China were Kulja, Tihwa (Urumchi), Hami, Anhsi, Ping-fan, Sining-fu, Lussar. In the last-named towns Dr. Filchner was able to link up his observations with those of the Carnegie Institute as well as with his own made twenty-five years ago.

From Lussar the author continued his journey in a southerly and south-westerly direction through Tibet, then westwards to Leh in Kashmir, his magnetic observations along this route forming a parallel to those made in the north from Kulja to Lussar.

Altogether Dr. Filchner set up about 160 magnetic stations and in addition to this achievement he has 20,000 metres of film to his credit, in which the inhabitants of these regions, their customs, costumes, religious rites, and manner of life are chronicled with that fidelity and precision only possible with the moving picture.

Besides the hardships of a most inhospitable climate, Dr. Filchner had to contend with the suspicion and distrust of the Tibetans—never quite at ease with the stranger within
their gates, and doubly distrustful of those who bring with them scientific instruments. He showed great skill in allaying the fears of the official class, while his relations with the people of the country were of the most friendly kind, enabling him to see and hear much which would not otherwise have been revealed.

It is pleasant to think that the Indian Government had a share in Dr. Filchner's success by giving him permission to enter India at a moment when Tibetan officialdom threatened to wreck his plans by peremptory orders to return. To its prestige the author attributes the amenities of the last part of his journey.

Typical one-man explorer as he is, Dr. Filchner had moments in his journey where he stood greatly in need of friends, and fate was kind and sent them. One of these—Jack Mathewson, an Australian, accompanied him on the rest of his journey from Sining-fu, a partnership from which both benefited and from which sprang a friendship to which Dr. Filchner bears affectionate and grateful testimony.

The book is abundantly illustrated, the photographs giving an excellent idea of the chief features of the country, of its inhabitants and of their manner of life.

C. MABEL RICKMERS.


Talaing was the language used in epigraphs in the time of Kyanzittha (1084–1112), whose father Anawrahta carried off from Thaton, the capital of the Talaing Kingdom, all the Buddhist monks and the entire population of that city amounting to 30,000 souls, and planted them in his own capital at Pagan. Later, from the time of Alaungsithu (1112–67), Pali began to be used, as can be seen in the inscribed stone post which that king set up at the Myazedi
pagoda south of Pagan, which stone bears on each of its four faces the same matter in Pali, Talaing, Pyu, and Burmese. Then Pali came to be used entirely, and later was superseded by the Burmese vernacular.

The fifty-four selected inscriptions which appear in this book are all in Burmese, and they record chiefly the dedication of lands and property to pagodas and monasteries. The linguistic importance of the inscriptions lies in the fact that old letters, which are now no longer used, and the old method of spelling are retained, whereas in former books the spelling has been modernized, and owing to the absence of the required type, archaic letters have been replaced by their present-day equivalents.

Some of the peculiarities that may be noted in the present inscriptions are the omission of tone marks and, in the case of some conjunct consonants, of the symbol ya in words in which it is now used, also the use of a symbol resembling the letter la for the present-day symbols yayit and yapin.

Historically, too, the inscriptions are useful, as they help to fix dates which in the Burmese Yazawins, or chronicles, are doubtful. Prior to the reign of Anawrahta (1044–77), as there were no inscriptions, the dates of the native accounts of Burmese history are hopelessly inaccurate, and it is only from the time of Kyanzittha onwards, that is from the latter part of the eleventh century, that by the help of inscriptions the chronology of Burmese histories becomes reliable.

The book is well printed, and Professors Pe Maung Tin and Luce deserve the thanks of all students of the Burmese language and Burmese history for the production of this useful work.

It is No. 1 of the Publications of the Department of Oriental Studies, University of Rangoon, and except for the title page is entirely in Burmese.

W. A. Hertz.
Books on Indo-China and Indonesia reviewed by C. O. Blagden

1. **Ars Asiatica XII. Les Collections Archéologiques du Musée National de Bangkok.** Par George Coedès. 13$\frac{3}{4}$ × 10$\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 117, xi plates. Paris et Bruxelles : G. van Oest, 1928.

After a brief preface, M. Coedès devotes thirty pages to an historical and general description of the Bangkok Museum and an explanatory essay on the archaeology of Siam. In the latter he stresses the fact, overlooked by some other writers on the subject, that before the thirteenth century there was no such thing as a Siamese national state, and that many different races and schools, all more or less under Indian influences, contributed to produce the art of the earlier periods. The sorting out of the various objects has, therefore, been a matter of great complexity, and in some cases there may still be room for doubt. But the author has done much in his lucid exposition to clarify the situation and lay down the broad lines of classification, so that it is now possible to trace the different influences that have been at work.

The objects selected for representation range from the sixth century, or earlier, to the fifteenth, after which the ordinary Siamese style prevailed; this is sufficiently well known and of less interest than the older forms. The plates, which are excellent, figure sculptures in stone, some bronzes, and a few specimens of ceramic art. Each is faced by a brief description of the object illustrated, giving also its probable approximate date and provenance. By an unfortunate error, which will not, however, mislead any intelligent reader, the positions and numbers of plates vi and xi have been interchanged. Otherwise the book is entirely admirable.

2. **Foreign Colonial Administration in the Far East.** By Sir Hesketh Bell, G.C.M.G. 8$\frac{1}{2}$ × 5$\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xii + 307, 1 map. London : Edward Arnold and Co., 1928. 16s. net.
This is an account of the methods of administration of the Dutch in the Eastern Archipelago and the French in Indo-China, based on personal investigation by a retired British official who has himself been Governor of several colonies. It is a very full and fair account, in which foreign methods of government are sometimes compared with our own, not by any means always to the disadvantage of the former. Indeed, there is a good deal in the book that it would be very profitable for our colonial administrators to study and perpend; and, apart from that, it contains much information about the Dutch and French possessions in the Far East that is not easily accessible elsewhere in English and is conveyed in an interesting and thoroughly readable way. The book might have been the better for a little compression, as the author occasionally repeats himself (e.g. p. 60 and p. 102), but that is a matter of very minor importance.

Like some other recent writers, Sir Hesketh Bell seems unduly perturbed at the growing influx of the Chinese into South-Eastern Asia, and even thinks it probable that they will some day supplant the existing rulers of those parts. It is true that the troubles in China have in recent years greatly stimulated Chinese emigration. But the migrants are usually young men unaccompanied by women. In Indo-China they can intermarry with native women, and are therefore largely assimilated; in British Malaya, owing to the non-existence of surplus women and the difference of religion, this is not possible on a large scale, and they therefore remain for the most part birds of passage who eventually return to China with their savings. Their movements are carefully watched by the local governments, who can be trusted to see to it that they do not become dangerous. The locally domiciled Chinese, men with a stake in the country to which they owe their prosperity, are law-abiding and loyal citizens, who must not be confused with the immigrant Chinese, among whom there are certainly turbulent and seditious elements.
3. **Inscriptions du Cambodge. Publiées sous les auspices de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.** Tome iv, $12\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$, pp. ii and lvi plates. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1928.

The first three volumes of this collection of inscriptions were briefly noticed in our *Journal* (1928, 153–4). The present one consists entirely of plates preceded by a list of them. These inscriptions are mostly from Bâkô and Lolei. As in the case of the preceding volumes, the execution of the plates is good, and the scale is sufficiently large for practical purposes.

4. **Le Royaume de Champa.** Par M. Georges Maspero. $11\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$, pp. vii + 278, xl plates. Paris et Bruxelles: Van Oest, 1928.

This work first appeared serially in *T'oung Pao* in the years 1910–13, and is the only detailed history of Champa that exists. No native history worthy of the name has survived, if there ever was one, and the author has very skilfully pieced together all the information obtainable from Chinese and Annamese records and from the inscriptions of Champa and Camboja that bore on the subject. He has treated these sources critically and has produced a very readable narrative, with an ample supply of references in the footnotes. His first chapter gives a good account of the country and its old inhabitants, and the rest of the work contains its history from the earliest times down to the final conquest of the greater part of Champa by the Annamese in 1471; the southern fragment survived for more than two centuries longer as a vassal state. The tale is a tragic one, but it is plain that the Chams were continually inviting trouble by making unnecessary attacks on their northern neighbours.

The present is a revised edition, but the revision might have been carried further. I notice the following points:—

*Mada* (pp. 7, 158, 160) is not now regarded as an ethnic name; the statement (p. 38) that the *makara* is not found elsewhere than in Cham art is contrary to fact; note 2 on
this page is needlessly repeated on pp. 63–4, where a reference would have sufficed; on p. 112 the date 809 is an error for 889; p. 114, n. 8, for mahaganistes read mahayanistes; p. 115, n. 10, 8333 should be 833, as it is on p. 116, n. 4; p. 118, n. 5, for expédition read expédition; p. 154, n. 6, the date 1166 is obviously wrong (perhaps it should be 1056); p. 172, 1274 should be 1254; p. 180, n. 2, Ya-ceou stands for Ya-heou, which is right in the text; p. 186, n. 2, for humilithy read humility; n. 5, for jusque read jusque; p. 188, for Gautendrakśmī read Gautendralakśmī (as in n. 1); n. 4 is wrongly numbered 2; in n. 5 the first 1293 should be 1292; p. 193, 23 should be 33; and in n. 6, 1200 should be 1300; p. 194, n. 3, has no text reference (it should be at the end of l. 3); p. 196, Su’a Thai is a false reading (corrected as long ago as 1917 in B.E.F.E.O., xvii, ii, 5); p. 228, for buddhiste read bouddhiste; p. 252, n. 6, 1269 should be 1249.

At the end of the work there is a chronological table of Cham kings and a useful index, besides the usual tables of plates (which are very good) and contents. A map would have been a great additional convenience.


This work, published under the auspices of the École Française d’Extrême-Orient, is a conscientious study of the northernmost province of Annam, bordering on Tongking. It deals in considerable detail with the climate, the configuration of the country, its ethnography, sociology, habitations, agriculture, trade, fisheries, industries, etc., and has a final section on the results of French influence there. The main part of the book falls into two divisions, dealing respectively with the hilly inland region and the low-lying tract bordering the coast. The latter is inhabited almost entirely by Annamese: in the former the population is
mixed, and consists largely of less civilized tribes representing the primitive stock from which the Annamese have sprung and also of a considerable branch of the Thai race, together with a sprinkling of lesser tribes. The Annamese are by far the most numerous section, and they occupy the richest lands, but the greater part of the province is sparsely and almost exclusively populated by the less advanced tribes.

The author mentions incidentally (p. 496 seq.) that the ascertainment of the numbers of the population has been matter of great difficulty for him, as French Indo-China has nothing comparable to the decennial census of India and the returns made at intervals of five years by local officials are not reliable.

The book is very interesting and it is admirably produced. The illustrations, maps, etc., are good and there is a full bibliography. The table of contents is fairly detailed, but an index would have been acceptable.

**Musik des Orients.** By Robert Lachmann, Ph.D.
Jedermanns Bücherei, 7½ x 5½, pp. 136, including 12 plates and 14 musical examples. Breslau: Ferdinand Hirt. 1929. 3·50 mks.

The author of this work is already known in this country by his article on "Muhammadan Music" in the new Grove's Dictionary of Music, and on the Continent by his contributions to the Archiv für Musikwissenschaft and other journals. Being both an Oriental scholar as well as a musician, his writings carry with them a certain "authority". Coupled with this, Dr. Lachmann rarely treads the well-beaten tract, and his articles invariably reveal some fresh view-point to those interested in Oriental music.

The present book does not profess to cover the whole gamut of Oriental music as some critics seem to have expected. The subjects dealt with by the author are the results of his own independent investigations into particular phases of, and problems in, Oriental music which have not hitherto received
attention. In many cases his researches offer likely solutions to awkward questions, and on the whole his treatment is always stimulating.

If Chapter I reveals dependence on others, his marshalling of data throws more light on "Instrumentalstimmungen". Chapter II essays to reduce the scale systems of the various nations concerned to a sort of "common denominator", whilst his handling of Siamese, Javanese, and Indian scales is quite original. In writing on the "Vierteltöne" (p. 48) and "Konsonanztheorien" (p. 51) the author has swept away some popular misconceptions. Chap. IV contains quite a number of new propositions, and that devoted to "Freier Rhythmus" has not hitherto been dealt with either seriously or systematically (see also p. 60, "Modelle"). In the second section on "Fester Rhythmus", the author demonstrates that there is a fundamental distinction between beating time and rhythmic polyphony. The rhythmic divisions in Indian and Arabian music are explained in a new way, and he shows that the rhythmic behaviour of all the nations concerned is exactly parallel to their melodic character. Chapter V also breaks fresh ground in many directions.

Besides plates, the book is furnished with musical examples, most of which have been taken down personally from phonographic records (a very trying task) which the author himself (for the greater part) also obtained personally from performers.

Some critics of the book appear to be more concerned with what it does not contain rather with what it does contain. M. Snelleman in the Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant is one of these. He complains that Madagascar has been omitted. Just so. One could even add the Fiji Islands! The Dutch reviewer does not appear to appreciate the aim of the book which is concerned with "Hochkulturen", i.e. with civilizations that have contributed to the art and science of music (see p. 103).

More serious is the attitude of M. Borrel in the Revue de Musicologie (Mai, 1929). He says that our present knowledge
of the subject is so fragmentary that it is premature to express an opinion. If we are to wait until we have complete knowledge I am afraid we will never make progress. It is only by making a survey of the ground within our reach from time to time that enables us to go forward with safety. That is precisely what Dr. Lachmann has done. M. Borrel also charges the author with attempting to explain everything in Oriental scales by a progression of fifths. It is not true. A glance at Chapter I, sect. 2, where "Quintengeneration" is clearly opposed to "Streckenteilung", proves that. Reference to pp. 25, 28, 31 and 45 will also show that M. Borrel has made quite a reckless statement. Indeed, the discussion of Dr. Lachmann in the first two chapters of his book on the tuning and scales of instruments is based on the fact that there are several means of arriving at a series of notes.

I do not agree with all the conclusions of Dr. Lachmann, and where we differ I hope to make the subject of a special paper. At any rate, the author has a thorough and complete knowledge of Arabian music, not only of the mediaeval treatises (Al-Kindi, etc.) but of modern practice in the Maghrib. I cannot, however, accept his name for the Maghribi mode Ḩubahān which he writes Ḩaḥēn, as he has done elsewhere. Barbier de Meynard (J.A. Mai-Juin, 1865) started this word, following F. Salvador-Daniel (La musique Arabe). It certainly has no literary existence in Arabic treatises so far as I am aware. A similar objection could also be offered against the mode called Ḥihīl, which I feel sure is Ḥil. This error may also be traced to Barbier de Meynard and F. Salvador-Daniel.

Apart from these trivial objections, this book is probably the most important contribution to the subject that has appeared for many years. The author deserves the highest praise, not only because he breaks fresh ground in almost every direction that he goes, but because he does it in a thorough and systematic way. It is a book which all interested in Oriental music will be compelled to read sooner or later.

Henry George Farmer.

This book consists of two parts. The first is a sketch of the origin and evolution of Shintoism, and the second gives the mythical history of the world, and especially of Japan, down to the beginning of the semi-historical period in the middle of the seventh century, as set forth in first section of the Ko-ji-ki. Chamberlain's translation, published in 1883 as a supplement to the Trans. Asiatic Soc. of Japan, is the main source. Thus a gap in Italian literature concerning religion is satisfactorily filled, and, though apparently the author has not the linguistic and other qualifications necessary for direct contact with the subject, he has consulted the best Western authorities.


Starting with the premise that confession of sins is a fundamental principle of religion, the author aims at collecting the practices associated with confession throughout the world. This is indeed a vast task; for available literature in European languages is scattered, scrappy, and often of doubtful reliability. Success depends not only on industry, but on judicious discrimination in sifting and choosing the criteria. This volume, the first of two, surveys the whole world except the Mediterranean civilizations, and the scope is far too wide for me to attempt a criticism beyond the Asiatic sections which are more or less known to me. Here the author depends on the most trustworthy writers, though, of course, treatment of so extensive a field based on Western sources cannot be truly comprehensive.

Strangely enough, the sole plate represents an Ancient
American stele. Surely other pictures have greater or at least equal claims to reproduction if the book is to be illustrated. Absence of an index is a serious defect; but perhaps that will be made good in the second volume, which will deal with Mediterranean civilizations and include Christianity. W. P. Y.

THE UNEQUAL TREATIES: CHINA AND THE FOREIGNER.
By Rodney Gilbert. With a foreword by H. E. Morriss.

This work is by Mr. Rodney Gilbert, an American journalist, author of What's Wrong with China, who has been resident in China for many years, and who has made a special study of its people, language, and politics.

As the chief aim of this work is political, it is obvious that its contents cannot be discussed in this Journal, which has always refrained from dealing with political matters of a controversial nature.

The historical portion of the work is based on the International Relations of the Chinese Empire, by Dr. H. B. Morse, but the author is careful to point out that "Dr. Morse's book is not controversial, however, so that when arguments are founded upon material that is obviously his, he must not be held responsible for them".

J. H. S. L.


The explorations recorded in these splendid volumes, which do infinite credit to the Clarendon Press, were briefly sketched
by Sir Aurel Stein in an address to the Royal Geographical Society in 1916 ("A Third Journey of Exploration in Central Asia, 1913–16"), and they have been partly described in two later papers ("Explorations in the Lop Desert", The Geographical Review, January, 1920, and "Innermost Asia: Its Geography as a Factor in History", a lecture published in The Geographical Journal, May and June, 1925). But to readers of Ancient Khotan and Serindia it need not be stated that the matter contained in Innermost Asia is far more extensive and varied than could be adumbrated in such sketches. From perhaps all other explorers Sir Aurel Stein is distinguished by the fact that his journeys and surveys, adventurous and scientific as they are, are inspired also, perhaps even more profoundly, by archaeological and historical interests and by the fascinating problems connected with the contact of cultures in Central Asia. Hence, while seeking ways, new or old, over forbidding mountain passes and deserts; recording triangulations, tracing glaciers and rivers to their sources; noting the composition and stratification of mountains and the volumes of waters, the changes and inter-connections of river-beds and lake-levels; investigating the climatic conditions of desiccation and wind-erosion, and furthermore the ethnographic features of the populations and the economic and other factors affecting the growth and decay of settlements, he has again provided a wealth of new material for the studies which mainly occupy the Royal Asiatic Society. An adequate review of such a work would exceed the competence of any individual: even within the limits of history and archaeology the experts must be few who in this Report would not frequently find themselves upon unfamiliar ground. We can, therefore, only indicate shortly the character of the work and the nature of the new acquisitions to knowledge.

The whole journey, if for the moment we overlook Sîstân, may be described as a second edition, with variations and extensions, of the pioneer explorations detailed in Serindia. But the scale of the variations and extensions is commensurate
with the whole. They start at once with a new line (via Chilas, Darel, Gilgit, Yasin) over the untried Darkot pass (15,380 feet) to the Pamir, continuing over other passes to Sarikol and Tashkurgan and again round the east of Mustagh-Ata to Kashgar. They include an attempt to reach the Khotan river, across some 150 miles of high sand-dunes, from Maralbashi; a hazardous and exhausting exploration of the ancient route from Loulan to An-hsi over "Yardang" and "Mesha" deserts and the salt-encrusted bed of Lop-nor; a tracing of the famous ruined limes, with its hundreds of watch-towers, in long desert stretches, both west and east of Tun-huang; orographical researches in the high mountain ranges behind Su-chow and Kan-su, and the head-waters of the Kan-su, Pei-ta-ho and Su-lo-ho rivers; a desert route from Su-chow to the easternmost Tien-shan (the Qarlik-Tagh), Hami, Barkul, and Gu-chen; mountain crossings from Gu-chen to Turfan; explorations in the Turfan depression, and in the Kuruk-Tagh and the Tien-shan; and a route by the Alai valley from Kashgar to Samarkand, including a difficult divagation across high mountains to the Pamir and then again north through Roshan and Darwaz. These journeys demanded, it need hardly be said, most elaborate preparation and great powers of provision and observation in their leader, whose intuitions seem to have been almost invariably verified. But perhaps their most striking feature is the intellectual and physical vitality which enabled him at every point to make fresh observations and deductions and to fill his notebooks with exact details of measurements or observations, and to devote to anthropological examinations any few hours spared from exhausting travel and the cares of leadership. Whether on the Chinese limes 100 or 200 watch-towers were "cleared", we need not stop to count. But exact particulars are given in regard to these and all other structures: the fifty-nine plates of plans in Volume III are permanent fruits of an enormous labour directed by a most alert and experienced excavator.
A considerable amount of the archaeological work was supplementary in the sense that it was carried out from centres previously visited either by Sir Aurel Stein himself or by French or Russian or German expeditions. This by no means implies that new sites were not everywhere discovered, and the long lists of finds interspersed through the two volumes of text are no sign of exhausted fields. Even from the Niya sites and Mîrân, so thoroughly explored in 1906–8, and from the three or four times despoiled collections at Tun-huang, a large amount of artistic and literary treasure was recovered. Possibly, however, it was the excavations in Loulan, Kharakhoto and Astana that best satisfied Sir Aurel Stein's interests as an archaeologist. The first of these, though visited on his second expedition, was practically virgin soil; and here, on the oldest line of connection between the south and north of the desert, he realized his hope of important accessions to the knowledge of Indo-Chinese civilization during the centuries immediately preceding the Christian epoch, and also of primitive native culture in those parts. The account of the Loulan discoveries forms one of the most interesting sections in the Report: it records finds of Kharoṣṭhī documents and Chinese coins and of woven materials (used as wrappings for the dead) which are highly important for the history of designs and processes and their eastward and westward transmission. These textures have been carefully discussed by Mr. Andrews, and they can be studied in the numerous plates. Finds of worked flints and other prehistoric objects, maintained on the ground surface through wind erosion, were plentiful at Loulan. But the "thrill" of these excavations is provided by the impressive account of disinterred representatives of primitive tribes in that area, whom in the photographs we can inspect face to face without the inconvenience experienced by "the boldest of my Lop-lik diggers". Owing to difficulties of transport the "mummified representatives of the old Loulan population" were deprived of a millennium of edification in a museum:
their brief return to the light was terminated by a careful restoration to their secular samādhs.

In Kharakhoto the work was concerned with the much later age of the Tangut kingdom, which arose in the middle of the eleventh century A.D., the remains extending into the Mongol period. From this site on the old route from Kan-su to Mongolia the Russian explorer Colonel Kozlov had in 1908–9 obtained great spoil of books in the unknown Tangut or Si-hsia language. MSS. and xylographs in this language, with numerous pieces in Tibetan, Chinese, and Uigur, as well as coins and pottery, were brought to light by Sir Aurel Stein. The Si-hsia writing presents still an interesting puzzle. Though the meanings of many of the characters are, or can be, known, their system is still a problem; writings can be made out pedentim as regards their sense, but one sign affords practically no help in deciphering another. Hence the fragment with Tibetan transliteration has not at present the importance which otherwise might attach to it. The plates in volume III well illustrate the complicated script; but the matter consists somewhat prominently of namaskāras to Buddhhas and Bodhisattvas.

We must not linger over the finds from the Turfan area and the other sites north of the Taklamakan, though many both new and old were investigated with rich results. The Astana cemetery in particular (Kharakhoja district) yielded abundant artistic treasures, textiles, paintings, and other, so that, considering all his operations of this kind, we must regard Sir Aurel Stein as one of the most successful, as well as high-motived, τρυμβωρόχοι in history. The explorations in, and to the south of, the Kuruk-Tagh, at Ying-pan and Singer, and generally in the area of the Kuruk-darya and Konche-darya share the interest of Loulan as regards early culture and Chinese routes and the geographical problems connected with the old courses of the two rivers.

The reports of the work in these areas are interspersed, as indeed is the whole narration, wherever occasion invites,
with valuable historical disquisitions. Mostly using Chinese literary materials elicited by Chavannes, but, as a trial will show, with excellent fidelity, these disquisitions furnish convincing identifications of territories named in those sources, while a trained geographical insight supplies a key to the developments which the sources record. Much light is hereby shed upon the history of the Qarlik kingdoms and the Zungaria plateau, as well as upon that of Turfan. On the journey from Kashgar to Samarkand Sir Aurel Stein does not fail to confront with his actual experience the important statements of old travellers and geographers—in the first place, of course, Hiuan-Tsang and Marco Polo—and the views of their great commentators.

In Sistān, which was reached via Meshed and Herat, Sir Aurel Stein made acquaintance with a region which had been the subject of his first publication (1885) as an Iranian scholar, and again on this occasion he uses the Avesta (pp. 906, 923–4). That the Helmand delta preserved important archaeological remains had been widely known from the time of Ritter; but the Macmahon Commission of 1903–5, though it led to Mr. Tate’s valuable publication (Seistan, 1910–2), had not in print yielded much concerning pre-Islamic times. The region where the Helmand with its anciently famed tributaries terminates in lagoons and deserts was one to which the experience gained in Chinese Turkestan was applicable forthwith. The first operations were directed to structures on the Koh-i-Khwājah, which proved to go back to the Sassanian period. One of the most interesting discoveries was of fragments of wall painting, wherein both Buddhist and earlier Iranian influences are traced. A pre-Sassanian origin is propounded for ruins near Shahristan, while other sites are referred to late Sassanian or Islamic times. It was in the southern area, the scene of an early irrigation culture, that Sir Aurel Stein was able to recognize in the ruins of a line of wall, studded with towers, a defence against nomads, fully analogous to his Chinese limes and perhaps not void
of relation to Roman work of like nature on frontiers in east and west. It was also in the southern area that he discovered large quantities of flints and pottery belonging to a prehistoric "chalcolithic" culture. The archaeological exploration of Sīstān is in its initial stages, and Sir Aurel draws attention to its great possibilities and central situation in relation to the new quasi-Sumerian epoch in Indian civilization which Sir John Marshall's excavations have brought to light.

For scientific and historical purposes an important feature in Innermost Asia is the detailed descriptions of the trouvailles by several collaborators and friends. These we must leave to speak for themselves to the different specialists, who will appreciate the careful and elaborate studies by the respective contributors. It would be invidious to name any except Mr. Andrews and Miss Lorimer, whose attention was for a long period concentrated upon the work. The collections of MSS. could not, of course, be expected to compete with the wonderful treasures yielded to the previous expedition by the hidden library of Tun-huang. But Tun-huang was still able to render up nearly 600 old Chinese Buddhist texts, and there are finds representing nearly all the languages hitherto elicited from Chinese Turkestan, i.e. Prākrit (Kharoṣṭhī), Chinese, Sogdian, Khotanî or Saka, Tokhārī (Kucheian dialect), Tibetan, Uigur and Runic, Turkî, and Mongol, and further a good number of pieces in the interesting Si-hsia-script. If I may refer to the Tibetan, which I have had occasion to scrutinize and which are perhaps the most numerous, I may state that, while the "documents" on wood and paper, chiefly from Mazar-Tagh, are similar to those previously procured, the literary finds, MS. and xylograph, for the most part single leaves and of no very early date, include many specimens of the beautiful varieties of Tibetan cursive script, some few of which are reproduced in the plates.

The value of the admirable volumes of Plates and Plans and Maps requires no mention, except to point out that they
are abundantly reinforced among the subjects of the 505 excellent photographs (scenery, anthropology, archaeology, culture-objects, and so forth), by which the narrative is illustrated. In only one perhaps of these photographs do we notice any probable presentation of the author himself; and the references of a personal character, except in the case of a mishap which by good fortune did not prove fatal or permanently disabling, consist mainly of expressions of thanks for hospitality or other assistance or of records of efficient cooperation.

The production of this immense work, replete from end to end with precise information on so vast a variety of matters, and relating to so great spaces and times, suggests a labour comparable in its way to that of the expedition itself. But the latter was also complicated by anxieties due to the international situation in the years 1913–6, and by a new era in China, which at more than one point threatened the operations. No one could grudge to Sir Aurel Stein a grateful appreciation of the qualities required for the design and effectuation of his work and for surmounting such or other impediments, or a cordial congratulation upon the completion of both tasks.

F. W. Thomas.
NOTES OF THE QUARTER

The People of Arabia

At a meeting of the Society on 11th June, with the Marquess of Zetland in the chair, Mr. Eldon Rutter (who lately spent a year at Mecca and Medina) gave a lantern lecture on "The Arabians", a title which he chose in preference to "The Arabs" in order to direct his remarks more particularly to the inhabitants of Jezírat el 'Arab or the Arabian Peninsula, including the Syrian Desert as far north as Tadmor or Palmyra. He said that while Arabia as thus defined was nearly as large as the whole of India there was no other resemblance:—it was one country inhabited by a single race of men standing alone in almost everything. It was in the main a wilderness of naked yellow plains the horizons of which were as unbroken as the horizons of the open sea. Like them they were broken by pinnacles of stark rock which stood up like huge bared fangs, symbolizing the eternal hunger which obtains in that sterile country.

The people were divided into two classes, according to their mode of life—the Ahl el hadhar or the peasants and townsmen, and el Bedu, the Bedouins, sometimes called Ahl el wabar, meaning the people of the hair-cloth tents. The townsmen, or oasis dwellers, were tillers of the soil and merchants. The Bedouins were stock-breeders, and practised a form of national sport known as el ghazû, which consisted of making raids on other tribes for the purpose of stealing their flocks and herds. As a broad statement it would not be too much to say that the tribes of the Kahtân (Yeman and Hadhramaut) were urban, and the tribes of 'Adnân (Hijâz and Nejd) were Bedu. The former did not raid in peace time, and lived in villages of stone, rush, or mud-houses, or in more or less permanent encampments.

In the comparatively fertile districts of the Yemen highlands, and parts of Hadhramaut where the people lived in
houses and did not raid, the population tended to increase. Among a comparatively peaceful people such as this, the increasing population found itself in precarious circumstances. They had lost the art of constructing reservoirs, and were therefore unable to increase the area of their cultivated land. Hence a part of the population was gradually pushed forward into 'Asîr, and north-eastward into Nejîrân. Here they found themselves on a less fertile soil, and their chief pursuit could no longer be agriculture. They took to stock-raising, and their houses were less durable, being made of rushes. In the next generation or two the Yemenites would have been pushed still further away from the land of their fathers into a country where vegetation was so sparse that it would be no longer worth their while to build permanent houses, even of rushes. They would take to tents and would become pure Bedouins, wandering shepherds. As they pushed northward they came in contact with the great Bedouin tribes and raiding became their chief preoccupation, but still they must go on, and several hundred years after the time of their leaving the Yemen they were finally absorbed into the agricultural population of the border countries, Syria and Mesopotamia. They now became peasants, as their forefathers were several hundred years before in the Yemen.

The most famous Arabian of our day, Ibn Saʿūd, the Wahhabî king, was not the shaykh of a great Bedouin tribe. His house sprang from the Aḥl el hadhar, or town stock. His great measure of success went to prove the truth of Professor Hogarth's observation that "Theocracy, not the pastoral patriarchate, is the durable and dominant form of Semitic government". By clearly stating that his system of rule was theocratic, Ibn Saʿūd had been able to rise to the overlordship of nearly the whole of the Bedouin nation, and in fact to induce many of them to become peasants. About sixteen years ago he founded an agricultural colony at a place called El Artwiyya in the Kasîm, east of El Burayda. His motives were, firstly, to attach a body of fighting men to his service;
secondly, to put a stop to the time-honoured practice of the inter-tribal raid, and thirdly, to bring prosperity to his country. The inducement which he held out was the only one which had ever made a lasting appeal to the Semites. He offered to point them the way to Paradise.

Ibn Sa‘ūd did not profess to be a learned man himself, but he was the protector of a large company of learned men, including the descendants of the Shaykh Muhammad ibn Abd el Wahhāb. He sent several of these to the new agricultural settlement as teachers. He built a mosque there, and supplied the settlers with clothing and the other necessities of life of which they were in need. The system of settling the Bedouins on the land was extended, and learned men from the Wahhābi capital were sent to each settlement with instructions to produce evidence from the prosperous ages of Islam, showing that it was no shame for a free son of the desert to tie himself to the soil and dig it.

These missionaries were to lay stress on the point that he who would lead a religious life must live among the Ikhwān, or religious brotherhood, so as not to be led by his associates into practices contrary to Islam. It was a sore point with many of them that they had to give up raiding, but it was explained to them that there was always the possibility of their being employed in a jihād, or holy war, against unbelievers or polytheists. This would bring them spoil, and moreover, in the event of their death on the field, they would be admitted at once to Paradise. This was not a new religion. It was merely a revival of the great system which had led its followers to victory in many lands centuries before. There was ample historical proof, then, that they were joining a system which was capable of leading them to success.

By these means great enthusiasm was aroused in Nejd, and in a few years Ibn Sa‘ūd had thousands of would-be farmers scratching in the sand for water in a hundred different areas wherever it was thought possible to find it. The settlers
learned to read and write, and to practise their religion in the orthodox manner. Moreover, the promised wars were duly provided for them. They were led successively against Ibn er-Rasheed, Prince of Hā'il, and El Husayn, King of the Hijāz. They were victorious in both campaigns. These successes confirmed in them the conviction that their lives were pleasing in the sight of Allah.

It would be a mistake to think that Ibn Saʿūd’s policy of settling dwellers on the land would leave no surplus for emigration. The lands capable of cultivation were very limited, and the enormous saving of life by the suppression of raiding would probably allow the tribes to expand even though they continued to lose many of their number as settlers in Ibn Saʿūd’s settlements. It was to be hoped that no obstruction would be put in the way of this emigration. If the increasing population of the new peaceful Arabia was strictly confined within its own boundaries, there could be little doubt that the economic situation would cause either internal wars in the peninsula or another outrush of the warlike people to the northward and eastward. The lecturer suggested that the European fetish of exactly defined territorial boundaries was difficult to maintain in Arabia. Europe would watch with keen attention the progress of the policy of turning whole Bedouin tribes into peasant communities, and most people would wish Abdul Aziz success in his efforts.

Asked by Professor Margoliouth whether he could confirm the statement made by Gervaise Courtellemont that manuscripts in Himyaritic script were to be found in Mecca, Mr. Rutter said he had seen no such works.

The Arab Rulers of Zanzibar

The Sultan of Zanzibar was present at a reception given in his honour by the Royal Asiatic and Central Asian Societies at Burlington House, Piccadilly, on Monday, 1st July. After the reception Mr. Rudolph Said-Ruete, author of
Said bin Sultan, Ruler of Oman and Zanzibar, gave a lantern lecture on "The Dynasty of the Al Bu Said in Arabia and East Africa". He said that the dynasty represented there that afternoon did not originate in Zanzibar, but sprang up in Oman, more than 2,000 miles distant on the southeastern coast of the Persian Gulf. At the opening of the sixteenth century, Zanzibar and the islands around it, Mafia and Pemba, became subject to Portuguese influence, and later they occupied Muscat and Sohar in Oman. By 1651, the Portuguese had been expelled from Oman by Sultan Bin Seif, son of Nasir bin Murshid, who began the line of the El Yaareba. The inhabitants of the East Coast of Africa were bound to Oman by affinities not only of religion, but also of race, and it was natural that they should turn to Oman for help in throwing off the yoke. Seif built what may definitely be called a navy, and with its aid he occupied the islands of the whole of the coast from Mombasa to Kilwa, and in a few years his influence extended as far as the distant island of Zanzibar. Unfortunately, much of his work was undone by the dynastic quarrels which sprang up at his death. There was no strong central power in Oman, and after Seif II, grandson of Seif bin Sultan, secured election to the Imamate, he called in the aid of the Persians to bolster up his position against his rivals. Brought in as auxiliaries, they remained as tyrants.

There was in the service of the Yaaruba as Wali of Sohar, one Ahmed bin Said, a man of unblemished, though humble, descent, and his action at this crisis made him the worthy founder of a dynasty which was destined to be one of the most powerful and respected in Arab history. As the Yaaruba had obtained power by expelling the Portuguese, so Al bu Said attained it by expelling the Persians. As the Yaaruba had shown their energy and initiative by stretching their power over East Africa, so the Al bu Said showed theirs by recovering what thirty years of strife had lost. By taking in marriage the daughter of Seif el Yaareba, Ahmed
strengthened his position with the partisans of the deposed dynasty. To cement friendly relations with the Turks and to strike a blow at the Persians who had invaded the country of the Shat al Arab, Ahmed set out for Busra with his fleet conveying 10,000 men. He forced the iron chain suspended across the river, and routed and drove out the Persians. The Danish traveller, Niebuhr, visited Muscat at this time, and was impressed by the noble qualities, the religious tolerance, and the politeness shown toward foreigners by the inhabitants. A still more famous man visited Oman in the summer of 1775, for Horatio Nelson was then a midshipman on board the Seahorse, which was stationed at Muscat for about two months.

Ahmed showed an energy and resolution which has since characterized his descendents, but having acquired by his heroic acts undisputed civil power over Oman, he made the mistake of attempting a decentralized form of government. He established his sons in key positions throughout Oman, giving them civil power. The results were worse than disappointing, and at his death in 1783, there was great controversy as to the succession to the Imamate. In the end, the weakest of the candidates, Ahmed’s second son, Said, was made Imam. The result was not so much to give scope for internal disruption as to allow stronger men not clothed with the panoply of the Imamate to concentrate civil power in their own hands. He retained some semblance of religious control, while the country as a whole was well directed under the civil power. It grew accustomed to what had at first been a novel form of dual government until in the end the experiment of the eighteenth century became the established practice of the nineteenth.

The year 1800 was noteworthy for Oman as by Sultan’s request the first resident on behalf of the East India Company was installed at Muscat, and it was in the same year that the warlike Wahabis of Central Arabia made their first appearance in Oman. After the death of Sultan in 1804,
in an attack by pirates, the rule gradually devolved on his younger son, Said, who showed that firmness of character, pertinacity of purpose, and quickness of decision which rendered him famous among Arab rulers. He was only 13 at the time of his father's death, and it was twenty years before he could be said to have his position secure against the dangers on the one hand of piracy by the Cowasim, and on the other, of the relentless puritanical fervour of the Wahabis. When he had consolidated his position at home, he was drawn to the idea of that overseas empire which his father had established. The passing of the years had separated East Africa from its Omani masters, and the reimposition of Arab power was a task not easily to be encompassed. The empire which he ultimately built up, one of the largest Arab empires which the world has ever seen, and by no means small even to modern European eyes, was the fruit of three great and many small expeditions, and of twenty years of able planning, ceaseless striving, and clever manipulation.

The two enduring monuments to his fame were the foundation of the modern town of Zanzibar, and the establishment of the clove trade. The old town of Zanzibar had practically disappeared with the overthrow of the Portuguese, and Said re-established it, not in its old situation, but in one which none but the discerning eye would have chosen. Equally unaided was his establishment of the clove trade, and equally unlooked for its success. What the clove meant to Zanzibar was now the common knowledge of all men; its introduction was the work of one man. English influence was of no small assistance to Said, but he paid for that support in a generous and highly unselfish manner. This was the period at which, under the stimulation pre-eminently of Wilberforce and of the Clapham Sect, the English conscience was becoming alive to the abhorrent, but frequently much over-estimated effects of the slave trade. Said signed two treaties in 1839 and 1845, whereby he set himself to discountenance traffic
in slaves, and to abolish it within his dominions. It was to be remembered that this was the act of a man to whom the trade gave no religious offence, rather the reverse; of a man who had grown up to regard it as part of the ordinary course of nature, and whose greatest source of revenue it was. Nor was the opposition aroused in his subjects to be estimated lightly.

In 1837, His Highness was made an honorary member, one of the very first, of the Royal Asiatic Society, in token of its approbation of the encouragement given by him to the arts and sciences among his people, particularly to those of shipbuilding and navigation.

The situation which existed in the joint dominion of Oman and Zanzibar on the death of Said would have been as difficult as any of the past had not the presence of the British exercised a moderating influence and thrust succession troubles beneath the surface. Said himself, strong though he was, and great as was his prestige, had found the dual government no easy burden to maintain. Indeed, the friendly intervention of the English had helped him to preserve his suzerainty over Oman. He directed that his son, Thoweynee, should rule at Muscat, while another of his sons, Majid, should succeed to Zanzibar, and from his death in 1856, the two countries had been controlled by separate lines of the same dynasty.

After tracing the fortunes of Zanzibar and Muscat from the date of the division to the present day, the lecturer said that the Sultan of Zanzibar whom they were privileged to have with them that day, maintained undimmed in the sixth generation the lustre of his ancestral line. His territory was obviously destined to be of increasing importance in the affairs not only of this country, but of East Africa in general. The years which had elapsed since the end of the Great War had shown with increasing clarity that to our generation at any rate the proper study of mankind is man. They had been engaged that afternoon in the study of the
work of a generation of men which had shown each after
the other in varying degrees, but with no exception, certain
qualities which were confined to no race, and to which no
nation could lay exclusive claim. The Al bu Said rescued
their country from anarchy, welded it into such coherence
as was permitted by the material they handled, opened up
rich new territories to the eyes of man, and in the subsequent
administration of those territories showed qualities of loyalty
and friendship and a capacity for harmonious co-operation
which would be no mean ornament to any dynasty, race, or
period of history.

At the conclusion of the lecture, Mr. Yusuf Ali, Admiral
Richmond, and Sir Lionel Haworth addressed the meeting.
The Chairman, Lord Allenby, moved a hearty vote of thanks
to the Sultan for honouring the Societies with his presence
and to the lecturer for his able address.

The Council regret to announce the death of their
distinguished Honorary Member, Sir Ernest Satow. A full
obituary notice will appear in the January Journal.

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS

Foucher, A. Émile Senart.
Griaule, M. Mythes, croyances et coutumes du Bégamder.

Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
N.F., Bd. viii, Heft 1, 1929.
Lüders, H. Philologie, Geschichte und Archäologie in Indien.
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