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By Frederick Johnson, Newala, Tanganyika Territory

(Concluded from Vol. II, Pt. III, p. 466.)

FIFTEEN MAKONDE FOLK-TALES

1. Mtano wake Ihato na Mwana mdyoko


1 The translation follows at the end of the text.

2. Mtano Wake Unembo Nawe Usungula

Unembo alimite welu mkulungwa namene, kupanda vikota; vikota mkukonda namene mwhelu mwake. Iduwa limo aheleke usungula, mwene akapawidya, awele kukaya. Bahi, usungula apite mwhelu mwake unembo mkuwa mkutang'una vikota. Aheleke mwene unembo kukodya awele mkutang'una, animudya kuchi "Welu utang'una wako, vikota nani?" Aukile usungula kuchi "Wangu, nimwene nanilima namwaka". Kuka unembo kuchi "Welu wangu". Kuka usungula kuchi "Welu wangu". Wanitahukana kuchi "Vinoyi wepo unembo kalembele waunu wachikwona ulima, nawi nangu achingwona ngulima ni Mnunungu". Bahi, unembo anihwhena kumawakumbula anyama wohwohe na usungula anihwhena kunamchema lingwele, kukwedya muha na ucheche kutaya pahi mnandi.

3. Mtano wake Unjanga


Bahi, wahaleke wohe anyama wa manyitu kunalinga nanga pawahuwile. Upopo aheleke usungula kuchi “Nangu ninalembele mwanalo ngwikanawe”. Nawinange anyaulile uchimo kuchi “Whena kumawelu kachikule dimule, kona akahulula mwanangu

4. Mtano Wake Usungula Nawe Usuwi
5. Mtano wake Nakadimu na Anamahaku na Mmemba wa Liwelu

6. Mtano wake Mcchehe nawe Usungula

weka”. Wakahapukana kuleka wawhena kwao, usungula kwawe na mchehe kwawe.

7. Mtano wake Mchehe nawe Usungula


8. Mtano wake Uhimba

Munu yumo alangite ding’awanga, bola iduwa wawhena kulambata, akawalala dinyama wawika m’niponda, akawalala wawika m’nipondo.
9. Mtano wake Ung'ambe nawe Unyima


10. Mtano wake Baruti nawe Unguku Nanume


Mukomola pakaya pa'nyokwe pala kuhaulila kuchi "Baruti akapali". Anyokwe waniudywa kuchi "Endile kwachi?" kuchi "Atitimile pahi". Anyokwe watedono "Ndeko, tukalole pa'titimile". Mukolunga nawe-mpaka pakaya pala, kulangula kuchi "Apa patitimile". Bahi anyokwe kutipula ingopedi kutaya Baruti yula mkubuhuka na vinu vyohovohoe vyonaweile navyo, kuleka wamtwala mwene likolo wavunha nave kwawe, ulombi mkuhapukana.

11. Mtano Wake Luhengo na Alumbuwake

akawimila alumbuwake kuchi "Tuwhene kwetu". Bahi wakawhena kwao kune ka Nakadimu wachelewa kunawatang'una wanu liyongo lyake Luhengo. Na alumbuwake kuleka wanembela Luhengo kunohi kuwhena, nanga kune ka pakuchi awapohidye kwake Nakadimu.

12. Mtano wake Mwana mchiwa


"Chahumaa, chahumaa, atata."
"Wachindenda mipa chabwana."
"Kuwalala mtawala wangu."
"Kutwala kumbokonyola."
"Kuchi wepo ukawele na watata."
"Atatako apite kunambave."
"Chahumaa, chahumaa, tata."

"Ngondo liyaya, ngondo liyaya."
"Ngondo liyaya, ngondo liyaya."
"Ngondo liyaya, ngondo liyaya."
"Ngondo liyaya, ngondo liyaya."
"Ngondo liyaya, ngondo liyaya."
"Ngondo liyaya, ngondo liyaya."
"Ngondo liyaya, ngondo liyayaao."


"Chamilaa, chamilaa, tata."
"Wachindenda mipa chabwana."
"Kuwalala mtawala wangu."
"Kutwala kumbokonyola."
"Kuchi wepo ukawele na watata."
"Atatako apite kunambave."
"Chamilaa, chamilaa, tata."

"Ngondo liyaya, ngondo liyaya."
"Ngondo liyaya, ngondo liyaya."
"Ngondo liyaya, ngondo liyaya."
"Ngondo liyaya, ngondo liyaya."
"Ngondo liyaya, ngondo liyaya."
"Ngondo liyaya, ngondo liyayaao."
"Ngondo liyaya, ngondo liyayaao."

13. Mtano wake Usungula Nawe Mchehe


14. Mtano wake Ung’uku Nawe Usungula

ngumake kuchi awole akuholoka” , Bahi, usungula pachihwika kundila kula, ung’uku muno nyuma mkukongowela kuchi “kokingoo”. Bahi, usungula akaitikila kuchi “Kweli nyanjawangu apite kulonga ing’anya wino aniuya”. Bahi ung’uku nanume kuliamba aniwhena, pachiwandikila pakaya nawinang’e akombe yake ihutu. Usungula papilikene ihuti akawatuma anemba kuchi “Twa la imbedo mguchekete mutwe ukalonge ing’anya, nimwene nguladye pa chituta”. Bahi anemba wanitwala imbedo kucheketa mutwe, pamchekete mutwe, usungula anihwa na mutwe unihwa, nanga pawapite kulonga ing’anya ndulu. Pakomwele ung’uku anuudywa kuchi “Usungula palele pala atenda chamani?” Kuka wanu kuchi “Akuyedidye wako madudi, ate mutwe wako-wako wapite kulonga ing’anya, bahi, nawinang’e nalo payedidye. Bahi anihwa na mutwe unihwa”. Ung’uku akakana kuchi “Mutwe wangu-wangu ukapite kulonga ing’anya ndulu, napihite m’kwapa wala nanga panachekete ndulu, awu njinga wake mwene”. 

15. Mtano wake Usungula Nawe Ung’ambe


**Translation**

1. *The Tale of the Python and the Small Child*

(Once) There were people (*panipava*, the Kiswahili *palikuwa*) who went to the forest to hunt. They went and came across a python lying (the phrase in Kiswahili would be *kukuta chatu amelala*: ilele, perfect of -*lala*). (Note that the ordinary past and perfect tense may have a relative meaning: “which lay,” or “which had lain down”.)

When the people arrived at the place where the python lay, it caught them and swallowed them. They who were in the village (*wawele*, the past tense of verb “to be” used in relative sense = “they who were”) expected, they did not come at all (*nanga pawaheleke ndulu*; the “nanga” makes the verb following a negative; the *pa* here is the possible tense, and so with the negative it becomes “they were prevented”, or “it was not possible for them to come”; *ndulu* gives the idea of completeness = Kiswahili kamwe). In the morning other people went again to that place and again came across the python lying, and it caught those people and swallowed them all. At their village they (the people) became finished by the swallowing of them (by the) python. Finally (*bahi*) there remained one woman, that woman was pregnant. Then that woman bore a male child. The child coming out of the womb asked, saying “Where is my uncle?” (*Awele kwachi? Awele* is the past tense of the verb “to be”, but appears to be used in a present sense.) The mother replied: (for *Kwika* and *Kuchi* see notes on pp. 461, 464) 1 “He is not here, he has been eaten.” He asked again, saying “Where was he eaten?” (She) said “In the forest.”

1 Page references are to *Bulletin*, Vol. II, Part III.
Then that child said to the mother (Note the objective prefix *uza*, here the plural is used for respect), saying "I want a man to go to the forest and kill a 'changa' (Swahili, *Kombo*) and bring it" (*aide nacho* = "that he may come with it"). The mother went to look for (*kulembela* is frequently used with the meaning of to look for or seek) a man and found him, and said to him (Note the change: the form really is *wanimhaulila*, but *m* before *h* becomes *ny*, and thus *waninyaulila*, see p. 419) "Go and look for a 'changa' and bring it". That man went to the forest and looked for a "changa"; he found (one) and killed (it), to the village went with it, and went and gave it to the child. (*Kumanipa* : *na* with the sense of motion; see notes on the infinitive, p. 463.) The child said "Now take off its skin, that I may put it on my head". They took (it) off and put (it) on his head. When they had put (it) on his head the child said "Now I want a large knife that you may give me". They looked for (one) and gave him. He took (*twete* is past form of *twala*) the skin of the "changa" and wore (it) on (his) head and the knife (in his) hands (and) he told his mother saying "Follow me, let us go, show me the road which the people followed". (*Iwapite* : relative *i*, "which," referring to the road.) They arose, his mother and other people, to show him the road. They went into the forest three days, the fourth day going a little, now they saw in front a large snake, the python lying.

The people were startled (or made as if to run: *kuchi watule*—the *kuchi* here appears to have a meaning of "seemed" or "made as if"); he forbade them, saying "Don't run". Those people sat down. That child himself passed before to go in front. He went and stood, the python and he also stood there. That child took his knife and carried (it in his) hand. Now he heard the python saying "You! child! Swear and say where have you seen a thing in the forest change and become a stone lying flat?" (*ngungungungu* : descriptive of a thing lying flat on the ground.) And he, the child, said "You! python! Swear and say where have you seen a child being born with white hair on his head?" Then the python said "You! child! Swear and say where have you seen a thing of the forest change and become a stone lying flat?" That child said "You! python! Swear and say where have you seen a child being born with white hair on his head?" Then they argued, and the child arose and caught that python and took his knife and killed the python. There the python died and he cut open his stomach inside, then all the people who were swallowed came forth, all of them came forth. Then they returned to
the town (*kuleka*, see note on p. 464) all the people were pleased when their relatives came. And they took, every man, a slave and gave to that child, afterwards they built a village.

*namkuwelekwea* appears to mean "just born".

*dihuli mutwe mbue*, white hair on his head; the child was wearing the skin of the "changa" (lemur), which is rather light-coloured.

2. The Tale of the Elephant and the Hare

An elephant cultivated (*alimite*, past tense of the verb *kulima*) a very large garden and planted *vikota*. The *vikota* flourished exceedingly in his garden. One day a hare came, the owner was not there, he was in the village. Then the hare went into the garden of the elephant and was eating the *vikota*. The elephant himself came and met him eating, he asked him saying "The garden you are eating, whose are the *vikota*?" Then the hare said (for use of *aukile*, see p. 461, notes on *kuuka*) "Mine, I myself cultivated (it) this year". The elephant said "(It's) my garden". The hare said "(It's) my garden", and they argued (and the hare) said "Now you! elephant, look for the people who saw you cultivating, and as for me, he who saw me cultivating is God". (*Wachikwona ulima*, see notes on Relatives and Particibles, pp. 430 and 432; *nawinangu*, "I" or "me", used like "as for me").

So the elephant went to gather all the animals (*kunawakumbula na*, see p. 463), and the hare went and called an ape, and caused him to climb above, and white ants he placed below, a tree. In the garden there was a large tree, which stood in the middle of the garden. (*Widimile*, past tense used in relative sense.) So the ape climbed up (*Alikwedidye* means, literally, "he caused himself to climb up," *-li-* is the reflexive particle used with the causative form of the verb *kukwela*); in the branches there he placed himself, and the white ants they rested at the foot of the tree. Now the elephant and his animals came to that place, and the elephant said "I say! you animals! whose is this garden?" The animals said "Yours, elephant". (*Wako wepo* really means "your own", i.e. implies that there is no doubt about it.)

The elephant said "Now, do you hear, hare?" The hare said "No! wait that I may ask God. I say, God! speak truly! whose is this garden?". (Note, generally, *linda hoti* "wait a little", *achi* "I say").

Then the ape (*liukile*, from verb *kuuka*) above there said "The owner of the garden is the hare. Do not cheat him and take advantage
of his smallness. The owner of the garden is the hare. Reply, my people down below there". Now was heard (infinitive, used in narrative sense) the white ants below there: "Waaa," "I hear, the owner of the garden is the hare, I hear." Heard below "Waaa". (Here the ape appeals to the white ants, and evidently pretends to hear and translate the Waaa of the white ants as being the reply.)

So the animals arose, saying "The garden is the hare's, hear what God says". And they arose and left the hare taking the garden. But he who cultivated was the elephant himself, his companion cheated him in this way. Afterwards he divided with the ape, and they built their houses in the garden, eating the food of the elephant with his companion the ape.

Vikota, a kind of millet which has sweet stalks (Zulu imfe ?). The grain does not appear to be used except for beer-making.

3. The Tale of the "Unjanga"

There was a man, that man was an Unjanga, and the Unjanga had a daughter who was very beautiful. All the men came to ask (for her) in marriage (kutongodya from kutongola "to speak", not to be confused with the Kiswahili kutongoza, which generally means "to seduce"). The unjanga himself said (achidono, see pp. 463–4) "He who seeks to marry my daughter, let him go to the garden, raise up the millet which has fallen down with the wind" (Alembela here has the relative sense = "he who seeks"; dimotweke used in relative sense = "which has fallen"). If he is not able, my child he may not live with ".

Then a pig came, saying "I want your child to live with her ". Then the unjanga said, when he replied "Go to the garden and raise up the millet which has fallen with the wind; if you are able, come and live with her ". The pig went to the garden and went to the forest with his axe to cut poles (trees). When he had finished to cut he returned to the garden and placed the poles there. He took a pointed stick to dig a hole and took a pole and stood it up and filled in the hole. Now he tried to raise up the millet, then came the wind and knocked down the millet, (he) tried and the same thing happened (kuchi kula cha, idiomatic, appears to mean "the same as before"), and he was beaten. He returned to the village and told the unjanga, saying "I have tried that, I was beaten " (nanga pangwulwile: nanga is negative, pa- the possible tense: "I was not able to be able" = "it is impossible"). The unjanga said "Very well, now go your way; you do not get my child ". The pig went home.
Then came many animals from the forest to try; it was impossible for them. Now came the hare, saying "I want your child that I may live with her". And he (unjanga) told him the same thing (uchimo = "oneness", and so "the same thing"), saying "Go to the garden and raise up the millet, if you are not able you will not live with my child".

The hare went up to the garden and turned aside into the forest to cut his bark (a particular kind used for making rope), and he twisted rope. When he had finished he set a trap for partridges. When he had finished to set the trap, then came a partridge and was trapped and he caught it. Now he saw his brother-in-law coming from the village; so he took the partridge and gave him, saying "Take the partridge and give to the father-in-law that he may cook; when he has finished to cook he may eat the flesh, the gravy let him put in a split stick and put aside for me". So his brother-in-law said "At your place do they do this?" The hare said "Yes, we do". So he took the partridge to the village and gave it to his father, saying "This partridge your son-in-law gave me in the garden saying give this to the father-in-law that he may cook, the flesh he may eat, the gravy let him put in a split stick and put aside for me". The unjanga said "Tush! do they do this at his place? I will wait that he may try himself that we may look". When the hare came from the garden and arriving at the village, he asked "My gravy have you put it in a split stick?" The unjanga said "We are waiting that you may put it in yourself that we may look". The hare said "I want this gravy that you may put it in the split stick now". The unjanga went to the forest to cut a stick and split it nicely (siii = nicely, or in a proper way) and took it and set it upright in the ground, and he tried to put in the gravy, and it was spilled down; he tried again, tried again, no! (nanga here means "he failed"). "Ah, I say, hare! have you done this one day at your place—to take water (liquid) and put it in a split stick?"

The hare said, when he replied, "Oh, Mr. Unjanga, have you done this one day at your place, to raise up millet which has fallen by the wind? If (kachi) you have raised up millet which has fallen down with the wind one day, then to-day you must put gravy in a split stick. If you have not yet put gravy in a split stick, then millet you have not yet raised up one day at all". So the unjanga was beaten, and took his child and gave to the hare to live with her.

Note.—Compare with this the Chinyanja tale, "The Chief of the Kuka and his Son-in-law," in Captain Rattray's Some Folklore, Stories, and Songs in Chinyanja.
4. A Story of the Hare and the Leopard

There was a person, and that person was an elephant. The elephant went into the forest and met a hare, who had cut a path through some mtamba and was jumping to settle there and jumping from there to settle here (apaswile, past tense used in relative sense of the verb kupasula; Mtamba, a rope-like creeper which grows all over the Makonde country, hanging from trees like festoons; it is sometimes very thick and when cut gives a fairly generous supply of water).

When the elephant saw him doing this, his heart was pleased. Then he told the hare, saying "I want medicine which you treat yourself with, to become small, and I want that I may become small like you". The hare said "The medicine is not difficult; lie down that I may slice off all your flesh and take it off, and I shall seek medicine that I may anoint you; you shall become small like me". The elephant replied, saying "All right, I consent". The hare took leaves and laid them down, the elephant came and lay down. The hare took his knife and sliced all the flesh off the elephant and left the elephant only bones. He was tortured by the sun. The hare took the flesh of the elephant to make gravy to eat with his boiled rice.

The elephant was in pain and sent the unandala to follow (fetch) the medicine at the hare's. When he arrived he said "I, my uncle has sent me saying 'Go after the medicine' to-day, he is near to death". The hare said "Now, wait for food first, to-day I want to bring it". The unandala waited for food. The hare cooked the rice, the gravy (was) of the elephant. The unandala found it pleasant, the flesh of the elephant, and said "And I, I want flesh". The hare said "Let us go to the hill and kill". The unandala replied "Let us go". They went up to the hill, the hare had prepared a road from the top of the hill to the bottom. Then he said to the unandala "You stay here, if you hear them running don't dare to look, if you look the animal will run away". The unandala replied "All right". The hare himself went round the hill to the top, and he took a stone and knocked it down to pass rolling to where the unandala was, and it crushed the head of the unandala and he died there. And he took and carried to the village. When he came to the village he took off the flesh and ate it. Many of the animals from the forest came, and many died, till now came the leopard to follow medicine, (the elephant) saying "Now, I am nearly dead". The hare said to him "Wait for food", and he agreed. He cooked the flesh of an mbutuka; when he had eaten, the
leopard found it pleasant and said "And I, I want flesh". The hare said "Let us go to the hill that you may take it". The leopard agreed. They went up to the hill, the leopard stayed in the road there, and he (the hare) said to him "If you hear them running don't look, if you look they will be startled". The leopard said "All right". The hare went to the top of the hill and took a stone and knocked it down. When the leopard heard it he turned round to look and saw it was a stone, and he drew aside and lay at the side, and the stone passed and fell down to there, and he got up and lay there and pretended to be dead. When the hare came he was pleased, and said "Now I have got a munjilo for my child". Behold! his companion was pretending thus. And he carried him and went a little, now the leopard stuck his claw in his shoulder. The hare, when he felt the pain he threw him down and ran away, and the leopard chased him till they arrived where there were some ashes. The hare scattered the ashes and caused a dust. The leopard, because of the dust of the ashes, did not see the road in which the hare went. When it was finished he followed his footprints, and he met the hare who had built a chiumbai and sat there. The leopard came forward and said "Are not you he that I am looking for?" The hare came forward and said "Not I. We came from our village a few days ago hunting with nets for leopards. We have killed nine leopards, there remains only one to make ten. Surely you are the tenth?" The hare called, saying "Hunters! Here is the tenth leopard" (ayooo used in the chase to call the hunters = "here he is"), thus explaining the echo, Elooo. The forest was heard (replying) "Elooo". So when the leopard heard this he ran away home and left the hare safe, and the elephant, there where he was, died.

*Munjilo* = Swahili kanzu.

*Chiumbai* = A screen used in hunting.

5. *The Tale of the Jin and the Girls and the Sick Boy*

There was once a boy and he was sick and he had sisters (anamahaku, really girls before they have been initiated, but here means sisters). These sisters forbade the child playing there. One day they went to the place of a jin to gather mapenzele (a sort of fruit) which were at his place. That sick boy sang, and the jin prevented them. Then the jin asked that child saying "My child, where have you come from?" This child sang, saying "We come from the kwihame (a place where a village once stood, often used as a camping-ground for travellers) to gather upengelee, we come from the kwihame to gather upengelee."
“My child beat the drum, ‘Kulembwe-lembwe-lembwende (imitation of the drum), Kulembwe-lembwe-lembwende, kachi ndinde, kachi mblunda’.” The jin doing this said “Lembwende, say lembwende”. And those children descended and ran away and went home. (Apparently the jin dances to the drum and the children get a chance to escape. Note, mkusulupukanga, the plural formed by adding -uga to the end of the verb; sulupuka = “descend,” also kutukutanga. See p. 463.)

Next day there gathered a very large crowd of girls to go again, and their sick boy, to climb up the tree again. And again the jin came and asked “My child, where have you come from?” And again he sang “We come from the kwihamwe to gather upengeleee, we come from the kwihamwe to gather upengeleee”. “My child, beat the drum ‘kulembwe-lembwe-lembwende, kulembwe-lembwe-lembwende, kulembwe-lembwe-lembwende, kachi ndinde, kachi mblunda kulembwe-lembwe-lembwende, kulembwe-lembwe-lembwende’.” The jin, as he was going round the tree, said “Say lembwende, say lembwende”. And the children were tired because he went round the tree in this manner, and he caught them and placed them in his house. Then the jin, when he had put them in the house, he went to gather his companions to cut firewood, all the jins. Meanwhile those children ran away. When they ran away, in the house there were some clothes and that sick child he clothed all his companions, and he cut their hair (shaved off) and put it in a vessel inside the house of the jin. In the village they met with all the jins, they were coming carrying their firewood and they asked, saying “My children where have you come from?” The children sang the same as before. And those children got a way to pass, and they passed. When they passed, the jin opened his house but did not find the children (people) and they took him, himself (jin) and killed him and ate him, all of the jins, because he deceived. And that sick child he got two women to live with him, he was given them because he gave them a road to escape.

6. A Story of the Hyena and the Hare

The hyena and the hare went to hunt, and they killed a guinea-fowl. The sun was sinking, so the hare said “You! hyena go and bring that fire” (that is, the sun) (ikutenda piu, descriptive of the sun setting). So the hyena went to follow the sun, thinking it was fire, till the sun disappeared. Meanwhile the hare ate the guinea-fowl himself and withheld from the hyena (munu nyuma = meanwhile, lit.
"there behind "). Next morning the hyena returned to where the hare was, saying "I have not seen the fire at all ". The hare said "You! hyena you did not look for the fire, you left it here". The hyena asked saying "Where is the guinea-fowl?". The hare said "A large wild animal came and frightened me, and I ran away and left it (the animal) taking and eating the guinea-fowl ". The hyena said "All right ". They returned to the village, the hare to his, and the hyena to his. The hyena began to pretend a sick headache, saying "My head is hurting ". So the hare came saying "I want to go and see the hyena’s head ". When he arrived at the place of the hyena he found him lying in the house. The hare went up to his place and knocked (hodika, a verb made from hodi).

"Hodi, house." When the hyena heard, he replied to him "Come in ". He went into the house, and the hyena said "You! hare! there is nobody in the place here to cook food, now you go to the garden and eat some bananas ". The hare said "All right ". He went to the garden and climbed up. Meanwhile the hyena took soot and covered his body and followed the hare. He found him above eating bananas, and he asked him "Those bananas which you are eating, whose are they?". Before the hare replied, the hyena took a stick and beat him. So the hare ran away. Then the hyena bathed himself in water and went and laid down. Now the hare came and said "In the garden there, there came an animal covered with soot and beat me so I ran away, but I remember him, I know him ". So they rested. Next day, in another village which was near, there was a women’s dance, and the hyena said "Hare! let us go to the dance ". They went, the hare took a ndunda to beat, and the hyena took a likungwe (ndunda and likungwe are different sorts of drums). The hare started to beat, saying "I was able to eat the guinea-fowl myself, I was able to eat the guinea-fowl myself ", (pa, the "able" tense). Then the hyena beat the likungwe and said "Who was beating him in the garden disguised with soot?". Then the hare came forward and said "I say! what did you say when you played?". Then the hyena, and he said "I say! what did you say when you played?". And they began to fight, and people caught hold of them and asked. The hyena said "This person ate the guinea-fowl himself and left none for me ". And the hare said "This person beat me in the garden ". So the people came forward, saying "Now, that’s enough, because tricksters have met together ". And they separated and went their way, the hare his way and the hyena his way.
7. Another Story of the Hyena and the Hare

The hare and the hyena went to hunt in the forest, they went and came to a place where meat was rotting. When the hyena came he began to drip saliva, and called the hare and said “Now I do not go to hunt, I remain here to pick up the maggots down here”. The hare said when he replied “Your greed, hyena; if you meet me lying in the road you will eat me”. The hyena denied, saying “You are telling lies”. And they argued till they came to the village, and they rested.

Next morning the hare took a gourd of honey and poured it over his body and left it dripping. And he went up to the road of the hyena’s garden and lay in the road. In the morning, now came the hyena, he was coming out together with his wife. When they arrived there at the road they came across the hare lying; and arriving, and seeing the hare that it was fat, he told his wife saying “It’s my meat, I will pick it up”. His wife said “Liar! is it not the hare?” Himself said “No! you my wife! do you not know meat? Why should the hare make himself meat? Wait till I taste and see”. So he bent down and took his tongue and licked the body of the hare, and said “Loo! this is nice (sweet), what sort of hare is fat like this? Have you seen (or felt) how sweet the meat itself is”. His wife said “Come you! Let us go; it’s the hare”. So he returned a little, now he said “You wife! we are leaving meat here! where is there a hare fat like this? Wait till I taste again”. And he licked, and he licked, and then he said “It’s nice, I want to carry it to the garden that I may take off the hair”. His wife said “If you want to, carry it”. And he carried it on his shoulder, the saliva dripping from him, licking the honey from the body of the hare. “I say, fellows! it’s sweet! this meat is exceedingly fat”. And he went to the garden and split firewood and took fire and prepared it. When the fire burned he took the hare that he may put him on the fire. The hare arose and said “You, hyena! Did you not say ‘I! you! I will not eat you’? Why now are you eating me?”. The hyena said “Although it was so nice (?) ah! you made us eat forbidden things”. So the argument (or denial) of the hyena finished that day.

8. A Story of the Lion

There was a man who bred dogs, every day they went to hunt and killed animals, placing them in pits, and killed and placed in pits
(lipondo = "hole" or "pit"), and himself went forward. Meanwhile there came a lion and sat where the animals were to wait for the owner of the animals. When the man came and saw the lion sitting there, when he saw him he wanted to run. So the lion prevented him, and said "Don’t run away, come back". The man returned. When he returned the lion said "Cut open your animals, the liver give to me, you yourself take the meat and go with it". The man agreed, and he cut open all the animals and took the livers and gave the lion; himself took the flesh only and went away with it. He went to the village and did not speak, his wife asked him, but he did not tell. Next morning he went again, the same thing happened as yesterday; he came across the lion sitting again, and he cut open, and gave him the livers. He came to the village, his wife was vexed and said "To-morrow we shall go together that I may see to whom you give the livers" (tuva chalumo, "we shall be one"). Next morning, when he got up, his wife said "To-day we shall go together". The man forbade her, saying "Where do you want to go?" The woman was obdurate; now the woman was pregnant. They went and killed two animals, and they went a little and came across the lion sitting. The lion, seeing that the woman was pregnant, said "To-day the animals take yourself, but I want you to cut open your wife, that which is inside her give me". The man was astonished and said "What! what do you say?" He said "I said, the animals take yourself, I want that which is inside your wife" (that is the libongo). The man told his wife, saying "Do you see, my wife! I strongly forbade you, saying don’t come, you would not hear. Now hear what the lion says". His wife was frightened at this and was weeping. The lion said "Cut open quickly and give me". And they argued. Now suddenly came the hare, and the hare asked "What is the quarrelling about?" The man came forward and said "The lion says ‘Cut open your wife and take that which is inside and give me, and I, I am not able to cut her open. If he wants, let him cut her open himself’". The hare said "I say! did you say that, Mr. Lion?" The lion said "Yes". Then the hare said "Cut open your wife, you! and you, lion, cut out your liver and give to me that I may eat it". The lion did not understand what the hare said and he asked him saying "What do you say, hare?" The hare said "I say, let this man cut out the unborn child from his wife and give to you lion, that you may eat it; and you lion cut out your liver and give to me, the hare, that I may eat it". Then the lion, when he heard this that the hare said, he ran away
and left the man and the hare chasing him. They did not see the lion again. Afterwards the man went home with his wife.

9. A Tale of the Tortoise and the Monkey

A tortoise made friendship with a monkey, so one day the tortoise went to gossip at the place of the monkey. The monkey cooked food and dished it in a *kalalala*, and the gravy he put in a plate. Then he told the tortoise saying "Go to the house and eat food". The tortoise went to the house and found food dished in as *nikalala* [Maples gives the meaning of this word as "sifting basket"]. Such or similar baskets are used for serving porridge. He tried to take some, but could not reach it. He climbed up till he fell inside the *nikalala*; he took a handful of food and climbed up again till he fell to the outside and dipped it in the gravy. He did this again, climbed up till he fell inside the *nikalala*, took some food, climbed and fell outside and dipped it in the gravy. He was discomforted thus till he finished the food, and he washed his hands with water. When this was finished he took his leave and said "Now I am going home, good-bye". When he reached home he slept for three days; the fourth day the monkey arose to go to the place of the tortoise to gossip. When he arrived the tortoise killed a fowl and cooked food to set it before (lit. to cook for) the monkey. Now at the place of the tortoise there was a river near, so he took fire and put it to the grass and left it there on the ground at the bank of the river. Then the tortoise dished up the food. When he had finished he told the monkey saying "Go and wash your hands with water at the river, and come and eat food". Then the monkey went to wash, he tried to go, now his hands were dirty; when he arrived where the food was his hands were dirty again. He returned again to the river to wash his hands, when he arrived at the village his hands were dirty again. So the monkey became tired, and said "Now that's enough for me, I don't want food". Then the tortoise said "You at your place dished up food in a *nikalala* and you knew that I had no size, you made a joke on purpose. And I, I was able to place on purpose fire in the road to the river". So their friendship died because they played each other a practical joke.

10. The Tale of Baruti and the Cock

There was once a woman, and that woman did not bear any child. She dug some clay and put it in a vessel and covered it with a potsherd. It remained for three months. When she uncovered the vessel the third month she found a girl had grown in the vessel. Now that girl
did not pound grain at all, her work was to string beads. There came
a man to want her in marriage, and her mother told that man saying
"My child you want to marry her, she absolutely does not know how
to cook, her work is to string beads. If you want to marry her, live
with her here that I may look after my child myself ". The man said
"No! (it is true that) she does not know how to cook, (but) at
our place I have my sister, and my nieces are there, they cook to
give me, it's best that I live with her, that's all ". And that
man took the woman to his place; he was able to live with her
one month. He was able to live with her one month, the food his
sister and nieces were able to cook and give them to eat, herself
she did string beads. Now, the man went to hunt, and the
mother of the man took some rice and gave to the woman who did
not pound to pound. When she pounded she said "Choo! chooo! I
did not pound at home, chooo! chooo! I did not pound at home ".
Then that woman sank into the earth below, and the mortar and the
pestle and all the things that were there all sank into the earth beneath.
That man at the hunt was dreaming of a misfortune 1 and returned.
When he returned to the village he asked, "Where is my wife ?"
And the people said "Your wife has sunk beneath ". That man
was astonished to tell of the misfortune of his wife. And he made
a lot of beer and called people to tell of the misfortune, all of them
were unable to tell anything. Then a cock came in sight (and the man)
said "Try what you may find to say that we may see ". Then the cock
crew: "Kokolikoo! namanjanjali, namanjanjali, he went a journey,
namanjanjali, I speak of being beaten, namanjanjali, I speak of being
beaten, namanjanjali, of Baruti being beaten, namanjanjali, her
husband was not there, her husband was not there, namanjanjali, he
went to the hunt, he went to the hunt, namanjanjali, kokolikoo.
kokolikoo, namanjanjali, vavayayu, namanjanjali ".

And he went to her mother's place there to tell, saying "Baruti
is not here ". The mother asked saying "Where has she gone ?" (And he)
said "She has sunk below ". The mother said "Let us go,
that we may see the place where she sank ". And they followed
together to the place there, and he showed her saying "She sank here ".
Then the mother made an offering and placed it, and Baruti came
forth and all the things that were with her, and afterwards the mother
herself took her and went with her to her place, and the marriage was
dissolved.

1 chikako: "hunt" = chikako; perhaps an intentional play on words.
11. The Tale of Luhengo and his Sisters

Luhengo had two sisters, and one day his sisters arose and said "To-day we go to see some friends". Then Luhengo said "And I, I want to go with you". But his sisters forbade him saying "We do not want you to come with us, Luhengo". But he would not consent and said "I am coming". So his sisters ran away and left him alone in the village, and he followed after in their tracks. His sisters arrived at the village, and Luhengo arrived also. They turned their eyes to look in the road and they saw Luhengo coming, so they left him and he remained. In the evening they cooked food and ate. Then at night they showed them the house of a jin to sleep in. They spread a mat on the floor for Luhengo to lie on, and his sisters slept, but Luhengo was awake. Then the jin arose from the bed to get his knife to sharpen that he may kill those girls. So Luhengo got up from the mat there and said "It hurts". So the jin, when he heard he arose and went outside of the house. So Luhengo wakened his sisters and said "Let us go home". So they went home, and the jin was too late (or he failed) to eat the people because of Luhengo. And afterwards his sisters wanted Luhengo everywhere they went, they did not leave him, because he saved them from the jin.

12. The Tale of the Orphan

There was a man had a son. His father and mother died and left the boy by himself. Now that boy was very much bullied; if he went to play with his boy companions they beat him, and he got no food; he was saved by eating the leaves of the cassava.

One day his companions came saying "Let us go to the forest and net matauwa" (small animals a little larger than a rat, with long, pointed lips). And he agreed. They went to the forest and set their nets to catch, and out came a matauwa and the orphan killed it. Another came out, and he killed it. And they returned, and those boys, his companions, robbed him and left him crying.

Next day they went, again he killed, and again they robbed him. Another day the orphan arose and said "To-day let us go and hunt in that forest". That was where the graves of his father and mother were. And his companions agreed and said "Let us go". And they went till they came to the grave there, and he told his companions saying "Sit down, kneel down, I want, after, that we kill matauwa; if you see anything coming out don’t run then". And his companions agreed, saying "All right". He himself sang.
(The following is a song by the boy, with chorus sung by his companions.)

Come forth, come forth, father  
They treat me like an inferior  
I killed my matawala  
They took and robbed me  
They said you have no parents  
Your parents have gone to

**kunambawe**

Come forth, come forth, father.  

*Ngondo liyaya, ngondo liyaya*

*(Ngondo liyaya means a war with a lot of people, probably refers to hunting.)*

*Kunambawe, the place where people go when they die.)*

Now came a snake from the grave there, and lay down and coiled itself, and the boys wanted to run, and he said "Do not run". And they sat there clapping their hands. That snake came from the grave of his father. And he arose and sang at the grave of his mother, and a snake also came from that place and coiled itself there. And he sang again:

Swallow, swallow, father,  
Them who treat me like an inferior  
I killed my matawala  
They took and robbed me  
They said you have no parents  
Your parents have gone to

**kunambawe**

Swallow, swallow, father

And the snakes (*mihongo, pl. of nyongo*) arose and swallowed up all the boys. And he sang again and the snakes went and dug themselves in below. And the child returned to the village. The parents of the boys went to the forest to ask him "Where are your companions?" And the orphan denied and said "I do not know, they left me there at the forest". They waited (or expected) till the sun set; they waited till the dawn (*piii = sunset, ngwee = dawn*). Then they arose early and went to consult the diviner. The diviner said "The orphan, he has hidden his companions". They went and asked him, and he replied and said "Every man who has a child, let him bring forth a slave and give me". And they brought forth every man a slave and gave him, and they went to the graves singing. Then those
boys came out again and they went to the village to their parents' houses. His trouble was over, and he became the chief of a village. He himself afterwards acquired slaves, and they built a village and he lived (there) with his people; he was a free man.

13. The Story of the Hare and the Hyena

A hare made friendship with a hyena. The hyena went to an uncleared place in a field and took the axe of the lion. So the lion cooked a very large quantity of beer and said "I want people who know how to play my song (or dance)". Then the lion said "I, I want you, hyena and hare, to sing my dance". Then the hyena sang, saying "We went to the uncleared place in the field and we arrived at the village taking an axe—woo m m". Then the hare said "You yourself are singing, singing where you may feel, you endanger your body woo m m". Then the lion knew that it was he who took his axes and he caught the hyena and imprisoned him.

14. The Tale of the Cock and the Hare

A cock made friends with a hare. Then the cock said "You hare! When you want to come to my place the day after to-morrow, fire a gun that I may know that you are coming". Then the hare arose to go, and when he drew near the village the hare took a gun and fired. So the cock when he heard the gun took his head and hid it under his wing and lay on the dust-heap there. And he ordered his wife and said "If the hare comes, say his head has gone to collect a debt and show him that beer that he may drink". When the hare arrived he came across the cock lying there, and asked saying "What's the matter?" His wife said "His head has gone to sue for a debt, he ordered me thus, saying, when the hare comes take the beer and give him to drink and say that his head has gone to sue for a debt". The hare went into the house and drank the beer. When he had finished he ordered his wife, saying "When he returns tell him to come the day after to-morrow, and if he comes tell him to fire a gun that I may know that he is coming". When the hare arrived in the road there, the cock behind crew saying "kokoli-koo". Then the hare replied and said "Truly my companion went to sue for a debt, now he has returned".

Now the cock next day went, when he arrived near the village and he also fired his gun. When the hare heard the gun he sent his boys and said "Take an axe and cut off my head that it may go and sue for a debt, and for myself, lay me on the dust-heap". Then the boys took an axe and cut off his head, when they had cut off his head the
hare died and the head died (also); it did not go to collect a debt at all. When the cock arrived he asked saying "The hare lying there, what is he doing?" The people replied "He imitated you (what you did) a few days ago; he said that your head went to sue for a debt, and he to-day was able to imitate. So he died and his head died (also)". The cock denied and said "My head did not go to sue for a debt at all, I hid it under my wing; I was not able to cut it off at all. This is his own foolishness".

15. The Story of the Hare and the Tortoise

The hare and the tortoise cheated each other saying "Let us go and take out the honey from the hive of the lion". The tortoise said "You hare, call the ung'onde first that you may go and get it with him". When they went, the hare and the ung'onde climbed up to the hive above. Now came the lion himself and said "Who are you, taking my honey?" The hare said "You reply, ung'onde, and say 'It's I, the ung'onde'". When the ung'onde replied he fell down again into the mouth of the lion. The lion ate the ung'onde.

Next day the hare went again to the tortoise and the tortoise said "To-day go with the umbutuka (a kind of antelope) and get it with him". And he went with the umbutuka up to the hive, and the lion came again and asked saying "Who are you, taking my honey?" The hare said "You reply, umbutuka, and say 'It's I, the umbutuka'". The umbutuka replied "It's I, the umbutuka". The lion said "Come down that I may see you". When he went down the umbutuka threw himself into the mouth of the lion, and he ate him like meat for eating his honey.

Next day the hare went again to the tortoise, and the tortoise said "To-day call the umbawala (bush-buck?) and go with him". The hare called the umbawala and climbed up above. Then the lion himself came and said "Who are you?" The hare said "Say 'It's I, the umbawala'". The umbawala replied "It's I, the umbawala". The lion said "Come down that I may see you". The umbawala, going down, threw himself into the mouth of the lion and he ate him.

Then the hare prepared a trap at his house and came and fastened it below the hive, so when he comes down from above he shall catch his legs and go and fall at his house. Then that day he went and called the tortoise and said "To-day let us go". And they arose, the tortoise and the hare and they went and climbed up to the hive. Now came the lion and said "Who is that taking honey from my hive?" The
hare said "Say 'It's I, the tortoise'". The tortoise said "No! say 'It's I, the hare'". And they argued until the hare said "Now, give me my trap that I may fasten myself and go". The tortoise said "Let us both fasten ourselves and go". Then they both fastened themselves, the hare and the tortoise, and they went their way. The lion waited down below, but did not see them again, and he went home.

[Note.—This story (with a different ending) is found in Steere's Swahili Tales (p. 369), under the title "The Hare and the Lion", and a Giryama variant is given by W. E. Taylor (Giryama Vocabulary and Collections, p. 123). In these only one animal is cheated by the Hare: the "Snouted Rat" (buku, fugu). Mr. Johnson's manuscript gives no explanation of (u)ng'onde; but mbutuka and mbawala appear to be different kinds of antelope. For u- prefixed to animals' names, see Bulletin III, 3, p. 464.]
THE KALYANASAUGANDHIKAM OF NILAKANTHA

Edited by L. D. Barnett

THIS little Sanskrit play belongs to the ancient repertory of Travancore.1 Having recently obtained from Pandit V. Venkaṭarāma Śarmā of Chenganur a Nāgari transcript of one MS., which may be called A, and a collation of another MS., which I designate as B, I now publish the text in transliteration, with such corrections and emendations as seem to be necessary, but without attempting to enforce uniformity of spelling. I have added numbers to the verses.

A and B represent two different recensions: the former gives a textus simplicior, the latter a textus ornatiōr. My purpose is to present the text of A, relegating the readings of B to the footnotes and appendix, except when they supply certain emendations; and this is the more prudent course, as B appears to be very corrupt. Judging from the available materials, I incline to believe that the textus simplicior is the older, and that the textus ornatiōr is a later expansion of it. The additional episode that appears at the end of B is from a dramatic point of view bad, and strongly suggests interpolation.

In the critical notes I have used the sign A2 to denote the readings of A for which the corresponding readings of B have not been noticed by the Pandit in his collation. In these cases it may generally be inferred that the readings of A and B agree on the more important points.

In transcribing the Prakrit passages I have made no endeavour to establish uniformity of dialect and harmony with the rules of the grammarians. As I have elsewhere pointed out, the school of Prakrit followed by the poets and scribes of Travancore is an ancient one, differing in important respects from those followed by the grammarians whose manuals are elsewhere taken as standards. Unquestionably the Prakrit passages printed by me in this play are full of discrepancies.

1 It should be distinguished from the Valiya Tamburān’s Malayalam-Sanskrit work of the same name (published in the Trivandrum collection of 1858 and again in the Tellicherry edition of M. Rāmūnti Vāriyar in 1895), as well as from Viśvanātha’s Sāugandhikāḥaraṇa (in Kāṛyamālā, No. 74). Their common source is, of course, Mahābhārata, Vana-pūraṇa, exlvii-exlviii.
and confusions; but in the main they are based upon this Southern School, and until its principles can be finally established by an exhaustive study of old MSS. it is premature to attempt correction.

The plot of the play hinges upon the desire of Drāupadī, the common wife of the Pāṇḍava brethren, to obtain the Sāugandhika flowers growing in a mysterious lake belonging to the god Kubēra on Mount Gandhamādana. After a brief prelude, the play opens with the appearance of an old Brahman hermit who is painfully struggling along, accompanied by his wife, in a benevolent but vain effort to stop Bhīma, who has set out to fetch the flowers for Drāupadī. Then enters Bhīma, who climbs the mountain and worsts the Rākṣasa Kṛōdhavaśa, who has been appointed by Kubēra guardian of the lake. The voice of the spirit of the lake is then heard announcing that Bhīma has permission to pluck the flowers, and he leaves the stage. Next to appear is the Vidyādhara Kalyāṇaka, an emissary of Indra, with his mistress Gunamaṇjari, and they, seeing Bhīma approaching the plantain-grove of the ape-god Hanumān, conceal themselves to watch the course of events. Bhīma then returns, enters the grove, and to show his defiance of its master tears down its mānasāṅga. Hanumān now comes on the scene to punish Bhīma. They are both sons of the Wind-god, and Hanumān knows it; but Bhīma is ignorant of Hanumān’s parentage, and hurls insults at him. In order to try him, Hanumān defiantly blocks his way, and they begin to fight with their fists. The combat is speedily interrupted by the Vidyādhara, who announces that he has been despatched by Indra in order to reveal to Bhīma and Hanumān their mutual relation and to unite them in brotherly love. Now all ends happily, Hanumān taking the opportunity to recall his old association with Rāma, declaring Rāma to have been an incarnation of Viṣṇu, giving a summary of the Rāmāyaṇa, and promising his help to the Pāṇḍavas against the Kāuravas.

The textus ornatus adds a further episode. The Vidyādhara conveys to the brethren a supplementary message, that they are to regard Drāupadī as Sītā. They accordingly go down the mountain to her. She receives the flowers with delight, and in a passage which is extremely corrupt explains her reason for sending Bhīma for them, which was that he might enlist Hanumān’s services in the coming struggle with the Kāuravas. Hanumān gives his blessing, and all ends happily.

Of the author, Nilakanṭha, nothing can be said but that he was
a Brahman, probably of the south, that he mentions Śūdraka, and that in his concluding verse he gives the reigning king the title Ajātaśatrū (unless indeed this epithet is used merely to denote Yudhisṭhira). Possibly his phrase mattavilāsajāṃ...prītīṃ in v. 17 may be intended as a reference to the farce Mattavilāsa of the Pallava king Mahendraśvaṃkramavarmā. The metres that appear in A are as follows: śārūlaviṇkṛṣīḍita, vv. 1, 5, 9, 11, 17, 19, 26, 33, 35, 43; vasantaṭilakā, vv. 2, 10, 16, 21, 25, 29, 30, 32, 37–9, 48; praharṣīṇī, vv. 3, 27; śikharinī, v. 4; manḍakrāntā, vv. 6, 14, 28; anuṣṭubh, vv. 7, 15, 20, 23–4, 34, 42, 44; puspāitra, vv. 8, 36, 40; mālāni, vv. 12, 22, 31, 45; vamśasthā, vv. 13, 18, 47; vasanmatālikā, v. 41; triṣṭubh, v. 46. Of the additional verses in B, two are anuṣṭubh, one śārūlavikṛṣīḍita, and one vasantaṭilakā.

The relation of this play to those published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series as the works of Bhāsa is obvious. The technique is practically the same; the Prakrit used, as far as it goes, is very similar; the style of the Sanskrit shows frequent resemblances. I have elsewhere pointed out (1) that there is no evidence whatever for ascribing the Trivandrum plays to Bhāsa except the circumstance that one of them bears the same title as a work known to have been written by him, (2) that one of the Trivandrum plays, the Pratimā, mentions in Act V the Nyāyaśāstra of Mādhātithi, which is probably the famous Manubhāṣya of the jurist Mādhātithi, who lived about the tenth century A.D., and (3) that the Prakrit used in those plays is no evidence of high antiquity; and the conclusions to which these facts lead are confirmed by the paper of Messrs. Pisharoti in this number of the Bulletin, which shows that those plays, at any rate in their present form, are the products of playwrights working for the stage of Kērala some time about or after the eighth century.1

KALYĀṆASĀUGANDHIKAM

VYĀYOGAḤ

(Nāndyantē tataḥ praviṣati sūtradhāraḥ.)

SŪTRADHĀRAḤ.2

Āśid yaḥ svanivāsaśālutaṃ prītaḥ prasādōnmukhō

Laṃkēśasya sasambhrāmācalasūtaṃśasūkhyapradāt |

1 I am not, however, convinced that the Trivandrum Svapanvāsavaddattām is an adaptation of the original play of that name by Bhāsa. Mere coincidence of name in the case of works dealing with popular themes proves nothing: we know three Kumārasambhavas, besides the two Kalyāṇasāugandhikas and the Sāugandhikā-harana.

2 A omits all the words from Nāndyantē to the second Sūtradhāraḥ.
havyam yasya sarodbhavē hutavahe jatam puranam trayam sō 'yam mugdhasaasāmkamanāditajaṭābhāro Harah pātu vah ||

(Parikramya nepathyābhimukham avalōkya.) Āryē itas tāvat.

(Praviṣya.)

Nāti. Ayya iamhi.¹

Sūtradhāraḥ. Aham khalv āryamiśrāir ādiṣṭāḥ—

Nāti. Kahaṁ via ādēsaṇugahō ayyamissānam ²?

Sūtradhāraḥ.

Ājnāgunēna gunavadbhir abhiṣṭutānām
Kātyāyanicaraṇapamkajabhaktibhājam ³|
śatkarmināṁ nivasatau paramāgraḥārē
prāpta-prasūtēr upāśvītāvān kavīr naḥ ⁴|| [2].

Tad asya Nilakanṭhanāmnaḥ Kalyānasāugandhikam nāma nibandhānasārīram idam abhinayālāmākāralamkram anunandāsāyēti.

Nāti. Ayya ⁵ Suddaappahudīṇaḥ mahākaviṇaḥ ⁶ nibandhāpanāḥi mottūna kahaṁ cāda paōdassanē ayyamissānaṁ pavēśō?

Sūtradhāraḥ. Āryē āśritavātsalyavasyanē nanu sajjanaśamūhaḥ.

Api ca

Vidyānāṁ atīcirasamstavāikadośad ⁷
bhuktaṁ babugunatām acintayitvā |
bhōgyānāṁ samupanatāu navodayaṇāṁ
sarvō 'pi pramadam upāiti jīvalōkaḥ || [3].

Nāti. Jujjaī.


¹ A° iyyami.
² Omitted in B; ayyamissānam A.
³ Kārtiyāṇaḥ⁴ B, as in the Bālacakita and Subhadrādhanamjaya, etc.
⁴ Pandit Veṅkatārāma Sarmā has reported to me the reading (or emendation ?) uṇaśtivārṣagurur naḥ.
⁵ A° ama ; the anusvāra or small circle on top is used to denote a doubling of the consonant (cf. Pischel, Gramm. d. Pētēp., § 193, and Epigr. Ind., xvi, p. 346, n. 2), and hence is applied even to a, which in southern pronunciation often has a glide y prefixed to it. The same spelling is used in ayyamissānam further on in the same sentence.
⁶ Omitted in B.
⁷ A° -doṣat.
⁸ A° dated.
Sūtradhāraḥ. Bhavatu vijñātam.
Agāṃrād aprāpyaṃ marudupahṛtaṃ divyakusumanām
guṇādhyāmaṃ paśyantyā dviguṇitaṃmūdā nūtanatayā |
bhūnicchāmiti Drupadasutayā Bhīmam uditaṃ
drayāntaṃ saṃprōddhum vrajatā sakalatṛō munivaraḥ || [4].
(Niśkrāntāu.)
Sthāpanā.
(Tataḥ praviśati sakalatras tāpasaḥ.)
Pādāu me nayanē ca nirjharajalāīr abhyukṣyaṃ 2 vakṣaḥ śanāiḥ
spṛṣṭvā kampitadurbalāṃ 3 bhujayugam saṃvāhayāmulaṭāḥ |
pārśvē svāsavidkampitē dhāmanībhīḥ spuṣṭāthisvāṃvuṣṭīteil
mugdhe piḍaya mandamandam asakṛd 4 dvābhyaṃ karā-
bhyām 5 īme || [5].
Brāhmaṇī. Ettiamattō 6 maggō. Kā nāma 7 vēdaṇā ?
Tāpasaḥ. Mugdhe jaraṇbhībūṭānāṃ prāṇināṃ pranādhāraṇam
api mahāpragāsāḥ; kim punar aparacēṣṭitāni 9 ?
Brāhmaṇī. Jai evvaṃ satteṣa avi akhamō paratthē keṇa āāsidōsi ?
Tāpasaḥ. Āḥ adharmajē kim na parāśrayinaḥ svārthād api
paraṇthō gariyān. Paśya—
Putrah Pāṇḍōr bhuvanajayinaḥ Pūrvamaśpradipā 10
vrṭtāḥ sadhbhir vijitamanavah paṇca paṇcendrakalpāḥ |
satruchadmakṣapitavimalasāśriyāśōmānabhöga 11
bhōgāvāsē vayasi munayaḥ kim na kāryadṛjayāḥ || [6].
Brāhmaṇī. Kahaṃ uṇa ēśa Janvaśēṃ evvaṃ nītikampanīṃ
dhaṭṭarāṃ adiṣāhasē niṇēīi ?
Tāpasaḥ. Nanu tad ētad vartate. Ḫṛdayaṃ hi nāma kathina-
vastusamuccayaḥ striṇāṃ. Tathā hi
Vanāṃ prasthāpitaḥ putrō Rāmaḥ sadgūnabhūṣanaḥ |
prāpitō nidhanam bharta Kēkāyēndrapatānujaya || [7].
Ēhi tāvāt. Sarvathāinam atisāhasan nivartaiśayāvaḥ (parikra-
myāvalokya 12). Hanta vyarthō naḥ parīṣramaḥ. Gandhamādanam
ārūdhō Bhīmaḥ ; ya ēṣa

1 A omits all the words from Bhīma, two lines before, to Sūtradhāraḥ.
2 B atukṣya.
3 B spandaṭadurbalāṃ.
4 A' asaktī.
5 B bhābhyaṃ.
6 Ettiamattō abhidō B.
7 B nāma ēṣa.
8 Omit. B.
9 B aparāṇī cēṣṭīṣā.
10 A° -pradipāﻂ.
11 A° satruṣṭādmakṣaṭitaṃvimalaśāraḥ.
12 B parikramyōrdhvam avalokya. A° -vrajāib.
Badhirayati jaganti samkhanadaiḥ
kiriti mahim agamair gadavarugnaḥ
anucaram apagarvam eva kurvan
pitaram ivapahasam jayena yati || [8].

Tad agaccha agniśaramāṃ gatvā vyatitakālaṃ saprayāscitam
karma samāpayavah.

\( \textit{Nīskṛāntau}^1 \)

\( \textit{Tataḥ praviśati gadayā tarubhanam nātayān}^2 \ \textit{ādhārayamānaśaṃkho Bhīmasenaḥ.} \)

\textbf{Bhīmaḥ.} Eṣa bhō
Vyāyacchan gadayā vanē mrgakulaṃ samkhasvanāīs
trīsayaṃ\footnote{udvēlikṛtasindhur ambubhir urahṣeptāmbuvāhasrutaiḥ} ||
Pāncālyā manasaḥ priyāṇi kusumāny āhartum iechan gurōḥ
samgharsād iva Gandhamādanam ahaṃ sāilendram āruḍhavan
|| [9].

Tad aham eṣāṃ prabhavam anviceḥāmi (\textit{parikramyaivalokya).}
Ahō bhūrjanaudāsado 'yam acaḷoddeśaḥ. Atra hi
Antarguhōdgaṭamatāḥjagarâyadāṃstrā-
vyaṅṛṣṭapādām urarjuṭam eṣa sīṃhaḥ \footnote{dāṃstrāgraṅṛṣṭapṛthukumbhataṭasthīvalgad-
grīvāṇikhatanakham} || 4āṣipati dvipendram || [10].

Yāvad anviceḥāmi. Ahō mahān ayaṃ nayanōtsavaḥ. Atra hi
Nṛtyanti kvacīd atra kinnaravadhūṅgītasvanānanditāīr
vināvēṇumḍaṅganaṇādumāditaīr dēvyō vrtaḥ khēcaraiḥ ||
sastrikaiḥ karabaddharatnacāsakaiḥ\footnote{anyatra gōṣṭhīgataīr
mādyadbhir madhurōpadam śaṃmadhuraiḥ māirēyam āpiyate} ||

\( \textit{Parikramya kvacīd ānandāḥṛṣṭadṛṣṭir avalokya.)} \ Ahō tu khālu
ramanīyasāstviśayānām anantatā rasāntarāṇām. Iha hi
Maniphalakamanōjñāsvarṇaḍōlāḥdhirūḍhā
Tripurajyinibaddham gēyam āvartayanti ||
śravānayugalōlalotkaṇḍalāṃṛṣṭagaudā
nigalayati gatim mē mugḥasiddhāṅganāiṣā || [12].

Kim\footnote{eḥhir adhirajanaśmayaniyaiḥ padārthaiḥ} yāvat priyā-
\footnote{yāvat priyā.}

\footnotetext{1}{\textit{Nīskṛāntah sakalatraś tāpasah.}}
\footnotetext{2}{\textit{Nātayan.}}
\footnotetext{3}{\textit{Oṃṣ.}}
\footnotetext{4}{\textit{B apparently nīpātanakham.}}
\footnotetext{5}{\textit{Aṣṭ.}}
\footnotetext{6}{\textit{pāṭ.}}
\footnotetext{7}{\textit{Aṣṭ.}}
\footnotetext{8}{\textit{Aṣṭ.}}
niyogam anutištahami (sparśasukham rūpayan). Iha sanmihitena jalāsayena bhavitavyam. Tathā hi
Ayaṁ hi sāṅgadhikagandham āvahan śanāiḥ śanāiḥ sāṃdratusāraśītalah ||
parīṣvajan mē janaṅkō yathāsukham
karōti rōmāṅcasamācitām tanum || [13].
Idam hi tad divyasaraḥ. Yavad upasarpāmi. Ayē māṁ dṛṣṭvā
dandaṅpaṅpir ayam Antakaḥ prāpta iti vadantaḥ sarorakṣiṇo yakṣarākṣas- saganāḥ 1 bhitāḥ palāyantē (punar nirūpya). Āhō rāmaṇīyakam asya jalāsayasya. Iha hi
Hāmaḥ svacchā payasi nikarāḥ padmasāṅgandhikānāṁ
nālāiḥ sūbhrāir maratakamayaṁr vāidrumāṁś cābhirāmāḥ |
vapreśv acchaspāṭikadvavalēśv āvṛtāś 2 chāyayāmi
sāṅlakṣyantē 3 madhurasajūsam āravāir satpadānām || [14].
Tad yavad upasarpāmi (upasṛtya puspaṁpacayam kṛtvā sagarvam).
Kusumāni harāmy ēṣa bāhūvīryam upāśritāḥ |
yadi śaktaḥ pumān kaścin nivārayatu mām iha || [15].
Nēpatyē. Āḥ durātman atikathinahṛdaya karaṇarasānaḥbhiṅja
kapataṅktasakaladuralajivalokakragrahānasmudabhavasya duritasaṅ-
cayasya phalam idānīṁ 4 anubhiyātam Alakesvarasya 5 sarahāra-
bhūtāsāṅgandhikāpaharanaṃsaṃuddipakṛtāṅgadho Ċrodhavaśeṇo-
paniyamānam. (Tataḥ praviśati khaḍgahastāḥ sakrodhō rākṣasah.)
Rākṣasaḥ. Āḥ durātman (iti pūreōktam eva pahati). Iha hi
Duṅkarmaṇaṁcaṇṭkāṭagasi 6 jivalokē
jivagrahōtsavarataḥ kila garvitas tvam |
asmin kṣaṇe niśitahadgarinikṛtattādēmah 7
tvām Antakāntakarasaṅjām aham kariṣyē || [16].
Bhīmaḥ. Rākṣasa kim idāṁ pralapyaṁ? kvāśāv Antakaḥ?
Rākṣasaḥ (sāvadhanāṃ nirvārya). Āḥ mānuṣaḥ khalv ēṣaḥ
(apaviddhāyudhāh sthītvā punah khadgam uddhṛtya). Rē rē rākṣasa-
paśada
Khādṛgēna kṣatavigrahasya pīśitāṅk kīptopadamsottaram
kośṇam tē rasayan kapālacakēnakānṭhaṃ āsravavam |
āntrasraggunam udvahan viracayan nēpatyam asthiṣvrajaśīr
nrtyan mattavilāsajaṁ Dhanapatēḥ prītiṃ kariṣyāmy aham ||
[N17].

Bhīmaḥ. Manyē mṛtvilāsajaṁ śucam kariṣyatiti.
Rākṣasaḥ. Hahaha āhārabhūtāḥ khalu manusyaḥ rākṣasānām. 
Haniśyantiti 1 manyē.

Bhīmāḥ. Rākṣasa kīṁ na manusyaḥ Rāmah āhāraṁ?

Rākṣasaḥ. Mūḍha kīṁ kīṁ Rāmam api manusyaṁ manyasē kīṁ nāśāu Nārāyaṇāḥ dēvāḥ?

Bhīmāḥ. Yady evaṁ 2 aham api samāraṇāḥ dēvāḥ.

Rākṣasaḥ. Anṛtam ētatt. Kīṁ dēvō dēvasyāparādhām ācarati?

Athāvā
Samāraṇas tvam bhava bhūmir ambaram bhavāṃbu tejō tha samastam eva vā anēna khadgēna sīras tu tē kṣaṇān 3 nipātayisīāmi Dhanādhipadvīṣāḥ || [18].

Bhīmāḥ. Kīṁ kīṁ rē rē rākṣasakīṭaka?
Guptā rākṣasapumgavam hatavatā yēnaikacakrā Bakaṃ prāptā yēna Ghaṭōtakacasya jananī hatvā Hitimbaṃ kṣaṇāt yāḥ Kṛmmimāṇ 4 api kṣaṇān mrīdāvān agrēsaraṃ rākṣasāṁ tasya tvam mama durmatē vada sīrāḥ khadgēna kīṁ cēṭasyasi || [19].

Rākṣasaḥ. Ataḥ param khaḍgas tē kathayisyati. (Ubbhāu yuddhaṁ kuruttaḥ. Gadaīya bhagāḥ praharaṇaṁ apavidhya sābhayaṁ palāyamaṇāḥ niskrantō rākṣasaḥ.)

Nēpathyē.
Kṣētra Pāṇḍoro ayām jātō mārutād bhuvanāyusāḥ | svāraṁ haratu Bhīmō mē kusumāni priyākṛtē || [20].


Vidyādharaḥ. Priyē Guṇamaṇjari
Tirayā vikampayaṭe ghūneyatē muḥur nāu dōlikarōti ca gatāgatīm ādadānāḥ | vaprāiṅ ayām pratihataḥ pavanaḥ Sumēroḥ śṛṇgāntarē madhumādyā karōti lilām || [21].

Guṇamaṇjari (sasambhramāṃ). Nāha ganha maṁ ganha. Iminā duvvinīdēna mārudaḥaḍeṇa pariciyamāṇabhōnoḷavvāṇāvaīrīna āvā java ēsō na mārēi 5.

1 B manusyaḥ rākṣasān haniśyānti.
2 A° ēvaṁ.
3 A° kṣaṇāt.
4 So A°, which represents the local pronunciation. Kirmīra is usual in the North; Kirmīra is the Tamil form.
5 So A°, apparently to be corrected to maṁ ganha iinā duvvinīdēna māru 'a-' hadadeṇa pariciyamāṇaḥ bhōṇīṇa viśa nāvaśvīna [i.e. bhōṇīnīm iru nāvaśvārīnā] jáva ēsō na maṁ mārēi. On the wind called paṇḍavaḥ see Mahābhārata, Sānti-p., cccxxviii, 48 ff.
VIDYĀDHARAH. Priyē ēsa grihṇāmi (grahaṇaṃ nātayitvā).
Avahitahṛdayākṣam vyāyatōdghūrṇabāhū-
dvitayam abhipatantim tvām vilōlām grahītum 1
satatagatir ayaṁ mām durnivārāpravṛttir
vidhir iva viparītō vandhyayatnam vidhattē || [22].
Kim idānim kariṣyē ? Bhavatu dṛṣṭam. Bhōḥ prabhāṇjana
Bhavanmitrasya Śakrasya śāsanāt tava putrayōḥ |
Hanumadbhīmayōḥ kartuṁ kalyāṇaṁ ganyatē maya || [23].
Ayē anukūlaḥ saṃvṛttaḥ.
GUṆAMAṆJARĪ. Nāha kiṃnāmaḥō ēso duṭṭhamāruō ?
VIDYĀDHARAH. Saptarsiṃsandalagrhāṇām antaraskandhaḥavarti
candvēgaḥ parāvahō nāma.
GUṆAMAṆJARĪ (adhō 'valōkya). Nāha kim idam chattamattapari-
mānaṃ ākhyāadi ?
VIDYĀDHARAH. Idam api dūratvād 2 avibhāvitavistāram avanica-
kram. Yāvad avataravāḥ.
GUṆAMAṆJARĪ. Nāha pekkhha pekkhha 3 gummā 4 disanti.
VIDYĀDHARAH. Mugdhō nāite gulmāḥ parvatāḥ khalv amē. Ava-
tarvāḥ (avataranaṃ nātayataḥ).
GUṆAMAṆJARĪ. Ammō idam mahattaṃ 5 saṃvuttaṃ 6 (avatīrya
dṛṣṭvā). Kiṃnāmaḥō ēso pavvadō ?
VIDYĀDHARAH. Niśadhō 'yam anuprāptaḥ.
GUṆAMAṆJARĪ. Ēso kō ?
VIDYĀDHARAH. Hēmakūtō 'yam āsthītaḥ |
GUṆAMAṆJARĪ. Aṃm avarō kō ?
VIDYĀDHARAH. Himavān ayam āsanaḥ.
GUṆAMAṆJARĪ. Kiṃ ettha saradabbhāṇaṁ via samūhō disai ?
VIDYĀDHARAH. Kāilāsō 'tra virājatae || [24].
Atra bhagavantam Antakāntakaṃ prāṇamyā 7 yāsyāvāḥ. Namō 8
'stu sakalajagadāśivāryasālāghaniyāya
Mugdhēnduśēkharapiśamgajatādharāya
snigdhēndranilamanīnīlagalāntārāya |
dugdhōdaphēnapaṭalāmalabhasmadhāli-
digdhāya dagdhhamadanāya nammē Śivāya || [25].

1 A° grhitum.
2 B idam atidūratvād, which is perhaps the better reading.
3 Written in A° pēmkha; see above, p. 36, n. 5.
4 B gummāyō.
5 Nāha ammō savvaṁ mahattām.
6 A° savvuttam.
7 B abhipraṇamaḥ.
8 B adds the stage-direction prāṇamyā before Namō.
GUÑAMAÑJARI. Namô Pavvaibaddhappahaṇaaya.  
VIDYĀDHARĀ. Vilāsini sō 'yam āsāditō Gandhamādanaḥ yatrāstē Hanumān.

GUÑAMAÑJARI. Ammō iha vi subaddhasinēhā āadā saggaḷacchi  

diśai.

VIDYĀDHARĀ. Satyam āha bhavati. Iha hi  
Prāśādāir amṛtāṁsūphēṇadhavalaśī samruddhatārāgaṇāir  
hāṁmār māuktikāmālikāparigataprāntāir grhāir bhūṣiṭā |  
rāgāṇanditakēcarāir varavadhūgitāir manōhārini  
svargaśīr Alakēti nāmīni niyatō bhēdō na vastusthitau || [26].

GUÑAMAÑJARI (sabhayam). Nāha kō nu khu ēsō sajalaḷalahara- 
thanaigamabhīrō  
saddō mā 5 pīdēi ?

VIDYĀDHARĀ (sasambhramam avalōkya). Priyē paśya paśya  
Garjantam ghanam upari dvipēndraśaṅkī  
dantabhīyām abhinīnadā vibhidyā vēgat |  
āmūlaṁ mahati mahirūhe nikhātāu  
nōtkraṣṭum prabhavati tāu 6 punar dvipēndraḥ || [27].

GUÑAMAÑJARI. Haddhi balagavvidānaṁ pamādō.  
VIDYĀDHARĀ. Sakhi ēṣa Bhīmas tasya kāḷisvarasya kadaḷīvanam  
upasarpati. Tad asya nikaṭavartisphāṭikāśilālatałam 7  
ahyāsināv  
ayör 8 avijñātaporasparayaḥ 9 prabhāvāntarhitau 10 cēṣṭitam avagamyā  
tadanurūpam upasarpāvah. Api ca  
Śusyaddantacchadalakisalayaṁ 11 tāntatāmmayatākṣam  
svēdāḷī kīncil lūhātatiḷakam gandayör baddharāgam |  
vaktraṁ jālair glapitam adayaīs 12 tigamabhāṣaḥ prabhānām  
vēḷām ēnām iha sutanu tē viśiṣṭam vānchativa || [28].

(Antarhitau tiṣṭhataḥ.)

BHĪMAH. Ahō priyābhilāśaparipūraṇārtham atitvaritasvāpi mama  
nayanayugalam avaśām 13 ākarsati nagavanōddēsāḥ.  
Vātēritapracaḷaniladalakūlo 'yam  
pakvāḷī phalāiḥ śabalīṭāḥ kadaḷīvanāntaḥ |

\[1\] A° -bandha.; see above, p. 36, n. 5.  
\[2\] A° -sapgačhi.  
\[3\] A° -ganāib.  
\[4\] B -sajalajalakarathyasīda-.  
\[5\] So A°; mā for mam is contrary to the known rules (Fischel, Gr. d. Pktspr., § 418),  
but until the laws of the Southern School of Prakrit are better known it seems  
hazardous to alter it.  
\[6\] A nikhātam ... tō, with a query after the tō; B nikhātam ... tāu.  
\[7\] B -talam idam.  
\[8\] So A and B, a Vedic form (Skt. anayōr).  
\[9\] So B; A -purasvarayōḥ.  
\[10\] B prabhāvāntaritau.  
\[11\] A° -dantachada-.  
\[12\] A° -dayāīs.  
\[13\] B avaśam ayam.
abhāti vidrumalatāviṭapāiḥ prabhinnatvaṅgattaramgaparikīrṇa ivāmburāiḥ || [29].


Yady asti kaścid iha śaktikṛtabhīmaṇaḥ kāṃksēt puram yadi parētapatēḥ prayātum |
sa prōḷasadbhrūkutibhimalālaṭavahneś caṇḍakrudhaḥ patatu mē purataḥ kṣanāyuh || [30].

Nēpathye. Āḥ durāṭman anātmajna parājñāsamullāṃghanapara aparījñāttrapraķṣātapuruṣabalaśaṃkramaprabhāva atiṅkāntamaryāda krūrakarmanirata mānuśāpaśada durvīnīta kim iyantam kālaṁ na śrutipatham upagatavān asmi?

Bhīmaḥ. Ayaṁ ayaṁ bhōḥ

Drēhaviracitamūṣṭir drṛṣṭibhāṣāṃ vitānāiḥ 2 viyad adhikapisāṁgāiḥ 3 sendracāpaṁ prakurvan |
bhrūkutiḥyutalālaṭaspaṣṭadmaṃśrāṃśuḥjālāiḥ 4 apara iva Nṛśimhō drṛṣyatē vānāṃdṛṇaḥ || [31].

(Tataḥ praviśati 5 Hanumān.)

Hanumān (sakrūdhama). Āḥ durāṭmann (iti pūrvēktam ēva pathiteva). Tad adhunā Śakṣāṇaprapiṣṭavapaṣaṃ bhuvi muṣṭipātaṁ alpaprayāsahṛṭajvitam Antakēna |

aksśoṛ nīmēsasaṃkālaṁ ahāṁ karōmi kravyādadantasaṅkharavitakikasām 6 tvām || [32].


Hanumān. Kiṁ kiṁ vānara ity avajñā? Hanta bhōḥ Svāiraṁ gōspadavad vilamghya jaladhiṁ naktamcaranāṁ gaṇanān hatvāiravatadantakōṭilikhītār vakṣaḥsthalaṁ bhīṣanān | pluṣṭā yēna purā karair dinakṛto 'py 7 aspratapūrva bhayāl 8 Laṃkā kin na sa vānārō vada jagaty asmin na vā visṛutaḥ || [33].

1 B kiścid iha. 2 A 3 vitānāiḥ. 3 B arunapō. 4 B bhrūkutiyuga ... damśrāṃśulaṃkāmīḥ. 5 B praviśati sakrūdhō. 6 B dinakṛtāpy. 7 A 8 bhayāt.
Blīma. Sō 'pi vānaras tvam api vānaraḥ.
Hanumān. Kiṃ sō 'pi vānaras tvam api vānara iti? tēna hy āmunāiva tāvad vānarēṇa saha yudhyasva.
Blīma. Ahō ślāghyaṃ mē raṇakarma.
Kiṃ vādīṣyanti rājānaḥ śrutvā Phalgunanārvajaḥ | kēnāpi kapinā yuddhē Blīmaḥ saṅgatavan iti || [34].
Bhrātā mē māṁ avijñāya gacchati. Kiṃ nu khalu kariṣye? Bhavatu; asya garvadōsām 2 apanayāmi. (Prakāśaṃ.) Bhōḥ puruṣa mamājūnām ullaṃghya na śakyatē gantum (iti purata āstē).
Blīma. Āḥ jaraḍvānara apasara.
Hanumān. Jaradvānarō 'smi nāpasaraṇakṣamaḥ.3
Blīma. Tvām utkṣipyasmin girikūṭē prakṣipya yāsyāmi.
Hanumān. Chandataḥ.4
Dhiṅ nāgāyutasannibham mama balaṃ dhiṅ mārūtad ubbhavaṃ
dhiṅ vā digvijayē jayam kṣitibhṛtāṃ dhig Jīṣṇusodartyaṃ | pritas tvam bhava bhōḥ Suyōdhana cirat Pāṅcāli tē mūrḍhajan samhārtā ripuśoṇitārūnakaraḥ kō nāma dhanyah pumān || [35].
Yadi sa mama guruḥ svajāṭibhaktyā svayam abhigamyā na vārayisyaṭe 6 mām | sphetam iha bhavitā vihamgamānam | kapipīśiṣteśa vibhāgājō viyādaḥ || [36].
Hanumān. Ėdam api pāsyāmah. (Ubbhāu muṣṭibhiḥ prakṣyta yuddhaṃ 7 kurutaḥ.)
Vidyādrāraḥ (dvayor antaram praviṣya nīvārayan). Hanuman

1 A* ki.
3 A* echandataḥ.
4 B garvadōsāmatram.
5 So B; utkampitum A.
6 B niśvārayisyaṭe.
7 B niyuddhaṃ.
Bhima yuvayor bhratror jyesthakaniṣṭhayor 1 mārutyoh kim idam ghōram asāṃpratam upaśhitam ?
Bhimaḥ (vīlajya sthitē, ātmagatam). Yuktam ētat sparśasukham saṃvṛttam.

Hanumān. Kuntimātah ēhi.

Bhimaḥ (upasītya). Ārya abhivādayē. 2

Hanumān. Ēhy ēhi vatsa. 3 Adya khaliy idam avagatam.
Lajjañamadvadanamantharam ikṣanārdhaṃ sampraśrayahṛtakaradvayaruddhavakṣaḥ |
sākūtadarśānakṛtāikakataḥākṣapātām
āśleśasāukhyam anujasya sudhēty abhēdaḥ || [37].

(Sasambhrāmaṃ vidyādharam avalōkya.) Āmōdād vismṛtaḥ samu- dācāraḥ. Bhadrāmukha ētad āsanam āsyatām.

Vidyādharaḥ. Nanu yuvāṃ api śrāntāu.

Hanumān. Āsava kumāra āssva. 4 (Sarve upaviśanti,) Attha kō 'trabhavān ?

Vidyādharaḥ. Ahaṃ Purandarasya niyogakāri Kalyāṇako nāma vidyādharaḥ;  īyañ ca mē sahaçārinī 5 Guṇamaṇjarī nāma.

Hanumān. Kuta idānīm ?

Vidyādharaḥ. Svargād āgatō 'smi.

Bhimaḥ. Api vṛttēna paritōsayati pitaram Arjunāḥ ?

Vidyādharaḥ. Kim iti na paritōsayen mahāsattvaḥ 6 ?

Bhimaḥ. Katham mahāsattva 7 iti ?

Vidyādharaḥ. Bhōḥ śrūyatām. Prvaṁtte khalu nṛttōtsave svavaṁśaprabhavabhuṁikāyāṃ sasprham avalōkīyāṃ anupāyatō
gurōr ājñākarēṇa sakhyā Çitarasēṇēna prēṣitām
Śṛṅgāravēṣaramaṇīyaavapuprakāśaṃ
rāmgōttithām upagatāṃ svayaṃ ēva śayyāṃ |
tām Urvaśīṃ upacaran guruḥīḥ samānām
lajjānamadvadanacandrasaṃ cakara || [38] iti.

Bhimaḥ. 8 Bhōḥ 9 sadṛśam idam anuṣṭhitam.

Hanumān. Atha kim āgamanprayōjanam ?

Vidyādharaḥ. Ahaṃ khalu sovāgatō 'yam upahvaram āhūya svāminā saṃdiśṭaḥ yathā Rāmalakṣmaṇayor iva bhrātrtvam yuvayor avabōdhayēti. 10

Hanumān. Ḫā Rāma (iti mūrčitaḥ patati).

---

1 A° jyesthakaniṣṭhayoh.
2 B adda Bhimö 'ham asmi.
3 B vatsa pariśvajasa.
4 A and B in both cases ēsra, which can be defended.
5 A and B mahāsattvaḥ.
6 A and B mahāsattva.
7 A and B mahāsattva.
8 B sahačari.
9 Omit. B.
10 Grammatical person!
UBHĀU. Samāśvasihi samāśvasihi.

HANUMĀN (samāśvasya).

Śākhamṛgō 'smi tarupallavamātrasāraḥ
stutyaḥ satām sadasī yasya parigrahēṇa |
tēna tvayā virahitō Raghunandanēna
bhāraṁ mahāntam iva jivitam udvahāmi || [39].

Hā nātha

Pavanatanaya hē sakhē Hanūmanah
iti vigaladvacanāṃrē mukhendāu |
tava varada drśāv akurvatō mē
param iva vañcanam iva dīrgham āyuḥ || [40].

Hā Vāidehi

Janakaṁ janakaṁ kilāha lōkō
janakas tvām janayan punar mamāsūn |
iti Jānaki yat tvayāham uktaḥ
kṣarad asrama manasiva tan mamādyā || [41].

Hā Laksmaṇa

Bhrātur jyeṣṭhasya tam snēham vibhajya mayi bhṛtyatām |
katham ēkah kṛtāntatvam samagram anubhūtavān || [42].

BUIMAHA. Dhīrō bhavān atyarthaḥ sōkavaśyō bhavitum arhati.8

Viyogaparipāmō nanu samyōgaḥ.

HANUMĀN. Kumāra idānāṃ kṛtārthō 'smi.

BUIMAHA. Ahō guṇavatta Rāmasya yad ayam āryasyāvaśayati
hrdayam. Yadi nātyāyāsas10 tasya mahātmanaḥ caritaśravānakutū-
hali mē manaḥ.

HANUMĀN. Kumāra śṛyātām. Sa khalu dharmasamrakṣanār-
thām mānuṣatām upagatō bhagavān Viṣṇuḥ.

Hitvā rājasukham pūtṛ vacanatō naktānca rākṣasān kānān
hatvā Śūrpanakhaḥ piśācarān anviṣya Sītām hṛtām |
kṛtvā Bālavadhārjitēna suhrdā sētum vyātītāmbudhir11
Lāṅkēśam hatavāṃs tam anyam akarōt prayād Ayōdhyām
punah || [43].

Tataḥ sahaśratdhikam ayutaṁ vāraṇām anuraṁjitajīvalōkāh
svargalōkam itō gatavān.

1 A° Hanumann.
2 B kīm āha.
3 A° āsrama.
4 A° dhīraḥ.
5 B prakṛtitātāḥ.
6 So B: A nātyāyāsas, an error perhaps due to Dravidian pronunciation (cf. Tamil
mādam = Skt. māsa, etc.).
7 A° drśāevakurvatō.
8 A° yatvayāhama.
9 B kṛtāntas tvām.
10 This sentence seems to want a negative.
11 A° vyātītāmbudhī.
Bhima. Arya mahän ayam anugrahaḥ. Kathéyaṃ amṛtasēka iva śravaṇayōḥ.1


Hanumān. Ėvaṃ gacchatu bhavān punardarśanāya. (Niśkrānto  

vidyādharaḥ saha priyāyā.)

Adya mē saphalaḥ caksuḥ smāritaś cápi Rāghavaḥ | 
bhūyas tvadgātrasamśēgaṃ icchaty ēṣā tanur mama || [44].

(Iti pariṣvajati.) Kumāra Dhārtarāṣṭrān adhiṅkṛtyāiṣa 3 mē nīscayaḥ.

Anaticiravimuktair niṣṭhurāir muṣṭipātaiḥ 

sphutoṭapthuṣārīrā vārīnas tāvakānāḥ | 
rānaśirasi hatānāṃ Kāuravā rākṣasānāṃ 
gatibhir aviralābhīḥ sūdhāisyanti mārgam || [45].

Bhima. Ėvaṃ cēd vyarthō mē bhujayugalayōr 4 bhāraḥ.

Hanumān. Bhavatv ēvaṃ tāvat kariṣyē.5

Nirghuṣṭaśūkṣaśaniśīcitāsūn 6 
kartāmi sannōjivalanaprakāśān 7 | 
Pārthasayā satkētutulāmavāsī 
prakṣiṇapaksān yudhi Dhārtarāṣṭrān || [46].

Bhima. Diṣṭāy sanāthāḥ Pāṇḍavaḥ.

Hanumān. Kumāra kin tē bhūyaḥ priyam upaharāmi ?

Bhima.

Priyaṃ priyāyā vihitāṃ vaśikṛtā 
vijitya sarvē paripanthināḥ pathi | 
tvadāṃgasamāgac ca tanur viśdhitā 
krārthabhūtaiḥ kim ivānyad isyatē || [47].

(Bharatavākyāṃ.)

Tathāpy ētāvad astu.

Dōṣās ca nāśam upayāntu kṛtāv amuṣyāṃ 

bhūyō bhavaṃ 8 kṣapayatān 9 mama Nilakantuḥaḥ |

1 After this sentence the text of B begins to expand so as to include a further 
episode. See Appendix.
2 B yāvad ādiṣṭham anuṣṭhitam.
3 A adhikṛtya ēṣa.
4 So A and B.
5 B Ėvaṃ ēva kariṣyē.
6 A nirghōṣṭa-, B nirghōṣṭa-. The line seems to be a reminiscence of Mahābhār. 
Drōṇa-p., lxxvii, 4, uṣkēsāṃpi ca nispiḥ sanirghōṣṭh śaśīṣaḥ; then nirghōṣṭi 
will correspond to sanirghōṣṭa, though I can quote no authority for the compound 
verb except nirghōṣṭa (cf. Nāloṃ., xii, 3, pariṣvaśnuḥsa). 
7 A sannōjivalanaprakāśān, B sannōjivalanaprakāśām. 
8 A 'bhavaṃ, with anugraha; B bhāraṃ. 
9 A and B kṣapayatāṃ.
nirdhārtarāśtraniyatiṃ nikhilāṃ dharitrīṃ
pāyān nrpaḥ savijayō 'yam ā Ajātaśatruḥ || [48].

Iti Nīlakanṭhakaviracitāḥ Kālyāṇasāugandhikāṃ nāma vyāyōgaḥ
samāptaḥ.

APPENDIX

I print here the conclusion of the play in the expanded version
given in B (see above, p. 47, n. 1). The text as given in the Pandit’s
collation is very corrupt, and I therefore print it exactly as it is found,
with some attempts at restoration in footnotes.

Bhīmaḥ. Ārya mahān ayam anugrahah. Kathēyam amṛtāśeka
iva śravaṇayōḥ.

Vidyā. Asti sandeśah.

Hanu. Sambodhīto 'smi (sānjalir utthāya). Kim ājñāpayati
dēvah?

Vidyā. Nanu āśanasthēnāiva bhavatā śrōtavyam.

Hanu. Anugṛhīto 'smi (upaviśati).

Vidyā. Yaḥ saṅjātamaḥ purā Rāmō dēvō Nārāyaṇaḥ prabhuḥ |
tasya sakhyaṃ priyāṃ paśya Drāupadīṃ Jānakīṃ iva ||

Hanu. Samyag anubodhīto 'smi.

Vidyā. Yāvad ādiśtham anuśhitam amarudhipatēr nivēdayāmi.

Uabhāu. Yad bhavatē rōcātē. (Niśkrānto vidyādharaḥ saha
priyāyā.)

Hanu. Kumāra mārgam ādcēsaya.

Bhīmaḥ. Ita itaḥ. (Uabhāu parvatāvataraṇaṃ nātayītvā.)*

Bhīmaḥ. Iyam āśramanikatavartini vrkṣam adhyāsinā kim api
cintayanti Yajñasēnaduhitā.

Hanu. Adya me saphalam caksuḥ smāritaś cāpi Rāghavaḥ |
bhūyas tvadgātrasamāśēsam ichaty ēsā tanur mama ||

(Pariśväjati. Tataḥ praviśati Drāupadī.)

Drāupadī. Kīṇṇū ṣhu cīraḍāḥ nāḥō?

Uabhāv (upasṛtya). Dēvi siddhas tē manorathaḥ.

Drāupadī (sānjalir utthāya). Jēdu nāḥō. Nāha kō ēsō?

Bhīmaḥ. Nanv āryō Hanumān.

1 B unmetrically nrpaḥ so 'yam.
2 Read Nane.
3 Read saṅjātath.
4 Read sakhē.
5 Read ādiśtham.
6 Grammar !
7 Read Udbhāu.
Drāupadī. Jēdu ayyō 1 vipakhkaparipidāṇāṁ itthiāṇāṁ sarāñībhūḍō, ettha upavisadu.2

HANU°. Bhadrē,

Ajātāsatrupamukhāḥ bhrāṭṛbhīr dhvastaśatrubhīḥ |
adhīṣṭhitapaḍāḥiḥ sārdham ciraṁ harṣam avāṃnuhi |
Āsva kumāra āsva.3 (Sarve upavīṣanti.)

Bhīmaḥ (pupāṇy upaniya). Amūni grhīṣva.

Drāupadī (grhītvā sahaṛṣaṁ). Ajja khu maē dīṇā datthaṃ teallekisārabhūḍō Gandhamādanatti.4

HANU°. Ayēvāinamatisāhasān 5 niyuktavatī.

Drāupadī. Nahi nāhi, aṇṇaṁ mē manōharō hō.6

HANU°. Katham anya iti?

Drāupadī. Sacevāṃ 7 sunādu ajjō.8 Nivuttassa maṇṇaṇāhā- 
ṇanēvāsurasamāmāsāmō 9 samarāgamō bhavissadi.

HANU°. Tatas tataḥ?

Drāupadī. Kiṃ tassa di... tassa gandhappamōdabahalattana-
dassanatīyya vivāda karissadittī sōandhiavājenā ēva evva kidam.10

HANU°. Apī ayaṁ manōrathaḥ Purandarēṇa viditaḥ?

Drāupadī. Vididau ayā ēva ayyadassāṇaṃ uvahadī antiē maē 
savvō Nāradamuhēṇa vividubhavaṇaṃ gaē Ajjunē ppaāsīde.11

HANU°. Sarvam atyāṅgirasā 12 sunītam. Bhadrē kiṃ idāniṁ mayā 
kartavyam?

Drāupadī. Viraṁkhitavvō.13


Anaticiravimuktaī niśṭhurāī muṣṭipāṭāih 
spuṭhitaprthuṣārīṇā vārainas tāvakīnāḥ |
raṇaśirasi hatānaṁ Kāravā rākṣasānaṁ 
gatibhir aviralābhīḥ śīḍhayisyyanti mārgam |

Bhīmaḥ. Ėvam cēd vyarthō mē bhujayugalayōr bhāraḥ.

---

1 Spelt ayyō; cf. above, p. 36, n. 5. 2 Read uravisadu.
3 Āsya would be better spelling.
4 Corrupt: read tālakka.- (Pischel, Gr. d. Pktspr., § 196).
5 Ayē...vānām atisāhasān?
6 Apparently for ayyō mē manōrāhō āsī.
7 Perhaps correct (Skt. satyakam): cf. Pischel, Pkt., § 230. But more probably 
saccaṃ naṁ or saccaṃ.
8 Read ayyō.
9 Read givuttasamādānaṁ vāhānaṁ dēcāsurasamāmāsāmō.
10 Read -dassānaṁ ti ayyō vividam... evam eva kidam.
11 Perhaps to be corrected to Vidūṭi ayya: evam ayyadassānaṁ uvahidē (or 
uvadade?) antiē maē savvam Nāraḷaṇhēṇa vivudhabhavaṇaṁ (i.e. vivudhabhavaṇaṁ) 
gae Ajjunē ppaśīdām.
12 Atyāṅgirasām?
13 Perhaps Ciraṁ ayyō rakkhidave; see above, p. 36, n. 5.
Drāupadi. Ėsō mē pānaō ajjassa raṇabhūmīe vattamāṇassā saṃnihideṇa ayyēṇa uggappāṇādēhi saṃghōhidavvo ¹ sattusam . . .

Hanu°. Ėvaṃ ēva karisyē.

Nirggghōṣṭhaśuṣkāśaṇiśōṣṭāsūn
kartāsmi saṇṇojvalanaprakāsām ² |
Pārthasya satkōṭulāmavāsī
dprasīṇapakṣān yudhi Dhārtaraṣṭrān ||

Tvam api

Tyaktvēdaṃ vanavāsaduḥkham acirāt sājñātavaśaṃ priyē
nōktāśiḥkrtamātraṃ ētya muditā sāugandhikaṃ vā ripōḥ ³ |
Pāulōmiva Śatakratōḥ kratuṭatāny āhaturayāsagāt ⁴
bhartur bhūtahatās ca ⁵ jīvitatarōḥ bhadrē phalam dāṣyasi ||

Drāupadi. Anugahidamhi.°

Hanu°. Kumāra kim aparāṃ mayā kartavyam ?

Bhīmaḥ. Ārya,

Pṛtā priyā tvayi vibhō nayanē kṛtārthe
dēva prasādya vikṛtāgasi gumbhyakōṣāḥ ⁷ |
sāugandhikaṃ surabhigandhi surārcitam vah
kalyāṇasampadadayālbhutakāmadhēnuḥ ||

(Bharatavākyam.)

Tathāpy ētāvad astu.

Dōśās ca nāsām upayāntu kṛtāv amusyāṃ
bhūyō bhayaṃ kṣapayatāṃ ⁸ mama Nilakaṇṭhaḥ |
nirdhārtaṛaṣṭraniyatiṃ nikhilāṃ dharitrīṃ
pāyāṃ nṛpaḥ sō 'yam Ajātāsatriḥ ||

¹ Read ayyassa . . . uggappāṇādēhiṃ saṃchōhēdavvo.
² See notes on verse 46 above.
³ Siē !
⁴ Perhaps āhartur abhyāsagā.
⁵ Perhaps bhūtahitāya.
⁶ Read anugahidamhi.
⁷ Probably guḥyakēsam.
⁸ Read bhavaṃ kṣapayatān, and see notes on verse 48 above, pp. 47-8.
STUDIES IN SEMITIC KINSHIP

By Brenda Z. Seligman

I. THE RELATIONSHIP SYSTEM

Introduction.
1. The Problem stated.
2. Relationship System of the Beni Amer.
3. The formation of the plural of the word for "father" in Hebrew.
4. The Semitic Terms of Relationship, with table.
5. Examination of the terms used in Arabic for father-in-law, with special reference to the sociological aspect of the change in the meaning of these terms.
6. Conclusion.

The material upon which this paper is based is in the first instance taken from the Relationship systems and customs of a Sudan Arab tribe (the Kababish¹) and of the Beni Amer, a Hamitic tribe whom I have been able to study myself in the Sudan by means of the genealogical method. Miss Moss kindly collected a list of relationship terms in Malta for me, which I have used. The rest of the material has been taken from dictionaries, and although I am fully aware of the inadequacy of material culled from dictionaries, yet in this case the method is inevitable. Full investigation into the relationship system and social organizations of the Amharic-speaking Abyssinians would be of the greatest value, and a complete examination of the Maltese terms would also be of interest. I have had much help from friends, though they are in no case responsible for my conclusions. Chief among these is Professor S. Langdon, who has given me much information. I am also indebted to Dr. Hall, Professor Zammit, Dr. Czermak, and Mr. S. H. Ray for references.

I. THE PROBLEM

The use of the classificatory system of relationship by the Beni Amer, a people speaking a Semitic language, led me to examine the terms of relationship in Semitic languages generally. This examination indicated that the Arabic and Hebrew systems are based on a classificatory system and not upon a family system.² Besides demon-

² "The classificatory system groups together various relationships which we distinguish, while others which we group together are separated. The simplest way to understand its essential characters is to recognize that the classificatory
strating this, I hope to show how deeply sociological factors may influence language. This is an idea which seems so obvious to the anthropologist that it should need no apology. It is, however, frequently overlooked by philologists, with the result that in constructing rules in grammar cause and effect are confused.

II. RELATIONSHIP SYSTEM OF THE BENI AMER

As already stated, the classificatory system is based upon the principle that kinship terms are used towards members of the clan or smaller group, not as we are accustomed to use them, towards members of the family only. Thus, in a simple classificatory system in which descent is reckoned in the male line, every brother of the father will be called "father", and their wives "mother", and all their children "brothers" and "sisters". In a system in which descent is reckoned in the female line, while the sons of the father's brother may not even be considered as relations, the children of the mother's sister are treated as own brother and sister.

The Beni Amer inhabiting the plains of the Red Sea Coast in the Sudan are a Hamitic people who speak a Semitic language—Tigré. Tigré is the modern representative of Geez or Ethiopic, the liturgical language of Abyssinia, which is itself said to show closer affinities to Sabæan (with inscriptions that date back to at least the ninth century B.C.) than it does to Arabic or Hebrew. Thus, Tigré, though a living language, may be looked upon as containing elements that are older than either Arabic or Hebrew.

It is not relevant here to examine all the evidence that points to the fact, that, though the Beni Amer now reckon descent in the male line, they were formerly matrilineal; nor need I go into all the details of their relationship system, which I hope to deal with elsewhere. The terms in use in their system will be seen in the comparative table, and

system is founded on the clan or other similar social group, while our system is founded on the family. All members of the speaker's clan who are of the same generation as himself stand to him in the same relation as his own brothers and sisters; all members of his father's clan of the preceding generation stand in the same relation to himself as the father or the father's sister; all of the generation before receive the same designation as his grandfather. Similarly, all those of the mother's clan and of her generation are classed with the mother and the mother's brother; all those of a wife's clan and of her generation stand in the same relation as her actual brothers and sisters, while all of the preceding generation are classed with her parents. This application of terms of relationship to wide groups of relatives may persist after the clan-organization has disappeared, and the exact way in which the terms are applied varies greatly with the nature of the social organization, so that the system often preserves evidence of social conditions which are no longer present."

—Notes and Queries on Anthropology, 1912, pp. 149, 150.
here I need only point out the outstanding features. The Beni Amer have no word for father's brother, but address him as *yiba*, "my father."¹ The children of the father's brother and all men whom he calls "brother", using this term in its classificatory sense, are called "brother" and "sister". But it must be noted that the Beni Amer have adopted the usual Arab marriage with the father's brother's daughter, and after this has taken place a man will no longer call his wife's brother "brother", but will use the term for brother-in-law. It will be seen in the table that although no word for father's brother is found in Tigré, the father's sister is *amaitye*. As the father's sister's husband is called *bis amaitye* (spouse of the *amaitye*), I suspected that *amaitye* was not an original Tigré word, but introduced from Arabic. It seemed unlikely that this feminine form of *'am* should have been retained from ancient times when the word *'amm* was itself unknown. This suspicion was confirmed by comparison with the Ethiopic in which no words for either kind of uncle existed originally, brother of father and brother of mother being used for these relations. In later Ethiopic versions of the Bible *dūd* has been introduced to mean paternal uncle, *hol*, *halto*, and *amaitye* in Tigré are thus a borrowing from the Arabic.²

**III. THE PLURAL OF "FATHER" IN HEBREW AND ARABIC**

In Hebrew and Arabic the plural of the word for father is formed by adding the regular ending for feminine nouns. The explanation accepted by Semitic scholars is entirely unsatisfactory from an anthropological point of view. Broken plurals, which are common in Arabic, are treated as feminines; abstract nouns are also feminine, so that the plural of father is considered to be an abstract, meaning fatherhood.³ But fatherhood is not a primitive conception at all, and, therefore, *a priori*, it is unlikely that fatherhood should have been an earlier meaning than fathers for the noun in the plural form. Further, people using the classificatory system, though they may think and speak of their own father or of the father of so-and-so, do not think or speak about the individual fathers of various people; these, if of the same generation as their own father and his brothers;

¹ Yiba was always said in answer to the question, "What do you call 'so-so' ", when the person named was informant's father, it is, therefore, probably a vocative.
² I am indebted to J. Leveen for this information.
³ I am not clear whether Semitic scholars consider abstract nouns as originally and essentially feminine, or that as the abstract ending is the same as the feminine ending, the two forms have been confused.
would naturally fall into the group of fathers, i.e. the group of elders to which their own father belongs. All other men of their father's generation would be either mother's brothers or fathers-in-law, or else they would be entirely outside the social group.

The view that the plural of "father" originally indicated a group of men of the generation of the speaker's own father, and that the primitive Semitic stock used the term father in the classificatory way just as the Beni Amer do at the present day,\(^1\) throws light on problems which might otherwise have been regarded as purely linguistic, and brings the peculiar formation of the plural of father in Hebrew and Arabic in line with Meinhof's Law of Polarity. By this law, which was first enunciated for Fulanee, "... a person in the plural becomes a collection of people, which may be looked upon as a thing, and is therefore treated as belonging to that class. Reversing, we say 'Therefore, the plural of a thing will be a person'. Thus we see that the masculine and feminine genders have been developed out of the relations between persons and things. In exact correspondence with Ful we find that the Somali masculine plural takes a feminine form and the feminine plural a masculine form."\(^2\)

If the Law of Polarity be considered to apply to Arabic, it not only explains the peculiar plural formation of the word for father, but gives a reasonable theory for the perverse behaviour of the numerals and the treatment of broken plurals;\(^3\) I do not know whether

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1. It must be borne in mind that the classificatory system of relationship is not in itself evidence for group-marriage, and no further significance is attached to it than is indicated in the footnote on p. 51.


3. Broken plurals are treated as feminine singular, the adjectives and verbs agreeing with a broken plural noun take the feminine singular endings. The numerals 3–10 have feminine endings when applied to masculine nouns, and the masculine endings when applied to feminine nouns. The following is an extract from a letter Professor Langdon was kind enough to write me on the subject. "It is customary in Semitic to use the numerals 3–10 before masculine plurals in the feminine. This is probably due to the fact that a group of three or more was at first regarded as a collective or an abstract idea. Three men was regarded as threeeness of men, hence the numeral 3 was written with the abstract ending *atu* or *a* in Hebrew, usually in the construct *at*, *eth*. Naturally this syntax arose with masculine plurals first. When they wished to use these numerals before feminine plurals nothing remained for them to do but to differentiate by dropping the abstract ending of the numerals. This abstract ending *at* is identical with the feminine ending, and consequently it looks as though they employ feminine numerals before masculine plurals and masculine plurals before feminine plurals." I quote it with full acknowledgment and thanks, and feel that it is almost ungracious to point out that the word "naturally" betrays an attitude of mind philological rather than anthropological.
Professor Meinhof's theory has been accepted by Arabic scholars, but since writing the above I have looked up *Die Sprachen der Hamiten* and see that Professor Meinhof considers the very points that I have indicated as evidence of Polarity in Semitic languages. "So, for example, the Hebrew *ab* "father" takes the feminine plural and *isšâr* "woman," the masculine plural. The masculine substantive takes the feminine form of the numeral, the feminine the masculine."¹

### IV. The Semitic Terms of Relationship

The principal relationship terms are given in the table printed on p. 56; a few other terms which are of interest in the languages in which they occur, but not of importance to the whole group, have been left out purposely so as to make the table concise, and will be treated separately in the text.

A glance at the table will show the remarkable similarity between the majority of terms. That this similarity should have been preserved throughout a long period and over so wide an area is in itself important. Moreover, it immediately throws the divergencies into relief and seems to challenge a sociological explanation for them. The most striking features are:

(i) There is no word for father's brother common to the Semitic languages.

(ii) Nor is there a word for mother's brother running through the group.

(iii) Words related to the Assyrian *emû* are common to the whole group with slight differences of meaning.

(iv) The words father, mother, brother, sister, son, and daughter are similar throughout the group.

The absence of a common word for father's brother, the actual classificatory use of *yîba* my father (i.e. for my father's brother) among the Beni Amer and the peculiar formation of the plural of the word for father in Hebrew and Arabic all point to the conclusion that the Semitic relationship systems are founded on the classificatory system.

The words for *son and daughter, brother and sister* in Arabic, Hebrew, and Tigré can all be derived from the Babylonian terms, and call for no comment except that in the Sudan the word *walad* from the root

I cannot understand why this syntax arose first with masculine nouns, and fail to see why it should be a natural development of a language when still in a comparatively primitive form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Babylonian</th>
<th>Hebrew</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Maltese</th>
<th>Tigre</th>
<th>Amharic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>abu, pl. abê</td>
<td>ab יָבָה, pl. ־בָּבָה</td>
<td>abأب, pl. abahat</td>
<td>missier, pl. missiriet</td>
<td>yiba</td>
<td>abbat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>ummu</td>
<td>em אִמָה</td>
<td>umم</td>
<td>omm</td>
<td>yuma</td>
<td>mat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son</td>
<td>binu (rare)</td>
<td>ben ابن</td>
<td>ابن</td>
<td>iben</td>
<td>walie</td>
<td>lij</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td>bintu (rare)</td>
<td>bath בִּיתָה</td>
<td>bint</td>
<td>bint</td>
<td>walatie</td>
<td>syet lij</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ggwot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father's brother</td>
<td>(possibly) emu</td>
<td>dód רֹוד</td>
<td>'amm عام</td>
<td>'amm (obsolete)</td>
<td>yiba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rabu</td>
<td></td>
<td>ziu (modern)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother's brother</td>
<td></td>
<td>ḥal خلا</td>
<td>ḥal</td>
<td>halie</td>
<td>akist</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aunt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father's sister</td>
<td>dödoh רֹוד</td>
<td>'amman עמה</td>
<td>'amman عم</td>
<td>'ammoth (obsolete)</td>
<td>amaityye</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother's sister</td>
<td></td>
<td>ḥala خلاء</td>
<td>ḥala</td>
<td>ḥala</td>
<td>zia (modern)</td>
<td>halto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father-in-law</td>
<td>emu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife's father</td>
<td>ḥoten חֹטֶן</td>
<td>ḥatan חָטֵן</td>
<td>ḥaten</td>
<td>hamue</td>
<td>amat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband's father</td>
<td>ḥom חֹם</td>
<td>ḥamu חָמו</td>
<td>ḥmu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The transliteration of Hebrew and Arabic in these papers is taken from the scheme printed in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*. Edited by James Hastings. Vol. I.
w.l.d. (Assyrian, Hebrew, and Arabic), meaning to bear, is more frequently used than ibn, a son.

Father.—The Babylonian, Hebrew, and Arabic words for father are practically the same. The Maltese word for father is puzzling. It may be supposed that the Semitic word has disappeared, and a word of Italian origin, related to messere, master, has taken its place, as other words of undoubted Italian origin occur in the system.

Father's Brother.—There is no word for father's brother in the Babylonian texts, nor is there any word in Hebrew. The rather doubtful translation of emu rabu as uncle will be considered later.

In Arabic the word for paternal uncle is 'amm. Though this word means father's brother, it is used in a much wider sense. Among the Kababish where I made a genealogical table of the chief's family, the brother of the paternal grandfather was regarded as 'amm, and in some cases when the relationship had to be sought several generations back, the descendants still spoke of one another as ibn 'amm and bint 'amm respectively. Generally speaking, among Sudan Arabs the son of the 'amm means a member of the speaker's tribal division. Everywhere among Arab-speaking peoples 'amm is a polite form of address to an elder or superior in rank. In Egypt a man addresses an old man of inferior rank, to whom he wishes to speak pleasantly, as my father, not as my 'amm. Doughty relates that a lad of the family of the Emir of Jebel Shammar told him that though he loved his father's feeble-minded brother, "he did not name him 'ammy, mine uncle." 3

If Arabic is based on a classificatory system and the term for father originally included father's brother, it is necessary to consider whether the use of 'amm for father's brother in Arabic may not be a comparatively late introduction. 'Amm, meaning father's brother, is not found in Hebrew, Tigré, or Amharic. In Maltese 'amm was used for father's brother, but has been supplanted by an Italian word ziu. Robertson Smith points out that 'amm is used by an Arab writer as in Hebrew, meaning people, when referring to a tribe who refused to

1 Dr. Zammit does not believe this to be the case; he considers that missier is derived from a Maltese verb sarisir, to, become, ripen. In favour of the antiquity of messier in Maltese, he states that "Our Father which art in Heaven" is translated messierna, and he asserts that ab does not occur at all in Maltese. In personal names, such as Bu-Hagar, one might see an abbreviation of abu, and this is the view of some scholars. Words such as busuf, a hairy beetle, batwila, a very tall man, are common and are analogous to a common use of ab in Arabic.

2 Vario Africana, op. cit., p. 138.

desert another branch of the same stock, and called them the "sons of its 'amm". He adds that 'amm in the sense of paternal uncle, which is a use peculiar to Arabic, seems to be a comparatively late development.¹

We have seen that by the Sudan Arabs the word is used almost in a classificatory way. This is something of a paradox, for the classificatory system should not have a special term for father's brother, and the Sudanese use nearly approaches the sense mentioned by Robertson Smith, a view supported by Wellhausen, who says that probably the original meaning of 'amm is "those united, connected, related".² Hugo Winckler also considers "gens" to be the earlier meaning of 'amm in Arabia.³

While the word 'amm, meaning uncle or kinsman, does not occur in Hebrew and it is common with the meaning "people", scholars are not agreed as to which is the prior meaning. A conclusion the reverse of that of the authorities mentioned above is held by Dr. Paton,⁴ and apparently is also supported by the late Dr. Buchanan Grey. As 'amm occurs in proper names in Hebrew, the difference of opinion arises from the translation of these names. It is therefore necessary to examine the evidence on which these conclusions are based, for if the authorities are right who consider that 'amm existed in Hebrew as a kinship term and thereby infer that this meaning is older than the meaning "people", much of my argument falls to the ground. For if Hebrew lost its definite word for paternal uncle (it must be noted that Dr. Buchanan Grey gives it a wider meaning, such as agnate or kinsman), it might be inferred that Tigré, also, once possessed a word for paternal uncle and that it had been lost. It would, however, be very difficult to explain how, if once the term for this relative had passed into disuetude, it could have been replaced by the term meaning "father".

There are seventy-five names compounded with ob and oh in

² J. Wellhausen, Göttingische Nachrichten, 1893, p. 480.
³ Hugo Winckler, Arabisch-Semitisch-Orientalisch: Mitt. der Vorderas Gesellsch, 190-4, p. 15.
⁴ "The two main differences in relationship which the Semitic languages know are am and ham, the former indicates in later [times] the father's brother, the latter relatives acquired through marriage. As the former also means 'das volk', it is clear that this is the original meaning of the word, the members of the 'gens' who, because of their blood relationship, belong together as brothers and do not marry within themselves."
⁵ Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, Art. Amm.
Hebrew, and only nineteen with 'amm. If it can be shown that these nineteen names correspond closely with those in ob and oh, where there is no doubt about their translation by the relationship terms father and brother respectively, then it is argued 'amm can also be translated by a relationship term.

Of these nineteen names, six are place names, which are not found at all in names with ob and oh. The nineteen names fall into five different formations, two of these formations are not found in the names ob and oh, and ten out of the nineteen fall into these two groups.

In the six place names Dr. Buchanan Grey considers that 'amm cannot be translated kinsman, and may mean people. Among the thirteen personal names there are three in which Dr. Buchanan Grey does not accept the rendering kinsman, and two that he considers obscure. Thus, eleven out of nineteen cannot be considered parallel to the names compounded with a relationship term. Of the remaining eight personal names, Dr. Buchanan Grey says: "The parallels in favour of דּ (amm) denoting kinsman or being a divine name, balance one another, at first sight the parallels in the remaining names with names in נ (God) appear to incline the balance in favour of דּ being a divine name. But the balance of probability is at best very slight, and on other grounds it seems to me most likely that in the names parallel to names in ב (father) and ב, the element דּ means kinsman." 1

It is recognized that 'amm is one of the earliest and widest spread of Semitic designations of the deity. Though in origin it is looked upon as a title like El, Baal, Adon, and Melek, in certain cases it became the proper name of a deity. The chief god of Kataban (South Arabia) was 'Amm. 2 Dr. Buchanan Grey rejects the translation of 'amm in these names by the name or title of the deity, because of the improbability of so pronounced a cult of this god in Palestine as the occurrence of such names would imply, Kataban, the centre of this worship, being remote from, though not out of communication with, Palestine. In favour of the translation kinsman, he brings forward the evidence of Himyaritic names. In these, the element 'amm can be paralleled with other relationship terms, but it should be noted that they are found in a part of the world where the god 'amm was worshipped. While making use of the same evidence, Mr. Paton seems to draw his con-

1 Buchanan Grey, Studies in Hebrew Proper Names, p. 54.
clusion largely from the social organization of the Semites. Here he follows Robertson Smith and McLennan in supposing that the Arabs passed from matrilineral to patrilineral descent by means of a period of polyandry. But Mr. Paton brings no fresh evidence in support of this hypothesis, which is not generally accepted by anthropologists.\(^1\) Thus we see there is no positive evidence in favour of the translation of 'amm in these names as kinsman.

Apart from this doubtful use of 'amm as kinsman in Hebrew, the antiquity of 'amm as a relationship term depends upon its use in Sabæan.

Although the Hebrew Lexicon \(^2\) gives both the meanings, "people" and "paternal uncle", to 'amm in Sabæan, all the references to the latter meaning are also to proper names. Dr. Buchanan Grey, in a letter, stated that there is a Sabæan inscription \(^3\) in which DY is used in the plural, and must refer to individuals, and he translates the word kinsman or agnates, not paternal uncles. Further light might be thrown on the subject of the antiquity of 'amm as a relationship term if it could be determined whether 'amm in Maltese belonged to the early Semitic stratum of the language, or whether it is due to more recent Arabic influence. Again, although 'amm does not occur in Amharic, amat means father-in-law and mother-in-law.\(^4\) The derivation of this term is also important, it is possible that it may be derived from the Assyrian root emu. If, however, it was borrowed from Arabic, it must have been introduced at a time when the marriage with the paternal uncle’s daughter had become customary and the word had already acquired the secondary meaning of father-in-law that it now possesses in Arabia.

A further difficulty arises in that Professor Langdon has translated emu rabu, literally "great father-in-law", as "uncle", but in giving this meaning he tells me that he does not imply any connexion between the uncle and the father-in-law, and suggests that "great father-in-law" might be used as a courtesy term for the uncle. No other word for uncle occurs in the Babylonian texts, and emu rabu is only found in the syllabaries which are comparatively late, and date from about 2200 B.C. Emu rabu, not found in the numerous texts but only in syllabaries, is given as the equivalent of a Sumerian word murum, which could not be translated by emu alone. Professor Langdon

\(^1\) For further discussion of Robertson Smith’s hypothesis see Studies in Semitic Kinship, 11, Cousin Marriage.
\(^2\) Brown, Driver, & Briggs.
\(^3\) Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticorum, iv, 376.
states that *emu* alone without the addition of *rabu* means father-in-law, and this word is common and is found in the earlier texts.

It was necessary to make this statement, as it is on Professor Langdon's authority that the meaning "uncle" has been attached to *emu rabu*. He very kindly went into the evidence for this translation for me, and came to the conclusion that the word is late and uncommon, only occurring in the syllabaries, that it means something different to *emu*, and it was because there was no word for "uncle" that he had suggested this interpretation. If this suggestion be accepted, its implication must be considered in the discussion of cousin marriage.

*Mother's Brother.*—There is no word either in Babylonian or Hebrew meaning mother's brother. In Arabic خال *hal* from the root to "administer"; *halie* (my maternal uncle) in Tigré. The root of this word does not occur in Babylonian,¹ nor is it represented in Maltese. The plural أخوال *ahwal* is used to mean "mother's kinsmen", but among the Kababish who so seldom marry a woman out of their own division, a man's mother's kinsmen are generally his own kinsmen, therefore his *Aulad amm*. However, in those few cases where a man had married a woman of another division, the son referred to his mother's relatives as his *ahwal*. The feminine form means mother's sister and wife of the mother's brother. In Hebrew נוּנְנָה is used for uncle, both the brother of the father and the brother of the mother, but this word also means a beloved one or friend.

*Father-in-law.*—Words with the root *h.m.*, meaning father-in-law, related to the Babylonian root *emu* are common to many Semitic languages,² and are also found in Tebdawi, a Hamitic language spoken by the Hadendowa, a people closely related physically to the Beni Amer.

The Babylonian root means "to surround, to guard".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Word</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td><em>ham(w)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebrew</td>
<td><em>ham</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopic</td>
<td><em>ham</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td><em>hama</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tigré</td>
<td><em>hamue</em> (with 1st pers. poss. pron.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ I am indebted to Professor Langdon for this information.
² I am indebted to Dr. Alan Gardiner for the information that the Coptic word *shom*, also found once in the eighteenth dynasty, may be an equivalent of the same word. If this is so, it suggests that the word is common to both the Hamitic and Semitic groups. Its presence in Tebdawi alone would not be conclusive, as it might be a borrowed word.
Though the word $\text{ham}(w)$ means father-in-law in Arabic, and though this is the meaning given in the dictionary, and the feminine form means mother-in-law, colloquially it is only used for wife's brother. In Tigré it means father-in-law. In Egypt and the Sudan the word for father-in-law or mother-in-law would never be used as terms of address. The polite form of address to a father-in-law is "paternal uncle". When a man has made the usual Arab marriage with his paternal uncle's daughter, his father-in-law is his paternal uncle, but the same term is used when husband and wife are unrelated.

The usual term for father-in-law and all wife's relatives in general, both in Egyptian and Sudanese Arabic, is $\text{nasib}$, but even this would be considered impolite as a term of address. It is curious that the root $\text{نسب}$ means "to trace the pedigree of", and $\text{nasib}$ is given in the dictionary as relative, kinsman. $\text{Nisbah}$ is the common word in colloquial Arabic for "genealogy". Thus, it should mean related to by blood, not united by marriage, so it presumably came into use after the $\text{bint 'amm}$ marriage had been established. I have been unable to trace this word in other Semitic languages.¹

Relatives by Marriage.—Another group of words for relations by marriage occurs in Babylonian, Hebrew, Arabic, and Maltese. These words are derived from the root h.t.n.

| Hebrew   | $\text{hötén}$ | wife's father. |
|          | $\text{hoton}$ | daughter's husband. |

In the feminine, wife's mother.
Bridegroom.

The verb is only represented in the hithpael and means "to make oneself a daughter's husband" or "form an alliance with".

| Arabic  | $\text{Hatan}$—relation by marriage, |
|         | wife's kinsman. |
|         | $\text{Hutun}$—relationship on the wife's side. |

These words occur in the literary language, but are not used in the colloquial dialects of Egypt or the Sudan.

In Arabic the verb $\text{ختن}$ in the first form means "to

¹ Professor Langdon tells me it is not found in Babylonian, and Mr. H. Lowe has kindly looked in several Hebrew lexicons, and has been unable to find the root.
circumcise”; in the third form “to ally oneself by marriage”, and
in the eighth “to be circumcised”.

Maltese . . . Hatim—father-in-law.

In old Hebrew it is only the husband’s father (i.e. woman speaking)
who is addressed as ḫom, whereas in the other languages words from
this root mean relative by marriage irrespective of the sex of the
speaker. This seems to emphasize the importance of the distinction
between husband’s father and wife’s father, thus stressing the function
of the wife’s father (the הָנָר) as opposed to the husband’s father
(the דָּנָר). In Arabic where words from the root h.t.n. occur, it appears
that they might have been used for relatives by marriage, but primarily
designated the relationship between a man and his wife’s father.

This connexion between the words circumcision and marriage has
led to speculation as to the origin of circumcision as a preparation for
marriage. I do not propose to enter this discussion, but that two such
ideas are expressed in the same root cannot be accidental, although
this connexion may hold for only a small part of the area in which
circumcision is found. This rite is one of the elements of the Hamito-
-Semitic culture complex, and is performed at varying ages. Professor Langdon states that it was not practised in Babylonia,
and that the word hātanu, a son-in-law, means “one who is protected”,
and the root is found in such names as “Protector of the Poor”.
If “to protect” is the original meaning of the root and hence the
meaning of father-in-law as the protector of the son-in-law, then the
word should date back to matrilineal conditions, and it must be
supposed that some fresh cultural influence introduced circumcision.
The wife’s father now became the circumcisor, presumably in order
to prevent his daughter marrying an uncircumcised man.

Another and totally different explanation is possible, i.e. that the
offices of circumcisor and father-in-law only became confused after
the introduction of the marriage with daughter of the father’s brother.
In this case we must suppose that the operation was always performed

1 In late Hebrew and Aramaic, husband’s and wife’s father: Brown, Driver, & Briggs, Hebrew Lexicon.

2 Articles “Circumcision”, “Introductory”, “Muslim and Semitic”: Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics. In these three articles varying views are held on the subject.

by the father's brother at whatever age was customary in the tribe; as to-day, the first shaving of the child's hair is performed by the 'ann among the Kababish. This does away with the grounds for holding the view that the identification of the father-in-law with the circumcisor necessarily implies adult circumcision. According to Professor Langdon's statements, consanguineous marriages were not allowed in Babylonia, and circumcision is not found. It is, therefore, necessary to suppose that the invading Semites did not influence the Sumerians in these particulars. But, if we can see the remnants of matrilineal descent and exogamy in the meanings of the words emu, "one who guards" "father-in-law"; hātanu, "one who is protected," "son-in-law," and the Sumerian translation of emu, ushbar,¹ "side-male," or "male from outside", then we may attribute the change from matrilineal to patrilineal descent to the fusion of the Semitic with the Sumerian culture.

Two entirely opposite phenomena may result from the change from matrilineal to patrilineal descent. Each is dependent on the dominance of a certain idea. When the consanguineous marriages are regarded as incestuous, and the fear of incest is the dominant idea, then marriages which previously were only forbidden with relatives on the mother's side become prohibited between persons who can trace any relationship at all. There is evidence that this has happened among many peoples in Africa, including the Nilotic tribes and the Baganda. On the other hand, when the inheritance of property has been the dominant idea, and it is backed by a sufficiently strong social organization, tribes have been able to discard their ideas of incest and adopt practical endogamy. This has also happened, and is spreading to-day, in Africa with the advance of Islam.² Whereas the former process with the recognition of consanguinity and the prohibition of all consanguineous marriages seems to have been the result in Babylonia, among such Semites as the Hebrews and the Arabs the opposite result is seen, i.e. the obliteration of such bars to marriage as practically to amount to endogamy.

Before leaving the subject of the father-in-law, another point must be brought forward. It is remarkable that there should be no

¹ In Sumerian there are five recognized signs for father-in-law and a sixth, ushbar, which is dependent on a gloss. The sign for father-in-law is equated with that for the bārû, the highly worthy "mage". Bruno Meissner, "Das Ideogramm für den Schwiegervater" Orientalischer Litteratur Zeitung, vol. x, 1907, p. 90.

² For a fuller discussion of this subject see "Cousin Marriage", Studies, etc., II.
general Semitic word for mother’s brother; if, as we have supposed, 
*ab* was originally used in the classificatory sense, by analogy with other 
systems, there should be a word to distinguish the mother’s brother. 
Instead of this, the word we find running through all the Semitic 
systems is some derivative of the root *h.m.*, used to mean “related by 
mARRiage”, the oldest known form being the Babylonian root meaning 
to “guard”. A word meaning protector or administrator is just what 
would be expected for the status of mother’s brother, as that is the 
function of the mother’s brother in matrilineal society. Thus, it is 
possible that the words derived from the root *h.m.*, to guard, may 
not originally have meant father-in-law, but mother’s brother. This 
is no more than a conjecture, but when the change in the use of 
the word denoting father-in-law in Arabic is considered, it does 
not seem an impossibility. In contradistinction to the paucity of 
words for uncle in Semitic languages generally, there are, as we 
have seen, several words for father-in-law. In Arabic there are 
no less than three words, all derived from separate roots, to designate 
the father-in-law, yet as the father-in-law is a person to whom the 
greatest respect must be shown, all these words have dropped from 
current speech and he is addressed as paternal uncle by a man (a woman 
would not address her father-in-law directly).

V. The Arabic Terms for Father-in-law

The Arabic words for father-in-law are:

(i) *Hom*, derived from the root “to guard” or “to protect”, 
has almost dropped out of colloquial Arabic, but is used in the Sudan 
to mean a brother-in-law.

(ii) *Hatun*, derived from a root meaning to circumcise, only occurs 
in the classical language. (For consideration of the meaning of this 
term see above.)

(iii) *Nasib*, derived from a root meaning to trace descent, is the 
colloquial word, but is only used when speaking of the father-in-law, 
not when addressing him.

(iv) *Amm*, really father’s brother, is now the polite form of address 
to the father-in-law.

From the meanings of these terms it is obvious that the concept 
father-in-law is not a simple one such as father, mother, or brother. 
The latter imply less complex relationships corresponding to their 
congenital origin. The relationship of father-in-law, on the other
hand, not being congenital, but acquired, often with considerable effort, corresponds to, and implies, a less simple and a more fluctuating concept due to its acquired character, as against the static nature of the former. It cannot be a coincidence that the father-in-law is addressed as paternal uncle when the customary marriage is with the daughter of the paternal uncle, although it might be suggested that as 'amm is an honourable term of address, it would naturally be used for a person so highly respected as the father-in-law.' There is, however, no reason to revere the father's brother more highly than the father, and it is more likely that the 'amm has acquired its honorific significance since the marriage with the daughter of the 'amm has become customary, and the 'amm had become the father-in-law; respect being due especially to that relative who will eventually provide a bride.

In like manner nasib could only have come into use for father-in-law at a time when marriage with relatives was permitted.

All these words which are (or have been) used for father-in-law in Arabic had originally other meanings; and, just as at the present day, paternal uncle has come to mean father-in-law, it may be that hom was not originally father-in-law, indeed the meaning protector points to the possibility that the word may have once meant mother's brother. The change from mother's brother to father-in-law is a very easy one among matrilineal exogamous peoples—in fact, among many such peoples the one word serves both functions, for among them the correct marriage is the cross-cousin marriage, i.e. marriage with the mother's brother's daughter. Tempting as it would be to suppose that this had been the history of the word—first mother's brother, secondly father-in-law (at a matrilineal exogamous period), then thirdly with a change to patrilineal conditions and the practice of consanguineous marriages—"father-in-law," allowing any, or no relationship between bride and bridegroom; tempting as this would be there is not at present sufficient evidence to support this hypothesis. There is considerable evidence for previous matrilineal conditions among Semitic peoples, but I cannot find any for cross-cousin marriage. Here I must dissent from Sir James Frazer's view that the marriage of Jacob was a typical cross-cousin marriage, for though Rachel was the daughter of Jacob's mother's brother, Jacob's grandfather and Laban's grandfather were brothers.¹ Such a marriage might take place anywhere to-day among Arabs who favour marriage with the paternal uncle's daughter. If this

¹ For further discussion see "Cousin Marriage".
suggestion—that *hom* may have originally meant mother's brother be considered, the change must have taken place very early because the word is so widely distributed with the meaning "relative by marriage". For one factor stands out clearly, viz. the words derived from *h.m.* have a wide distribution and all mean some person related by marriage. Then, if there has been a change in meaning, it must have happened very early, presumably as a result of the contact of Semites with non-Semitic peoples. Before this time it may have meant mother's brother, and if cross-cousin marriage did exist at that time it would have meant father-in-law as well.

VI. Conclusions

The outstanding features of the Semitic relationship terms are that the words for father, mother, and father-in-law—*ab, um, hom*—run right through the group, and there is a paucity of words for uncles, the brothers of the father and the mother respectively. Only in Arabic and Maltese are both kinds of uncles distinguished. Considering the classificatory use of *ab* among the Beni Amer, and peculiar formation of the plural in Hebrew and Arabic, and the lack of any word for paternal uncle except in Arabic and Maltese, we may conclude that *ab* was used in a classificatory way throughout the Semitic group, and that the Semitic relationship system is based upon clan organization. Rivers has put forward the view that the Semitic and Nilotic relationship systems are based on the institution of the extended or patriarchal family, and called this type of system the "kindred" system. If I am right that the Semitic system was originally based upon the clan, the "kindred" system is only a development of the clan system. Further, from the fact that words from the root *h.m.* are found in all these languages, it must be assumed that the wife's father did have a definite status, which was different from that of the father, and from the father's brother, and it has been

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1 *h.m.*, however, does not occur in Maltese.
2 The Maltese relationship terms have obviously gone through much change. *Barba* is used for mother's brother; this is a Lombardy word for uncle. The father's brother is called *amm*.
3 *Kinship and Social Organization*, p. 78 et seq.
4 I am not certain whether this term should be retained. I hope to be in a better position to judge when I have worked out the material I have on the Nilotic systems. Unfortunately, I never discussed this point with Rivers, although he read the first draft of this paper and gave me great encouragement to finish and publish it, agreeing as far as I can remember, with all my main points.
suggested that this root might originally have indicated mother's brother, though there is not sufficient evidence to prove this point.

In this article I find that I have touched upon a very large number of problems, many of which would well repay more detailed study, which I am not competent to give. I feel linguists will scorn my attempt to base any conclusion on the comparative study of mere isolated words, and were the words any other than terms of relationship I should look upon such an attempt as unscientific. But relationship terms have an innate social significance and hence are both very stable in meaning and at the same time peculiarly liable to modification from social causes. As language is, above all, a social phenomenon, I have thought it worth while to see what I could learn from this attempt. While I am not ambitious enough to suppose it possible to furnish a solution to such questions as the working of Polarity in Arabic, the connexion between circumcision and marriage, the social system of Babylonia, or the spread of Semitic culture, I wish to urge that the detailed study of relationship terms can throw some light on all such weighty matters.

(To be continued.)
THE TALE OF SUTO AND TATO: KURDISH TEXT WITH TRANSLATION AND NOTES

By B. Nikitine and the late Major E. B. Soane

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The story of Suto and Tato is in no way fiction, it is a lively reality, and anyone even slightly acquainted with these far-distant, but beautiful and picturesque countries and their inhabitants, will confirm my statement. The principal actors, Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq, the Shaikh of Barzan, Tato, Osman—Suto's elder son, are no longer alive. I am not certain about Suto himself.¹ This old man, a perfect type of a Kurdish chief ruling over the most impregnable region of Central Kurdistan, may yet be alive. At any rate, in 1918 he was. Mulla Said, the narrator, was murdered in Urumia in July, 1918, by his countrymen. Peace be on him!

This man was my teacher of Kurdish. He knew his own language well, and many of its dialects; as well as Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. He was a very learned Mulla, and the breadth of his views and understanding were astonishing in one who had spent all his life in a remote corner of an unknown country.

If the reader be desirous of acquainting himself better with the country of Central Kurdistan, the scene of the events related in the story, he will find many interesting materials in the Rev. Wigram's Cradle of Mankind, and the following articles in the Journal of the Royal Geogr. Society: Capt. B. Dickson, "Journeys in Kurdistan," April, 1910; Major Maunsell, "Central Kurdistan," August, 1901; and Major Kenneth, "Central Kurdistan," December, 1919. Major Maunsell's map of the country is still the only one available.

During the war I had a chance of visiting some of the Central Kurdish regions. There is no doubt that Horamar ² is very well worth seeing.

Inaccessible peaks, crags, spurs, precipices, a chaos of enormous rocks, high valleys with snow, deep canons, the greenish-blue river of the Rubar i Shin, dangerous passes, practically no roads, a spot completely isolated. After seeing all this, one can better understand the character of the people. Savage and rude, uncouth and brave,

¹ Suto was alive in 1920. (E. B. S.)
² Also known as Oramar. (E. B. S.)
they resemble Nature around them. Without these influences, Suto, Tato, and their compeers might seem to us a peculiar kind of being.

I thought that their story being strictly true, might be of service to those who have to work among the Kurds and to deal with them.

May I acknowledge here my sincere gratitude to the late Major E. B. Soane, without whose kind help I should not have been able to publish an English translation of this tale.

B. N.

THE TALE OF SUTO AND TATO

Suto is Agha of the Duskani tribe, from the village of Horamar and of the clan of Mala Miri. Tato is Agha of the Rekani tribe, of the village of Razga, and the clan of Mala Mikail Agha. The Rekani, from early times till now, have been continuously under the hands of the Horamar Aghas, and in the time of Suto Agha they fell even more completely under their dominance. Suto, with his sons, his brothers, and the elders of his clan visited many persecutions and impositions upon the Rekani, and rendered them so desperate that the power of forbearance no longer remained to them. Tato, yet a youth, was a man of much courage, the like of whom had never been seen among the

1 The Turkish administration classed Horamar as a “nahiya” of the “kaza” of Giaver, “sandjak” of Hakkiari, and vilayet of Van. Horamar has on north, Ishtazin and Giaver; on north-west, Djilou, Baz, Tkhouma, Tiari; on south-west, Artosh, Rekan; on south, Barzan; and on east, Shemdinan. Horamar is not one village, but an agglomeration of many hamlets, more or less important. The following are their names: Chami Prizan, Oveski, Hauusha Deri, Mle Amandje, Naw Gound (the largest), Fravink, Avithir, Bikandalava, and Bin Djerta. Bin Djerta has six hamlets: Bin Djerta, Bi Hanava, Mari Mamou, Bi Mamaga, Meytarava, Bin Djana. All these villages belong to Suto, but besides them the following places are also his property: Hyarta, Shatounis, Banoviye, Chami Touyan, Bire, Chi, Artis, Sheh Mama, Nerva, Shoukla, Seve, Biryi, Kenianish. One knows the importance attached by the Kurdish chiefs to their pedigree. This in one of the "Mala Miri", clan of Suto:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mireu</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zebid</td>
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<tr>
<td>Selim</td>
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Suto

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<tr>
<th>Hassan</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ahmed</td>
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<td>Memed (killed)</td>
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Osman (killed); Teli; Djangir; Haiou
Naman; Sadyk; Smail; Titan; Saleh; Houssein; Braim. Mirabek, San'an.

I think all these details were never printed.—B. N.

2 Rekan is a “mahall” of the “kaza” of Amadia, Mossul vilayet. The chief village is Razga. The name of Agha was given in 1917 as San'an. Probably the son of Haiou, who was killed by Tato.—B. N.
Rekani Aghas, and now his pride could no longer brook the misrule of the Horamari. He said to his brothers, Temo, Hadi, and Resul (all of whom were older than he): "I cannot submit like you, I will not make a Jew of myself in Suto’s hands, death is pleasanter than life thus; with God’s help I shall terminate Suto’s power whether I die or live."

His brothers and relations replied: "We shall run counter to any plan you may consider advisable; but we shall be annihilated, for we are not strong enough to cope with the Horamari." Tato replied: "And if we be annihilated, there is no loss. If we prevail, we have profited in name and honour till Judgment Day, and if vanquished we die and are at rest. Whatever comes to pass I am resigned."

So they thus perfected their agreement to a feud with the Horamari.

One day it so happened that Haio, Suto’s brother, in accordance with his custom, visited the Rekani villages and commenced harrying and plundering. Tato and Tamo accompanied by ten of their men approached him and said: "Go out from amongst our people! from this day on we do not consent to your coming or going in Rekani." Haio said: "Nevertheless, we are [here], and we do not regard you as of any importance."

When Haio spoke thus Tato presented his Martini, discharged a cartridge, and killed him on the spot. Some of Haio’s followers were also killed, and others got away to Nerva, Suto’s village, the distance between Nerva and Razga being less than two hours. The following day Suto collected all the tribesmen of Duskan and Horamar, and said: "Now will I go at once and annihilate the clan of Mikail Agha Rekani, and will seize all the Rekani land as revenge for Haio." All said: "We are ready, whatever you order, we shall execute. Certainly the revenge of the Agha’s brother is a duty upon all of us (lit. on all our heads), and even without your orders it is incumbent upon us day and night to strive for Haio’s revenge."

So Suto with his force came upon Razga village and opened the fight. Tato’s men were few, and could not fight in the open, so took cover in Tato’s fort, and from there engaged Suto’s forces. They became surrounded, and Suto’s men were pressing the attack. At the portal of the fort Tato was seated at an embrasure over the door, and killed four or five at every rush, throwing them back. Suto said

1 i.e. "admit myself to be a coward, and resign myself to the status of a slave."
2 Lit. strike Suto’s arm with mine.
3 Lit. every time.
"This will not do, we must approach the fort with a 'chirpa'.'

They cut some trees from Razga village, and dismembered them, constructed a chirpa and advanced towards the fort, and about the fourth or fifth hour of the night they got the chirpa up to it, and from its top a few men got upon the roof of the fort, and Tato's men became hard pressed. But Tato said: "Fear nothing, a man is for such a day as this, to seize, to kill, that is the manly way. Wait, and now will I scatter them."

He soaked four or five quilts in kerosene, spread them on poles, thrust them in the chirpa, and fired them. The eaves of the fort were all stone, and did not catch fire. When the flames of the chirpa rose, all sides of the fort were illumined. Tato and his men fired several volleys upon Suto's force, and in that time finished off twenty-four people. Once again Suto's men were forced back, the chirpa availed not. He called out to Tato: "I go to prepare destruction for you, this time I will make a chirpa of stone. Then you cannot fire it."

Tato answered him, and called out: "I have debauched thy father! Your wooden chirpa did not avail, and before you can bring a stone one to the fort a long time will pass. Perhaps by then God will find me some means."

They commenced the construction of a stone chirpa, but it was not so easy as the wooden one. During this time information reached the Government of Amadia that for the last twelve days Suto had been besieging Tato's fort, and he with his men was beleaguered.

The Qaim Maqam of Amadia then sent a gendarme officer with twenty gendarmes to Razga to remove Suto's force from the attack on Tato by whatever means be possible. The officer and gendarmes reached Razga and saw a great concourse about it. They reasoned that the affair could not be hurried, it would only be possible with stratagem and cunning. Since many men had come to their death; with [but] twenty gendarmes fighting, the affair would not be resolved, and to consent to do so, moreover, would be far from sense.

The officer addressed Suto: "I have come specially to you to say that I do not desire that your clan should be destroyed, as you are a well-born and respectable Agha. It is now several days since, that you have brought your force against the Rekani, and are fighting. The noise of it has reached the Vilayet of Mosul, and the Wali has

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1 "Chirpa" seems to be a kind of Roman "vinea", a moving fence or shelter for the attacking side.
2 Originally süvänd.
informed to Qaim Maqam of Amadia that he has heard such a rumour, and ordered him to make searching inquiries, and if it is correct to let him know quickly, when he will inform the Wali of Van that he may send royal troops from Van against the tribe of Suto. Also from Mosul two battalions with two guns will come to discipline Suto and protect Tato.

"Since things are thus, the saving of your position is, that in one hour you disband your force, when we shall reply to the Wali of Mosul that nothing of importance has occurred, that some men of Suto and Tato had quarrelled behind the village about the matter of some vineyard theft for two or three hours, and had now separated with two or three men wounded. Then you will not be responsible. So, I have told you. Consent, as you like; or dissent, as you like."

When the officer thus spoke, all the people said to Suto: "We will not destroy our homes, conflict with the Government is too much for us. If it is tribal warfare we are all ready to give ourselves to killing for you. But against the Government is not possible for us."

In the end Suto consented, and retired his force.

The officer took much money from him, and also placed a heavy obligation upon him, inasmuch as he had arranged his affairs with ease. He also said to Tato: "To save your position it is [best] that you should transport your household and family and your relatives to the headquarters of the Amadia canton; inform the Vilayet and the Sublime Porte at Constantinople. Catalogue your grievances and injuries before the necessary departments, and perhaps the Government may give you its protection. Otherwise you will not be able to defend yourselves against the pressure of the Aghas of Horamar. We also will all bear witness for you." In the end he made Tato also acquiescent and grateful, and took all his family and following with him to Amadia. Also he profited by much money from him. For there is a popular proverb amongst the Kurds: "Turks are vultures, their pleasure is in being full of carrion."

When Tato with all his people went to Amadia the lands of Rekani were left without a guardian. Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq ¹ was also

¹ Shemdinan, known also by a Kurdish name of "Naw Tchiya" (i.e. "between the mounts"). In Turkish administration it was a "kaza" of the "Sandjak" of Hakkari. Shemdinan has three "nahiya": (a) Zeran, governed directly by the Kaimakam, residing in Neri; (b) Houmarou, with a "mudir" in the village of Benbo or in Surunis; (c) Girdi Harki, with a "mudir" in the village of Bietkar (Bi Kar). This last nahiya is divided in three districts: (i) Girdi-ye Baroja (i.e. "open to the east"); (ii) Girdi-ye Nawpar (i.e. "middle"); and (iii) Girdi-ye Bin-Tchiya (i.e. "below the mount"). As far as I know these details have not yet been.
a great vulture, and the Rekani lands were equally a very fat and pleasing carcase. The avidity of the noble Shaikh became most overpowering, and he took thought to himself how he could easily bring the lands of Rekani under his own hand. He sent a confidential letter, by the hand of two or three respectable and intelligent men, together with some money to the Qaim Maqam of Amadia [saying]: “I beg of you to so arrange that Tato should need me, and come here, that I may say to him that I will get his business arranged. You on your side, hinder it somewhat.”

When the letter reached the Qaim Maqam it pleased him very much, and he acted in accordance with the Shaikh’s aims, saying to Tato: “I have thought of a surer and easier way for you. Although here also your affairs may be arranged, the Mosul Vilayet delays matters, and before a result eventuates one becomes most disgusted. The Van Vilayet puts things in hand more quickly, and in that Vilayet, everything is in the hands of Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq, [who] does as he likes. I say if you and your brothers and some of the notables of the Rekani tribe go to Neri before Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq, your affairs will be sooner arranged. [That] both tribally and officially the Shaikh be partner and protector is better for you, and then Suto’s back will break.” In fine, he convinced Tato, who was grateful to the Qaim Maqam for showing him such a course. So Tato with his brothers and the notables came to Neri, and the game entered the nets of the Shaikh.

When he came before Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq, the latter showed him much honour and graciousness. He was more soft-tongued than a Pawâi,¹ and soothed Tato’s heart by all means possible. He said: “Sell me the site of Razga Fort, I will then entirely demolish it and build it again larger and stronger. I will place twenty of my own men with you, and will give your men a hundred Martini and Mauser rifles, and will also procure a special order from Government for your protection. And in exchange for this the elders of the Rekani shall give me one tenth of their harvests each year.”

Tato replied: “Whatever the Shaikh order, I consent.”

In the end their pact was thus resolved, and Tato deceived. Sura

¹ Pawâ is a village of Juanrud near Sina (Persian Kurdistan) mentioned in the Sharaf Nama as Fâvej, the inhabitants of which are noted for cunning.
Chaush \(^1\) with twenty chosen men was sent with Tato among the Rekani. They entirely razed Razga fort, and sent masons, who commenced rebuilding it. The lower stories were approaching completion when Suto came to the conclusion that if Razga fort be completed in this style and the Shaikh support the Rekani, Tato’s strength would reach such a degree that he could no longer oppose him, and in the end there would be great distress for the Agha of Horamar. Also the caravan road from Horamar towards Mosul, Akra, and Amadia passes through the Rekani.

Suto therefore summoned all the Duskani and Horamari, and said to them: “You all know to what extent Tato Rekani is my enemy.” They replied: “Yes, Agha, we know well.” He said: “You all know how masterful and rapacious is Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq?” They replied: “Yes, Agha.” He said: “You know that if the Razga fort be finished upon those foundations and the Shaikh combine with Tato the lands of the Duskani and Horamari will be entrapped, and we shall be forced to submit to Tato, or else not live.” They all said together: “Yes, Agha, we know it is thus, and more.” Suto said to his people: “Good, since you all confirm this, why do you not plan how to prevent them, for now we are placed between death and life, and death is the nearer. Enough, either you make a plan, and I will fall in with your ideas, or I will think it over, and you will act in accordance with what I say.” They replied: “So long as the person of our Agha is present, no one is the possessor of an opinion. Whatever the Agha decide, our duty is obedience.” Suto said: “Since you are so submissive, let it be agreed that I sacrifice myself to your saving. First,” he said, “My people! You know that I did humble myself to Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq enough that I give him one of your villages for him to show gratitude and for my honour to be vastly greater than that of Tato.” They all said: “We believe it, it is even as the Agha says.” Suto said: “Good, whatever I do is for your sakes, and not for myself. My idea is this. Let us attack Razga and kill Sura Chaush and the Shaikh’s men, and not allow Razga fort to be completed. How do you think that would do?” They said: “We are steadfast in the Agha’s opinion, for whenever the Razga fort be finished we shall be destroyed, so that war is the better course for us, when, if we are to be destroyed, it will be with honour and good fame, not with meanness and dishonour.”

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1 Chaush = sergeant in the Turkish army. The Kurds use it to distinguish a man in charge of a small body of fighting men.

2 Lit. become Tato’s Jews.
So at dawn 900 men of the Duski and Horamari attacked Razga. That day Tato and his men had gone to Amadia to fetch their families to Razga, and only Sura Chaush with twenty men was there. The fort was not yet finished. For an hour they fought, and Suto’s force surrounded them on all sides. Sura and his men retired to a house, but it was not suitable for defence. Suto’s people came right up to the walls of the house, and though from the lattice Sura killed two or three of Suto’s men, is was of no avail. They fired the house at every corner, and Sura with twelve men were faced with burning. They fought to the utmost, and did not surrender their arms, but seven men asked for mercy and emerged. Suto said to those seven: “Give up your arms, and go before the Shaikh himself, and tell him not to think again of the lands of Rekan. So long as a lad of the Mala Miri is left, no one can with impunity trespass upon the clan of the Rekan.”

Those seven servants came [to the Shaikh] stripped, without arms, miserable, shamefaced. Everyone remained aghast, and said: “What state is this?” They described their misfortunes in full, and when they had told the tale of their condition to Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq he was enraged to the utmost degree. For two reasons; one was that the wheat and rice of the Rekan had not fallen into his hands, and the other that great loss and dishonour had come to him. The Shaikh fell to thoughts of vengeance for this affair. He collected his chief men and consulted with them: “What course can you see?” he said. A few replied: “Let us collect a large force from the tribes and attack and annihilate them all.” Some said: “The course is that full details of his actions be laid before the Valis of Van and Mosul, and that through Government he come to judgment, and that by the hand of Government he come to chastisement.” And others said: “It is well that the Shaikh show favour to Abdurrahim Agha. He is of the Mafi, and between them and the Mala Miri is ever enmity. Then he and Tato would unite, and when enemies thus appeared from outside and inside, he (Suto) would be hard pressed.”

Others yet said: “Let us raid their villages and hold up their caravan roads, nor allow them rest till we fully achieve our revenge.” In short, each one gave some opinion.

I, the humble Mulla Sa‘id, was not at the conference, but at the school teaching the students. A servant came and summoned me to The Shaikh. I went into his presence and he asked me, “What do you think is the best method of revenging Sura Chaush and his men?” I replied, “I am a mulla and am young; of matters of policy I know
nothing. I have not much, nay, even hardly, mixed in mundane affairs. Here, all present are intelligent, important, and experienced. They necessarily know better than I.” The Shaikh said, “It is as you say, but I desire that you also give your opinion, whether good or bad, for they have all expounded their own ideas.” I asked, “Of all their opinions, which has appeared to your reverence the most acceptable?” The Shaikh replied, “As yet I am saying nothing till you also say what is your opinion.” I said, “I beg that I may know the opinions of the others, and if they agree with mine I will confirm them, and if not in agreement, then to the degree of my defective wits I also will lay some proposal before you.” The Shaikh repeated the opinions of the conference in detail, and said, “These are they, their ideas, let me see now what you will say.” I replied, “The idea of the tribal force without the knowledge or co-operation of Government is bad, headstrong actions are eventually the cause of damage and remorse. Raiding and caravan-plundering also are but the work of brigands. They are not worthy of the honour and repute of a great one like you, the spiritual head of the humble. Friendliness toward Abdurrahim Agha is indeed good, but in that case, when Suto is disposed of, it is unlikely to profit our cause, and even if it do so will take a long time. Representation of his conduct to the Walis and his being brought to justice by Government is certainly necessary, but the first consideration is that possibly so much alone may not be enough and will not cure our ills. At most, Government will imprison him and after a time will take a deal of money from him and release him, when he will become still stronger and our affairs yet more deranged. I consider best thus: First, representation of his conduct to Government; next, the procuring of an official order and the stationing of ten gendarmes for the repair of Razga fort, and the testimony of Tato that the village and fort of Razga have been sold by him to Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq. Then, that Government give permission to Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq to protect the village and instal at Razga his own armed men therefor. Then, whatever incident occur, no fault is on the Shaikh, it is on Suto. Very good presents should be sent to the Qaim Maqams of Giaver and Amadia to gratify them, so that they will write well of the Shaikh and evil of Suto. Four hundred men, 100 Shemdinan, 100 Girdi, 100 Herki, 100 Muzuri, who regard themselves as your adherents,† should be

† The tribes living under the Shaikh's rule in Shemdinan are the following: (a) Harki, their Agha (in 1917) Temer, son of Sartip; (b) Girdi, with Oguz Bek, son of Zulfekar Bek; (c) Shemdinan (two sections: Zarza and Humarou), with a nominal
sent with Tato to Razga while the fort is being finished and the
gendarmes and masons are yet on it. Every night the men should
attack one Duskan village. Then our revenge will be both tribal
and governmental, and the aim of the Shaikh, which is to possess the
Rekan, will be achieved and all four tribes will become enemies of
Suto. And then neither he nor his descendants can ever be at rest
from those four tribes."

When I outlined this plan, the Shaikh was so pleased, and laughed
so much, that a hen with all its feathers might have flown into his
mouth.

He said "Bravo! Mulla Said. Your idea pleases my mind
better than any other, and I shall work according to your scheme." The
members of the conference also agreed that my ideas were more
practicable and profitable than any others. The Shaikh continued,
"And, since your plan is better than all the others, I should like
you to take the trouble to go to Razga and be with my people yourself
till the castle be finished. Without your consent, no one shall do
anything."

Then I represented that such was not my duty, but the Shaikh
became more persistent. In the end 400 men and ten gendarmes
were collected, as I had suggested, and were handed over to me.

I petitioned the Shaikh to allow Shuhab ed Din, his nephew,
Mulla Musa, his secretary, and Qatas Agha, his steward, all three,
to come as well. The Shaikh asked, "What are they for? They
are not necessary when you are there, what need of anyone else?"
I replied, "A heavy beam needs many backs to sustain it, for a single
one would break under it; this is a great undertaking, and very
exactling, and if one has to cope with all its demands, confusion will
result, and the work suffer. Since Shuhab ed Din is your nephew
his influence and value are greater; it is necessary that he come as
commander of the fighting men. Mulla Musa is necessary for letter
writing and advice upon affairs, and Qatas Agha for the men's rations
and collection of the harvests. If I have to do all these my reason
will become deranged and unable to cope with the real difficulties.
Once more all the members of the meeting confirmed what I had said.

The Shaikh also agreed, and again commended me, and sent us:

chief, Samed Khan Bek, son of Mustafa Bek. These three asheirets number about
13,000 persons. I do not know why Mizouri are mentioned here. They are not a
Shemdan tribe, but live close to Barzan, in the "kaza" of Zibar. Their chief
village is Shive-Benan.—B. N.
At night we arrived at Mazra and Begoz, and the following day reached the gorge of Herki. The next night we went to Deri, and that same night sent fifty selected men to the hill above Peramizi, which is at the boundaries of the Rekani, Herki, and Duskani, because if that hill be taken no one could get to the Rekani. We rose with the dawn and pressed forward for one stage, nor rested till we reached Razga, and when we arrived there but half an hour was left to sunset. At once I sent 100 men, 25 from each tribe, on to the hillock before Nerva, Suto’s village. I gave them instructions that no one should fire a rifle nor attack till morning, when I would come myself. If that night Suto rose and escaped, good; if not, they should surround the village and not allow anyone to emerge. That night Suto’s spies were among the Rekani and warned him that this time such a force had come to Razga, both tribal and government, that he can no longer remain at Nerva.

So that night he arose and went to Horamar. With the dawn those of us who had remained at Razga reached the others who had gone to the hillock before Nerva, and together surrounded and fired a volley on the village, and no sound came from it. By degrees the men sneaked up to it and saw it was deserted and no one in it. We also went to it, and I said to Tato, “This time it is your turn, take your revenge, Tato.” His men set fire to the forts of Nerva, and the whole village burned. It being time of ripening grapes the force went into the vineyards and brought loads of grapes to Razga. The masons resumed work on the fort. The day after, we left 100 men there, and three hundred with Ahmed Beg Barasuri (who was one of Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq’s chaushes) we sent against Biri and Chi villages. They plundered them thoroughly, and brought back all the sheep and mules to Razga.

I then sent a letter to the Shaikh that “Thanks to the shadow of the protection of your exalted ancestors, the raiders of the Shaikh (may our souls be his sacrifice) reached Razga with all ease. One after the other successes and victories, with attainment of all desires, had been won from the enemy, and the details are thus and thus”. The Shaikh was most delighted, and congratulated us upon our victories. He wrote: “At present my constant hope is in the perfection of understanding and wisdom and courage of such as you.

1 The following description is interesting, as it gives the itinerary from Neri to Razga. I think Capt. B. Dickson went over in this direction, but on that journey he left Oramar unvisited, going to the “Tangi Bylinda” on the Great Zah.—B. N.
Than those gratifying victories are yet greater—God be with you. Amen. Sadiq.”

Let us resume the tale of Suto’s plight. When he went to Horamar he sent Mulla Hasan Shuki, who was his clerk, and Qazi of Duskan and Horamar, to Tahir Agha Giaveri, and when the latter reached Tahir Agha he said, “Suto Agha has sent me to you. You are an Asad Aghai, the head of all the Duskan tribe, and you are in touch with government at Giaver. Friendship is for such a day. Now what are we to think? and what are we to do?” Tahir Agha, a man of experience, said to Mulla Hasan, “I have to think somewhat. At present for Suto, except to pacify Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq, there is no course left, as his quarrel with Tato and Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq’s men, and the killing of Sura Chaush and twelve men, is well known everywhere. The Government is a supporter of the Shaikh. Therefore, now it is necessary to pacify the Shaikh.”

Mulla Hasan said, “Yes, it is as you say. I also think the same, but I do not know where lies the way to the pacification of the Shaikh.” Tahir Agha replied, “It is certainly difficult, but, if it be possible for you to go to Razga to Mulla Said, ask him if it can be done; he may tell you some way.”

Mulla Hasan left Tahir Agha with the intention of coming to me, and arrived at the village of Hishi in Rekani, a Christian village which is an hour distant from Razga, and remained there the night. In the early morning we saw a Christian man come before me from there who said he wished to see me alone. When he saw me he said, “Suto’s clerk is sitting in my house and says he would much like to come before you and give you his news, but does not dare on account of outposts who might kill him.”

I then sent ten men with the Christian, and said to them, “Go and bring Mulla Hasan in safety here, if a hair of his head fall, I will make of you all a target for Martinis.” So the men went and fetched him, and he remained two nights with us, and we discussed everything. I said to him, “If the Shaikh accept Suto and forgive him for the killing, do you promise that he will go before the Shaikh?” He said, “Yes, but on condition that Suto be certain of his own life.” I said, “Good, go to Suto and explain all to him and get his promise, and by the time you return I shall have communicated with the Shaikh and obtained his decision.” We sent Mulla Hasan back to Suto and I commenced correspondence with the Shaikh. Since I knew the habit of Turkish officials, how their word and deed were
never in agreement, and that except for the cooking of the roast of their own ends they have no care, I knew that in a short time they would again bring Suto to distress, and even take large sums of money from the Shaikh, and afterwards, step by step, favour Suto, and in turn take money from him. They destroy no man for another’s sake. I therefore deemed it suitable thus, that the Shaikh accept Suto, for as yet he had not lost his grip of affairs. Finally, I wrote to the Shaikh in this sense and set forth the details of Mulla Hasan’s coming and going and our conversations together, and sent the letter. The Shaikh sent me reply, “Whatever be the means of protecting my name and honour in these affairs, you are my agent and attorney. In future you need not refer to me. Such as you think right, so do, beloved,—w’as salam.”

The day after arrival of that reply, Mulla Hasan returned to Razga and said, “If you are certain of the Shaikh, I am certain of Suto, that he will not disregard my advice.” I said, “Since it is so, and we are both agents, I consider Suto’s best course thus, to take Tahir Agha and Ali Effendi Pailani with him and go to Neri to the tomb of Sayid Taha,¹ when the Shaikh may forgive him. If Suto do not thus, you know he is culpable before Government and will come to destruction.” Mulla Hasan said, “If you know that it will be well thus, I will do so.” I reassured him and he departed, and, having spoke to Suto in this sense, the latter consented and went with Tahir Agha and Ali Effendi to Neri. The Shaikh was most gratified, for his desire was ever to get fine flour from between two hard millstones. It was not for grief over Sura Chaush: he wanted money. He said to Suto, “For the sakes of Tahir Agha and Ali Effendi, and

¹ The family of the Shaikhs of Neri ("Sadat-i Neri") is very old and respectable one, ascending to the Shaikh Abd-ul-Kader Gilani himself. Here is their pedigree during the past few generations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mulla Haji</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mulla Saleh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seyid Taha the 1st</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaikh Obeidullah (the principal actor of a famous invasion into Persia in 1883)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaikh Abd-ul-Kader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaikh Muhammad Siddik (Turkish Senator, now in Stamboul)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seyid Taha the 2nd (He is now appointed as a &quot;district officer&quot; in Rowanduz by the Iraq authorities—B. N.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seyid Muslih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seyid Shemsuddin.</td>
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</tbody>
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for the sake of the honour of my grandfather’s grave, I have forgiven you for killing and seizing and exiling. But the orphans of Sura Chaush are poor, and the dependants of his men are helpless. The blood money of each is one hundred liras. Give one thousand three hundred liras, and depart with well wishing to your own house.”

Suto having agreed, two gendarmes and eight men were handed over to him to go among the Duski and Horamari to collect thirteen hundred liras for the Shaikh and bring it. In the end he apportioned more than three thousand among the Duski and Horamari, and collected it. Thirteen hundred was given to the Shaikh, and he took the residue for himself. When Suto thought it over, he realized that if Tato became a Shaikh’s man, and the Shaikh’s servants be continuously with Tato, his own condition would become uncertain and his profits diminish, so he said to himself that it would be well to make such plans regarding Tato as to destroy him by pretense of friendship.

After a year, when all the lands of the Rekani had fallen into the Shaikh’s hands with their harvests (not a donkey’s ear reached Tato), Suto knew that there was a chance to humiliate Tato. He sent Mulla Hasan to him, having told him, “What is past is past, may he and I make a compact and from now hence become friends, and, as formerly, do one another no harm. Shaikh Muhammed Sadiq is a dragon, and will eventually devour both of us. It is now a year he (Tato) sees what profit has come to him. To the Shaikh’s servants there is no difference between him and a [common] Kurmanj. Now that the Shaikh destroys us, it is better that we make peace. If he believe not, I will give him my daughter in marriage that he really believe that I wish peace from my heart.” Mulla Hasan accordingly went to Tato and spoke to him after this fashion. It entirely won him, and he consented. Suto gave him his daughter. One day Tato, seizing an opportunity, took all their arms from the Shaikh’s men, and turned them out disarmed. They came to the Shaikh, who was extremely chagrined, but to no good, for Suto and Tato were now entirely reconciled, and together went to the Shaikh of Barzan,¹ who was also an enemy of Shaikh Muhammed Sadiq, and became his adherents. Two years passed thus, and Tato was entirely at peace.

¹ A very powerful and rich family of Sheikhs, living on the Great Zab. The rebellion mentioned below took place under the Shaikh Abd-us-Salam the 2nd of Barzan, against the Turkish general from Mossul, Fazil Pasha. The Kurds completely defeated the Turkish regular troops in a cañon near the village of Bab-Sefan. But the end of this Sheikh was very sad, for he was hung by the Turks in Mossul at the beginning of the war.—B. N.
Thereafter Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq died, and the Shaikh of Barzan rebelled against the Turkish Government. By degrees Suto's plans were maturing. He knew that there remained now no sanctuary for Tato, and he considered, "It is well to make him out guilty before Government, so that when no course be left to him I may destroy him." He sent to Tato, who each year used to pay certain money to Government on account of sheep tax, a message saying, "What necessity is there for this? All the Duskani tribe pay less than half. This year, at the time of sheep-count, send the Rekani animals to us till the officials go, then take the herds back." Tato did accordingly. Suto secretly advised the Qaim Maqam of Amadia that "Tato acts in this manner, and however much I admonish him he heeds not, I know not what to do; for fear of Government I do not dare punish him, otherwise for me to punish him is easier than to swallow a draught of water."

The Qaim Maqam of Amadia sent Suto a most grateful reply to the effect that he was authorized to punish any person who in any iota practised deception on the Most High Islamic State, and Suto felt secure.

One day he feigned illness, fell into his bed, and sent word to all his friends and relatives that he was near to dying and asking all to come that they be present at his death. Mulla Hasan was seated by his pillow, and with him was reading the Yasin chapter. All his relatives were collected and were weeping for him. Tato, who was his son-in-law, was also sent for to come and bring Suto's daughter with him, for, "the Agha is at the point of death, in case they should not see one another alive."

Tato, with his wife and brother Tamo and four or five servants, went to Nerva, Suto's village. When they arrived they saw everyone weeping for the Agha, and the brothers joined in the lamentations. Tato cried "Agha! Agha! Lift thine eyes a little! May we all be thy sacrifice! Would that once again you might arise from this sickness even be I not left on this earth." Suto raised his eyes a little, sighed, and said, "Tato, I am dying. Thank God, my men have seen me once more. Death is God's ordinance, and it is the way of all of us." He continued, "Usman, Teli, serve Tato well. So! I die. Tata is your elder brother. Fall not out with him, as formerly." All said, "Yes, whatever the Agha orders, we obey with heart and soul."

That night a separate apartment was given Tato and Tamo. At the time of sleeping Suto called Usman and Teli and now said to
سوثو آفای عشیرتاه دوسکانی زکننده هوره ماری. ز
اوژاگاو ما لا میری یه. تنرو آفای عشیرتاه ریکانی زکننده رُزگه.
رُ ما لا میکاپیل آفابو. عشیرتاه ریکانی زیمانتی قدیم حتی نوکه
داوی زیر دستی آفاییت هوره ماریا بونه. وز مانی سوثو آفا
زیده تُ رگونته پین دستی هوره ماریان. وسوثو. وکوریت وی.
ویلایت وی. وهمی مزینت او جاگا وی گلک ظلم و تبدایی لله
ریکانیان کرن. زیده عاجز کرن. ایدی طاقتنا تحمیلی نا
تیرو نازه جاحیل بو. مروریگی گلک جسوربو. دنارو آفاییت
ریکانیان دا. کسکت وی وی پیدا نه بوبو. جیدی غیرتاوی
تحتلا ظلما هوره ماریان نکر گوته براییت خو. تیرو. وهادی
ویرسول. هرتنی روی مزن تربون... آز وکی هنگو قبول
نام. خو. ددستی سوتودا. ناکله جو. بومه مرن خوشتره.
رُ زینا هو. آز بتوافقا خدی. پنجه خو. دی دمه بر پنجة
سوثو. چه مرم. چه مام. براییت وی. وملی وی گوتن تو
جاوا مناسب دزنا. رْ خبریه در ناکوین. آتا آم دی
سرگنده رزگ‌ه‌. دست کردن بشری. مرویت تتوکیم بون
نیشان ر دروه شر بکن. خو‌هاو یینه قصرانتو. دفسیدا شر
دکل لشکری سوتو کزن. کوئینه محاصره. لشکری سوتو
هجهوم دکرنه. در قصری تنولسر تیر آندارا. هناداوی دری
روشنه. هرجاچار چار پینچ روان دکشتن. ودنا نه پاش
سوتوگوت. هونايةت لازمة بچرپه بچینه بن قصری. چند دارینت
له کندی رزگ‌ه‌هی bri ین ققد کزن. و کرنه چرپه چون بون
قصری. شویه ساعت جارو پینچ چرپه گهاند نه قصری. هنادل
مرویت لشکری له سرچرپه چوئنه سر بانی قصری. مرویت
تنو طنک‌اون. تتوگوت. هنچه ترسن میر بو روزکی ههو نه.
گتن. کشتی. ریکا میرانه. صبرکن نوه دی وان بلاد کم
تنوجار پینچ لیف دناو نفتی هکیشان. بسری جلان و هکون
دریه کوئنه ناوچریه. اگر بردا چرپه. سواندینت قصری همی
برون نه دسون. وختی کریزنا اگری رچرپه بلندیو. همی قراغیت
قصری روزنا بون. تنو وخلمان شیکیکت تنگکان لدوبیه کرنه
لشکری سوتو. وی دفی بهист وچارکس تام کرن. دیسا لشکری
سوتو ر قصری دانه پاشی. چرپه ژی فایده نکر. سوتو گازی
کره تن. هنگی دی چم ته محومک. اوه نوکر دی چرپه بران حیکم
ایی دو نشی وی بسوری. دوماه هیه.
نتو چووا با وی دا گازی کر مین بابی نته گا. چربی داران فایده نکی کر حتى تو چربی بران د گچیه قصری گلگ دی دور کیدیت. بلکه حتى هنگی خدی بومه جاره یکی پکت. دستکردن بچیک‌ترا جربی بران امتا وکی چربی داران سنائی نبو دوی ماینی دا. خبر گهشته حکومتا آمیدیه کو اوه دوازده روزه لشکری سوتو لسرقا لتوهی وتنو دگل مرویت خو. دخاصره دایه. قائم مقامی آمید بین ضابطی جند رمان دگل بیست جند رمان هنزاشه رزگه. کو بیر طرزي دیبیت لشکری سوتو رسیتون دفع بکن. ضابط وجدنه هانه رزگه گین قله بالیکی مزن لسررگی. فکر کر تا گو اوشوله بتندی کی نایت. بی تدبر و حکیما نه دی ممکن بیت. چور نکو گلگ مروه مهتابونه کشتن. به بیست جندنمه بشرد فع کر. نیئی. و به هیوی قبول کرن ری رعیتی دوری. ضابطی گوشه سوتو. از هاتمه مخصوص بیرم به تکوازح ناکر ماله خراب بیبیت. چونکو تو آناییکی خاندان و معتبری. اوه هندره رزره نا اولیکته شریکی سرجی ریکانی. شری دکی دنگ کشتیه و لاینا مصی. والی خبر دایه قائم مقامی آمید بین من تشکیکه هو زانیه. تحتیقا ماقو بکن. اگر راسته زونخبر بده من. داخبر بدمه والی یلی عسکری شاهانه نه زوانی به هنیریت بو سریعیترا سوتو. ورد.
ولا یتاموصلی به دونابور عسكر گذل دوتو پان دی هین بوتریا سوتو. وخا فظا تتو. ما دامکه هویه صلاحا. حالی به اوه ییک ساعت اول وی جمیعتی بالوکی. ام ری دی جوابا والی مو صلی دین. کو تشکیکی موجهی اهمیتی واقع نبوی جنده غلامیت سوتو. وتو. لیشتا گندی لسر مستلیا دزیا رزان. دوسی سعتان شرکرن. وزیتیک و هبیون. ودو یان سی مروه هاتینه بریندار کرن. هنگیک تو سرنوئل نابی. اوه من گویه نه. قبول دکی کیفا تیه. قبول ری نککی کیفا تیه وختا سا بطبی هوگوک. همی ملته گونه سوتو. ام مالاخو خراب ناکین بشری دو لتوان زمه زیدیه. اگر شری عشیر تانه. ام همی حازرن. خبویه. بدين به کشتی. امیتا لای حکو میتی به به ممکن نابیت. خلاصه سوتو قبول کر. لشکری خو پااشوا پر. یزابکی گوخب باره رسوتو. وزگریئ. ومنشکی مزن ری دانآ سرسوتو کومن شولانه بسنای چیکر... گونه تنتوئی صلاحا. حالی به اوهی تومال وعیال. وخزمیت خو همیان نقل کیکه مر کرزی قضا آمیدی. خبر بدهی ولایتی. ووابی عالی به له استنببولی. و مندوریت. ومشلو میتاخو. بوهمی مقاماتیت لازمه. بروجه تفصیل بیان بکی. بلکو حکومت به محافظه بکت اگرشه نشی خو زا ظلما آفاعیت هوره ماریان حفظ بکی. وام همی دی بونه شاهدی
دین. خلاصه توری قانع و منون و کو مالاوا. و مراویت وی همی دگل خوب وره امیدی. وگلکل پاره ر تنو ره قازاخت کر. چونکو لناو کردان مثلسکی مشهور بوده. رومی خرائیت. خوش دیا وان اوه کلش میشه بن وختی تو بزو ویت خووه. جو امیدی. جی ریکانی به خدم را می. شیخ محمد صدیق زی. خرتلکی مزرع بی. جی ریکا نی نژ. کلاشبکی گل کل خوش. وقلم بی طمعا جنابی شیخ گل کل غالب بی. فکراخوکر. کو بطریزی سنای جی ریکانی بینته بن دست خو. کاغذ د مرح وکه دگل دوسی مرو ویت معتبر وزانا و جناد پاره بو قاتم مقامی امیدی هناری نیار. کوراز خواهش دکم. تو و تو جیکی. تنوختاجی. من به بیت. به بیته ایره. آزمگل وی به آخوم شولاوا جی آز بذه جیکر ره شولاوا لویدی پیچک تأخیر بکه. وختیکو خربی شیخ گهشته قاتم مقام. گل کیفخوش بو. مواقتی مقصودا شیخ عمل بر. گونه تنو. ریکی کاهم پر. وبسنای تو. من بو به ملاحمه کر به. آگرچه به لیه ره شولا نه میکن دیت ایما ولاینا موصلی شولاوا پیچک تأخیر دکت. حتی نیته در دکویت. مر و گلکل عاجز دیبیت. ولایناونی. زورت اجری آتان دکن. و ولاینا وانی هرچی هیه درستی شیخ محمد صدیق دیا یه. هرچی حز بکت دکت. آزم ابرم اگر تو.
و برايت خو. وجدن معتبريت عشیرتا ریکانی بچنه نهری لالی شیخ محمد صدیق شولا هنگوئی زوتروچی بیت ورم عشیرتی. ورم حکومتی زانی شیخ شریف و پشتیوان بیت بوهنگو چیتیره و پشتی سوتو. دی دشکیت. خلاصه تنو رازی کر. ورن قائم مقام ممنون بو. کو ریککی هو نیشا وی دا. تنتو دگل بران ومغتبر ان هاته نهری. نیچیر شیخ هاته داوا وی وختی تنشو هاته لالی شیخ محمد صدیق. گلک احتراما وی گرگ. ورمنون کر. شیخ رپاوه یشان عزمان لوسن تر بو. بهر طرظکی دلی تنشو رازی کر. گوته تنشو جی قصرا رزگه بفر وشی من. ازدی قصیری تمام خراب کم جارگی دی رزی دی مزن تر. وقایم تر چیکم. و بیست خلامیت خو. دی دانیمه لالیه. ورد تفسنگ. مارتنین. وسوزنین. دی دمه مر وویت له. وری طری حکو میت ری امرکی خصوصی بو محافظتاهه. دی دمه تحقیق کری. ودل وپی مزینیت ریکانی دلپیک اصلینی خو. هرسال بدنی من. تنتوگوت. هر امری شیخ بفر موت. من قبوله. خلاصه وتو معامللا خوخرگ یبدان. و تنوخلات کر. وسروره چاوش. دگل بیست خلامیت پرآره. دگل تنتو هناره. ننن ریکانیان. قصرا رزگه ری بن خراب کر. هوستا هنارت دست کری. به چیکر نا قصیری. تبیقت یبری نیز میکی تمام بویی
بون. سعوت ملاحظه کر. اگر قصرا رزگ به یو طرزو تیام بسیت. ودستی شیخی بکویته ناو ریکانی. هنگی قوّتا نتو. دی گته دزجیکی. ایدی نشیت برامترینا وی بکت. پاشی بو آگیایت هورو ماری طنگی او یکی مزن دی پیدا بیت. چو نکرو ریکا. کاروانه هورو ماری بولای موصلی. اکری. آمیدی. لنیاو ریکانی دجیت. سعوت همی دوسکانی. وبو وره ماری گازی کرن. گونه وان. هونگ دزان تنتوی ریکانی جاوا در منی میه. گونه بیل آها. جال دزانین. گوت. هونگ دزان شیخ محمد صدیق جاوا خورت. و طمکاره گونه بیل آها. گوت. هونگ دزان اگر قصرا رزگ به لسروی اساسی تام به بیت. و شیخ دگل تنتمتاق به بیت. جی دوسکانی وبو وره ماری دی کویته حصاره. ام هنگی لازمه به بیشه جوپیت تتو. اگر نه نارینن. همیان پیکو گونه بیل آها دزانین. ویه وزیده تره. سعوت گونه ملتی خو. بس مادام هونگ وان همیان تصدیق دکن. هونگ بوجی تدبیر اگرتنی پیشیا وانه ناکن. نوکا ام دما بینا مرنی. ورنیچنی داییت. ورن نیز یک تره. بس یان هونگ تدبیری بکن. و آزی تو بیک فکارا هنگسویم. یان آخ بکم هونگ موافقی گونه من عمل بکن. همیان گوتن. حتی و جوبدا ذاتی آغا حازره. کمس رسمه خدان رتینی نیه هر رئیکی آگابفر موت.
وظیفامه اطاعت‌ه. سوتوگوکت. مادام کو هو نگ هو مطبوع بن.
قرار بیت آز وجودا خو فدای مصلحت‌های هنگو بکم.
آوّلاگوکت یا ملّت هو نگ دزمان آخر آز تنزل بیو شیخ محمد
صدیق بکم. فقط گندکی هنگو بدمه وی. اودی گلبک ریم
منون بیت. و احتراما من گلبک دی زا احتراما تو زیده تر بیت.
هیمان گوتن باوردکین. قیّه وگی آفا دفروموت. سوتوگوکت.
بس هر چی بکم. بو خاترا هنگویه. بو‌خونیه. فیکراً می نوکا اوه
یه. ههجوم بکینه زگکه. سوره جاوش وخلامت شیخی بکن.
وتهیلین قصرا گزگه تام بکن. هو نگ جاوا مناسب دزمان.
هیمان گوتن آم همی لیس رگیآفا آغا عازرین. جونکو مادام قصرا
رگگه تام بو. ام دی محو بین بو بیو شرصلاح تره دا آگر محو
دبین. بشرف وناموس محو بین. نه برز بیلی. و بی ناموسی.
خلاصه دگل سیده نه صدمیر دو سکی ووهوره ماری ههجوم
کرنه سررگگه. وی رروعی تتو ومر و ویت خو جو بو نه آمید یمی
گو. مالیت خو بینیه گزگه. سوره جاوش دگل بست خلامان
حاذر بون. قصرری دوست نبو بو. ساعشکی شرکن. زهمی
قراغان لشکری ستو. دّوزه لوان دا. سوره وخلامت خو.
جوّه نه خانیکی. آوّخانی بوشّری چالا نبو. م ر ویت سوتوگستنه
بن دوازندی خانی. دگلکان دا. سوره دوسي م ر ویت.
سُوْتَوْکُشْتِنَّ. اَمَّا فَأَيْدَهُ نَبْوَ. رَهْمَیٰ رَخَانَآ یَکُرَبُدَانَا نَخَایَ
سوره دَگِل دَوْازْدَه خَلَامَانَهَا نَبَرَت. حَتَّی شَیْانَا شَرَکَرَن.
و چَکیَت خَوْنَدَانَ. حَاوْتَ خَلَامَانَ. اَمَان خَوَعَانَ. دَرَکُوْنَ.
سَوْتَوْکُوْنَهَا وَان حَاوْتَانَ چَکیَت خَوُ بَدَن. هَر نَهَ تَلُ شَیْخَی خَوْ
بِیرَ نَهَ وَی. جَار کَیْدِ خَیال‌الاجْبِی رَیَائَانَی نَکَتَ. حَتَّی کُوْرَکِ
مَالا مِرَی مَاهِ. مِمْکَن نَهَ کَسِی بِه رَاحَتِ تَصَرَّفِ دَعْشِیرَانَا رَیَائَانَی
دَابَکَت. اَو حَاوْتَ خَلَامَانَا هَا تَنَ. رَوْنَ. بَی چَلِکَ. کَرِیت.
شَرَمیْدَهَا. هَمی مَسْتَحِیْرُ مَان گَوْتَن. اَوْهِ چَه حَالَهَا. وَان رَذَی
حَالَی خَو بِتَسْبَابِ حَاکَیَتْ کَرَن وَخَتَی وَان حَاوْت
خَلَامَان حَکَا یِبِنَا حَالَی خَو بِشَیْخَ مُحَمَّد صدیق بِیان
کَرَن. شَیْخ غَایِت عَاجَزُو. رُذُو چَیْتجَان. بیک اوُه بُو
گَنِم. و بِرْنُجی رَیَائَانَی نَهَاتهِ دَستِ وَی بَیدِی اوُه بُو زَرْزَ و
بَی نَمْوُسَیْکَی مَزَن هَانَهَا وَی. شَیْخ کُوْنَهَا فَکْرَا تُولَا وَی وَابْقَعِی
هُمی مَزْنیت خَو حَازَر کَرَن. وِمَشْوَرَتْ بِوْا گَوْت. هْوَنَک
جَاوا صَلَاح دَیْبن. هندَکان گَوْتَن دَی لَشَکرَکی مَزَن رَعَشیَرِان
دَرَسْتَ کَین چَیْنِه سَرَوی هَمیان بِرْ بَیْنِه اَه. هندَکان گَوْتَن صَلَاح
اوُهِ یَهَاوَاوی وَی بَتَبَی بِو وَالی وَانَی وَوالی موْسُلِ بَیْتِه بِیان کَرَن
وْلَه حَکْوُ مَتی بَیْتِه مَلحًوْم کَرَن. وَبَد سَتی حَکْوُ مَتی بَیْتِه تَرْییه کَرَن
وَ هندَکان گَوْتَن. جَاکِه حَضَرْقی شَیْخ اَبِ الرَّحیم اَقا تَلَطِیف بَکَت.
او ر مالا مفهی یه. ما بینا وان ومالا میری دایی نخوشه. هنگی
او وتتو دی بنه بیل در منی ردروه. وناودا کرو پیدابون. دی
بریشان بیت. هند کان گوتن دی نر دان بینه کندیت وان.
وچهی سرریکیت کاروانیت وان. ناهمینن راخت بیت حتی بنا
تولاخو دکینه و و. خلاصه هریکی رایل گوت. بندبه حقیر
ملا سید له مجلسی حازر نبو. له مدرس به فرسا قفیان دگوت
خلامل هات گوت شیخ ته خوازیت. بندبه چو حضورا شیخ. فرمو
تو چاوا صلاح دزاتی. بو تولا سورا چاشوخ وخیمان. بندبه گوت. از
مالامه. نازه جا حسین شولیت سیاستی نظام. من نه گلک بلکی پچه
زی تیکیا اموریت دینیایی نکرهی. وارن لیت حازر همی عقیلدارن.
مزین شول دیتی نه. اوان البته ر یبنده حیتر دزنان. شیخ فرمو قیه
وک تیبری امتا از حز دکم توری یاراינו بین کی. چه جالی چه خراب.
جو نکور وانه همیان ریاراک میان کرینه. بندبه گوت. زهیی زایان
کیشک مقبولی نظر مبارک حضرتی روختی روا فاده بوه. شیخ فرمو
هیشتا من چه اظهار نکریه حتی تو زی یاراکه بیری. بندبه
گوت. خواهش دکم بزام. رایت وان چنین دا آگر موفقی فکرا
بنده بن تصدق بکم. آگر موفقی نبون هنگی بقدر عقیل نا قصی خو
بنده ری دی تشکیک عرضی حضورا مبارک چت. شیخ رایت
مجلسی گت کت حکایت کرزن گوت اوه تنیه رایت وان. بزام.
کا تو دی چه بیرشی. بنده گوت. را یا لشکری عشیرتی بی اطلاعی و بی تیکلا دستی حکو میتی خرایه. حرفه‌ایت خود سرپه. دومای باعث خسارت. وندام میتی یه. نرده کرن. و کاروان شلالندن رضی شولا اشکیا نه. لیک نه بی مَری یا تینا شن اورقا حضرقی مولای بنده گان. تلطیفا عبدالله‌الله آغا واقع‌جا که. امتادی ائتم ای دا. وختی موقعیتی سوتی. زمته کو فایده بختی بو مقصودشه وآگر فایده بختی ری. دارنگک دی بیت. و بیانا احوالی وی بو والیان و محکوم کروادی له حکومتی اپته لازمه. وشرتی اوشی. بلی اووهند بختی ری کافی نیه دردی مه درمان ناکت. نهایت حکومتی دی وی حبس کت باتشی مد تکی. گلک پاره دی روز ورگریت. ووی بردت. هنگی سوتی دی خوزت تر بیت. وشوئمه دی آسیت تر بیت. بنده هو مناسب دزانتی. وأو لا بیانا حلالی وی بو حکو میتی. باتشی تختیلا امری رسمی ودانآ ده جندرمه. بو ته میرا قصرا رگه. واgzارا تتنو له حکومتی کرو گنردی رگه. وقصرا رگه من فروتنه شیخ محمد صدیق. وحکومتی رخصتی بختی کو شیخ بو محافظا گنردی مرویت خویسلاح دانیتنه رگه هنگی یه واقعه یکی پقو میت. سوج بو شیخ نیه. بو سوتویه. و دیهارت گلک جال بو قائم مقامی گوزی. وقایم مقامی آمیدی بهنیه. دلیوان جال خوش گن.
وتوکو درحق شیخ دلیبی بجا کی. و درحق سوتو بخرا بابی بقویس.
وچارصد میران. صد شمید نیان. صدرگری. صدرکری. صدر موزری
کو اوه خو بهجو بیت ته دزانی. دگل تنر ریکه رزگه حتی
قصر تام دیت. جندرمه. و هوستا لسرقصری بن. اوان میرانه.
هور شوی بچنی سرگندکی دوسکانی. هنگی هم عشیرتی دی تولا
مه بیت. هم حکومتی. و مقصودا شیخ کو تصرفا ریکانی یه أو رئی
دی حاصل بیت. و هر چار عشیرت زوی دی بهی درمی دگل سوتو.
یابدی به او. ونه اولادی دی ز دستی وان چار عسیرتیا تنه
راحت نابین. وختی بنده هو تریب ییان کر. شیخ وتوکیف
خوش بو. وتوکی. ممکن بو. مریشکا به همی پران بچیته دوی وی
شیخ محمد صدیق گوتر آفرین ملاصلید رابایت رهیمان چیتکر کوته
عقله من. دی عمل برا یا ته کم. واهله مجلسی رزهیمان گوتر
الحق راها ایوی رهیمان مناسب تر. وفا یده تره. شیخ فرومو بس
ما دام راباییت رهیمان مناسب تر بو. آه حزیکم تو زمتی بکیشی
بچیه رزگ به لنک می ویت میسی به تام قصر تام دیت. وین
راباییت کس چه حرکه نکت. هنگی بنده رجاکر وظیفا من نیه.
امنیا شیخ میت تیر بو. خلاصه. چارصد میر بطرزی بنده
گوتر بو. وده جندرمه حاور کر. تسليم بنده کر. بنده عرض شیخ
کر. حز دکم شهراب دلین خوارزای شیخ. ومال موسی کا تب
شیخ. وقتاس آغا و کیسل خریج شیخ اُموَّر سیکه رُز یِبْیِیْن. شیخ امرو فرمو. اوه بو چنه. لازم نینه مادا مکس تو چوی کسی دی حاجت نیه. بسنده گوت. کارنی گران دیت گلک ملیپی خوپدنه بن. اگر نه ملی ییکی بتنی دی دیرندا شکیت. اوه شولکی مزنه گلکل خُم متهن. اگر هی خز متنان بیلک بکت فکراً وی دی مشووش بیت. منو دی آلوَز بیت. شهاب الدین چو نکو خوار زای حضرتی شیخه سهم و صیا نتیا وی زیده تره لازمه اوپنیت. بو قوما ننداریا خلامان. و ملادا موسی لازمه بو کاغذ نو یسین. ومشورت کرنا اموران. وقتاس آغا لازمه بو دانایارزو چی خلامان. وجا کرنا حاصلی یا. اگرنا هیمین بنده بکت فکرکی بیار چی بارچه بیت حسناً مشکلا یان نشیت بکت. دیسا هی اهل مجلسی تصدیقی یک. گوتی نو تویه ویگ ملاسعت دیریت. شیخ رُز تصدیق یک. دیسا آفرین گوت. وام هنارین یان. شوی چوینه. مزره. ویکوز. رورا پاشی چوینه. شیوا. هوکی رورا پاشتر چوینه وی. وی شوی پنشجی میر دست برداری. مه هنار نه جیای هند اوی پرامیزی. گو سر حدی ریکا. و هرکان. ودو سکیا نه. چو نکو اگر اوچیا بهیته گرن تن کس نشیت بجیته. لای ریکا. دگل سبیدیدی ام رابو و. یلی منزل مه هارو. نه روتشیئی حتی گهششتهیه رُزکه. وختی ام کههشیئیه وید ری.
نیو ساعت ما بود. بوم‌گر بی. یو ساعتی صدمی. زهر عشیرتکی بیست و پنجم می‌ماند هنارنده که چه پشت نیروهی که گندی سوتو بنده و تو تنبیه ولان کرکوکس چه تعقیب‌کننده نه هرودیت و هجوم نکن حتی صبه آز پیچو تِمیم. اگر او یوشو سوتو حالات. جو. جاک. اگر آه دی دوره لُگندی دین نا هیلین کس در کویت. یو شوی خشیت سوتو لنار ریکانی هیبون. خبردارا نه سوتو. کوی گرگ قوّتیکی و تو ها توی رزگه. هم عشیر تی. هم حکو می‌تو. کوی او. تو نشیبی له نیروه روُنیی. یو شوی سوتو حالات چو هوره ماری. دگل سپیدی ام بیت مای لرژ، چیز گهشته‌ییت جو به گرگ پشت نیروهی کی. مه پیکوه دوره لگندی دا. و شیلکیت تعقیب‌کننده کر نه. لگندی. چیه. چه دنک رُبی لگندی نهات. هیدی هیدی خیام پارستنه لگندی. زانین چوُ آه‌. کس تیدا نیه. ام ری جویته لگندی. مه گو نا تتو. یو چاری نوبتا تیه. تولاخو. و گهْ. تتو. و مروی بیت وی آگر برداهن قصریت نیروهی که گندی همی سوتو. وتختی تری بو لشکر چو رزان. یاری سپی اینان بو رزگ. هوسِتان. دست کر به چیکنی قصری. رورا باشر. صد میره لرژ گه هیلیان سیصد میر دگل احمد بگی به سروسی که پیش بو رزگ. چاو شیت خلا می‌شیت شیخ محمد صدیق مه هنارنده سر لگندی بیدری.
وکنندی چی . تمس تلالان کرن . ویزی وان و هیستریت وان .
همی ایتان . هاتو به رزگ‌ه . ویه گانغز بو شیخ شیخ هنارگو به الحمد له
سایه همان‌تا اجدا دی علی نزار دی حضرت تی شیخ اروا احنا فدآ بالکمال
موقتیت گهشتسینه رزگ‌ه . ولد ویل غلبسه و مظفریت
با حصول . هورام و اخذ انتقام آر دشنی به انجام دکاردا یه .
وکیفتیا حال هویه دام ظله العالی آین بنده سعید شیخ
گلک کیف‌خوش بو . تبریکا فتیحا تیت به مه بو مه
شرف اصدار فر مو . نویسی بو . ذاکا دایی امیدا داعی
رگا لا فرسات و دیرایت و جسار تا امثالی هنگو رزان فتو حاتیت
مسرت انگیز زیده بر هیه و فاکم آللها آمین الداعی صدق
بچینه سرپوشی حالی سوتو . وختی سوتو چو هوره ماری . ملاحسن
شوکی کو کاتی وی بو . و قاضی دوسکا نی و هوره ماری
بو . هناره لالی طاهر آگای گوروی وختی ملا حن
هناه به لالی طاهر آغا . گوت سوتو آغا از هنواریم به خزمت
هنگو تواسد آگایی سری مه همی عشیرتا دوسکیانی . و تو
اعضای حکومتا گوریی خزما تی . ود وستینی . بو روز که هویه
نو کهد پیرا مه جیه . و ام چه بکین . چاک . طاهر آغا مرو وکی
تیگشتیه . گوته ملا حسن هنده از ملا حظه دکم . نوک گبو سوتو
ر غیری راضی کرنا شیخ محمد صدیق . چه ری نما نا . چو نکو
شَرِی‌وار. دَگِل تَتو. و دَگِل خَلا مِیت شیخی. و کَشْتَنا سُوره
جاهَش دَگِل دَوازِدَه خَلا مَعْلُومی هِی مِقَامِانِان بویه. حکومت
طَرَفِداری شَیخیه. بِس نوکه اذایه دِلی شیخی لیثه خو شکرَن
مَلا حسن گَوْت بَلی. قَویه وکی دَفر موی. آز رُه وتو دزَانَم
اَمانِزانم. رِیکا دَلَخو شَکرَنِا شیخی دِی چاوای بیت. طاهِر آُغا گَوْت
حَقیقَتی بَرَحتَه. اَماتا اَگر مِکِکن بیت تو بشی بَحیه رَزَگه لَی
مَلا سعید رَوْی بَه پر سی مِکِکنِه. کَو اَو رِیکاکَی بَو ته بیْریت
مَلا حسن رَت لَی طاهِر آُغا گَراوِه قِسَدا لَی لَی بنده کر. خو گیانده
کِدی هِیشی. رِعَشِمنِا رِیکایی کَنِدی مِسیحیانه. سَعَتکی دَورو دَر زَرُگه
شَوی مَلا حسن لَوی دَری مَیا. صَبیی دَو. مَه دیت مرَووی نصرانی
رُ هِیشی هَنَه لَی مَه. گَوْت حَزدَکم مَلا سعید بَنیتیه بَیَه.
وختی بنده دیت. گَوْت مَلا سوتو لَه مَالا من روُنَشْتیه. دیبیریت قَوی
حَزدَکم بِهیم لَی مَلا سعید. چَنده خَبْرِه عَرض بِکِم. اَماتا توی مُ
بِهیم. ز بر قَدواوَان نَکِو مِن بَکرَن. بنده رَی یَه دَخِلَم دَگِل
نصرانِی هَنارِن. من گَوْت هِرن مَلا حسنِ رُ هِیشی بِسلا مَتی بیَهه
ایر. مُولِی مُ سرِی مَلا حسن بَکویت هِنگَوْ هِمیان. دی کَنیه
آ ز مِلَانِی. مار تنیان. خَلاصه. دَخِلَم چَون. مَلا حسن اینا
دوشوای مَن لَی مَه. هَمی گَفْتِگَمْه کَر. بنده گَوْتِه مَلا حسن
اَگر حَضرتی شَیخ سوتو قِبَوْل بِکَت. وُرُبَکْتی عَفْوُبْکَت. تو
وعده دیدی کو سوتو یی‌یتیه حضرورا شیخ. گوت بلیه، آما بشرطیکو سوتو امنین بیت رژوهانخو. بندگه گوت بس توهره لا. سوتو. بناهی دگل وی به آخویه. و قولی، رژوی دگل زگره. حتی تو تیبه و، آز رژی. دی دگل حضرارتی شیخ. خوابه. کم. بژانم را ای شیخ چیه. میلا حسن. مه هنیاره و، و بولا لی سوتو. و بندگه دست کر به کاغذ نو پسینی وسوال وجوابی. دگل شیخی. چو نکو بندگه عادتی مأموریت عثبا نین دزانی. کروچه و ختان قول. و فنیهت وان موافقین نینه. ز گمارتان کورناما غرضا اخو. چه مقصود دی نینه. مه دزانی کو متدک. دی سوتو طنگاکاو کن. حتی پاره یکی زور ز. شیخی دخون. پاشی. دومای. هیدی هیدی. دی سوتو تلطف کن. حتی گلک پاره زول رئی. دخون. کسک بوکس میناکن. بندگه وتو صلاح و مناسب دیت کرو شیخ. سوتو قبول بکت. هیشتیا شول ردستی وی در نکویی. خلاصه به وی مضمونی بندگه بس شیخ نویسی. و کیفیت‌ها تین وچون. و آخوتنا مه دگل ملا حسن بتفصیل مه بو حضورا شیخ بینان کر. و هنار. حضرارتی شیخ جواب بو بندگه هنار. هر طرزی کو موجب حفظا ویشف و ناموسی ادعی بیت. دوی ماده یی دا. تو و کیل. و میلی. نیز پس هنیه حاجت برنا جعجاعی نیه. جاوا بفکاره اخو دزایی عمل بکره. عزیزم والسلام. الداعی محمد صدقی. وختی اوجوا به هوات. ملاحسن رئی. روز زا.
باشتر هانه رزگ که مالاحسن گوت. اگر تو زِلای شیخی خاطر جمع بی. آز ری زِلای سوتو خاطر جمع. کو ر خبری من در ناکویت بندگی گوت مادام یه. اوه او هردو و کلین. آزهو صالحان سوتو دزام. طاهرآنا و علی افندي پایینی دگل خوپیت بجزیته نه‌ری. سرمرقدی سید طه. داشیخ. وی عفوبیکت. اگر سوتو وی‌هی نکت. تودزانتی اوله دوْلتی محاکمه. دیهیته محاکر. ملا حسن گوت. اگر تودزانتی دی. هوجیت. از دی وی‌هی کم من ری تامینات دمالةحسن. او زی جو. بی‌طرزی. بو سوتو گوت. وسوتو ری قبول کر. دگل طاهر آنا. وعلی افندي چونه‌ری. شیخ گلک کیفخوش بو. چو نکو دایی مقصودا جنابی شیخ آرکی هوز بیو. زناوی‌دوز برت رق. اویدخا سوره چاوش دان‌بو. وی پاره دوْینا. گوته سوتو. بوخاترا طاهر آنا وعلی افندي. وبوخاترا. شرفای مرقدی با پری خو. من تووعفوکری. زیکشتی وگرتنی. وسورگون کری. امنا هیتیت سوره چاوش قطرن. وهیتیت خرامان. بی چارد़ه نه. خونا هرپیکی صد انزارد. وسیصد لیره بدت. بخیر بجزیته مالاخو. سوتو زی قانع بو. دو جنده. ودهشت خلام دانه سوتو. کو بجزیته ناو دوسکی. وهره‌رو ما ریان کو هزار وسیصد لیره بوشیخ. جاکت. پیتی خلاصه چو سیه‌زار لیره زیده تر پلاتَه کر. لُسر عشیرو تا
دو سکی و هوره ماریان. و تحقیل کرن حزارت و سیصد دا نه شیخ.
یه زیده بوخوهلگرت و حتی کو سوتو ملاحفه کر. تیکشت.
کو آگر تنو مرووی شیخ بیت. و دایی خلائیت شیخ لاعی
تنوین حالی وی دی خوش بیت. منفعیت وی دی کیم بیت. گروت
جاکا تقیبر کی وتو بکم تنو بدوستین تلف کم. پاشی سالکی
کورچی ریکانی تام کوچه دستی شیخ و حاصلاتی ریکانی. رئکری
گه. نه کشتی که تنو. سوتو. زانی. کلی هه گه کو تنو بی لینیت.
سوتو. ملاحسن هناره لالی تنو. کو بیری به وی. هرچی
جزی. جو. فلاهمت. آزر او. عبله کی پگیرین. ر نوکه
ویوه. بیمه دوست. جه جاران. ضررزا. بیل ودو. ناکین.
شیخ محمد صدیق آردهیایه دی مه هر دویان خویت. اوه
سالکا او دازنیت چه منفعیت کشتی وی. فرقا وی. و
کر ما تبکی که لیک خلائیت شیخی. مادا مکه شیخ دی مه محور
کت. ام مصالحا بکین صلاح تره. آگر باور نکت. آزی کیا
خو ری دمها وی داجال باور بکت. کو آر ریغل مصلحتی دخوانم.
ملاحسن جولالی تنو بیوی طرزوی بوتوگوت. تمام کوچه عقیلی
تنو وقبول کر. سوتو کیا خو دا تنو. رورکی. تنو هجتند
پیدا اکر. همی جکیت خلائیت شیخ محمد صدیق ستان ندن.
وخلام بچیب کرنه در. هاتنه لالی شیخی. شیخ گلک عاجز بو.
 أهم ایاده نکر. چون نگر سوتو. و تنو تمام متفق بون. و شیخی
بار زانی ری در منی شیخ محمد صدیق بو. سوتو و تنو پیکهو جونه
لالی شیخی بار زانی. بونه تابعیت وی. دوسالان هو رابارن. تنو
تمام خاطر جمع بو. پاشی شیخ محمد صدیق مر. و شیخی بار زانی
ر حکومت عثمانی عصیان کر. هدیه هیدی آسپاپیت سوتو
میشیان بون. زانی کوا بیدی نتو چگه پانا نمیمان. و سوتو ملاحظه کر.
جاکه. له حکومتی ری وی محکوم بکم. داجیه ری بوی نمین
پاشی وی یقیم تینم. خبردا تنو. او هر سال هنده باره اغنا
دده حکومتی. جهه لزوم هیہ. همی عشیرتی دوسکانی نیوکا وی
نادن. اوساله وختی پاظه یه ماری. حیوانی ریکانیان بهنیته
لالی مه حتی مامور دچین. پاشی پاظی خو بیلن. تنو ری وکه کر.
سوتو مجنی خبر. دا قائم مقام آمیدیه حاکی تنو اوه یه. هندی
نصیحت دکم قبول ناکت. نزائم حکم رئیس داولتی نوریم تریبیه
بکم. اگرنه. لنک من تری بینا یه. راو خواز نه ویکی سنای
تره. قائم مقام آمیدیه. جواابکی گلک به تشکر و منونی بو
سوتو هنار. گوتب. نو ماذویه هرکی ذره قدر. خیانتی دکل
دوارن اعلیه یا استنی. مه بکت تریبیه بکه. سوتو تمام خاطر جمع
بو. روکی خو نخشوش کر. کونه نانوی بیشنان خبر بو یمی دوستان.
و خزمان هنار. کو سوتو. نیز یکی مرئی یه. بلاهمی بیین دا
THE TALE OF SUTO AND TATO

I would call attention to one feature in this Kurdish text which seems to me rather particular. The verb does not accord with the subject, but with the preceding complement, i.e. the subject being in the singular (Suto, Tato, Qaimaqaam, I) the verb is in the plural because of plurality of the complement (all tribes, four and five men, twenty gendarmes, ten golams), as we see in these sentences:

ستو همی عشیترتا دو سطانی و هوره ماری جا کرک
Suto have collected all the tribesmen...

تئر هر جاری جاری بینج روان دکشت و ددانه پاش
Tato were killing and throwing back four or five at every rush...

قائیاقام بیست یمست جندرمان هنارنه رزگه
Qaimaqaam have sent twenty gendarmes to Razga...

بنده ری ده خلام د کل نصرانی هنار
I have sent ten golams with the Christian (to show the difference, let us say in French “j'avons envoyé”).

I do not think it is a kind of pluralis majestatis, because I find such sentences too:

ستو همی دوسکانی و هوره ماری و کازی کرک گوتونه وان
I found ten with all the others and the reason explained above and in the regular singular form when there is no plural complement preceding.—B. N.
"BHASA'S WORKS"—ARE THEY GENUINE?

By A. Krishna Pisharoti and K. Rama Pisharoti, M.A.

IN the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series are included thirteen dramas which the learned editor, Mahāmahopādhyāya T. Gaṇapati Śāstri, has assigned to Bhāsa, the predecessor of Kālidāsa. The various arguments advanced by him in support of his theory may be summed up thus:—

The thirteen dramas, which we shall hereafter term the T.B. dramas, display a similarity of structure as regards the prologue and poetic merit, and have some common passages. It is, therefore, assumed that they are the works of one and the same author. Rājaśekhara says that Bhāsa has written many dramas, one of which is Svapna-vāsavadatta; and Bāṇa says that Bhāsa’s dramas open with a speech by the Sūtradhāra. Since one of the T.B. plays is named Svapna-vāsavadatta, and since they all open with a speech by the Sūtradhāra, it is inferred that Bhāsa is the author of all of them. The question whether their language is antique enough to justify their ascription to a predecessor of Kālidāsa is also discussed. The presence of archaisms, the simplicity of the Sanskrit, and the “freshness” of the Prakrit are urged as arguments for an answer in the affirmative. It is also claimed they have such poetic merits as to offer even Kālidāsa a model. This position is apparently substantiated by pointing out various ideas common to both these dramas and the works of Kālidāsa.

From the historical point of view, however, the Śāstri’s theory cannot stand. Speaking generally, and without going into details, every open-minded critic must perforce admit that Pratimā-nātaka must come after Kālidāsa; Cārudatta after Śūdraka; and Avimāraka after Daṇḍin. As regards Pratimā, the genealogy of Rāma’s predecessors as given there agrees not with that given by Vālmiki, but with that given by Kālidāsa. It is to be borne in mind that the reference to Rāma’s predecessors is but a passing one in Pratimā, 

1 See above, vol. i, pt. iii, pp. 35 ff.—L. D. B.
2 On Puranic authority.—L. D. B.
3 Cf. Pratimā, Act IV, verses 9 and 10, etc.
whereas Kalidasa has dealt with it at length. The genealogy, casually mentioned in the drama, can find general acceptance only in case it has been described in detail elsewhere. Such a deviation from Valmiki, because it serves no dramatic purpose, can justify itself only on the assumption that it is based on Kalidasa. The legitimate inference from this is that the author of the drama must have borrowed it from Kalidasa. As for Carudatta, it is evidently an adaptation 1 of the first four acts of Mrcchakatika for our stage. And the clever playwright has so adapted them as to produce a complete drama. This he has been able to do by omitting such of the details here as are useful for the dénouement of the plot of the last six acts. In the hurry of the adaptation, the adapter has forgotten even to quote or give the usual mañgala-śloka—something inexcusable in an Indian writer. It is unnecessary to advance any argument to prove that it is adapted, for it is plain on the very face of it. The story of Avimāraka, even the casual reader can understand, is modelled upon the stories of Daśa-kumāra-carita. On the publication of Avantisundari, a poem by Daśin that has been recently acquired by the Madras Government, it is probable that we may find many verses common to it and Avimāraka. These considerations, as also the reference to the worship of statues 2 in Pratimā, Act III, indicate that Bhāsa, the predecessor of Kalidasa, cannot be the author of the T.B. dramas.

The antiquity of the Sanskrit and Prakrit, adduced to justify and support the Bhāsa Theory, is in reality only an ingenious myth.3

1 The omission of details for the sake of time-economy, and of scenes because of the practical difficulty of representation on our stage, and the consequent necessity of recasting the language to gloss them over, will go far to explain the assumed novelty of Carudatta.

2 Kērala supplies at least one positive instance of the worship of the statues of one of her sovereigns. In the temple at Tiruvaṉjikulam, the old capital of the Perumāls, there is set up and worshipped the statue of the last of the Perumāls, Bhāskara Ravi Varma Cēramān Perumāl. In view of the connexion of this prince and the T.B. dramas with the Malabar stage, we are inclined to think that the statue incident in the Pratimā is based upon this deification. That it is a product of Malabar is further emphasized by the fact that Sitā keeps away from and does not participate in the coronation ceremony of Rāma; cf. Pratimā, Act I. This is based upon the practice of Kērala, where the king’s wife has no part or place in her lord’s coronation.

The Sanskrit has not such a strongly archaic flavour as would constitute a positive proof of its antiquity. The little that exists is the necessary result of the influence of Vālmiki and Kālidāsa. And its general tone of simplicity is easily explained when it is remembered that these dramas were produced not with a literary purpose, nor to glorify a king or a national event, but mainly, as we shall show later, with a view to meet the demands of a flourishing popular stage. As to the Prakrit, the objection is still less valid to one who is familiar with Malayalam manuscripts of Sanskrit dramas. It is to be borne in mind that all these dramas are preserved only in Malayalam characters. In Kērala, Prakrit had only a purely literary existence, being in fact more literary than Sanskrit itself. It never rose to the position of a spoken language, and its only use here was for dramas. In using it our dramatists strictly adhered to the rules laid down by the ancient Prakrit grammarians. Even the latest writer, when he uses Prakrit, imitates the most ancient variety, that being the only kind current and available here. In short, all the peculiarities noted from the T.B. plays can as well be found in the Tapaṃ-samvarāṇa and Dhanatījaṇayābhyudaya (sixth century) or the Ciūdāmaṇi (eighth century). Even in writing down the dramas of Kālidāsa, or Harṣa, or Bhavyabhūti in Malayalam characters, the local Prakritic method is followed, so much so that if a manuscript, say of Śākuntala, preserved in Malayalam character, is examined, we can see therein many of the peculiarities claimed for the Prakrit of the T.B. dramas. Are we then to assume from these peculiarities that the Kālidāsa of Kērala is older than the real Kālidāsa? Therefore, in considering the age of a drama preserved in Malayalam characters alone, Prakritic peculiarities are no test of antiquity. Hence the peculiarities of language also are of no weight as arguments to prove the Bhāsa Theory.

The varying merit of the T.B. dramas is another argument against the Bhāsa Theory. The Scapna-vāsavadatta and Pratijñā may easily be given the first place in the series; yet while the former is simple, the latter is artificial in style. The Pratimā occupies a unique place. Whether we consider it from the purely dramatic or the literary point of view, the last three acts do not stand comparison with the first four. The first half is decidedly superior to the last half in every respect. It evidently is a patched-up drama, the combined product of two hands of varying merit. The Abhiṣēka and Avimāraka rank lower than the first pair. The Avimāraka betray a clumsy hand in construction, and its poetry, quite in keeping with its construction,
is that of a beginner, being laboured and artificial. Such also is the Pañcarātra, of which Acts I and III are probably more artificial than any other in the series. The critic is forced, as in the case of Pratīmā, to maintain that Act II on the one hand and Acts I and III on the other are the works of two different hands of varying literary attainments. Bala-carita is a failure from the dramatic point of view, for there is no unity of construction, except what comes from having the same hero. It ranks evidently with the five one-act dramas, but is decidedly of less literary merit. The five one-act dramas are excellent in their own way; their conversational vigour is scarcely rivalled by any other of the T.B. dramas, and successfully competes with that of the unpublished Āścarya-cūḍāmani, to which we shall refer later. Such variations in merit necessitate the inference that these dramas cannot be the works of one and the same author. Even the theory of the growth of the poet's genius cannot bridge over such wide differences, especially when such occur in one and the same drama.

Even the structural similarity of these dramas, which is the Śāstri's mainstay, does not appeal to us very much. Taking the prologues as a whole, there is no complete similarity. While some of the series follow Svapna-vāsavadatta, the rest do not. Pañcarātra has, in addition, a very clumsy viśkambhaka on the model of Harṣa; Pratīmā resembles Śakuntala in the latter half. We cannot understand why the poet, who has followed a fixed type of prologue in some of the dramas, should not do the same in the other dramas. Again, all these dramas have not the same Bharata-vākya, which we should naturally expect in view of the repetition of the same verse in more than one drama.

A study of the prologues of these dramas shows that their similarities consist in opening the play with nāṇḍy-antē tataḥ praviṣati sūtradhāraḥ and closing the prologue with sthāpanā instead of prastāvanā, the point on which the Śāstri lays such emphasis. But this is only an illusion. Malayali Sanskrit dramas begin always with nāṇḍy-antē, etc., and close the prologue with sthāpanā instead of prastāvanā. This fact will become clear when the prologue of Čūḍāmani, quoted below, is examined. This method is followed not only in the case of Malayali plays, but also in our manuscripts of non-Malayali dramas. Thus our manuscript of Śakuntala opens with nāṇḍy-antē tataḥ praviṣati sūtradhāraḥ and closes with sthāpanā. If the Sūtradhāra's opening the drama and the presence of sthāpanā instead of prastāvanā are accepted as being the invariable characteristics of Bhāsa, then the
number of "Bhāsa's" plays can be easily swelled. Hence, structural similarity, as deduced from Śrāpna-vāsavadatta, is also no argument for the theory of Bhāsa's authorship.

If, however, the structural peculiarity of the T.B. plays be taken as the strongest factor for deciding their authorship, it would be more natural and rational to assign all those dramas which have these structural peculiarities and the sentence mayi vijñāpana-vyagrē to Śaktibhadra, the author of Āścarya-cūḍāmāni; for the prologue of that drama has all these peculiarities, as the portion quoted will show. A study of this drama will clearly show that it has also all the simplicity, sweetness, and elegance of the T.B. plays, and that to a far greater extent. It has numerous ideas in common with Kālidāsa, and its Prakrit has all the peculiarities of that of the T.B. plays. It has also the same prominence assigned to such actions and incidents as have the greatest stage-effect, and the same care bestowed on characterization and situation. In short, its similarity to the T.B. plays is so patent, that but for the mention of the author's name it might have been included in that series.

From the facts before us, and arguing like the Śāstri, we might assume on the strength of structural similarity that all those T.B. dramas which have the sentence mayi vijñāpana-vyagrē, etc., are written by Śaktibhadra, at least till better evidence of a more positive nature be forthcoming. To support this we might point to the statement put in the mouth of the Śatradhāra that Śaktibhadra has written other dramas, one of which is Unnāda-vāsavadatta. The Śāstri, to whom Āścarya-cūḍāmāni is well known, ought to have pointed out this fact and given reasons to show why Śaktibhadra could not be the author of at any rate the T.B. dramas which have this sentence.

There are, however, difficulties in the way of this Śaktibhadra Theory. There is first the question why his name is omitted from these dramas, while it is kept in Cūḍāmāni. Secondly, there is the necessity for including Svapna-vāsavadatta in this list, which is a sore point in view of Bhāsa's connexion with a drama so named. The third is the consequent difficulty of explaining the presence of other dramas in the T.B. series.

Critical consideration of these and other facts has led us to the conclusion—and this is supported by a strong tradition—that the T.B. dramas are the result of compilation and adaptation, undertaken to meet the large demands made by the flourishing stage of Kērala,
Our country has a distinct Malayali histrionic tradition as regards the staging of Sanskrit dramas. This tradition has a great antiquity and an unbroken continuity. There is a set of professional actors, the Cākyārs and the Naṅgyārs, connected with each large temple in Kērala, who act a number of Sanskrit dramas. Every drama that they act is connected with two works, Āṭṭa-prakāra and Krama-dīpikā, which are valuable as sources for the history of the growth and development of the Sanskrit theatre in Kērala. One of these, which belongs to a particular Cākyar family and is in our possession, mentions the following dramas as acted by that family:

1. Tāpatī-saṃvaraṇa, Works of Kulaśekhara Varma Perumāl
2. Dhananājaya (sixth century A.D.).
4. Āścarya-cūḍāmaṇi, by Śaktibhadra, said to be an immediate disciple of Śaṅkaracārya.
5. Kalyāṇa-saugandhika. Anonymous; MSS. are available, but hitherto only scraps have been collected.
6. Śrī-krṣṇa-carita. Anonymous; not available.
7. Vicchinābхиśika. Traditionally assigned to the last of the Perumāls; MSS. not yet available.
8. Svapna-vāsavadatta.

And the following dramas, included in the T.B. series:

8. Svapna-vāsavadatta.

As regards the dramas of the T.B. series included here, we have been able to identify them from the various fragmentary scenes found mentioned therein. The titles Śeṇhālikāṇka and Svopnāṅka in the fragments connect them with No. 8 in the list given above; Torana-yuddha and Bāli-vadha point to No. 9; Mallāṅka to No. 10;

1 The Śāstri assigns the dramatist Kulaśekhara Varma Perumāl to the twelfth century. Apart from other evidences, we may here observe that the ancient city of Tiruvanājikulam, which is mentioned as his capital, was a deserted ruin in the twelfth century. It was completely destroyed by Rājendra Cōla at the beginning of the eleventh century.
2 This is the most popular drama among the Malayalis, and is more often staged than any other in the series. Both from the literary and the dramatic point of view it deserves a very high place, second only to that of Kālidāsa. MSS. of it are readily available. We are preparing an edition, which we hope to publish soon.
Mantrāṅka to No. 11. The twelfth is found mentioned by name. No. 14 is mentioned not as a drama but only as an Act (aṅka). It is probably an Act of some other drama which has not yet been obtained. Probably the names of other dramas and scenes from them may be got from other actors’ manuals kept by other Cākyār families.¹

The golden age of the Sanskrit theatre of Kērala was during the times of the two latter Perumāls. Of these, the earlier, Kulaśēkhara Perumāl (sixth century), was a dramatist of no mean merit, as his works show. He was a devout follower of Kālidāsa, and displays his influence on every page. Bhāskara Ravi Varman, the last of the Perumāls (seventh century), was an equally brilliant scholar, and, if tradition can be believed, is the author of Viechinnābhiśāka. It was during their time that the acting of Sanskrit dramas was reformed. As reformed then, it has continued to exist to the present day.

Through the active patronage of these sovereigns the stage of Kērala acquired new life, and, thanks to the innovations introduced by them, it became also the most popular of our entertainments. It was they who improved the mode of acting Sanskrit dramas. This, and the determination of the dress for each cast of character, the use of paints, and the functioning of Vidūṣaka were the major innovations introduced. Further, they introduced changes in Bharata’s laws of dramatic technique that made the drama appeal more strongly to the public,² produced greater stage-effect,³ and dispensed with all unnecessary encumbrances.⁴ Thus they laid down that Kālidāsa’s is the true

¹ To this list may be added two other dramas. The first is Unmūḍa-vāsavadatta of Śaktiḥadra, as may be gathered from the prologue appended. The other is Sākuntala, which, tradition says, was staged and then abandoned owing to the difficulty of acting it properly. This may account for the structural peculiarities in the manuscript of Sākuntala to which we have referred elsewhere.

² The Vidūṣaka’s reciting a vernacular translation of the Sanskrit originals acted by the Nāyuḥa and the introduction of current events, political and social, may be brought under the head of popularization.

³ The introduction of mass-scenes, of battles, and of deaths may be mentioned in support of this.

⁴ The omission of the Sūtradhāra reciting the nāndī and the opening of the drama by the Sūtradhāra acting the sthāparṇa may be cited as an instance of this. A vigorous stage, under the direction of a practical dramatist, would naturally try for the sake of economy to delete unnecessary characters, especially when actors have to appear on the stage in their respective character-costumes. Of the two Sūtradhāras that the laws of orthodox dramaturgy require for the prologue, the function of one is simply to recite the nāndī (benedictory verse) and retire. To dress up a character for this purpose, which from the actor’s point of view is so unimportant, cannot appeal to a practical dramatist, the more so as the dressing, as required by the reformed stage, is very elaborate. Owing to the need for character-economy, as
taste in poetry and fixed dramatic technique, both in theory and practice. Such is the lesson that our stage tradition and current practice yield us.¹

The Āśarya-cūḍāmani, presented to suit this reformed dramatic taste and technique, may be taken as a type of the post-Perumāl Sanskrit drama, the more so as it is the most popular among our traditional actors. When therefore we find a similar technique and literary form in another drama, the natural presumption, in the absence of positive evidence to the contrary, is that this too is a post-Perumāl drama, produced for the stage of Kērala. Hence we conclude that the T.B. dramas are post-Perumāl in age and were produced for our stage, since they have the same technique and literary form as the Cūḍāmani. Further, since they, or at least some of them, have passages in common with this drama, they must have been written not earlier than Śaktibhadra, i.e. not earlier than the eighth century.

The similarity in dramatic technique and literary form of the T.B. dramas has already been treated in detail by the Śastri. We need now touch upon only one aspect, their stage-worthiness. The glowing praise that the Śastri heaps upon them is justifiable only from this point of view. One who is familiar with the Kērala stage and its mode of acting can easily understand that these dramas would be successful on our stage, and will be forced even to say that all their merit lies in their fitness for the stage. Even the casual reader must be struck by the general simplicity and elegance of their language, the importance assigned to incidents and situations of dramatic character, the prominence given to character-evolution, the numerous gaps left in each drama to be filled up by the actors, the brisk and vigorous dialogues.

Who then were their authors? We do not know, for they are anonymous. But, if we may theorize from tradition and from practice, as current here, and from the unique nature of the Cārudatta, our answer is that they are the result of compilation and adaptation demanded by a practical stage, the functions of the Nāndī-Sūtradhāra and the Śhāpanā-Sūtradhāra have been combined.

Definite light on the earlier, and therefore the more important, phases of the reformation might be obtained from the Vyaṅga-Vyākhyaṇa on the Tapati-saṃsūtraṇa, written by a contemporary of Kulaśēkhara Varma Perumāl, from the actors' point of view and for their guidance.

¹ Some salient features of the acting of a Sanskrit drama in Kērala are described in "Acting in Kērala", by K. R. Pisharoti, published in the Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society of Bangalore, April, 1922, pp. 283 ff. As regards the date of Bhāskara Ravi Varma Perumāl, there is a difference of opinion. Here is given the date at which Mr. A. K. Pisharoti has arrived in his history of Kērala, which is about to be published.
Their prologues omit the names of their authors, not because it was not the practice to name authors, not because these writers were very modest and dared not risk their reputation, but because the plays have no authors in the real sense of the term. The playwrights have suppressed their names, because they have the honesty not to appropriate to themselves what really belongs to others; and this is quite in keeping with their native sense of dharma. When the stage is flourishing there is generally a great demand for new dramas. Even in a living language the demand for new dramas cannot be easily met, and not rarely we meet it by adapting and compiling from popular writers. Such being the case, the difficulty of producing an original drama in a dead language can be easily realized. The demand made by the stage of Kērala must therefore have been met similarly. The process of compilation and adaptation must have been actively at work to satisfy the popular craving for new dramas. When dramas have been thus compiled and adapted, the authors cannot consistently with their honour claim the works as their own; and, naturally enough, they have not done so. Further, because they have set forth no claims to the authorship of these plays, they are under no obligation to acknowledge their sources and their indebtedness. And it is no wonder if we find in all these dramas a general resemblance of language and structural similarity. These various playwrights have tried, as far as they could, to introduce the literary forms of Kālidāsa and to accommodate themselves to the accepted dramatic technique.

Such, then, must have been the way that the Čāruṇḍātta came into existence. The Svapna-vāsavadatta of the T.B. series may also be such an adaptation of the original Svapna-vāsavadatta of Bhāsa. The peculiar nature of Acts II–III support this view. This would explain the absence from the Svapna-vāsavadatta of the T.B. series of a verse quoted by Abhinavagupta from Bhāsa’s original. The published Pratijñā-yaugandharāyaṇa also may be an adaptation, because there is found no mention of Udayana’s having taught Vāsavadattā in her maternal home to play on the vīṇā. A statement more definite than this cannot be made in the present state of our knowledge, though probably with the acquisition of more sources of the history of the stage of Kērala more light may be thrown upon this subject.

Our view, then, is that the T.B. dramas are compilations or adaptations. It may, however, be asked why these, intended as they are merely for the stage, should have even prologues. The function
of the prologue from a dramatic point of view is primarily twofold: (i) to give the maṅgala-śloka, and (ii) to mention who the first character is that appears on the stage. It is also found to touch upon the authorship and the name of the play; but these details, however useful they may be from the historic point of view, have no intrinsic dramatic interest and importance, unless it be to serve as an advertisement. Naturally, the playwright who is engaged in adapting or compiling will limit the prologue to the barest necessity. Hence in many of the T.B. dramas it is restricted to the maṅgala-śloka and the mention of the character who is to open the play. Consistently with his reverence for tradition, the playwright cannot omit the benedictory stanza; and the prologue he cannot drop because it is needed to show who the opening character is.

Tradition says that there was here a brisk process of compilation and adaptation to supply materials not merely for dramas, but also for prabandhas, which are of the nature of campūs, and which also are acted, or rather dramatically expounded, by the Cākyārs. These contain verbatim passages from well-known works, and are traditionally accepted as compilations.

It may further be remarked that our old Sanskrit scholars who are familiar with the traditions of our theatre and with the mode of acting Sanskrit dramas by the Cākyārs are also of opinion that the T.B. plays are only compilations and adaptations.

APPENDIX

THE PROLOGUE OF THE ĀŚCARYA-CUDĀMANI

(Nāndy-antē tataḥ praviṣati sūtradhāraḥ.)

Sūtradhāraḥ.
Viśī-sthānē sahasrāṃ marataka-parigha-spardhi bibhrad bhuvajānām
utphēnō hāra-jālāir aruṇā-rucir anantāhi-ratna-prabhābhīḥ
bibhraṇaś śaṅkham antaś-caram acaram anirvāpaṇiyaṃ ca
tējāḥ
pāyād vaḥ Śārūṇa-dhanvā śayīta iva samudrāika-dēśē samudraḥ.

(Parikramya nēpathyābhimukham avalokya.)
Āryē itas tāvat.

(Praviṣya.)

NAṬI. Ayya ¹ iamhi.

¹ Here and in other like cases the MS. represents original ry by a double a. I have transliterated by yy; cf. Pischel, G.P.S., § 284.—L. D. B.
Sūtradhāraṇaḥ. Āryē
Abhiraṅjanīṁ janānāṁ sahāya-sādhyaṁ gurū padēśēna
dhuram udvahāmi gurvīṁ nṛpa iva Bharatādibhir vṛdghāṁ.
Naṭī. Ayyassa gurumāṁ dāva ahiāraṁ āārō evva sūēdi.
Sūtradhāraṇaḥ. Ataṁ kim? Sundari nanu bahūnāṁ asādhāraṇo
durgamaḥ panthāñ.
Naṭī. Ayya kim aśāhāraṇaṁ ti pucchadi.
Sūtradhāraṇaḥ. Āryē daksīṇā-pathād āgatam Āścarya-cūḍāmanir
nāma nāṭakam abhinayāmrēdita-sāubhāgyam abhilaśāma ity ārya-
mīrāṇāṁ sāsanam.
Naṭī. Ayya accāhidaṁ khu ēdaṁ. Āśaṁ pasavaī pupphaṁ
siadāo tellāṁ uppādaanti jaī dakkhiṇāo disāō āadam nāḍaa-niband-
thaṇam.
Sūtradhāraṇaḥ. Āryē mā māivam. Upacīnu guṇam apahastaya
janmābhīvinēśam. Paśya
Gunaḥ pramāṇaṁ na disāṁ vibhāgō
nidarśanaṁ nav idam ēva tatra
stana-dvayō tē hari-candanaṁ ca
hāraś ca nihāra-marīcī-gāuraḥ.
Ayya kadamō una sō kavi jō attaṅo paṅṅā-ruvaṁ nībandhaṇaṁ vāēna
dēsantarāṁ pavośidu-kāmō.
Sūtradhāraṇaḥ. Āryē śṛtyatām. Unmāda-vāsavadatta-prabhṛti-
nāṁ kāvyānāṁ kartus Śaktibhadrasvēdaṁ praįnā-vilasitam.
Naṭī. Hōdavvaṁ.
Sūtradhāraṇaḥ. Tatās tvam api pātṛavadhaṇaṁ kurusva. Aham
apya ēvaṁ ārya-mīrān vijnāpayāmi. (Prākramya.) Ayē kim nu
khaḷu mayī vijnāpana-vyagrē śabda iva śṛtyatē. Aṅga paśyāmi.
(Nōpathyē jyā-ghōṣaḥ kriyātē.)
Sūtradhāraṇaḥ. Bhavatu vijnātam.
Sapatakāsaṁ Rāmasya vartayan vanyam āspadam
jyā-nirghōṣēna Sāumitrīḥ pakva-sattvān āpōhatī.
(Niskrāntau.)
Stāpanā.
THE TONES OF YORUBA

By A. Lloyd James, M.A., Department of Phonetics, University College, London.

It has hitherto been assumed that the Tone system of the Yoruba language comprised four tones, viz.—a high tone, a middle tone, a low tone, and a so-called compound tone. An examination of the phonetic structure of the language has led to the conclusion that there are other significant tones which must be understood. The purpose of this article is to explain the Tone system of the language as viewed in the light of recent investigations. The observations and transcriptions are based upon the pronunciation of Mr. A. Baptist, a native Yoruba, to whom I am considerably indebted for his patience and his zealous interest in the subject.

1. There are, in the first place, the three significant tones most frequently met with. They are:—

   (a) High level, which we shall indicate by prefixing the sign ' before the syllable bearing this tone.
   (b) Middle level, to which no sign need be prefixed.
   (c) Low falling, which will be indicated by the sign '. This tone is always difficult to indicate in musical notation, as the voice, starting somewhere in the neighbourhood of E, falls suddenly. The end of the syllable is frequently voiceless.

These tones are illustrated, with musical notation, in the following words:

(a) 

/ba = to overtake. /bu = to abuse.

(b) 

ba = to crouch. bu = to be mildewed.
Certain grammatical distinctions of the highest importance are expressed by means of these tones, e.g.:

\( o = \) thou (colloquial form of \( iwo \))
\( \text{\'{o} = he} \)

\( o \, \hat{hi} = \) thou walkest.
\( \text{\'{o} \, \hat{hi} = he walks.} \)

Similarly, \( ara \, \text{\'re} = \) yourself, while \( ara \, \text{\'re} = \) himself. The monosyllable \( \text{\'re} \) has, in addition, the following meanings:

\( \text{\'re} = \) to cut with a knife.
\( \text{\'re} = \) to soak in water.
\( \text{\'re} = \) to wither, to be tired.

2. There is the tone which is sometimes indicated in European transliteration by the diacritic \( \sim \). The fact that this diacritic is so infrequently met with seems to indicate that the nature of the tone was not very clearly recognized.

The tone is, in reality, a mid-falling tone, and is found only on long vowels. It is the significant tone of the definite article \( na: \) which is pronounced

\( na: \)

This tone is indicated by prefixing the sign \( \text{\'} \). Compare this with \( na = \) to flog, and \( \text{\'na = to spend.} \)

This tone will be found in all those words which contain this particle, e.g.:

\( loguk\acute{a} \, na: = \) at the same time.
\( k\acute{a} \, na: = \) same.
\( \text{\'{le} \, \hat{hi} \, na: =} \) afterwards.
\( \text{\'{ba} \, ka \, \hat{na}: = the same.} \)

It is also found in the two words:
\( \text{\'be} \, \text{\'ko = no; not so.} \)
\( \text{\'be} \, \text{\'ni = yes.} \) It is so,
these being the two words in European transliteration where the diacritic ~ is most frequently found.

The tone is certainly met with in the following cases:—

to ~ be: = thus.
•i ~ be: ,re: = a question.
ad ~ lanà = the merciful.
•bi . . . le: ,re = to ask.
•ka ~ kiri = about.

It is also heard in such expressions as a ~ ra: ,e ~ ko = a native of Lagos, where a ~ ra: stands for ara ti, ti being the preposition "of".

3. There is a low rising tone found in certain words, e.g.:—

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{\includegraphics[width=0.2\textwidth]{example.png}}
\end{align*} \]

\[ \text{ma ~ ìà:} = five. \]

This tone may be indicated by prefixing ~. Vowels bearing this tone are long.

Compare this with

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{\includegraphics[width=0.2\textwidth]{example.png}}
\end{align*} \]

\[ \text{ma ~ ìà:} = don't rumple it. \]

and with

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{\includegraphics[width=0.2\textwidth]{example.png}}
\end{align*} \]

\[ \text{ma ~ ìà:} = don't destroy it. \]

This tone is found in the following examples:—

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{o ~ go: ìà:} = hundred.
\text{e ~ gbë: ìà: = thousand.}
\text{\textit{ba}ji: = thus.}
\text{\textit{á} ìà = middle.}
\text{\textit{lo} ni: = to-day.}
\text{\textit{kpa} ,\textit{kpa} = even, or intensive adverbial particle.}
\end{align*} \]

Compare

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{\textit{e} ,\textit{re} = beans.}
\text{\textit{e} \textquoteleft \textit{re = game.}}
\text{\textit{\textquoteleft e} ,\textit{re = boa constrictor.}}
\text{\textit{\textquoteleft e} ,\textit{re = gain.}}
\end{align*} \]
4. There appears to be a tone between the middle and high tones. The exact nature of this tone has been difficult to discover: its significance is best understood by a comparison of the two following words:

\[ \text{a-wo} = \text{plate.} \quad \text{a'wo} = \text{guinea fowl.} \]

The tone in question is found on the second syllable of \text{awo} = \text{plate}. It is certainly not the middle tone, which is found in the first syllable of both words, nor is it the high tone which is found in the second syllable of \text{awo} = \text{guinea fowl}. Compare the following words:

\[ \text{a'wo} = \text{plate (another pronunciation).} \]

\[ \text{a 'wo} = \text{a sort of fish.} \]

\[ \text{'a wo} = \text{net.} \]

\[ \text{awo} = \text{secrecy.} \]

It will be noticed that the average interval between middle and high tones is about a fourth; between high and low tones, an octave. The new tone is characterized by an interval varying from a semitone to a tone, or even a third.

\[ \text{agbara} = \text{strength.} \]
I propose to indicate this tone by prefixing -'. The following are examples:

\[\text{eni'kemi} = \text{anybody.}\]
\[\text{i-nu ni-bi ni} = \text{persecution.}\]
\[-ni-ni kp3 = \text{thickness.}\]
\[-li le = \text{strong, hard.}\]
\[\text{a-bu-le} = \text{hut.}\]

The native speaker will insist upon this interval in these words. \[\text{a gba ra} \text{is wrong, and a 'gba ra} \text{is equally wrong.}\] It is wrong to pronounce the word on a monotone, whether that monotone is high, middle, or low. Such monotone words are very common in the language, so that the pronunciation \[\text{a-gba ra}\] can be satisfactorily explained only by postulating a tone between the Middle and the High Tone. This new tone might be called the Intermediate Tone.

5. There remains to be considered an important series of tones which are found in certain verb forms. The 3rd pers. sing. personal pronoun used as the direct object of a transitive verb is expressed by lengthening the final vowel of the verb. Thus, if \[\text{o 'bu} \text{means "he abuses"}, \text{then o 'bu:} \text{means "he abuses him, her, it".}\]

This lengthening of the vowel brings in its train a complication of the tone, and results in the first series of verb tones that we have to recognize. It will not be necessary to indicate these tones by special signs: if we indicate the simple tone of the verb, that will give us all that is required when once we have established the nature of the tone arising when the vowel is lengthened in a verb of every tone.

\[(a) \text{High tone verb. 'bu = to abuse.}\]

\[\text{o 'bu} = \text{he abuses.} \quad \text{o 'bu:} = \text{he abuses him.}\]

This falling tone must not be confused with the falling tone found on \[\text{'na:} = \text{the, even.}\] Compare:

\[\text{e'mi 'na: = I myself, even I,}\]
and

\[ e'\text{mi} \quad '\text{na}: = \text{I spend it, from 'na = to spend.} \]

This is the tone that is used in the particle \( '\text{ma} \), meaning continue, carry on, and it is important that it should not be confused with \( '\text{ma} = \text{stop.} \)

Thus

\[ '\text{ma}: \quad '\text{so} \quad '\text{ro} = \text{continue talking,} \]

\[ '\text{ma} \quad '\text{so} \quad '\text{ro} = \text{stop talking.} \]

(b) Middle tone verb. \( '\text{de} = \text{to entrap.} \)

\[ '\text{o} \quad '\text{de} = \text{he entraps,} \quad '\text{o} \quad '\text{de}: = \text{he entraps it.} \]

(c) Low tone verb. \( '\text{bu} = \text{to take out of.} \)

\[ '\text{o} \quad '\text{bu} = \text{he takes out of.} \]

\[ '\text{o} \quad '\text{bu}: = \text{he takes out of it.} \]

6. The last verb tone is found in the future tense of high tone verbs. The future auxiliary \( '\text{jio} \) is in itself a high tone, and although there is no general modification when two high tones are adjacent, yet in this case the tone of the verb undergoes a sudden change.
'bu = to abuse. The future tense is

\[ e\'\text{mi} \quad j\text{o} \quad \text{bu} \]

The vowel of the verb is only slightly lengthened. If we lengthen the vowel to indicate 3rd pers. pron. object as indicated in the previous paragraph, this new tone disappears and we get:

\[ e\'\text{mi} \quad j\text{o} \quad \text{bu}: = \text{I shall abuse him.} \]

This significant tone of the future of all high tone verbs need not be specially marked in broad transcriptions: if the tone of the verb is indicated, the presence of the auxiliary jio will be sufficient to warn the reader of the tone. If, in addition, the vowel of the verb is lengthened, then that will indicate that the special future tone gives way to the tone used to indicate the presence of a direct object.

I attach a phonetic transcription of the story of the North Wind and the Sun, with a verbatim translation interlined, and followed by the text with musical notation.

\[ e\'\text{fu}:\text{fu} \quad \text{li} \quad \text{le} \quad \text{a ti} \quad \text{\textquoteright o;} \quad \text{\textquoteright ã} \]
wind strong and sun

\[ e\'\text{fu}\text{fu} \quad \text{li} \quad \text{le} \quad \text{a ti} \quad \text{\textquoteright o;} \quad \text{\textquoteright ã} \quad \text{\textquoteright ŋ} \text{\textquoteright jā} \quad \text{\textquoteright la;} \quad \text{\textquoteright ŋ} \text{\textquoteright ara} \quad \text{\textquoteright ã} \text{\textquoteright wō} \]
wind strong and sun (part.) dispute among self their

\[ e\'\text{ji} \quad \text{\textquoteright ti} \quad \text{\textquoteright o} \quad \text{\textquoteright ni} \quad \text{\textquoteright a-gbara} \quad \text{\textquoteright ã} \text{\textquoteright qu} \quad \text{\textquoteright e ke;\textquoteright ã} \text{\textquoteright lo}, \]
which he has strength (comparative sign) other (part.)

\[ \text{\textquoteright ni} \quad \text{\textquoteright gba ti} \quad \text{\textquoteright a-fi;\textquoteright ã} \text{\textquoteright go} \quad \text{\textquoteright kā} \quad \text{\textquoteright m;\textquoteright bo} \quad \text{\textquoteright wa} \quad \text{\textquoteright kpe;\textquoteright lu}; \quad e\text{\textquoteright wu} \]
when traveller one (part.) came towards with cloak

\[ \text{\textquoteright to} \quad \text{\textquoteright ni} \quad \text{\textquoteright kpō} \quad \text{\textquoteright ni} \quad \text{\textquoteright ara} \quad \text{\textquoteright re.} \quad \text{\textquoteright a-wō} \quad \text{me;\textquoteright ã} \quad \text{\textquoteright ã} \text{\textquoteright se} \quad \text{\textquoteright a-de;\textquoteright ã} \text{\textquoteright hū}, \]
that is thick in body his they both make agreement

\[ \text{\textquoteright kpe;\textquoteright e\'\text{ji} \quad \text{\textquoteright ti} \quad \text{\textquoteright o} \quad \text{\textquoteright ba} \quad \text{\textquoteright ko;\textquoteright ã} \quad \text{\textquoteright ã} \quad \text{\textquoteright ki} \quad \text{\textquoteright a-fi;\textquoteright ã} \quad \text{\textquoteright go} \quad \text{\textquoteright na;} \quad \text{\textquoteright bo} \]
that he who (part.) first let traveller the take
\(\epsilon\) \wu\ \ni \ni\ kp\o\ \re\ \ku\ , ro, \ou\ ni\ \ko\ \dge\ a\-la\-gba\ ra\ cloak\ thick\ his\ off\ he\ is\ should\ be\ strong

\(\text{kgu}\ \ni\ \nu\ \a\ wo\ me, \dge, \gi. \epsilon\ fu, \fu\ \-li\ le\ \na: \)
(comparative) in both wind strong the
\(\text{si, be, re, si} \ 'fe\ ki\ k\`\a\ ki\ k\`a, kp\ e\ lu\ gbo\ gbo\ a\-gba\ ra\ and\ begin\ to\ blow\ strong\ with\ all\ strength}
\(\text{re, jugbo\ bi\ o\ ti\ 'fe\ ki\ k\`\a\ ki\ k\`a,}
his, but as he (past tense) part. blow strong strong,
\(\text{be: ni a f\i, d\o\ na: t\u, bo\ we \epsilon\ wu\ ni\ ni\ kp\o\ re\ so\ traveller\ the\ more\ wrap\ cloak\ thick\ his}
-mora -giri -giri; \(\text{ati\ ni, ike, hi, \epsilon\ fu, fu\ \-li\ le\ na: to\ himself\ close\ close\ and\ in\ last, wind\ strong\ the}
da\ wo\ -du\ ro. \(\text{le, hi\ na: o, \fu, \ra\ d\a\ de\ kp\ e\ lu\ gbo\ gbo\ stop.\ then\ sun\ shine\ out\ with\ all}
a\-gba\ ra, \re, lo\-d\u\ k\`a\ na: a f\i, d\o\ na: bo \epsilon\ wu\ strength\ his, whereupon\ traveller\ the\ took\ off\ cloak
\(\ni\ \ni\ kp\o\ \re\ \ku\ , ro. \(\text{be: ni \epsilon\ fu, fu\ \-li\ le\ na: \ni\ thick\ his\ away, so\ wind\ strong\ has}
-la\ ti\ dge\ wo\ \kpe\ o, \fu\ dge\ a\-la\-gba\ ra\ d\u\ to\ confess\ that\ sun\ is\ strong\ (comparative)
o\\ ou\ \lo.
he (particle).
THE MARSDEN MSS. AND INDIAN MISSION
BIBLIOGRAPHY

By the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J.

In 1910 I published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, August number, pp. 437–61, under the title of "The Marsden MSS. in the British Museum", some notes by W. Rees Philipps and H. Beveridge on some remarkable treasures once in the Jesuit Archives of Goa and now in the British Museum. These MSS., comprising ten volumes (Add. MSS. 9852–61), contain original letters by the Jesuit Missionaries in India and the farther East, addressed mostly to the Provincial of Goa, before the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1757 by the Marquess de Pombal. Some of the documents refer, however, to Cochin and Southern India, these portions of the mission field having belonged to Goa till the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The MSS. are entered in the British Museum Catalogue as Additional MSS. 9852–61, and are there summarily described. A fuller description of the contents of some of these volumes appeared in my article quoted above. They belonged originally to a collection in Goa, as Add. 9859 and 9860 bear the press-mark "Gau[eta] No. 32", while Add. 9853 is marked "Gau. No. 42". In 1911–12 I had a large number of these MSS., all those, namely, which referred to the history of the Jesuit Missions in Northern India, photographed with the view of publishing them.

My article was followed up in JASB., volume for 1911, p. 115, by a short note from the pen of the late W. Irvine on the meaning of "Gaveta". H. Beveridge also published in The Indian Magazine and Review, London, A. Constable, October, 1910, pp. 264–6, an article on Father Anthony Botelho's report in Add. MSS. 9855.

These studies have now been taken up again by Sir E. Denison Ross, the Principal of the School of Oriental Studies, London, in an article on "The Manuscripts collected by William Marsden, with special reference to two copies of Almeida's History of Ethiopia". This article, of which an author's copy was sent me on 10th August, 1922, occupies pp. 513–38 of a review which, lacking further indications,
I suppose and hear to be the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London, Vol. II, Pt. III.

Sir E. Denison Ross deals partly with the British Museum Add. MSS. 9852–61, of which the last, No. 9861, is a copy of Father Almeida’s *Historia de Ethiopia a alta*. Father C. Beccari, S.J., who has reprinted this in his collection on Ethiopia, thought that the British Museum copy was the only surviving one of the work. His reprint fills three of the fifteen volumes published in Rome between 1903 and 1917 under the general title of *Rerum *Æthiopicarum* Scriptores Occidentales inediti a saeculo XVI ad XIX*.

I now find from Sir E. Denison Ross’s article that two other collections of Jesuitica were presented by W. Marsden to the British Museum in 1828. They are preserved in two small boxes numbered Add. 6878 and 6879, and are described as “Documents brought from the Archives of the Romish Church at Goa (covering the period between 1569 and 1613)”.

As these two collections of Jesuit MSS. from Goa were overlooked by my two excellent friends in 1910 and have probably never attracted the attention of Jesuit writers, I copy here from Sir E. Denison Ross the description in the British Museum Catalogue. The contents of No. 6879 will be welcomed by the Editors of *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu*, if, as I suppose, they have not come across copies of them elsewhere.

**Additional Manuscripts: No. 6878.**

The following documents, brought from the Archives of the Romish Church at Goa:


2. A Charter of Sebastian, King of Portugal, in Portuguese; d. 1572 (scarcely legible).

3. Attestation to the Genuineness of Reliques sent to various Churches in the Eastern and Western Indies; d. 16 April, 1573.

4. Certified Transcript of Attestations to the Genuineness of various Reliques given to the Jesuits; d. 13 Oct., 1574 (printed on vellum).


8. Attestation by the same to the Genuineness of Reliques of St. Abundius, sent to Japan; same date.


10. Attestation by Claudius Aquaviva to the Genuineness of the Reliques of several Saints sent to the Church at Goa; d. Rome, 17 Dec., 1590.¹

11. Authenticated Copies of Documents relating to the Appointment of Peter Martinez to be Bishop of Funai; d. Rome, 27 Feb., 1592.

12. Form of Profession of Faith made by Franciscus de Vasconcellos, Bishop Elect of Cochín. No date.²


No. 6879.

1. Commission to the Archbishop of Goa or his Vicar to examine Witnesses and Documents with a view to further Proceedings in the Canonisation of Francis Xavier; d. Rome, 7 Sept., 1613.

2. A Vellum Roll, containing Interrogatories and Articles administered by authority of the Commissioners about to examine into Evidence as to the Claim of Francis Xavier to Canonisation; 1613.

3. A Duplicate of the above-mentioned Roll.

"Most of these documents," says Sir E. Denison Ross, "bear a press-mark indicating the shelf or drawer in which they were preserved in the Goa archives. The term employed is Gaveta, or Drawer, and it is variously contracted to Gau or Gauet, which is followed by a number, thus 'No. 34'." ³

¹ Francisco de Souza, S.J., Oriente Conquistado, Parte 2, Conq. 2, Div. 2, § 4, p. 158 (Bombay edn.), mentions a relic of the Holy Cross sent by Father General Cl. Aquaviva to the hermitage of the H. Cross of Manapad, Fishery Coast (1581-2).

² Confirmed in 1721; took possession of the See of Cochín, 10th May, 1722; raised to the Metropolitan See of Goa in 1745. Cf. Mitras Lusitanas, III Parte, Bombay, 1888, p. 29.

Eight other MSS., Oriental, were presented by W. Marsden to the British Museum in 1834, i.e. Add. MSS. 9390–7; they have, however, no special interest for us, as they do not proceed from Catholic Missionaries. See Sir E. Denison Ross, article quoted, pp. 518–19.

In the second place, Sir E. Denison Ross deals with the MSS. presented by W. Marsden to King's College, London. This portion is entirely new to me, and is full of interesting matter for the historian of our Eastern Missions.

One of the MSS. is a second copy of Almeida's History of Ethiopia. Not only does it appear to be a copy revised by Almeida and later than the British Museum copy, but it has three appendices, which make it especially valuable. I may say, however, that Appendix I, foll. 32a-70a, the "Appendix à Historia de Ethiopia. Naqual se refutam os principaes erros q' andaõ escritos em huã q' se imprimio ã Valença no âno de 1610", has appeared in Father Fernão Guerreiro's Relações Annals das Corsas que fizeram os Padres da Companhia de Iesu . . . nos annos de 607. & 608 . . . Lisboa, Pedro Crasbeeck, M.DCXI, foll. 265a–344a. This latter, a refutation of Urreta's book, has thirteen chapters, whereas the King's College MS. is divided into thirty-six sections.

That the K.C. MS. of Almeida's History belonged also originally to the Jesuit Archives of Goa is clear from the fact that on the obverse of the last folio it has the press-mark "Gaueta No. 34", the same press-mark as that of Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 6878 and 6879, described above.

Sir E. Denison Ross intends to return shortly to the study of the K.C. copy of Almeida's History, "as I have now discovered," he writes to me, "the outer cover of the King's College Almeida, which contains a good deal of preliminary matter."

The MSS. presented by Marsden to King's College have now been loaned to the School of Oriental Studies, and it requires no prophet to say that, with Sir E. Denison Ross as Principal of the School and a galaxy of the ablest Oriental linguists around him, we shall hear more about the collection.

These MSS. are a wonderful collection, containing, besides rich historical materials, a large number of Oriental MSS. composed by Catholic Missionaries in India, Ethiopia, Burma, China, and the Philippines. If all are MSS., then some at least, it would seem, have been transcribed from printed copies.

Since this collection was never examined by the Jesuit
bibliographers, not even by the most eminent of all, Father C. Sommervogel, for his *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, we shall be excused if, considering the many countries it covers and the wide interest it bids fair to arouse, we reproduce here from Marsden’s *Bibliotheca Marsdeniana Philologica et Orientalis*, London, 1827, those entries in which we recognize or suspect the work of Catholic Missionaries. We have to thank Sir E. Denison Ross for having made the list accessible to us through his article, for Marsden’s *Bibliotheca* is now scarce.

We shall prefix numbers to the different entries to facilitate future reference, as it may be worth discussing the authorship of some of these MSS. *occasione datâ*. Our own comments on these entries are inserted within [ ].

Whether all the MSS. to be mentioned here are still in the Marsden collection presented to King’s College will appear, writes Sir E. Denison Ross (op. cit., p. 526), when the new catalogue, now in preparation, is completed.

**Arabic.**

1. The Book of the Four Gospels, in Arabic. 4to. (The division of the Chapters differs from that of our Versions; the Second Chapter of St. Matthew, for example, beginning at the eighteenth verse of our First Chapter.)

[We mention this because the first Jesuit Missionaries at Akbar’s Court tried hard to obtain a copy of the Arabic translation of the four Gospels.]

**Burmah.**

2. Alphabetum Barmanum seu Bomanum, auctore Domino Melchior Carpiani. (“Communicante amicissimo Auctore in nave Gallico¹ l’Actif, mense Maii 1775, G.P.” It was printed at Rome in the following year.)

**Chinese, Cochin-Chinese or Tunkinese, etc.**

3. Dictionarium Sinico-Latinum, cum variis Appendicibus. 4to. (The words of this Chinese Dictionary are arranged according to the Pronunciation, and not according to the Radicals. The French Orthography is employed. Annexed to it are the following: A List of Ten Chinese Dictionaries; a Table of the 214 Radicals; an Index of all the Characters explained in the Dictionary, classed

¹ *Sic. Navis* is feminine.
under their respective Radicals, with their Pronunciation; the peculiar Numerical particles; an alphabetical series of Characters expressing opposite meanings; characters combined with TA, to strike; Table of the Cycle of Sixty years; and Decimal system of Numbers from One to one hundred Billions.)

[The authorship of this, if the author is a Jesuit, may perhaps be determined by referring to some of the names in Sommervogel, X, coll. 971–3, or, better still, by consulting H. Cordier’s *Bibliotheca Sinica*, in four volumes.]

4. Arte de la lingua Mandarina.
   [I do not find this in Sommervogel, loc. cit.]

5. Quaesita Missionariorum Chinae seu Sinarum, S. Congregationi de Propaganda Fide exhibita, cum Responsis ad ea. 4to.

6. Quaesita Missionariorum Tunkini et Responsiones ad ipsa. Quaeritio 1 proposed to the Missionaries respecting the laws, government, religion, etc., of the people of Tunkin, and their Answers; collected and arranged by Fr. Joannes de Paz. 4to. “Impressum Manilae anno Domini 1680.” (From whence it is to be inferred that the MS. was copied from the printed work.)

[For Nos. 5 and 6, Sommervogel, Vol. X, might be consulted under “Rites Chinois”, or see Cordier’s *Bibliotheca Sinica*. Joannes de Paz is perhaps a Dominican.]

   [This may be unknown to Jesuit bibliographers, and in that case it should prove very valuable for the historians of our Asiatic Missions, chiefly those of Japan.]

8. An Account of the State of Christianity in China in the years 1633 and 1634, as well as of the Empire in general. To which is added a Report of the Anamitic or Tunkin Mission. In Latin. Sm. 4to.
   [Same remark as for Nos. 5 and 6, except that Sommervogel, Vol. X, should be consulted under a different rubric.]

**Ethiopic.**


[My notes on Jesuit Printing in India (MS.) contain on this the following:—

1 *Sic.*
[1642.—Anthony Fernandez, S.J.—“Flagellum mendaciourm sive Tractatus de erroribus Æthiopiea sermone Chaldæo. Typis Æthiopicis ab Urbano VIII ad Patriarcham Alphonsum submissis. Impressum Goeæ, in Collegio S. Pauli, 1642. 4to.”

[Alégambe writes: “Tractatus de erroribus Æthiopiea, in Chaldæum sermonem ab ipso conversus, inscriptus Flagellum Mendacii, MDCXXI.”

[Machado says: “Magseph Assetat, id est Flagellum Mendaciorum, Goa. In the characters of the country.”

[He refutes in it the errors of the Masgah Haymonot, i.e. “Treasure of the Faith”, written by the schismatical Raz Athemateot. Cf. Sommervogel, III, 646.


[“A copy of the Magseph assetat is in the Biblioteca Nacional of Lisbon.” (Note by Mr. James Southwood, British Museum, to the writer.)


[On this, see Sir E. Denison Ross’s article referred to in the beginning.]

Persian.

11. The Gospels of the Four Evangelists in the Persian language. 4to. (This book appears to have been in the possession of Jeronimo Xavier, then residing at Agra, whose signature is affixed to an introductory memorandum dated in 1605, the year in which Akbar died and his son, Jehângir, succeeded to the throne.)

[This is not noticed as among the Marsden MSS. of King’s College by E. D. Maclagan (now Sir) in J.AS. Bengal, 1896, p. 113, where he notices Nos. 12, 13, and 14 among Jerome Xavier’s
works. At pp. 95-6 of the article referred to we find the following interesting information on Jerome Xavier’s translation of the four Gospels:

[“At the beginning of March (1604) there had arrived at Agra from Lahor a ‘distinguished and learned Florentine João Battista Vecchiete’, who had travelled ‘in many eastern lands, through Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Persia’, and who was much favoured by the Emperor.” An interesting account of his books is then given (by Jerome Xavier in Marsden MSS., Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 9854, foll. 7-19):—

[“‘He has much friendship for us, in proof of which he gave us a book of the Holy Gospels in Arabic with the Latin at the foot, printed in the Vatican, which we value very highly.¹ He had also with him the Psalter of David in Persian, which he obtained with great pains and at great cost from a Jew who had it in Persian, but in Hebrew character. It was translated two hundred years ago by an eminent Jew of Persia. We gave ourselves to the transcribing of these books with much delight. While the Italian was here, he copied in Persian characters the Books of Proverbs, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, Judith, and Esther, which he had in Persian, but in Hebrew character,² and gave them to us freshly copied, but though the characters are new, the translation is more than two hundred years old; he obtained them from some Jews in Persia at a good price. We gave him the book of the four Gospels in Persian, which he greatly desired, for he said that they had the Gospel of St. Matthew in Persian at Rome, but would like very much to have the other three. Last year we sent to Rome another book of the Gospels in Persian, the translation of which is more than 300 years old. God grant that it arrived safely. We are now arranging the same Gospels in Persian with the corresponding Latin at the foot, which God willing will be much esteemed in Europe.’”

[Sommervogel (Bibl. de la C. de J., VIII, col. 1339) notes under the name of Father Jerome Xavier: “Los quatro Evangelhos em Persico, feitos do P. Yeronimo Xavier em Lahor, corte de

¹ [“The Roman editio princeps of the four Gospels, 1590-1 (issued both with and without an interlinear Latin version).” W. Smith’s Dict. of the Bible, vol. iii (1893), p. 1615, col. 1.]
Moya [read: Mogor] en '1607.—A Lisbonne." He adds: "In Father Maracci's Relation, translated by Father de Machault, we read, p. 23: 'Father Francis Morando, of Bologna, a great scholar in the Parthian and Industanne tongue . . . must reside at present at Agra . . . to get copied and put into one Tome the excellent works of Father Hierosme Xauier, the nephew of St. Francis, who . . . composed several Books, and translated others, as the Gospels into the Parthian tongue.'"

[In December, 1912, while at the Bishop's Residence, Agra, I found, in the library of the Capuchin Fathers there, a manuscript copy of the Persian Gospels, and was allowed to bring it with me to Calcutta for the purpose of study. I sent it to Mr. H. Beveridge in England, and returned it to Agra. If I remember well (for I could not now easily get at the copious notes to which this study led), I came to the conclusion that it was a copy of Jerome Xavier's Gospels, transcribed about 1680, and that his Persian translation had been utilized by Bishop Brian Walton (1600-61) for his Polyglot Bible, which came out in 1657. Nine languages are represented in it: Hebrew, Chaldee, Samaritan, Syrian, Arabic, Persian, Ethiopic, Greek, and Latin. (Cf. Encycl. Britann., 11th edition, XXVIII, coll. 300-1; XXII, col. 25.) The Persian is represented by the Gospels and also by the Pentateuch, which increases the likelihood that Jerome Xavier's four Gospels were printed by Bishop Walton. If I remember correctly, the Bishop states that the Persian Gospels had been obtained from India, i.e. from Mogor, but he did not know the author of the translation. What we have quoted, however, above from the J.ASB., 1896, shows that before 1604 Jerome Xavier had a Persian translation of the four Gospels, then more than 300 years old, and the question arises whether he did not help himself with this older translation for his own translation, even if he made his own according to the Vulgate, as he did for his translation of the Psalms. See No. 12.

[The Persian translation sent to Rome in 1603 must have reached, for Cornelius a Lapide refers to it somewhere in his commentaries (on St. Matthew?).

[In the month of Rabī-ul-awwal in the year 990 (March–April, 1582) Emperor Akbar had written to the King of Spain, Philip II: "It has been brought to our notice that the revealed books, such as the Pentateuch, the Gospels, and the Psalms, have been translated into Arabic and Persian. Should these books, which are
profitable to all whether translated or not, be procurable in your country, send them.” (JASB., 1896, p. 54.)]

[This is unknown to Sommervogel and Rivière. Our bibliographers should take note also that copies of Nos. 13 and 14 are to be found in King’s College, London.]
13. Lives of the Twelve Apostles of Jesus Christ, composed in Persian, by P. Jeronimo Xavier of the C. of J., at Agrah, the Court of the Emperor Jehângir, in the year 1609. 8vo.

[See on this my article about the Serampore copy (JASB., 1914, pp. 65–84); and, on another copy from Akbar’s library, which Col. George Ranking presented to me, see Catholic Herald of India, Calcutta, 1921, pp. 479–81, with a note on a copy in the Bodleian. Col. G. Ranking’s copy was presented by me to the Goethals Indian Library, St. Xavier’s College, Calcutta.]

[Sommervogel does not show where a copy could be found.]
15. I. A Persian Vocabulary.
16. II. Saraj-al-munir or the Brilliant Lamp; a Treatise of Morals, in twenty sections, each section concluding with an appropriate Apologue. 8vo.

[I take note of these last two, because I suspect that they belong to the history of the Jesuit Mission of Agra, notably to that of Father Jerome Xavier. H. Beveridge has published somewhere a note on a philosophical or moral treatise of J. Xavier’s, which is not mentioned in Sommervogel. I cannot now think of the title or the name of the review.]

[Sommervogel, VIII, col. 1339, has under the name of Jerome Xavier: “Rudimenta linguae Persicæ.” (Alcazar, Hist. de la Prov. de Toledo, t. II, p. 203.)]

[Another treatise by Jerome Xavier. See Sommervogel, VIII, col. 1339, and JASB., 1896, pp. 110–11. See also my “European

19. Letters written by Portuguese Missionaries from Ajmir,agrah, etc., during the years 1626 to 1668; also one from Antonio d’Andrade, in Tibet, to the Mission in Cashgar; with an Account of political and military transactions during the reign of the Emperor Akbar. Sm. 4to.

[We ought to covet this number for its bearing on the history of Akbar and of the Jesuit Missions in Northern India and Tibet. It is unknown to Jesuit bibliographers. It is remarkable that it was not presented to the British Museum with Add. MSS. 9852–61, all from the Archives of the Provincial of Goa. It gives us the first intimation we have met with of a Jesuit expedition to Kashgar (before 1630 ?), since after that date, if not earlier, Antonio d’Andrade had left for Goa, where he died in 1634. Bro. Benedict Goes, S.J., had passed through Kashgar some twenty-five years before on his way from Agra to the terra incognita of Cathay.]

20. A Vocabulary, Portuguese, Hindustani, and Persian. 4to.

[This, too, comes apparently from the third Jesuit Mission at Agra (1595–1803). We would again associate with it the name of Jerome Xavier.]

Philippine and Molucca Islands.


22. Arte de la lengua Tagala, compuesto por un Religioso del Orden de Predicadores. 1736. 4to.

23. (Arte de la lengua Tagala.) 4to. (This Grammar is in its composition entirely different from the preceding. The beauty of the writing cannot be surpassed, but the copy is in bad preservation, and wants the Title.)


26. Vocabulario de la lengua Bisaya, Hiligueyna y Haraia de las Islas de Panai y Sugbu y para las demas Islas. Por Alonso de Mentrida. Añadido e impresso por Martin Claver. (1698) 4to.
27. Information respecting the state of Christianity in the Molucca islands (in the Portuguese language), transmitted to Europe in the year 1588. 4to.

[The Molucca Missions depended from the Jesuit Provincial of Goa. This document, if emanating from Jesuit Missionaries, as is likely, would have been utilized by Fr. Francisco de Souza for his Oriente Conquistado, but the date 1588 belongs to that part of his History, vol. iii, which remained in MS., and of which a copy was formerly, and is perhaps still, to be found in Portugal. See Sommervogel under his name. When will it be discovered and published? A most important work.]

Sanscrit, Bengali, Hindustani in the Nagri character.

28. The Adi or First Purán, a Christian work in the Mahratta language and Nagri character, divided into Five Parts and appearing to contain an exposition of the Old Testament.

[These two numbers seem to refer to a copy of the Purāṇa by Father Thomas Stephens, S.J., the Englishman. Stephens' Purāṇa was printed at Goa in 1616, 1649, and 1654, in the Roman character, like all the Jesuit vernacular compositions printed at Goa and Rachol. It was reprinted at Mangalore in the Roman character some years ago (1907?). The 2nd and 3rd editions bear the sub-title of Purāṇa. Though entitled Discurso sobre a vinda de Jesu Christo, it gives, says Sommervogel, the Bible story from the creation to the Ascension of Our Lord, and is divided into two treatises. I leave it to Mr. J. A. Saldianha, of Mangalore, who republished this work, to decide whether an edition in the native character would not be highly desirable. A few hundred rupees would suffice to procure rotographs of the work.

[Less likely is this Purāṇa the Purāṇa of Father Stephen de la Croix, S.J.: Discursos sobre a vida do Apostolo S. Pedro, em que se refutam os principais errores do gentilismo deste Oriente . . . According to Sommervogel (II, 1688) this was printed at Goa in]
1634, in two folio volumes, pp. xi, 358, and 283. There is a copy of it in the Biblioteca Nacional of Lisbon. In the Biblioteca Publica of Pangim, Nova Goa, there is a mutilated Purāṇa, printed in Roman characters, evidently at Goa or Rachol, in the seventeenth century, of which the first volume runs from leaf 26 to leaf 280; the second volume continues from leaf 281 to 358; then comes the second part, from leaf 1 to leaf 238, the rest being missing. Though Ismael Gracias spoke of it to me as different from the Purāṇa of Fr. Stephen de la Croix, I believe that it is a copy of his work, since the copy described by Sommervogel stops in the first volume at page (leaf ?) 358. Ismael Gracias sent me photographs of leaf 26 (?), first volume, and of leaf 1 (?) of the second volume, and a friend of mine from Mangalore describes the language as Mahrāṭhi-Koṅkaṇi. The first line of fol. 26 (?) (first volume) is: Discorsa-avasasavare Atthava. Stanza 41, the third stanza on that page, runs thus:—

Magā yeçu papy duzanzu
Ta nite papasangaty uartunu
Dossaqhanddana nacary hounu
Nigata cōmungara. 41

[The first lines of leaf 1 of the second volume are: Dyssarea Pvràn | nachem panchavem | candda : ziyecanddim Brahma, Vist- | tnu Mhaessu Deua nhauaty mnhanuṇi, aissē dauilē | ahe, anny teyanche cudha bhazanecē | chhedanna quelē asse | + | Avasavav Paila | Vistnnv Pvrannasa | qhi araṃbicu deqhoni ta Deu nha- | ue mnhanuṇu aissē hiye pratha- | maliye discvrrssaausuari | lihilā ahe.]

[One can make out from these last lines that there is question of refutations of Gentile errors. This is another work which it would be worth while to reprint for the use of our Mahrāṭhi and Koṅkaṇi Christians. Its stanzas had great vogue in the seventeenth century.

[There is also another Mahrāṭhi Purāṇa by Father Vaz de Guimaraês, printed at Lisbon in 1659, and reprinted at Bombay in 1845 and 1876. Is this different from Father Stephen de la Croix’ ?]

30. A Christian work in the Mahratta language and Nagri character, containing “Instructions for the knowledge of the Universal Lord; Prayers (mantra) adapted to several occasions; Invocations (prathima), a kind of Litany; and a Catechism or Dialogue, in
Question and Answer, between a Tutor and his Disciple, on points of Faith and Doctrine." (Probably composed by the Jesuits of Goa.)

[This might be at least partly Fr. Thomas Stephens' *Doutrina Christãa*, a Catechism printed the first time at Rachol in 1622. There is a copy in the Biblioteca Nacional of Lisbon, and a MS. copy in the British Museum.]


[This is by Fr. Anthony de Saldanha, S.J., and is given as printed at Rachol, 4to, no year, as is also the case with his *Rosas e boninas*. His *Tratado dos Milagres* was printed at Rachol in 1655, 4to. See Sommervogel (VII, 459). There is a copy of the "Tratado dos Milagres" of 1655 in the Biblioteca Nacional of Lisbon.

[Though the language of the *Fruitos de Arvore da Vida* is described as Hindustânî, it is more likely that it is Mahrâthî-Konkani.

[If these works and others published at Goa and Rachol are no longer current among the Mahrâthî- and Konkani-speaking Christians, it reveals a sad state of things, and we have only our own supineness to blame, if, knowing where printed or MS. copies can be found, we do not avail ourselves of the knowledge. Very different is the state of things in China, the original home of printing, where few, if any, of the works composed by the old Missionaries have been lost, and where new editions of their works are continually reprinted.]

32. A Vocabulary, Portuguese and Hindustâni, in the *Nagri* character. Sm. fol.

[Our discussion on this entry assumes that the vocabulary is correctly described as being a Hindustânî one.

[This vocabulary can hardly be that of Fr. Francis Mary of Tours, a French Capuchin, of the Capuchin Province of Touraine, who had been a Missionary in Persia before he was attached to the Mission of Surat, where he composed a voluminous Hindustânî Dictionary entitled *Thesaurus Linguae Indicae*. The Latin title of his dictionary goes against the identification. He left his MS. in the library of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide in 1704, as appears from a note by C. A. Fabronius, at that time Secretary of the Propaganda. This Dictionary was corrected by Father Cassiano]
a Macerata, another Capuchin of the Tibetan Mission, as may be inferred from another note of Cardinal Borgia at the end of the same MS. Cf. Fr. Felix, O.M.C., in *The Franciscan Annals of India*, Nov., 1915, p. 416.

[While in Bengal, D. Fr. Eugenio Trigueiros, an Augustinian, composed a vocabulary containing "Names of things and medicines" in Portuguese and Hindustani or Persian. Born on Jan. 6, 1687, he left for the Missions of Bengal in 1715, and was Vicar of Our Lady of Guadalupe at Chittagong up to 1722; he governed for a time the See of Mylapore; in 1724 he became Bishop-elect of Uranopolis, and Coadjutor and successor of D. João de Casal, the Bishop of Macao, where he was consecrated in 1727. Cf. *Mitras Lusitanas*, 2a ed., Lisboa, 1897, by Padre Cas. Christ. de Nazareth, p. 248. One would expect, however, that a dictionary composed at Chittagong was a Bengali one.

[The Jesuits of Agra would have been the most likely persons in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to compile a Portuguese-Hindustâni dictionary. What encourages us to think that No. 32 was compiled by the Jesuits is that the Marsden collection contains so many linguistic works of the Jesuits in India, particularly of the Jesuits of Agra, and that Marsden appears to have made a regular haul, not only of the Jesuit letters addressed to the Provincial of Goa, but of the original MSS. of Jesuit vernacular works, copies of which might have been preserved by the Provincial, even after some of these works had appeared in print.


33. A Vocabulary, Portuguese and Bengali. Sm. 4to.

[Perhaps one of the three works by Frei Manoel da Assumpção, an Augustinian Missionary in Bengal, which were printed at Lisbon in 1743. In *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. IX, 1914, Pt. I, pp. 40–63, I have described chiefly the Catechism, a copy of which is to be had in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XIII (July–Dec., 1916, pp. 68–9), I described summarily two copies of the same Friar’s Vocabulary in

[Between 1671 and 1684 the Jesuits of the Goa Province organized a Mission among the Bengali converts of Don Antonio, son of the Raja of Busna. Father Marcos Antonio Santucci, S.J., the Superior of that Mission, wrote from Nolina Cot to the Provincial of Goa on January 3, 1683: “The Fathers [Ignatius Gomes, Manoel Sarayva, and himself] have not failed in their duty; they have learned the language well, have composed vocabularies, a grammar, a confessionary, and prayers; they have translated the Christian Doctrine [Dourina Christá or Catechism], etc., nothing of which existed till now.” Cf. O Chronista de Tissuary, Goa, Vol. II, 1867, p. 12, quoted in Bengal: Past and Present, IX, p. 46.]

**Telinga, Tamul, Kanari.**

34. A work in the Kanari language and character, on Religious subjects, and apparently composed by a Christian Missionary. Fol.

[On Jan. 6, 1916, Prof. Barnett, of the British Museum, sent me a memorandum drawn up by Mr. James Southwood, about books printed in India, mostly by the Jesuits. Among Mr. James Southwood’s notes I find: “The Jardim dos Pastores [of Fr. Miguel de Almeida, S.J.] is in the Marsden library, King’s College, London.” Would not No. 34 be, therefore, de Almeida’s Jardim dos Pastores, of which I have still in my possession, loaned by a friend on the Goa side, the first volume, one of five? Cf. my description of it in The Examiner, Bombay, July 22, 1922 (pp. 288–9); July 29 (pp. 297–8); Aug. 5 (pp. 308–9); Aug. 12 (pp. 318–19); Aug. 19 (pp. 326–8).

[Volume III of Jardim dos Pastores is noticed by Sommervogel as printed at Goa in 1658, and the number of leaves (fol. 270) tallies with that of a printed volume of vernacular sermons in the Public Library of Goa. Leaf 210v (alias leaf 211r, according to J. A. Ismael Gracias, who sent me a photograph of it) begins thus: “Pratica Pri- | meira pera o dia | da festa do Apostolo | Sam Pedro. | Tratase de sevs | Milagres & excelencias. | Apostola
Sam | Pedrvche adivas | sachy Paily Sicauanna. | Tacheam abhi-
nauã acharianchy gostri | quelea. | Aicha diuassa Aposto | lanchea
siracamalla. Catholica Igrazechê . . .” |  
[J. A. Ismael Gracias also describes in his *A imprensa em Goa*, pp. 50–6, another volume of the series. 
[It would be interesting to know whether the folio volume of the Marsden MSS. entered here under our No. 34 represents the five volumes of de Almeida’s *Jardim dos Pastores*. If it does, an effort should be made on the Goa side to have the complete series republished. We need scarcely add that Konkañi is often spoken of in the old accounts as Kanarese.]  
[The Fathers of the Madura Mission at our Theological Seminary, St. Mary’s College, Kurseong, tell me that they do not know this work. MS. copies of it are perhaps to be found in the collection of MSS. kept at Trichinopoly, the Cathedral, by the Fathers of the Madura Mission. Or it is possible that the work is known on the Jaffna side by Father S. Gnana Prakasar, O.M.I., of Nallur: For the history of the Calendar cf. Rev. L. Bessô, S.J., *Father Beschi . . .*, Trichinopoly, St. Joseph’s Industrial School Press, 1918, pp. 203–8.]  
36. Notizie del Madurey, e del Ingresso, Accrescimento, e Stato della Fede in quel regno, e negli altri contigui. Date in luce da Broglio Antonio Brandolini della C. di G. Missionario dell’ istesso Madurey. (Written a few years later than 1717, as appears from a circumstance related at p. 384.)  
[This title does not correspond to what Sommervogel (II, 86–7; VIII, 1917) gives, as published by Father Brandolini. Was the work perhaps written by another Madura Missionary? I do not find it under any other’s name with the help of Fr. Pierre Bliard’s Tables, i.e. Sommervogel, Vol. X.]  
37. A Book in the Kanari language and character, commencing with a salutation to *Isvara* and proceeding in the form of a dialogue between a Gûrû or Religious Teacher and his Disciple. Certain Crosses, however, denote it to be the work of a Roman Catholic Christian. 4to.  
[“Dialogue between a Gûrû or Religious Teacher and his Disciple” could be the description of an ordinary Catechism.  
*vol. iii*. *part 1.*
We find a similar description of what appears to be a Catechism at No. 39.]

38. Vocabulario da lingoa Canerim do Norte concertado e acrecentado em 1664. Sm. 4to.

[Sommervogel has under Anthony de Saldanha, S.J. (VIII, 459-60): "Vocabulario de lingua Concanica." And de Leon Pinelo (I, 521) says of him: "Vocabulario copiosissimo de la Lengua Concanica, MS. que estava para imprimirse, segun Sotuvél [Sotwel, Southwell], fol. 84."

[Sommervogel also notes under Michael de Almeida, S.J., on the authority of Barbosa: "Dicionario da lingua Concanica composto pelo P. Diogo Ribeiro, S.J., addicionado"; and on the authority of Southwell: "Vocabularium nostri Benedicti Pereiræ in linguam Concanicam conversum."

[See also Sommervogel under Diego Ribeiro (VI, 1759, 4. A): "Vocabulario da lingua Canarim, 1626," which shows that Canarim and Concani were used synonymously.]

39. Vocabulario Canarim vertido en Portuguesa. 4to.

[In case Canarim means Kanarese, and not Konkanī, this might be the work of Fr. Leo Cinnamo, S.J., who composed a Grammar and Dictionary of Canara. Cf. Sommervogel, II, 1188, A.]

40. Grammatica da lingua Bramana que corre na Ilha de Goa e sua comarca. (A Grammar of the Northern Kanari language, in Portuguese.) 4to.

41. Arte da lingoa Canarin. (In European characters.) Sm. 4to.

42. Arte da lingoa Canarin. Doutrina Christam em lingoa Bramana Canarin. 4to.

[For Nos. 40-2, compare with: "Grammatica da lingua Concani no dialecto do Norte, composto no seculo XVII por hum Missionario Portuguez: e agora pela primeira vez dada a estampa (por Joachim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara), Nova Goa, 1858."


[Compare still with: "Nous avons aussi la Grammaire et le Dictionnaire de la langue de ce pays, l’une et l’autre mis à la perfection par les PP. Manuel Rodriguez et Paul Iovio Italien, qui ont esté tres-bien entendus en ces langues." Cf. Relation de
ce qui s'est passé dans les Indes Orientales . . . par le P. Maracci, S.J., trad. par le P. Jacq. de Machault, Paris, 1651, p. 52. Quoted by Sommervogel, IV, 645.]

43. Arte Malavar, or Grammar of the Malabar (Grantham) language, explained in Portuguese. 4to.

[There is an Ars Tamul by Gaspar de Aguilar, S.J. (Sommervogel, I, 82, 1); an Ars Tamulica (1673) by Fr. Balthasar da Costa (Sommervogel, II, 1504, A); an Ars linguae Maleariae, 158, by Fr. Henry Henriquez, S.J. (Sommervogel, IV, 276, 5); a Grammatica et Vocabularium Tamulicum by the same (ibid., IV, 276, 1), etc. Cf. Sommervogel, X, 975.]

44. Alphabetum Grandonico-Malabaricum sive Samscrudonicum. (Transcribed from the edition printed by the P.F. at Rome in 1772, by or for M. Court de Gebelin.) 8vo.

[This is: Alphabetum | Grandonico-Malabaricum | sive | Samscrudonicum | Romae MDCCCLXXII. | Typis Sac. Congregationis de Propag. Fide | Praesidium Facultate.

One leaf unnumbered; recto: dedication to Pope Clement XIV; pp. VI–XXVIII; introduction by Johannes Christophorus Amaducci; pp. 1–100; and 8 tables.


[Amaducci, ibid., calls the author: “Clemens Peanius Alexandrinus, Carmelita Excelsatus Provinciæ Pedemontane, qui per plures annos Apostolicae Missionis Verapolensis operam dedit.”]

45. Principio do Dereito q. tem el Rey de Portugal da Ilha de Goa, a Cidade e mais Ilhas anexas c. Brades Salcete, com as Rendas q. todas Rádiao ate o anno 1595. Tirado do Tombo dos Contos de Goa q. fez o Provedor mor Francisco Paes p. Ordem del Rey. (Compiled in 1658.) Sm. 4to.

In 1910 we were altogether unable to discover how William Marsden became the owner of the MSS. “brought from the Archives of the
Romish Church in Goa". Sir E. Denison Ross has not succeeded either in making this point clear.

One point now strikes me. The last MS. we have quoted comes evidently from the Archives of the Estado at Goa. Now, there are in the British Museum thirty-nine volumes of documents which once were in the Library of the Marquess de Pombal, and which evidently have come from the Archives of the Estado at Goa. These will be found entered in the British Museum Catalogue under Nos. 20861–20900. It must also be clear that, when Pombal shipped off the Jesuit Missionaries from the dominions of Portugal in India and incarcerated them in Portugal, he confiscated all their Archives at Goa. Did he keep these archives in his own palace instead of depositing them in the Royal Archives? He seems to have done so with the Estado Archives now in the British Museum. If he did so in both cases, all the MSS. of which we have spoken might have come under the auctioneer's hammer after his death, and Marsden might have acquired in this manner both the Jesuit and the Estado Archives. Our surmise would amount almost to certainty if it were found that the British Museum MSS. 20861–20900 had been presented by Marsden. If I recollect well, Pombal ordered away from Goa at the same time as the Jesuit papers all the ecclesiastical and state archives of Goa. Both the churches and the State were expected to keep copies of their papers, but were given no time to do so.

This would not, however, explain how Colonel F. Wilford, of Benares, at the end of the eighteenth century had in his possession at least two of four manuscript works by Father Antonio Monserrate, S.J., which we should think had come from the Goa archives. These were: Monserrate's History of his captivity in Arabia with Father Peter Paes; his account of the Geography and Natural History of Arabia; his History of the first Jesuit Mission to Akbar's Court; and his Geography and Natural History of India. A copy of the last work but one, though apparently different from the one used by Wilford, was found in Calcutta, and was published by us in 1914. The whereabouts of Wilford's MSS. by Monserrate are not known.

A worse fate, I believe, overtook the library of the Jesuits at Cochin on the capture of that city by the Dutch. "You must know," writes Tavernier, "that at the taking of Cochin the Jesuits had in

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1 I have in the press for the *J.A.S. Bengal* two papers on Monserrate; one, an extract from a letter of his of 1579; the other, a note on the two MSS. in Wilford's possession.
that city one of the fairest libraries in all Asia, as well for the great quantity of books sent them out of Europe as for several rare manuscripts in the Hebrew, Chaldaic, Arabic, Persian, Indian, Chinese, and other Oriental languages. For in all the conquests of the Portugals their first care was to summon all the learned people of the several nations and to get all their books into their hands. During the little time the Jesuits were in Ethiopia they had copied out all the good books that came to their knowledge and sent all those books to Cochin. . . . But to tell ye what became of this library: General Van Goens made no conscience to expose it to the ignorance of his soldiers, so that I have seen the soldiers and seamen tear several of those beautiful volumes to light their tobacco." The "stately library"—described by Baldaeus as connected with their college at Cranganore—was also utterly destroyed when the whole "city was plundered" and "laid level with the ground"; and thus the literary accumulations of more than a century were given over to wasting and destruction!  

St. Joseph's College, Darjeeling.
8th October, 1922.

As Sir E. Denison Ross was so kind as to send me the proofs of this article, I am able to add that some bibliographical notes on early Jesuit MSS. and prints referring to India will be found in my article "The discovery of the Vedas" (a translation of Professor Th. Zachariae's review of Professor W. Caland's "De ontdekkingsgeschiedenis van den Veda", Amsterdam, 1918, in Göttingischen gelehrten Anzeigen, 1921, Nos. 7–9), published in the Journal of Indian History, Allahabad University, 1923, No. 5.

Father C. Wessels, S.J., has published in Studien, 'sHertogenbosch-Antwerpen, May, 1922 (Deel xcvii) and July, 1922 (Deel xcvm), a paper on Pedro Paez (1621–2), which may prove of great assistance for a study on Almeida's Historia de Ethiopia a Alta.

None of the Telugu MSS. in the Marsden collection appears to be from Catholic Missionaries. Of late years, however, a considerable

1 I take these last quotations from the Rev. Th. Whitehouse, Lingerings of Light in a Dark Land, London, 1873, p. 168. I doubt, however, the accuracy of Tavernier, in whose Travels, besides, I failed several times to trace the passage ascribed to him by Whitehouse. It is most unlikely that Ethiopic books were sent to Cochin, since the Ethiopic Missions were managed from Goa. One would expect that large consignments of the books in the libraries of the different Convents of Cochin were shipped to Holland about 1662–3. It is sure, however, that the Jesuits could not save their Cochin Archives. Father Fernão de Queyroz writes, I believe in his "Life of Brother Peter de Bastes", that the only thing saved from them was a MS. of that Life by the Provincial, Andrew Lopez.
number of Telugu Catholic MSS., some evidently the work of the
French Jesuit Missionaries of the Carnatic (eighteenth century),
have been discovered by Father J. Aelen, Jr., of the Mill Hill Mission.

He wrote to me from St. Joseph's Church, Nellore, Madras
Presidency, on 4th February, 1923: "Yes, for several years it was
my hobby to collect old Telugu Catholic MSS. I now have fifteen
complete unpublished MSS., seven incomplete unpublished MSS., of
which a few pages are lost; the names of about ten MSS. which I know
to exist, but which I have not yet found. Many of the former are
mentioned in your list in the Catholic Directory.\footnote{Cf. my "First Steps towards our Bibliotheeca Catholica Telingana", in Catholic Directory, Madras, 1918.}... Yes, I had an
idea of publishing an article about all these MSS. in the Catholic
Directory, but I was too late. I shall now print it and send a copy of
it to all the priests. I have a press, and we are printing full speed:
first, all the old books; then the unpublished MSS.

"I do not know whether I have found valuable MSS. I have two
sets of Sanskrit slokas with Telugu meaning. But the most interesting
find I had was a few verses about Christ. Looking afterwards in a
Hindu book of poetry about Rama, I found that these verses about
Christ were quite the same, with a few changes. I have only a few
stanzas of that poem, and am trying to get the others."

Darjeeling,
21st June, 1923.
THE BUGHRĀ KHAN MENTIONED IN THE QUDATQU BILIK

By M. BARTHOLD

It is well known that the oldest existing complete literary work of a Mussulman Turk, the Qudatqu Bilik or Qutadghu Bilik, was composed in 462 H. (A.D. 1069-70) by Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Hājib, a native from Bālāsāghūn, on the River Chu, for a Khān residing in Kāshghar who is called “Mashriq Malīki Tabghach Khāni Malik Bughra Khān” (King of the East, Khan of China; the King Bughra Khan), “Tabghach Qara Bughra Khanlar Khāni” (the Chinese Qara Bughra, the Khan of Khans), “Tabghach Ulugh Bughra Khan” (the Chinese, the great Bughra Khan), even more simply “Ordukent Khani Beg” (the Khan of the court-town, that is Kashghar, the prince). The statements concerning the chronology of the Kashghar kings of the eleventh century are very vague and scanty, and are not supplied by numismatic evidence; therefore it is not an easy task to ascertain who was the king mentioned by Yūsuf. There can be no doubt that he belonged to the dynasty of the Ilek Khāns. The chief authority on the history of that dynasty has been for all Muhammedan and European scholars the great work of Ibn al-ATHĪR, especially the statements given under the year 408 H. We are told by Ibn al-ATHĪR that Arslān Khān, son of Qādir Khān Yūsuf, King of Kāshghar, Khotan, and Bālāsāghūn, was deposed by his brother Bughra Khān and taken prisoner; Bughrā Khān was some time later poisoned by his wife, who put to death Arslān Khān also, in 439 H. Bughrā Khān ruled only fifteen months and was succeeded by Ṭoghhrūl Khān, son of Yūsuf Qadir Khān (that is, by his brother), who ruled sixteen years (until 456 or 457). His son, Ṭoghhrūl-tagīn, was deposed after two months by “Hārūn Bughrā Khān, brother of Yūsuf Ṭoghhrūl Khān and son of Ṭafghāch Boghrā Khān” (?); Hārūn Bughrā Khān passed (‘abarā) Kāshghar, made Hārūn (? mistake for Ṭoghhrūl-tagīn) prisoner; the army of the latter submitted to him, and he took possession of Kāshghar, Khotan, and the neighbouring districts to Bālāsāghūn, where he reigned twenty-nine years and died in 496. These statements can, of course, not be quite correct; if Bughrā
Khān Hārūn was the brother of Toghruł Khān, he must have been a son of Yūsuf Qadīr Khān, and is, in fact, called so by Ibn al-Athīr himself on the previous page. The reigns mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr, and said to have extended from 439 to 496 (fifty-seven years), do not cover all that time, but nearly ten years less. We know, indeed, from an earlier author, Abu-l-Fadl Bāhiqī,\(^1\) that the first Bughrā Khān (called by Ibn al-Athīr Māḥmud) died not in 439 but in 449. Bughrā Khān Hārūn must have reigned in this case from 467 to 496, Toghruł Khān from 451 to 467; the Qudatqu Bilik, composed in 462, was therefore written in the reign of Toghruł Khān, but Bughrā Khān seems to have been a co-regent of his brother; Ibn al-Athīr speaks of the war made by the two brothers against Shams al-Mulk, Khān of Samarqand. Therefore it was quite natural to come to the conclusion that the Bughrā Khān mentioned by Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥājīb was Bughrā Khān Hārūn ibn Yūsuf, and such an opinion has been expressed in my article “Bughrā Khān” in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*.

But this opinion cannot be maintained after the discovery of another manuscript of the Qudatqu Bilik at Namangūn in Farghāna\(^2\) (unfortunately it had already been lost again), where the Bughrā Khān, to whom the work has been dedicated, is called Abu ‘Ali Hasan b. Sulaymān. It was, therefore, not a brother but a son of Arslān Khān Sulaymān. We find, indeed, such a name in the “Mulḥaqāt aṣ-Ṣurāh” of Jamāl Qorashī (or Qarshī),\(^3\) who gives in his short sketch on the Ilek Khāns hardly any dates, but whose genealogical statements are more correct than the statement of Ibn al-Athīr; we are told in this work that the son of Sulaymān Arslān Khān and the father of that Aḥmed Arslān Khān, who, according to Ibn al-Athīr, defeated the Qarā Khitāy in 522, was Hasan Tafghāch Khān.\(^4\) Therefore, this must be the Tafghāch Khān or Bughrā Khān mentioned in the Qudatqu Bilik.

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\(^1\) Ta’rīkh-i-Bāhiqī, ed. Morley, p. 230.

\(^2\) Described by Walidow (the discoverer) in the Russian *Zapiski vost. otd.*, etc., vol. xxii. The MS. has been mentioned by me in the *Enc. of Islam*, s.v. “Ilek Khāns”.

\(^3\) Judging by the words of the author himself (W. Barthold, Turkestan, etc., Texts, p. 140: وَعَرَفَ الْقَرْشِيَ لِذَلَّكَ قَرْشِي) the nisba قَرْشِي is in this case not derived from Quraish (cf. *Zapiski*, etc., xi, 286), though the author speaks in his preface of himself as of a قَرْشِي like the prophet.

\(^4\) Turkestan, etc., Texts, p. 133 above.
In an official document dated Dhū l-Hijjah, 474 or 494 (that is, 2nd May, 1082, or 27th September, 1101; the document is somewhat injured just at that place, therefore it cannot be ascertained if سبعين or تسعين ought to be read), which was found in Yārkand,¹ the king who ruled at that time in Kāshgar is called Tafghāch Boghrā Qarā Khāqān Abu ‘Ali Ḥasan, son of Sulaymān Arslān Qarā Khāqān. We give here the text and translation of the document by which the question who was the prince to whom the Qudatqu Bilik was dedicated is definitely settled, and the statements of Ibn al-Athīr are completely refuted.

Text²

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم احمد الله واستغفره هذبا كتب
يشهد عليه الشيخ القاضي الإمام أبو بكر محمد بن عبد الصمد بن
اسمعي الباخري سلامة الله وابقاه في مجلس حكمه وقضايته بكورة
ياركند وهو يومئذ قاضيها وحكم اهلها ونواحيها من قبل الخاقان
الاجل السيد الملك المؤيد المظفر المنصور عز الدين مشيبد الدولة
القاهرة وبركان الملك الباهرة وكيلف الامامة الظاهرية غياث المسلمين
ملك المشرق والصين طفاج بغرا قرا خاقان ابى علي الحسن بن
سليمان ارسلان قرا خاقان جتبي خليفة الله ولي وامير المومنين ومن
قبل التكين الاجل السيد عماد الدولة سداد الملك جعيرى تكفين
ابي موسى هرون بن ملك المشرق طفاج بغرا قرا خاقان مولى
امير المومنين اطال الله بقاءهما واعتز نصرهما انه حضر مجلس

¹ See note at end.
² The tashdid's and the greater part of the points have been added by me.
الحكم قبله بها في غرة ذي الحجة سنة أربع وسبعين واربعماية
المسمى محاجي ابنوح بن بواية سواحى قرا منذ آنال وهو أمر قد
طرأ شاربه شعرائي سبم الشعر تامّ القامة ادهم اللون صخم اشهل
ابلج وواضح بحضوره المسمى هارون بن تفجح وقد عرفته معرفة
صحيفة بالوجه والاسم والنسب وأدعى الذي حضر أولا على
الذي احضره معه قطعة أرض فريدة موضعها برضتيق يدعى
بربل وهي من رستاتيق كورة بإركبود بحصرة مسجد ينسب
إلى اسحق الجلاة وهي مبزرة ثلاثين وقر حنطة بعضها موات
وبعضها صالحة للزراعة [بحتدوى] الأربعة فالفت الأول لزيق
ارض يوسف آناج والثاني لزيق ساقية تسبى إلى سوقان بك
والثالث لزيق أرض يوسف آناج وله لرابع لزيق طريق العامّة
ولزيق أرض جوبرز آناج وزيق نهر يدعى أراك وذكر في لفظ
دعواه أن جميع هذه الأراض المحدودة فيه كانت ملكا لابه
المسمى فيه ومات وتركها ميراث له ونفيره من ورثته والآن
ملكهم وحقهم وإن هذا استولى عليها ظلما وجورا واجا عليه
رفع يده عنها وتسليمها إليهم وهو يمنع عن ذلك وسأل مسألته
فسل فأنكر دعوته اصلا ووجد رأسا وزعم أنها ملكه وحقه
اشتراها من الفار من معلوم وقد هذه الثمن وامرأ المدعى بقامة

1 Or
2 Conjectural: original document damaged.
البنية على صحة ما أدّعاه وتحقيق ما حكاه إن كانت له ذلك فاورد
ثلثة نفر ذكراً بشهود فشهدوا له على صحة ما يدعيه وسال
الاستناد إلى شهادتهم ولاصفاء إلى كلامهم وهم عبد الجليل
جغري سوابي بن موسى بن امودك وأبو بكر الشلاجي بن
براق بن يربا وبراق بن وثاق باشي بن موسى بن بقجار فاستشهدهم
عقبب إعادة الدعوى والانكار فشهد كل واحد منهم على التعاقد
على موافقة الدعوى بهذرة المتنازعين شهادة صحية مستقيمة
متفقة اللفظ والمعنى لم يختلفوا في شيء من ذلك فتفحص عن حاليهم
فعدلوا وزكوا وظهرت عدلتهم وتوجّه الحكم على المشهد عليه
واعلمه به وامره بإيراد دفع أو جرح أن كان له ذلك فعجز عنه
عجزاً ظاهراً بعد ما مكنه مدة مثله فعند ذلك التمس منه المدعو
أن يحكم له بما أدّعى فاستجاب الله تعالى وساله العصمة عن الزنديل
والزلزل وحكم بكون الأرض المحدودة فيه ملكاً للمصوود له ولفيره
من ورثة إبيه وامرأ المحكوم عليه بقصر يده عنها وتسليمها إلى
المحكوم له وأطلق له الرجوع على بائعه بالثمن الذي تقدم ثم
ان المحكوم له التمس منه أثبات ما صاح عنده وثبت لديه فاجبه
إلى ملتمسه وامرأ بكتبة هذا الذكر لذكر حجة له عند مساس
الحاجة وذلك بتاريخ المورّخ فيه صدره
In a different hand and ink:—

يقول محمد بن عبد الصمد بن اسماعيل الحكم المذكور فيه صدر عني والسجل كتب بأمرى والسطر مع التوقيع خطى

**Translation**

In the name of God, the merciful; I praise God and implore his forgiveness.

This document is attested by the Shaykh, the Qādī and Imām Abu Bekr Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdu ‘ṣ-Ṣamad ibn Isma‘īl al-Bukhārī—may God keep him alive and spare him—in his court of administration and justice, in the province of Yārkand, of which he was then the Qādī and the administrator of its inhabitants and [the inhabitants] of its districts, appointed by the most glorious Khāqān, the chief, the king aided [by God], the victorious, the triumphant, the glory of the faith, the fortifier of the powerful monarchy [i.e. the dynasty of the ‘Abbāsid Caliphs], the proof of the excellent congregation, the asylum of refuge of the pure community, the help of Muslims, the king of the East and China, Taḡhāch Bughrā Qarā Khāqān Abu ‘Alī al-Ḥasan, son of Sulaymān Arslān Qarā Khāqān, the favourite of the representative of God [the ‘Abbāsid Caliph], the friend of the commander of the faithful [the same], and [appointed also] by the most glorious Taḡīn [prince], the chief, the pillar of the monarchy, the strength of the congregation, Chaghī Taḡīn Abu Mūsā Hārūn, the son of the king of the East Taḡhāch Bughrā Qarā Khāqān, the client of the commander of the faithful—may God spare both of them for a long time and honour them with his help. [The Qādī attests] that on the first of Dhū ’l-Ḥijja 474 [or 494] the [man] named Ḥājī Ināl, the son of Pūlād Sūbāshi Qara Band [or Yund] Ināl, appeared before him in the court of administration. He was [a man] yet beardless; his mustachios were just sprouting; was very hairy [about the body], possessed lank hair, had a perfect stature, dusky colour, bulky frame, eyes with a mixture of blueness with the eyebrows wide apart. He brought with him to his [the Qādī’s] presence [a man] called Hārūn, son of Taḡhchakh. The Qādī already knew them both well by face, by name, and by parentage. [The man] who first appeared claimed against

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1 I have made use, with the permission of the translator himself, of the translation made by Sir E. Denison Ross.
2 The taḡīn was most probably the immediate ruler of Yārkand, under the supreme rule of his father, the Khāqān.
[the man] whom he had brought with him a single piece of land which was situated in the district called Rabul, one of the districts of the Yarkand province, facing the mosque ascribed to Ishāq al-Jallāb, producing thirty ass-loads of wheat and consisting both of barren tracts and tracts fit for agriculture, within its four boundaries; on the first side it touched the land of Yūsuf Ināl, on the second side the water-row ascribed to Sūkmān Beg, on the third side [again] the land of Yūsuf Ināl, on the fourth side the public road, the land of Jūbarz Ināl, and the canal called Azāk. He mentioned in the words of his petition that the whole of that land with the boundaries indicated above had been the property of his father named in the request; he [the father] died and left it as a heritage to him and other heirs, and now it was their property by right; [but] that man [the defendant] had taken possession of it by injustice and violence. It was obligatory to him [the defendant] to take his hand off from it and to deliver it to them [the heirs], but he refused to do so; he [the plaintiff] asked that he [the defendant] should be interrogated. He was interrogated; he wholly denied the charge, maintained a persistent denial, and pretended that it was his lawful property, which he had bought from another [person] at a known sum and had paid it in cash. The plaintiff was ordered to produce evidence, if he had any, to prove the soundness of his claim and the truth of his story. He produced three male witnesses, and they gave witness for the soundness of his claim; and he asked him [the Qādi] to hear their evidence and to listen to their words. They were: Abd al-Jalīl Chaghri Sūbāshi, son of Mūsā, son of Amlūk; Abu Bekr ash-Shalājī, son of Burāq, son of Yarbā; Jibrail the military officer [wuthāq bāshī], son of Mūsā, son of Baghchār. He [the Qādi] let them give evidence after the claim and the denying had been repeated; every one of them gave evidence, one after another, in accordance with the claim, in presence of the two parties; it was a sound evidence, a right one, agreeing in words and meaning, with no contradictions whatever concerning that [the claim]. He [the Qādi] made inquiries concerning their characters; they proved to be competent and righteous [persons], and their competency as witnesses was demonstrated. The judgment was directed against the defendant; he [the Qādi] made it known to him [the defendant] and ordered him to produce a reply or a proof against the evidence if he was able to do so. His inability to do so became apparent, after the same time [as the plaintiff] had been allowed to him. At this stage the plaintiff prayed him [the Qādi] to deliver a judgment in accordance with his
claim. He [the Qādī] implored the aid of God, the most High, and asked of him protection from deviation and stumbling, and delivered judgment that the land with the boundaries indicated above should belong to the man in whose favour evidence had been given and to the other heirs of his father; and he ordered the man against whom judgment had been made to take his hand off from it [the land] and to deliver it over to the man for whom judgment had been made; and he gave him [the defendant] the right to claim from the seller of the land the return of the money which he had paid him. Afterwards the man for whom judgment had been made prayed him [the Qādī] to make a record of what appeared to be correct in his estimation and was demonstrated in his presence. He assented to his demand, and gave an order for the transcription of this record so that it might be a proof in case of need. This [was accomplished] on the date mentioned above.

In different hand and ink: —

Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdu ’ṣ-Ṣamad ibn Ismaʿīl says: the judgment noted above has been delivered by me; the copy was written down by my order; the line with the signature are in my handwriting.

**Note**

The original of the document which is dealt with by Professor Barthold forms part of a collection of Arabic and Uighur legal papers which were discovered under a tree in a garden outside Yarkand in 1911. They were taken to the then Consul-General in Kashghar, Sir George Macartney, who forwarded them to the Government of India. The documents are now in the keeping of the Director-General of Archeology in India. I have, however, a set of photographs in my possession.

There are fifteen documents or fragments in all. Seven are in Arabic, five are in Turki in Arabic character, and three are in Turki in Uighur character.

The Arabic documents are signed or witnessed in Arabic with the exception of one, which bears witnesses' signatures in Uighur script. Most of the documents are dated, the earliest being A.H. 474 and the latest A.H. 529, that is to say, they all belong to the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century of our era. Special interest attaches to the Turki documents, in that they represent the period at which both the Uighur and the Arabic alphabets were being used interchangeably for writing Turki. — E. DENISON ROSS.
THE "ARTE DE LINGOA CANARI", THE "DOUTRINA CHRISTAM", AND THE "ADI" AND "DEVA PURAN" OF THOMAS STEVENS

By Justin E. Abbott

Among the manuscripts of the William Marsden Collection, to which Sir E. Denison Ross has called the attention of scholars, by reproducing the entries of William Marsden (see the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, Vol. II, Pt. III, "The Manuscripts collected by William Marsden"), there are five with titles indicating their language as "Canari", "Canarim", or "Canarin" (p. 537), one as "Bramana Canarim" (p. 537), one as "Hindustani", and two as "Maharatta" (p. 535).

In the Bulletin (Vol. II, Part IV, p. 682) I have called attention to the language of these manuscripts, and pointed out that by "Canarim" and "Hindustani" the Marathi, or the Konkani dialect of the Marathi, is probably meant, but a more detailed discussion of the subject seems desirable, as I have had another opportunity of examining these MSS.

From all evidences that have now become available, it seems clear that Thomas Stevens, the first Englishman to make his home in India, was also the first European to have taken a scholarly interest in any of the vernaculars of India. Franciscan Friars had accompanied the Portuguese Commander, Cabral, in his expedition to India in 1500, two years after Vasco da Gama had doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and discovered the Eastern passage to India (1498). I find no evidence that these Friars had any scholarly interest in the vernaculars of the people along the western coast. In 1542 St. Francis Xavier arrived in India, and the labours of the "Companhia de Jesus" began in Goa and vicinity. In 1560 the inquisition was established at Goa. Portuguese interest in the vernaculars of India was a destructive interest, and vernacular literature is said to have been burnt as the "work of the devil". Up to the time, therefore, of Thomas Stevens' arrival in Goa, in 1579, there appears no evidence of any interest whatever in the language of the people among whom the Jesuit missionaries worked. To Thomas Stevens, an Englishman, belongs, then, the honour of being the first European to exhibit a scholarly interest in the vernaculars, and to successfully inspire his fellow missionaries to follow in his footsteps.

I would again call special attention to a work that appears to be
claim. He [the Qādī] implored the aid of God, the most High, and asked of him protection from deviation and stumbling, and delivered judgment that the land with the boundaries indicated above should belong to the man in whose favour evidence had been given and to the other heirs of his father; and he ordered the man against whom judgment had been made to take his hand off from it [the land] and to deliver it over to the man for whom judgment had been made; and he gave him [the defendant] the right to claim from the seller of the land the return of the money which he had paid him. Afterwards the man for whom judgment had been made prayed him [the Qādī] to make a record of what appeared to be correct in his estimation and was demonstrated in his presence. He assented to his demand, and gave an order for the transcription of this record so that it might be a proof in case of need. This [was accomplished] on the date mentioned above.

In different hand and ink:

Muḥammad ibn ‘Abduʾ-ʾ-Ṣamad ibn IsmaʿIl says: the judgment noted above has been delivered by me; the copy was written down by my order; the line with the signature are in my handwriting.

Note

The original of the document which is dealt with by Professor Barthold forms part of a collection of Arabic and Uighur legal papers which were discovered under a tree in a garden outside Yarkand in 1911. They were taken to the then Consul-General in Kashghar, Sir George Macartney, who forwarded them to the Government of India. The documents are now in the keeping of the Director-General of Archeology in India. I have, however, a set of photographs in my possession.

There are fifteen documents or fragments in all. Seven are in Arabic, five are in Turki in Arabic character, and three are in Turki in Uighur character.

The Arabic documents are signed or witnessed in Arabic with the exception of one, which bears witnesses’ signatures in Uighur script. Most of the documents are dated, the earliest being A.H. 474 and the latest A.H. 529, that is to say, they all belong to the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century of our era. Special interest attaches to the Turki documents, in that they represent the period at which both the Uighur and the Arabic alphabets were being used interchangeably for writing Turki.—E. Denison Ross.
THE "ARTE DE LINGOA CANARI", THE "DOUTRINA CHRISTAM", AND THE "ADI" AND "DEVA PURAN" OF THOMAS STEVENS

By Justin E. Abbott

Among the manuscripts of the William Marsden Collection, to which Sir E. Denison Ross has called the attention of scholars, by reproducing the entries of William Marsden (see the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, Vol. II, Pt. III, "The Manuscripts collected by William Marsden"), there are five with titles indicating their language as "Canari", "Canarim", or "Canarin" (p. 537), one as "Bramana Canarim" (p. 537), one as "Hindustani", and two as "Mahratta" (p. 535).

In the Bulletin (Vol. II, Part IV, p. 682) I have called attention to the language of these manuscripts, and pointed out that by "Canarim" and "Hindustani" the Marathi, or the Konkani dialect of the Marathi, is probably meant, but a more detailed discussion of the subject seems desirable, as I have had another opportunity of examining these MSS.

From all evidences that have now become available, it seems clear that Thomas Stevens, the first Englishman to make his home in India, was also the first European to have taken a scholarly interest in any of the vernaculars of India. Franciscan Friars had accompanied the Portuguese Commander, Cabral, in his expedition to India in 1500, two years after Vasco da Gama had doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and discovered the Eastern passage to India (1498). I find no evidence that these Friars had any scholarly interest in the vernaculars of the people along the western coast. In 1542 St. Francis Xavier arrived in India, and the labours of the "Companhia de Jesus" began in Goa and vicinity. In 1560 the inquisition was established at Goa. Portuguese interest in the vernaculars of India was a destructive interest, and vernacular literature is said to have been burnt as the "work of the devil". Up to the time, therefore, of Thomas Stevens' arrival in Goa, in 1579, there appears no evidence of any interest whatever in the language of the people among whom the Jesuit missionaries worked. To Thomas Stevens, an Englishman, belongs, then, the honour of being the first European to exhibit a scholarly interest in the vernaculars, and to successfully inspire his fellow missionaries to follow in his footsteps.

I would again call special attention to a work that appears to be
little known to present-day scholars, but which evidently is the
original fountain-head of information regarding Thomas Stevens
and his literary contemporaries. I refer to the Latin work Bibliotheca
Scriptorum Societatis Iesu, which passed through three editions.
It was first printed by Petro Rebadeneira in 1602; continued in
1642 by Philippo Alegambe, and again in 1675 by Nathanaele Satvello.
A copy of the edition printed in 1675 I found in the Bibliotheca de
Ajuda at Lisbon. It is on this work that the Bibliotheca Lusitana
by Diogo Barbosa Michado, 1752, is founded, and directly or indirectly
the Diccionario Bibliographico Portuguez, by I. F. Da Silva, published
in Lisbon, 1872, and also the more recent catalogue, in French,
of Jesuit literature, which has also passed through several editions.
The title of the last edition of 1891 is as follows: “Bibliothèque de
la Compagnie de Jesus, Première Partie Bibliographie par les Pères
Augustin et Aloys de Backer. Seconde Partie, Histoire par le Père
Auguste Carayon. Nouvelle edition par Carlos Sommervogel S. J.
Strasbourg, Publie par la Province de Belgique, mDccccxci.”

It is from these later compilations that the modern biographical
encyclopedias seem to obtain their information of Thomas Stevens, but
the fountain-head, recognized or unrecognized, is the above-mentioned
Latin work, the Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Iesu, Rome, 1602,
1642, 1675. This work is the earliest authority both for the chief facts
in Thomas Stevens’ life, and for his authorship of the “Grammaticam
Linguae Canarinae”, the “Doctrinam Christianam”, and the
“Puran”.

(A) The Use of the Terms “Canari, Canarim, and Canarin”

I turn first to the discussion of the terms “Canari”, “Canarim”,
“Canarin”, “Bramana-Canarim”, “Hindustani”, and “Maharatta”,
as used in William Marsden’s list to designate the language of Thomas
Stevens’ works and those of his contemporaries, Antoine Saldanha
and Gaspar de Miguel, exemplars of whose works I discovered in the
library of the School of Oriental Studies.

In the British Museum there is a copy of a book in Portuguese
entitled:

Grammatica da Lingua Concani Composta pelo Padre Thomaz
Esteveao e accrescentada por outros Padres da Companhia de

1 In this and other French biographical dictionaries Thomas Stevens is not to be
looked for under the name “Stevens” but “Busten”, as he was apparently once
known as Thomas Stevens de Busten, de Buston, and even de Dubsten, from some
town in Wiltshire, England, where he is believed to have been born.
Jesus Secunda Impressao correcta e annotada a que Precede como Introducção Geographica das Principaes Lingua das da India par Sir Erskine Perry e o Ensaio Historico da Lingua Concani Pelo Editor, Nova Goa na Impressa Nacional 1857.

The editor of this second edition of 1857 was J. H. da Cunha Rivara. The contents of this second edition are:—

(a) Introducção Geographica das Principaes Lingua das da India par Sir Erskine Perry. (Geographical Introduction to the Principal Languages of India, by Sir Erskine Perry.)

(b) Ensaio Historico da Lingua Concani Pelo Editor. (Historical Essay on the Konkani Language by the Editor, J. H. Cunha Rivara.)

(c) A reprint of the first edition of Thomas Stevens' "Arte da Lingoa Canarim" of 1640.

The title of this third section (c) is the same as that of the 1640 edition of the "Arte da Lingoa Canarim", with slight verbal changes. It reads:—

"Arte da Lingoa Canarim composta pelo Padre Thomaz Estevao da Companhiad de Jesus e acrescentada pelo Padre Ribeiro da mesma Companhia e novamente revista par quatro Padres da Companhiad."

The title page of the first printed edition of 1640, a copy of which exists in the library of the School of Oriental Studies, in the Bibliotheca National Lisbon, and in the Bibliotheca Publica de Evora, is, however, as follows:—


A manuscript copy of Thomas Stevens' Arte da Lingoa Canari, of which this 1640 edition is the enlargement by Padre Ribeiro, is in the library of the School of Oriental Studies.

It is to be noticed that in the title page of the 1857 edition, the work is called "Grammatica da Lingua Concani Composta pelo Padre Thomaz Estevao", etc. The title to section (c) is "Arte da Lingoa Canarim composta pelo Padre Thomaz Estevao", etc. It is thus evident that the editor of the 1857 edition designedly
used the word “Concani” instead of “Canarim” to designate the same language, because the use of the name “Canarim” no longer signified the dialect of the Marâṭhi which we now call the “Konkanî”. When Thomas Stevens wrote his Arte da Lingoa Canari, it is evident he meant by “Canari” what we now term “Konkanî”.

To have the above fact understood is important, because the other MSS. and books in the possession of the School of Oriental Studies, Finsbury Circus, London, catalogued by William Marsden, as in the “Canari” or “Canarim” language, are not to be mistaken as being in what we now call the “Kânarese”, i.e. the Dravidian language to the south of Goa. They are all in the Marâṭhi, with doubtless more or less “Konkanî” elements.

These manuscripts which Sir E. Denison Ross has made available to scholars by his publication in the Bulletin (Vol. II, Pt. III, pp. 535 and 537) of the entries made on them by Wm. Marsden are the following:—

1. “Vocabulario da lingoa Canarim de Norte conertade e acrecentade en 1664” (p. 537). This is a Portuguese-Marâṭhi vocabulary.

2. “Vocabulario Canarin Vertido en Portuguesa” (p. 537).


4. “Arte da Lingoa Canari” (p. 537). This grammar of Marâṭhi, composed by Thomas Stevens, is the one I believe to have been enlarged by Diogo Ribeiro, and printed in 1640.


In all of the above titles the words “Canari”, “Canarim”, or “Bramana” are to be understood as Marâṭhi, with doubtless “Konkanî” elements.

The following list of manuscripts designated as either in “Marâṭhi” or “Hindustâni” are also in Marâṭhi or Konkanî-Marâṭhi:—

1. The “Adi or First Puran, a Christian work in the Mahratta language and Nagri character” (p. 535). This appears to be in the pure Marâṭhi of that date.

2. The “Deva Puran, or Divine History, a Christian work in the Mahratta language and Nagri character” (p. 535). This appears to be in the pure Marâṭhi of that date.
3. "A Christian work in the Mahratta language and Nagri character, containing instructions for the knowledge of the Universal Lord, prayers, invocations, and a catechism." This is in Marāṭhi, and the manuscript is in the very same handwriting as that of the MS. of the Adi Purāṇa.

4. "Fruitos de Arvore da Vida. Traduzido e composto pello P. Antonio de Saldanha, in the 'Hindustani' language and European character" (p. 535). This is in Marāṭhi.

5. The MS. entitled "A Book in the Kanari language and character, commencing with a salutation to Iswara, and proceeding in the form of a dialogue between a Guru or religious teacher and his disciple" (p. 537). Being in the Kanarese character, with which I am not familiar, I do not know whether the language is in the Dravidian Kanarese or whether the "Kanari" is equivalent to the "Canari" or Konkani. It would appear to be the same work as that given above (No. 3), "A Christian work in the Mahratta language and Nagri character, containing instructions, etc.," but in Kanarese character instead of Roman or Devanāgari.

(B) The Relation of the MS. "Arte da Lingoa Canari" to the First Printed Edition of 1640

Returning now to the first edition of 1640, of "Arte da Lingoa Canarim, by Thomas Stevens", it is evident from the title of this edition that it was the "Arte da Lingoa Canari", composed by Thomas Stevens, that was enlarged (acrecentada) by Padre Diogo Ribeiro, and newly revised (revista) and amended (emendada) by other four padres of the same "Companhia de Jesus". A comparison of the MS. copy of "Arte da Lingoa Canari" (No. 4 above, p. 162) in the possession of the School of Oriental Studies, with the printed copy of 1640, makes this quite clear. The same nouns are used to illustrate declensions, and the same verbs to illustrate conjugations, and often the same descriptive words are used, so that in all probability in this MS. we have the original text of Thomas Stevens' "Arte da Lingoa Canari".

(C) The Original Texts of Thomas Stevens' Three Works

If I am correct in my theory, the following, then, are the original texts of Thomas Stevens' works, and they are without doubt the works referred to in the Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Iesu, Rome, 1642, 1675:
(1) The text of the MS. "Doutrina Christam" in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. (724 Indien 78, Doctrine chrétienne in canarin de Goa et en portuguese.)

(2) The text of the MS. "Arte da Lingoa Canari" in the School of Oriental Studies, which was made the foundation of Padre Diogo Ribeiro's enlarged printed edition of 1640.

(3) The text of the "Adi Puran" and "Deva Puran in the Devanāgarī character", also in the School of Oriental Studies. This manuscript is in two volumes. The handwritings are of different scribes. The scribes were expert copyists, Indian, not European. The language, as I have already shown in the Bulletin (Vol. II, Part IV, p. 680), is a superior Marāṭhi to that of the text of the "Christian Puranna", Mangalore edition of 1907.

The possession of this original Devanāgarī text makes it evident why Thomas Stevens speaks of his Purāṇa as composed in "Marathi", and not "Canari", as he does of his other works. J. L. Saldanha (Christian Puranna, p. lxxvii) has already called attention to this use of terms in Thomas Stevens' works. He says: "It only remains to be added that Fr. Stephens never once makes use of the term 'Canarin' in speaking of the language of the Puranna, while his grammar of the Konkani language is distinctly entitled by him 'Arte da Lingua Canarim'. The Devanāgarī text now makes it clear that in the 'Adi' and 'Deva Puran' he employed the pure Marāṭhi, and not the dialect of the Konkaṇi. Thomas Stevens knew pure Marāṭhi. He must have known Sanskrit more or less. His Purāṇa shows intimate acquaintance with Marāṭhi literature, on which he has modelled it. He was a contemporary of Eknāth (1548-1609), and the Dnyāneswari of Dnyānadeva (1290) and the works of other poets-saints, past and contemporary, were available. A critical study of the Devanāgarī text of his Purāṇa would perhaps yield some evidence of familiarity with special Marāṭhi poets. He knew not only pure Marāṭhi, he knew also the common form of the language, spoken in Goa and vicinity, and called 'Canari' or 'Canarim'. His 'Arte da lingoa Canari' seems to be that of the Konkaṇi form of Marāṭhi, and therefore called by him 'Canari'. His Purāṇa is in the Marāṭhi, learned of Brahman Pandits, and in speaking of the language he uses in it, he calls it therefore 'Marāṭhi', and not 'Canari'" (see Christian Puranna, Anusāru 59, 118, and the same verse in the Devanāgarī MS., Deva Purāṇa, 58, 118).

This little volume sums up the main contents of the Forlong Bequest lectures delivered by its author at the School of Oriental Studies during March, 1922. Despite its rather unpretentious proportions, it deserves, on account of the entirely new ideas laid down in it and the remarkable amount of learning and ability with which they are propounded, the greatest attention from all students who take an interest in the vast and fascinating problems presented by Hindu religion in its various aspects.

The author lays down in the preface, as his general view, "that the religion of the Aryans of India was essentially a worship of spirits," and that he is himself "a heretic in relation to both the Solar Theory and the Vegetation Theory, as everyone must be who takes the trouble to study Hindu nature without prejudice". The present writer wishes to take this early opportunity of expressing his adherence in the main—though, perhaps, not quite unreservedly—to this fundamental thesis of Dr. Barnett; but it may be easily premised that opposition to it will be both extensive and of a somewhat violent nature. A certain set of scholars will oppose themselves most vehemently to any infringement on the Solar Theory—or rather the Lunar, seeing that to some minds the moon may form the basis of any religious conception, however far-fetched such a derivation may appear to the uninitiated—and moreover the Vegetation Theory, although the extension of it to India has ever rested on a somewhat tottering foundation, has proved a great lure even to the most clear-sighted and scholarly minds, as has recently been shown by some rather amazing theories on the origin of Hindu drama. But in spite of this, the present writer has little doubt that the point of view advocated by Dr. Barnett will, perhaps, prove more of a clue for solving the riddles of the Hindu pantheon than any one hitherto proposed.

Dr. Barnett leads us through the various stages of development of Hindu religion, from the oldest one to the formation of religious ideas in our own days, and it may well be said at once that he through-
out proves himself to be the most reliable and illuminative of guides. One cannot withhold the greatest admiration in following the very clear and instructive outlines drawn up by a singularly clear-reasoning mind, and extricated with the help of a most profound learning from the bewildering mass of available documents, most of them presenting great difficulties in interpretation, and apparently teeming with abstruse and contradictory statements.

Vedic religion seems hitherto to have presented the greatest attraction to European scholars, the difficult and often enigmatic language of its textbooks opening a wide field for more or less bold and ingenious conjectures. But though the Brahmin authors of these texts were mainly Aryan and less tainted by an infusion of aboriginal blood than the following generations of Hindu saints and scholars, and though the oldest of those venerable documents do undoubtedly belong to the extreme North-West, it cannot be strongly enough emphasized that they are the results of Indian thought, not Indo-European or something else as vague and hazy as that, and that Vedic religion cannot be treated as an isolated phenomenon with little or no connexion with the subsequent religious development of the Indian continent. Nor must the Rigveda remain our single or even our main source of information, however important this “Bible of India” may prove to be; for its authors and their audience belonged almost exclusively to the upper classes, who seem to have consciously neglected more popular religious conceptions, even if they were, to some degree at least, familiar with them.

It appears to the present writer that scarcely anywhere has the notion of this connexion of the past with the future in Hindu religion been more clearly emphasized than in this excellent little book. When one considers the entire development of this religion as it presents itself to the author, one feels convinced that he has succeeded in establishing a series of uninterrupted religious ideas, continuously changing in their exterior forms, but internally remaining practically the same. And this, if anything, would make us believe that his success is, if not a final, at least a very remarkable one.

Lack of space forbids one to enter into details, and I shall only try to point out quite perfunctorily some of the questions which seem to be of the greatest interest and sometimes also, perhaps, in need of further discussion. The subject being such an extremely vast one, it goes without saying that no discussion whatsoever of these absorbingly interesting problems can be entered upon here.
In the middle of the pantheon of the Vedas, some gods stand out in overwhelming greatness: Mitra and Varuṇa, the upholders of right and justice, the protectors of the established order of the Cosmos; Indra, the burly warrior-god and representative of the Kshatriyas, whose drinking bouts and intrepid assaults on the demons are alike famous; Agni and Soma, the special gods of the Brahmin ritualists; the Aśvins, the mighty helpers in need and physicians of gods and men. Besides them, a rather unimportant place is assigned in the Rigveda to the gods who are destined later on to become the all-absorbing head-figures of Hindu religion, Vishṇu and Rudra-Siva; but already in the later Vedic texts they have risen to a dominant position, and they may well have been mighty enough earlier, though perhaps not considered quite fashionable by the Brahmin poets of old.

Of all these figures, Mitra and Varuṇa present perhaps the greatest difficulties of interpretation, and the author willingly admits that he has not succeeded in solving their riddle. It may be that a solution will never be found; anyhow, it seems to me essentially correct to think, as the author does, that nothing in the line of natural phenomena can reasonably be claimed as the basis of their complicate and mysterious nature. The author says nothing about their supposed foreign origin; whether that theory is to be wholly discarded perhaps remains a matter of doubt; anyhow, it has scarcely proved to be of any essential help for obtaining a clearer view into their secret.

As for Indra, the boisterous and finally successful rival of Varuṇa, there seems to be no essential difficulty in the way of accepting the theory propounded here that he was originally a warrior-king of famous exploits who later on became deified. A similar hypothesis has recently been put forward by Professor Konow, who even tries to localize some of the warlike deeds of the great Soma-drinker. Future investigation may invalidate or, as I rather believe, corroborate this theory; but it certainly gives us a somewhat more substantial substratum for this exceptionally human figure, the hero of innumerable battles, revelries, and amorous adventures, than the somewhat hazy conception of a deified thunderstorm or the personified heat of the Indian summer. As for the Aśvins, already the Aitihāsikas, the Indian forerunners of Euhemeros, believed them to have been two kings of yore, and it appears to the present writer that they were

mainly right. They certainly present features closely parallel to those of the Dioskouroi, and perhaps also some other twin deities of European nations; but if the somewhat enigmatical expression of Dr. Barnett (on p. 37) should really mean that they were of common origin, I shall venture for once to disagree, as we had perhaps better abstain from suggesting the existence of these gods in a still earlier period.

When Dr. Barnett thinks Vīṣṇu to be the spirit of sacrifice, I can only heartily agree with him,¹ though there may, perhaps, be still other constituents to be found in the nature of this mysterious god already at a very early stage of his existence.

It would be most tempting to follow the author through his extremely fascinating exposition of Hindu religion in later ages, his masterly treatment of the origin and growth of the worship of Kṛiṣṇa and Rāma, etc., but this cannot be done here. I may only be allowed once more to emphasize that this book should be read and carefully taken into consideration by every student who busies himself with Hindu religion; and it will certainly prove to be of great interest and value also to all readers who have a general interest in the development of human thought and creed.

Jarl Charpentier.


These two little books are admirably designed, and it can safely be said that the student who masters the details set out will have a satisfactory idea of the written language. How it will fare with him when, having studied his book, he finds himself face to face with the spoken language, we do not know. The writing of Yoruba is not a satisfactory business, and it is time that Yoruba scholars should apply modern scientific methods of linguistic analysis to the language and modify the orthography in accordance with their discoveries. All early instruction in Yoruba, as in any other language, should be carried out on phonetic lines, for it is the spoken language that is of importance. It is easy to see the difference between bá and bà; what is difficult is to hear the difference, and to make the difference so that there can be

¹ A similar theory was put forward by Johansson already some years ago (cf. Solfågeln i Indien, Upsala, 1910).
no doubt in the native Yoruba's mind as to which word we intend to say.

But in these two little books, which contain so much that is valuable and which give evidence of so much trouble, the spoken language is dismissed in a page. The description of the vowel sounds is not accurate; e in Yoruba is a pure vowel, whereas "a in hay" (outside parts of Scotland and Wales) is a diphthong. Yoruba i has the value of the sound known to phoneticians as cardinal i (i.e. of French i), not the value of i in English famine. Nowhere is it made clear that Yoruba possesses four nasalized vowels, and that every vowel in the vicinity of a nasalized consonant becomes nasalized by assimilation. Possibly, it is the idea of the nasalized vowel that leads the authors to say that "all verbs end in a vowel or the nasal n". No words in the spoken language end in the n sound; those that are written as ending in n are pronounced as ending in a nasalized vowel. The remarks upon the long vowels do not coincide with recent observations carried out in this department. There is no inherent length in the low tone; bá is as long as bà. For the relationship of tone and length see the article on Tones of Yoruba in the present number of the Bulletin.

It is hardly correct to say that the vowels when used as direct objects are always short. The vowels are not used as direct objects, but the 3rd person singular pronoun direct object is expressed by lengthening the vowel of the verb. The tone that the verb bears when thus lengthened depends upon its inherent tone. More information would be welcome on the tones. It is not clear what is meant by saying that "the circumflex accent is placed on a vowel to represent a double sound". The accent seems to be used indiscriminately in the written language for any tone that does not coincide with the three tones generally recognized. The truth, of course, is that there are more than three tones in Yoruba.

In conclusion, we must repeat, in justice to the authors, that they have done a good work on orthodox lines. Recent investigations into the phonetic structure of Yoruba have brought new features to light, and Yoruba scholars should consider the question of modifying their orthography accordingly. Whatever knowledge is to be gained from the study of African languages will come, not from the study of the European orthography of those languages, but from the study of the living tongues.

A. Lloyd James.

M. Brévié uses the term "Naturisme" to denote the type of culture which M. Delafosse (as he points out in his preface) prefers to call "animisme", and which gives rise to such phenomena as totemism and what is covered by the different interpretations given to the term "fetishism". The latter, indeed, appears to be used by M. Brévié as a synonym for "naturisme", and it is, perhaps, as convenient a term as any other for designating the beliefs of the non-Islamic population in the Sudan. As here employed, it might be understood to suggest a coherent body of doctrine, as opposed to Islam on the one hand and Christianity on the other, but a little attention to the context will suffice to guard against any such implication.

The Introduction contains numerous illustrations, largely first-hand matter, of totemistic and other beliefs and practices among the Malinke, Bambara, Lobi, etc. M. Brévié's main thesis is that Islam, except where imposed by force, has made very little way among the West African populations, and that everywhere its hold over them is but slight. He appears to have made out his case as far as these are concerned; but the theory of l'imperméabilité des religions, which his arguments go to support, is certainly ridden to death. He is at some pains to show that Christianity and Islam are only apparent exceptions to the rule that no people ever really adopts a religion introduced from outside; and he takes no notice of Buddhism beyond a bare mention in the preamble to his survey.

M. Brévié maintains that by far the greater number of West African natives who call themselves Moslems have very little notion of what is really involved in the creed they profess, and that where outside pressure is removed, or no social advantages are involved, they readily revert to "naturist" practices. The influence of the marabouts is said to be declining, even in avowedly Moslem areas, and the attendance at the Koran schools is steadily decreasing; though it must be owned that the figures given on p. 215 do not in all cases seem to support the author's conclusions. He argues that the educational policy pursued for many years by the French authorities—based on the mistaken
assumption that conditions in Senegal, Guinea, and the Sudan were similar to those in Algeria—involved a grave injustice to the non-Moslem population, and advocates the recognition of "fetishist" institutions, i.e. native customary law and the jurisdiction of the chiefs and their councils. This principle is thoroughly sound, and is receiving increased recognition in our own colonial administration. He sketches out an educational policy on similar lines, following rather than running counter to the tendencies of native tradition:

"Les rites et les mythes eux-mêmes devront être respectés; loin de les discréditer nos instituteurs en dégageront les concepts moraux et civiques qu'ils contiennent. Ne serait-ce pas un crime de détruire nos vieilles légendes françaises si naïves et si fraîches ? Protégeons de même le vieux folk-lore africain. Il procurera à notre enseignement d'étonnantes ressources. La religion du foyer fournira de touchants exemples de vertu familiale, d'attachement à la patrie, de respect aux vieillards. Le totémisme fera apparaître l'idée d'entraide mutuelle, de solidarité; la société mystique celle d'obéissance nécessaire aux lois, de discipline acceptée, de désintéressement, de sacrifice consenti par l'individu au profit de la société. N'y a-t-il pas là tous les éléments nécessaires à une morale sociale? Ne seront-ils pas mieux adaptés à la mentalité des élèves que ceux qui proviennent de manuels composés pour de jeunes Français?"

The hints here given (see especially pp. 299–306) with regard to technical education and other matters are well worth consideration in other regions besides those to which they immediately apply. M. Brévié's remarks on the value of the alphabet as an instrument of culture, however, seem to us (though just, on the whole) to overstate his case and ignore the very real influence of tribal tradition. A more important ground of controversy arises from the fact that the author is disposed to undervalue the force of the religious instinct in human nature. He regards it as a kind of disease, incident to adolescence, which can be avoided by a judicious system of education: "il faut lui éviter cette maladie de jeunesse qu'est, pour tout organisme social en voie de formation, la phase religieuse."

One criticism which might occur to the unbiassed reader, as regards the main thesis of the book, is that—while it is no doubt true that collective adhesions to Islam have been the result of force majeure and other material considerations—this religion has certainly in many cases appealed to the more thoughtful and developed native mind. And M. Brévié seems to admit as much: "L'objectif est de supprimer
radicalement dans le naturisme la propension mystique par quoi il se rapprochera toujours davantage de l'Islam lorsqu'il aura rompu les fortes attaches ethniques qui le retiennent encore à ses traditions.”

It will be seen that M. Brévie’s 314 pages contain no small amount of controversial matter, which is not only extremely interesting in itself but suggestive of much fruitful discussion.

A. Werner.

SRI HARSHA OF KANAUJ. By K. M. Panikkar, B.A. (Oxon.). 8vo, pp. i + i + 82. Bombay, 1922.

KSHATRIYA CLANS IN BUDDHIST INDIA. By Bimala Charan Law, M.A., B.L. 8vo, pp. ii + viii + 218, 3 plates. Calcutta, 1922.

Most of us have met matrons whose virtue we readily admit, but who inspire us with a vague feeling of wonderment that any men could admire them enough to marry them. Without wishing to press the analogy too closely, we must confess that the merits of Professor Panikkar’s work, which bears the ambitious sub-title of “A monograph on the history of India in the first half of the seventh century A.D.”, do not seem to us sufficient to justify its publication. The author has certainly made full use of the slender materials available for the history of Harṣa, and his account is on main points orthodox and unsensational. But of real research or original thinking there is no trace, and the only novelty in the book is a swarm of misprints, such as “Bhir Kampa”, “Nittanta”, “Samdhi Vigradhadi-kula”, and “Kumara Maliyas”, while the statement that Harṣa “seems to have been unmarried” (p. 28) shows a singular defect of vision. It is perhaps not too harsh a judgment on the book to say that it is thin and slipshod.

Mr. Law’s work, more modest in scope, is technically better, and will prove much more useful. He has collected all the available references to the Licchavis, Vidēhas, Mallas, Śākyas, and minor clans, and endeavoured to combine them into coherent pictures of their culture and political condition. Sometimes, it must be confessed, his pictures seem to us to lack something of historical reality, and he occasionally repeats himself needlessly. The work is that of a young man who has still to learn something of historical criticism and technique; but it is promising.

L. D. B.

A history of Jahangir is a story without a hero. For, in spite of his handsome face and fine person, there was nothing heroic about him. He was an abject drunkard and sensualist. His conduct towards Akbar was abominable; and the justice of history decreed that as he had dealt with his father, so his son should deal with him. Naturally infirm of purpose, he sank through vice and sensuality into a state of mental paralysis that repeatedly threatened his empire with grave peril. Even his love for Nur Jahân, one of the best traits in his character, often wrought harm to the state, leading him to surrender himself to her will and to allow full play to her bold and dangerous policies. He utterly failed to secure the empire on the side of the North-West, and of his long series of campaigns against his rivals in the Dekhan Mr. Beni Prasad truly says that "with the exception of two or three brilliant interludes associated with the names of Shah Jahan and Mahabat Khan, they had on the whole been grossly mismanaged. The most distressing and disreputable features were the corruption and the mutual dissensions of the Mughal officers. The struggle cost thousands of lives and millions of rupees, and brought at last no accession of territory or prestige to the empire". But withal Jahangir was something more than a magnificent and extravagant roi fainéant. He had considerable native good sense and a genuine love of justice, and, on the whole, he was fairly successful in making the clumsy and inefficient machinery of government work for the welfare of the people at large, except when it was paralysed by his own errors or the faults of his subordinates. He was not devoid of personal courage, though he usually preferred to remain at a safe distance from the scene of war. In religion he showed a broad tolerance. His execution of Guru Arjun Singh was due simply to political motives; he could admire and appreciate the Hindu ideal embodied in the Yogi Cidrûp. He was bountiful even to a fault; he had a certain natural generosity of soul which, though often outweighed by stronger passions, seldom allowed him to fall into petty spite. He had received and assimilated a fine culture, and he stimulated art and literature with a liberal and many-sided patronage, though his personal taste inclined somewhat to the

1 Such is the correct spelling of this name. The monstrous form Jadrûp has, however, crept into books.
florid and exotic. Lastly, he had a capacity for deep and abiding love, which, though it might be perverted to evil counsel, never suffered him to sink to the depths in which a Louis Quinze could wallow.

To do Mr. Beni Prasad justice, he has not endeavoured to hide Jahangir’s weaknesses and crimes. He gives us a picture of the man in the setting of his age, in which every line is drawn with painstaking labour from the best sources, both native and European. The result is a presentation of Jahangir’s character and rule which is considerably more favourable, and on the whole probably more just, than that which appears in most English histories. This is notably the case in his treatment of the death of Shér Afgan, Nūr Jahān’s first husband, and of the character and working of Mughal government. In the first, the evidence set forth by him suggests a strong probability of Jahangir’s innocence. As to the second, his views, as he admits, “may not command universal assent.” Certainly a government system of mansabdārs nominally “required to equip and furnish a stated number of foot and horse and to maintain a prescribed establishment”, while “the salaries were disbursed according to the nominal number and left annual margins of lakhs upon lakhs to the higher officers”, was necessarily extravagant, unmethodical, and inefficient, as the results here chronicled proved again and again. The costs of the army were, as he admits, heavy, the salaries of the officers “stupendous”, the expenditure of the court “wasteful”. Navy there was none. Many campaigns were blighted by harem influences and court intrigues in the capital and by the jealousies and quarrels of the grandees on the field of war. Yet, in spite of all these weaknesses, in which it presents such a startling contrast to the splendid system of Candragupta Maurya, the administration of the Mughal emperors down to Aurangzēb was in great measure a national one, based upon “the willing acquiescence of the people at large”, seeking their common weal in a spirit of broad tolerance and justice, and fostering art and literature with little regard to language and creed. Here, however, we must admit some important reservations, especially in view of the recalcitrance of Mewar and the whole of peninsular India south of the Vindhyas.

In the eloquent prelude which he has contributed to this book, Dr. Shafaat Ahmed Khan ignores these limitations, and asserts that “the Mughal Government was a national government solely because it summed up the hopes, the beliefs, and the ideals of our race”. This claim, which might perhaps be more justly made for Śivājī, is surely
too wide for the Mughals, even for such broad-minded rulers as Jahāṅgīr and Shāh Jahān, and it certainly cannot be said of Aurangzēb. And when he tells us that "the Mughals were probably the first to conceive—they were undoubtedly the first to apply—the principle of toleration", we gasp with astonishment. Not to speak of Aśoka, with his loudly expressed claims to respect all creeds, we see through all the brightest periods of Hindu history wide religious tolerance in practice. The inscriptions bear eloquent testimony to this fact.

There remains a small matter to note, and that is the frequent irregularity and inconsistence with which our author transliterates proper names. Thus we find the unfortunate Shēr Afgan's name spelt "Afgun" on p. xiv, and "Afken" elsewhere; "Afzal" on pp. 106 and 282, but wrongly "Afzul" on pp. 167 and 283; "Ranshanara" on p. 179; "Shajaat" on p. 135, elsewhere rightly "Shujaat"; "Rattan" on pp. 389 and 498, and more correctly "Ratan" on p. 392; and several other slips. The index, too, might be better; we find in it, for instance, entries such as Rana Kumbha and Rana Pratap, which should be under Kumbha and Pratap. But these are minor matters; the main thing is that Mr. Beni Prasad has produced a very good book, which bears testimony to the quality of the work done in the Historical Department of his University.

L. D. B.


The author of this little book for the instruction of scribes and officials was a native of the small Persian town Fasā, where he was born in the year 258 (A.D. 871), and died in Baghdad in the year 346 (A.D. 957). He followed principally the teachings of the Baṣrīan school of grammarians, but studied also under the Kūfī Thaʿlab. Of his numerous works quoted in the introduction of the book under notice, so far have appeared in print only his recension of the Diwān of as-Samauʿal and the extracts from his commentary on the Faṣih of Thaʿlab quoted by Suyūṭī in his Muzhir. It is therefore welcome to have one of his original works to judge him as a scholar. In my opinion the verdict can only be that he was a moderate compiler, the interest in his book lying principally in his instruction as to correct orthography, which, however, differs at times from that now generally approved, and
which can be confirmed by very ancient manuscripts which have come down to us. The instructions as regards to addressing, dating, and concluding letters are also interesting, but for completeness of information the work stands far behind the exhaustive work of Qalqashandi.

F. KRENKOW.

ZWEI GEDICHTE VON AL-A‘SĀ HERAUSGEBEN VON R. GEYER.
Wien, 1921.

In 1914 I announced the appearance of the first part of this work, of which the above is the continuation and completion. The war and the consequent depreciation of Austrian money would have made the publication impossible, but for a generous donation to the Vienna Academy. The text of the poem had been edited with the commentary of Tibrizi by Sir Charles Lyall in the Bibliotheca Indica, but Professor Geyer had at his disposal for establishing the text the two recensions of the Diwan of al-A‘shā and a rather appalling number of manuscripts of the Mo‘allaqāt which contain the text with the commentaries of an-Nahhās and Tibrizi. The author has again, as in his edition of the first part, brought an enormous quantity of verse from other poets and al-A‘shā himself to illustrate the meaning of words and thoughts found in this poem, which is considered by Arab critics as a masterpiece, and the two parts of Professor Geyer’s work form a mine for the correct understanding of the earliest Arabic poetry preserved. I must again find fault with the author for giving too much; and I believe the laborious work of collating so many MSS., some perhaps by very indifferent scribes, was not worth the trouble. Al-A‘shā is, in my opinion, perhaps the best of all the ancient poets, and it is gratifying to know that the author is engaged in publishing the complete collection of his poems, nearly 100 pages having passed so far through the hands of the printers.

In reading through the volume I have noted a few printer’s errors, and in the index, p. 300, the poet named should read ُالأَسْتَرْ instead of ُالأَغْسَر. On p. 65 the second hemistich should read ُقَدْ أَشْرَبْتَ and the translation altered as ُمَّلِئَ مَاءَ النَّخْر means “was

\[1\] J.R.A.S. 1904, pp 220 ff.
infused”; of a colour, and occurs in this meaning fairly frequently in ancient verse.

p. 105, Abraq al-‘Azzāf is the name of a place, and must be in the accusative: (The thunder-cloud) enveloped A, while its main portion was thundering, groaning like mother-camels groan towards the call of the young which follow them. F. Krenkow.

THE SELECTIONS FROM AVESTA AND OLD PERSIAN. (First Series.)


The selections form a valuable contribution to the Avesta selections given in the Avesta-readers of Bartholomae, Jackson, and Reichelt. They are very judiciously made, as they represent nearly all the phases of the Avesta language, and give a concise description of the chief aspects of the Zoroastrian religion. The author further elucidates these aspects sufficiently in the beginning of the notes pertaining to every selection. The interpretation of the legend of the enclosure of Yima forms an interesting part of the book. The author attaches a historical importance to this legend, and sees in it a reference to a gigantic catastrophe following an extremely heavy snowfall. He agrees here with Tilak in fixing the home of the Aryas in the Arctic regions, and connects Vd. i with Vd. ii. He considers these chapters as not only mythological and geographical remnants of the Iranian race, but as strictly historical ones. There is no doubt that Tilak has used the word “Aryas” for the Indo-Europeans, and not for the Indo-Iranians, whom it should properly designate. The author gives in the notes various interpretations attached by European and Parsi scholars to Avesta words, and sometimes discusses them at length, often comparing them with Sanskrit words. Thus the work becomes a useful book of reference for the students of Avesta.

It is regrettable to note that the work has some technical faults. The list of abbreviations is defective. No dates and places of the publication of books mentioned in this work are given in the list. Further, the footnotes are not marked with Arabic figures or Roman letters, but with signs like asterisks, etc., which are very inconvenient for the eye.

Again, the work as it is seems to be incomplete, as a glossary and index of Avesta words are missing in it, without which it loses much of its value as a work of reference.
THE COPTIC THEOTOKIA. With Introduction by DE LACY O'LEARY, D.D. 4to, xii + 80 pp. Luzac, 1923. 10s. 6d. net.

This is a useful piece of work. If a visitor to Egypt were to spend £20 in buying a miscellaneous lot of modern and mediaeval Coptic manuscripts, probably half of them would be whole or fragmentary Theotokias, and the examination and description of this class of service-book has hitherto been very troublesome. Tuki's edition (which is the only one found in Western libraries) dates from 1764 and is not produced on very scientific principles; and the structure of the service has hitherto been obscured by its "farsings" of long hymns.

Further, Dr. O'Leary has had the advantage of the use of the Dér Abû Makâr fragments, discovered and elucidated by Mr. Evelyn White, the property of the Metropolitan Museum of New York. He does not, unfortunately, give any indication of the date of these—presumably a guess might have been made on palæographical indications—but it is clear that they are of a far earlier date than the ordinary complete Bohairic MSS. accessible to us in European libraries, and we have only some other fragments (many of them brought home by Tischendorf) of the same age. Their orthography is more correct than that of the complete MSS. and of Tuki's edition, and from a strictly grammatical point of view they are worthy of study.

Dr. O'Leary's prefatory matter describes the structure of the Theotokia, which is simple, but generally obscured by the insertion of long hymns, acrostical and otherwise. Its history is a little analogous to that of the "Little Hours" of the Virgin in the West, which in the fifteenth century had become the layman's principal devotion outside Mass. The full divine office, which is of enormous length, has never been said by the secular Coptic clergy, and the Theotokia supplies the want that is felt of something besides the "Prayers of the Evening and Morning Incense", which are essentially Sunday services. In particular, the Theotokia is felt to be suitable as a preparation for Christmas, and is recited during the month of Kihak, which immediately precedes that festival. Dr. O'Leary tells us that in order to get a congregation it is now usual to use the whole weekly series on Saturday night, thus forming another Eastern parallel to the coalescence in the West of the seven canonical hours into two main services.

The text is well edited, and a reasonable system of word-division is adopted. Perhaps the MSS. are sometimes almost too closely followed; the opening words of the Monday Theotokia, here given as
would seem difficult to a beginner not realizing that the second word should be divided έκάλεί αυτόν (έκαλεί = έκαλε) ερχόμενοι. (Dr. O'Leary is here printing from Cod. Vat. Copt. xxxviii, which agrees, he says, "with other texts and with the printed editions save only in some orthographical variants." But Tuki has quite a different fourth line in the opening stanza, which Dr. O'Leary rightly gives as—

ερχόμενοι ἔρχομενοι ἔρχομενοι 

ξέα ποτ

ετεαςον ετεγρακχ,

substituting ερχόμενον ερχόμενον δεν ερχόμενον for the last line.) Again, in the second stanza of the second section of the Wednesday Theotokia, the line—taken from the same Vatican MS.—ω ἔνθα περι στόχευσε (if indeed it is not a mere misprint) has no meaning: it should be, with all good MSS. and Tuki, ω ἔνθα περι στόχευσε ἔφεβος.

These are not serious blemishes, for anyone working at the Theotokia will have Tuki and probably an odd MS. or two before him. On the other hand, the analysis of this service-book here presented for the first time cannot but be of certain and lasting value to Coptic scholars and liturgiologists alike.

S. Gaselee.


Dr. Konow is already favourably known to students of the Linguistic Survey by the volume on Dravidian Languages, and by what he has written on Bhilli and Khândeshi. Now we have this monograph on such "Gipsy" languages as have not already been discussed in connexion with the languages just mentioned. The word "Gipsy" has been used without prejudice, for the author well knows that much has yet to be done before it can be stated definitely that the Indian nomads do or do not belong to the Romani race. He inclines to think that they do, although this is contrary to what he calls the "prevailing opinion of scholars". I do not think he need be afraid of
hazarding an opinion of his own. We are not in a position to speak of a "prevailing opinion". A certain amount of spade work has been done, but no foundations have been laid, no conclusions have been reached. There is, of course, no lack of conjectures, but before we draw inferences we must ascertain whether those who have described Romani dialects and sounds have received that phonetic training which alone could render their statements trustworthy. It is obvious that only precarious conclusions can be based on data furnished by scholars whose phonetic equipment is unscientific.

We may summarize Dr. Konow's opinion in three sentences: (i) probably all the "Gipsy" tribes of India have the same origin and are derived from Dravidian stock, though now most of them speak Aryan languages; (ii) not improbably European Gipsies are of the same race; (iii) all Gipsies, whether Armenian or European, are wholly Indian. This last point is in agreement with an article of great value written by Professor Woolner, a Sanskritist who has long made a study of Romani dialects. In the article referred to he discussed four theories of the origin of the Romani race, and decided strongly against that one which relegated the early home of this people to some region outside India.

Professor Konow gives details of six Gipsy dialects and a number of mere argots. Much the most important is Sāśī-cum-Kolhāṭi, which alone has a complete dialect with a criminal argot derived from it. Kolhāṭi is a kind of appendage to Sāśī. The other five dialects have no secret argot depending upon them. To me the important position thus attained by Sāśī is a source of much pleasure, for it is many years since I first met Sāsis and began studying their speech. Of one man and woman in particular I retain not a few happy memories. It will not be out of place to indicate in a few words the nature of their language. It is allied to Rājputānī, Western Pahārī, Hindī, and Panjābī, and varies to some extent with the district in which it is spoken. It is a tone language possessing three tones (or four if we include a tone compounded of two others). These tones are, unfortunately, not indicated, but, to tell the truth, it is only quite recently that tones have been recognized in India outside of Burma. The secret argot founded upon Sāśī is much more elaborate than such argots usually are. Apart from special words there are numerous methods of disguising the words of the ordinary dialect.

There is something wonderful in the thought of this race, if it is really one, separated in early times from the other aborigines of India,
split up into numerous divisions, speaking diverse dialects, and yet retaining many characteristics which distinguish it from other Indians. Who these people were, why they left their fellows, why they were divided into further sections, at what time they became criminals—all these things are, alas! unknown. The author has not been able to lift the veil, but he has at least opened the doors of the ante-room, and he deserves our hearty gratitude.

T. Grahame Bailey.


Two numbers of this Journal have appeared since the last Bulletin. In both Dr. Sampson continues his Welsh Gipsy Tales. In the former there is a good article by Bernard Gilliat Smith on the Gipsies of Petrograd. In the latter there is a valuable article by Professor Woolner, Professor of Sanskrit in the Oriental College, Lahore, on the linguistic affinities of Romani. I earnestly echo his suggestion that Professor Jules Bloch should take up the question and deal with it adequately, or, I would add, why not Professor R. L. Turner? I commend the idea to these two scholars.

T. Grahame Bailey.


The nucleus of these studies was the dissertation prepared by the author for the degree of Doctor of Letters while a student at the School of Oriental Studies, and it is therefore with especial pleasure that we welcome in these columns the appearance, in an enlarged and revised form, of the first half of it, which presents a full survey of the chronology and sources of Sanskrit literature treating of the Art of Poetry, and which is to be followed—shortly, we hope—by a second and concluding volume, that will set forth the doctrines of the diverse schools of the art in their historical development.

The work, thoroughly critical and scholarly in method, is based upon deep and wide research, and when concluded will furnish a history of alamkāra as complete as the materials permit. Hitherto, though some individual works and authors have been critically studied, no attempt has been made to present a systematic survey of alamkāra literature. Dr. De, with the enthusiasm of a young man and the
ability of riper years, has greatly dared and notably succeeded. The
task has been a peculiarly difficult one, for not only is the literature
beset with scholastic subtleties, but also the relations between the
various works have to be determined by bringing into mutual con-
exion a vast number of passages in different books and tracing
innumerable quotations in diverse books. But Dr. De has
triumphantly surmounted all the obstacles in his path, and the only
criticism that can be raised against his work is that it contains a rather
large number of small misprints, as is inevitable in a book printed in
a country where authors have to perform the functions discharged
in Europe by press proof-readers.

The Ars Poetica of India arose in the schools of the grammarians
from the study of the grammatical forms in which metaphors were
expressed. This in course of time was enlarged by the logical theories
which were added to formal grammar and by reflexion upon the
Gradus ad Parnassum in current use; and thus arose independent
systems of doctrine, notably the alaṃkāra schools mainly represented
by Bharata and Bhāmaha, the rāti teachings of Daṇḍin and still more
of Vāmana, and the theory of dhvani first expounded in the Kārikās
forming the basis of Ānandavardhana’s Dhvanyāloka, from which
has issued an innumerable swarm of later theorists and their com-
mentators. Dr. De has reserved for his second volume the detailed
exposition of this fecund intellectual evolution, and readers of the
present book will await this sequel with keen interest.

L. D. B.

2. Les Théories Diplomatiques de l’Inde Ancienne et
l’Arthaçāstra. Par Kālidās Nāg, Docteur en Lettres. Svo,

Diplomacy is defined in the Dictionary of the Académie Française
as “science of the mutual relations of the respective interests of
States and sovereigns between one another”. Judged by this criterion,
the present work must be pronounced to be wrongly labelled. If the
title is to be understood in the natural sense, it means that Dr. Nāg
intended to write about Indian theories of diplomacy with special
reference to those conveyed in the Kauṭiliya; but at the outset he
tells us that he means to trace the outlines of the political evolution
of India down to the approximate era of Kauṭiliya, to examine the
latter’s views, and to show the continuity of tradition in later
documents. This signifies that he has tried to write a survey of the
THE LANGO: A NILOTIC TRIBE OF UGANDA

principles of Indian polity in general, apparently to pad out the rather scanty diplomatic documents at his disposal; and, not unnaturally, his survey is inadequate, even as regards the department of diplomacy (e.g. he seems to be unaware of Mr. N. N. Law’s *Inter-State Relations in Ancient India*). Apart, however, from this structural weakness, the book has considerable merit. The author, though he makes no original contributions to his subject, has read a good deal and read intelligently; and his judgment on the date of the Kautiliya, in which he follows Messrs. Hillebrandt, Jolly, and Finot, is sound. But we must enter a humble demurrer against his concluding verdict that India “a rejetté la vie montrée par Kautilya-Cāṇakya pour entrer dans celle de Dharmāṇika”. Our historical documents tell a very different tale, and the corollary drawn by Dr. Nāg from his theory to explain the disappearance of the Kauṭiliya is therefore erroneous.

L. D. B.


This is, I believe, the first detailed account of a most interesting and important tribe belonging to a group for which the name “Nilotic” seems now to be pretty generally accepted. The Lango occupy the country to the north of Lakes Kyoga and Kwanya, in the northern part of the Uganda Protectorate. They do not appear to have been settled there for more than about thirty years, and are probably an offshoot of the stock whence the Shilluk, the Gang (Acholi), the Lur, and the so-called “Nilotic Kavirondo”, also originated. The languages of these peoples are closely allied, and clearly belong to Westermann’s “Sudanic family”, whatever may be thought of this classification with regard to some other idioms.

The book is a most conscientious and valuable piece of work containing, first, a very full account of the Lango and their tribal life under the headings of “Physical and Psychical Characteristics”, “Mode of Life”, “Social Organization”, “Religion and Magic”, and secondly, an excellent grammar, followed by two vocabularies and a small collection of folk-tales (text and translation in parallel columns). Phonetically, this language appears to be remarkable for the absence of the sibilants, the labial fricatives, and the aspirate; a mono-
syllabic basis is clearly discernible; and words otherwise similar are distinguished by tone, though this feature is not so marked as in Shilluk. The Lango are a vigorous people of fine physical development and comparatively immune from disease. "The children, though numerous, are nearly always healthy in appearance and well nurtured." The author is fully alive to their many good qualities. "Ideas of morality are high... love for their children is unusually noticeable"; they are cheerful and good-natured, and it is unusual for them to harbour a grudge for any length of time. "So a lengthy blood-feud is not due to malice or personal ill-feeling, but is the pious fulfilment of a sacred duty devolving on him, and as such is accepted and executed remorselessly when opportunity offers; the feeling uppermost in the mind, however, is not one of personal revenge, but a just recompense or honour done to his murdered kinsman."

Women have "considerable freedom of action and customary rights", and the men do the heavy work of clearing and breaking up the ground for cultivation, while the women remove the grass and rubbish and help in the weeding while the crops are growing. This is, Mr. Driberg states, "in contrast with the Bantu practice," but the statement requires some qualification. In Nyasaland, at any rate, the men usually do the rough work of clearing the ground, and I have seen a man and his wife sharing the work of sowing; while the cooperative husbandry of the Lango (p. 97) is quite common among the Anyanja, where such a party is called dina (from lima "to hoe"), and, if not exclusively consisting of men, certainly includes both sexes. It has been pointed out elsewhere, however, that the fact of agriculture being wholly or chiefly practised by women does not necessarily imply their inferior status, as is evidenced by their control, in a great measure, of the food supply. On another point which has given rise to a good deal of misunderstanding, we may quote Mr. Driberg, premising that his words will apply to other people besides the Lango:

"It is often urged against polygamy and the payment of dowries that it results in the degradation of the women to the position of being mere property... This... is very far from the truth among the Lango, whose womenfolk are treated with remarkable courtesy and consideration, and though invested by custom with the right of vetoing... a second marriage [on the part of the husband] would be the first to resent the institution of monogamy. Nor does the payment of a bride-price or dowry carry with it the rights and authority of a slave-
owner... The bride-price has no bearing on the woman's station (except in so far as the possession of the dowry enables her brother to punish any infringement of her rights) and does not affect her freedom, but is the outward and visible sign that she has passed from the clan of her relations to that of her husband... and, just as she has been willing to throw in her lot with her husband's clan with the consent of her family and clansmen, so her husband, who has gained for his clan a new member and a prospective mother of warriors, is willing... to make good the numerical loss to her family's clan by the payment of a substantial dowry, from which the family will subsequently restore their numbers by a similar process. There is nothing of the degrading here, no compact of servitude, but an equitable social arrangement for the preservation of clan equilibrium” (p. 67).

Much the same might be said of the severely repudiated Zulu lobola custom—at any rate, before its real nature was obscured by European-made legislation.

The chapter on "Religion and Magic" is of unusual interest, though the writer modestly deprecates criticism on account of "regrettable lacunae, an absence of coherence and apparent contradictions"—due to the difficulty of obtaining information on these very intimate matters. The actual content of the chapter, however, is far greater than the above would lead one to expect, and the reader will appreciate both the scientific caution with which the statements are put forward and the tact and consideration which were evidently shown in making the inquiries. Jok, as a designation for a spiritual power, or powers, is used in as many different ways as Mulungu by the Anyanja and Yao; "probably, indeed, it is but vaguely comprehended even by the Lango themselves." Jok appears to be specially associated with the air, and "is most visible in whirlwinds and circular eddies of air (ajoru)". The conception of a "heaven" or "sky" sometimes accessible to earth-dwellers, which appears in Zulu folk-tales and is found also among the Baronga, Wachaga, Baganda, and elsewhere, is here a little more clearly defined.

"The Lango notion of the universe is the inside of a sphere, the bottom concavity of which is this world, while the top concavity is another inhabited world. The top half is called polo¹ (sky, clouds, atmosphere), because owing to the great distance of the other world a kind of mirage prevents it being seen clearly, and gives it the appearance which is popularly known as polo or sky... That the other

¹ πόλος—an invaluable find for a certain school of etymologists!
world is inhabited is well known, as very occasionally Jok has taken up inhabitants of this world to that other, just as he occasionally brings an inhabitant of the other world down here, and one such visitor is known in the past to have returned after a stay of four days."

Two points in the account which follows are noteworthy: the man refused to taste the food of the sky-dwellers, but not for the reason usually given in such tales, viz. that it would prevent his return to earth; and the polo people all had tails. This curious touch occurs in the folk-lore of the Chaga and the Pare peoples of the Kilimanjaro region (where it may possibly be due to Hamitic influence—compare Kidongoi of the Masai) and among the Ewe of the Gold Coast.

The ritual of rain-making—of which, being a public one, knowledge is more easily acquired—is given at some length, and there is an interesting account of divination by throwing up a pair of sandals. It only remains to add that the book is illustrated with some excellent photographs and careful drawings of weapons, implements, the ground-plan of a hut, etc.

Alice Werner.

THE FOLK-LITERATURE OF THE GALLA OF SOUTHERN ABYSSINIA.


So little has been published with regard to the Galla that any further information about this interesting people is more than welcome. Dr. Cerulli did not collect the texts here printed in situ, but—what, after all, is the next best method—from three members of the tribe resident for some time at Naples. His principal informant, Loransiyos Walda Iyasus, seems to be a remarkable man of long and varied experience, who was able to report at first hand many outstanding events of the last thirty or forty years, including the destruction of the ill-fated Bottego expedition. It is much to be regretted that Loransiyos had to return to Africa, by order of the Italian military authorities, before the collection of prose texts dictated by him was complete. But enough has been obtained to make a very valuable addition to Galla literature. We have sixty-four historical songs, with full explanations of all the allusions, a number of songs dealing with love, war, and religion, ninety-three proverbs and a few riddles, and the prose texts already referred to, comprising part of the Chronicle of Guma, the narratives of "The Holy War of Hasan
Injamo” and of the death of Captain Bottego, and accounts of the initiation ceremony, the investiture of a chief, etc. The discussion appended to this last is particularly interesting, and contains some ingenious diagrams illustrating the succession of the *gada* groups (called *luva* by Abarea, my informant in 1913). The prophecies given under the heading “Texts of Magic and Prophetic Literature” are remarkable as showing how carefully these oracles are preserved and handed down. An appendix, “The Watta: a Low Caste of Hunters,” deserves attention as throwing considerable light on the origin of the East African hunting tribes, the Wasanye, Waboni, Ariangulo—who are all called *Wat* by the Galla—and perhaps the Dorobo.

It would be easy to quote at great length from various parts of this volume, but we must confine ourselves to a few proverbs as illustrating the Galla mode of thought:

“'We have none, and we do not shave,' said the bald-headed man.”

“'If they cut my throat they could not kill me, but with boiling water I am destroyed,’ said the flea.”

“The poor man, after having ploughed, carries the plough on his back up the slope.” (Compare the Swahili: “The poor man's hen does not lay, and if she lays she does not hatch, and if she does hatch the hawk gets the chicks.”)

“For one who has no house it is a good thing to bring lawsuits.”

“'Take it,' we said to him, and he refused; we put it back, and he stole it.”

“'Do not come to me; I will not come to thee,' said the malaria.”

Alice Werner.

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**Naqa'id de Garir et de Ahtal.** Texte arabe publie ... et annoté par le P. A. Salhani, S.J. xvi + 250 pp. Beyrouth, 1922.

Abū Temmām Ḥabīb ibn Aus is best known by his celebrated anthology, the Hamāsa, but he also composed, in addition to his Diwān, other works which did not attain the same reputation. Among them is his selection made from the book of the poets of the various Arab tribes of the renowned Kufi grammmarian Abū 'Amr Ishāq ibn Mirār ash-Shaibānī, of which a manuscript is preserved in Constantinople; and which, according to a note at the beginning of the manuscript, was found among his papers at his death. On the same more ambitious scale is the present work under notice, which has survived in a very
old manuscript to which the Jesuit Father Salhani first drew attention in the Mashriq some years ago (Mashriq, 1905, vol. viii, pp. 97 to 107). An excellent edition of this manuscript with copious notes is one of the first works issued by the Jesuit Press since its re-establishment since the war.

The author does not tell us whence he has derived his material, but many of the poems of the rival poets are found in their Diwāns; however, they differ at times very considerably, both in the length and the sequence of verses. These differences are clearly set out in the ample notes with which the editor has enriched his edition. The work of Abū Temnām commences with an exposition of the events which, after the death of the caliph Yazid ibn Mu‘āwiya, led to the Qaisite troubles in Mesopotamia and Syria. These particulars supplement our knowledge as derived from Tabari in details.

Unfortunately, at the very beginning, some leaves have been lost from the manuscript which would have contained the account of the origin of the poetical quarrel of the two poets, of which a very short account is given in the Kitāb al-Aghāni. The first poem of al-Akhtal is not directed against Jarir at all, but against the Qaisite enemies of the poet’s tribe, the Taghib, and is duly answered by Nufai‘ ibn Şaffar al-Muḥāribi. The following numbers, however, appear rather to be quotations from some historical account which is lost, as we find among them a poem by the elder Muraqqish, who lived about two centuries before the time of al-Akhtal and the events which evoked the quarrel. The real contest begins abruptly in the middle of a poem by Jarir, the first verse being the tenth of the 38th poem of the Diwān of Jarir, as handed down in manuscripts claiming to contain the text of this poet as edited by the Kufi grammarian Ibn al-A‘rābī. From this point the text appears to go on without interruption between the two poets and concludes with a poem by al-Akhtal. Only once a poem of al-Farazdaq is inserted, in which he comes to the assistance of al-Akhtal. This poem is also found in the Naqā‘id of Jarir and al-Akhtal.

The language is generally easy, but abounds in terms of the grossest nature, and perhaps Jarir can be more obscene, though in this respect he would probably have to hand the palm to al-Farazdaq. The invectives are often childish and Jarir delights in deriding his Christian

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1 Vol. x, pp. 2-5.
2 No. 25.
3 Nos. 28-32.
opponent with the cross, the rearing of pigs and the eating of pork, while the latter has to be more guarded, and probably thus had not the chance to fully exhaust his store of bad language.

The text is admirably printed and edited with great care. At the end the editor has given some extracts from a manuscript of the Diwān of Jarir dealing with accounts of days of fighting, the basis being the copy preserved at Cairo; and as this text contains several errors, which I am able to correct from a copy of the same Diwān in my possession written by the late Rizq Allāh Ḥassūn, I am submitting these corrections herewith:

p. 226, l. 9, after my MS. adds

p. 226, l. 11

p. 226, l. 11

p. 227, l. 23

p. 227, l. 24

p. 228, l. 9

p. 228, l. 10

p. 228, l. 19

p. 228, l. 20
p. 228, l. 21

سُمِّعَ الدُّعَاء
الأَّسُلُ الظِّيَاءُ
تَكَبَّ أَتَ قَيْس

ult.

229, 5

بَجَرْوَان
فَاعفَاء
ولَهَا جَمِّهُ

230, 3

واَبِنِي لَآي و اِبْن عَبْد مُحَمَّر
إِذَا خَرَّ

11

231, 5

ذَبَحَة

14

يَومِ العَظَالِي

15

قَيْسِ بْنِ الأَصْمَّ

18

قُرْطِ بْنِ عَاصِمَ

20

vocalized

21 adds

قَالَ نَعْمَ [قَالَ اِفِي هِمْ اِبْنَا عَاصِمَة قَعْنَبً

وَمَعْدَانُ قَالَ نَعْمَ

232, 4

لا نَتَكاذِب

5

حتى وَافِي

6

بِن النَّجَّار

8

انْخَبِ الْخَيْلَِ جَبَنَ... امَرِيْ سَيْرُيْ وَقَعِه
THE COMMENTARY OF FATHER MONSERRATE, S.J., ON HIS JOURNEY TO
THE COURT OF AKBAR. Translated from the Original Latin by J. S.
HOYLAND, M.A., Hislop College, Nagpur, and annotated by S. N.
BANERJEE, M.A., Professor of History, Mahindra College, Patiala.

The rediscovery (in 1906) of Father A. Monserrate's *Mongolicae Legationis
Commentarius* and its subsequent publication, in the *Memoirs of the Asiatic
Society of Bengal*, vol. iii, 518 sqq. (1914), by Father H. Hosten, S.J., was
quite a sensational event in the annals of Indian history. As a contribu-
tion to the knowledge of Akbar’s character and his interest in religious
discussions it is of paramount importance, and it is the most reliable source
for the history of his campaign against Mirzā Hakim of Kabul; it con-
sequently formed one of the chief authorities from which the late Dr. Vincent
Smith drew his materials in composing his brilliant biography of Akbar.
On a number of other questions it gives most valuable information; to
quote one instance only, Monserrate seems to be the first European writer
to mention Lake Manasarowar, a fact that has been duly appreciated by
Dr. Sven Hedin in his monumental work on *Southern Tibet*, vol. vii (1922).\(^1\)
Unfortunately, the second volume of Monserrate’s manuscript, which
must be chiefly geographical, is still missing, but may perhaps some
day be brought to light by the unceasing efforts of Father Hosten.

Considering the great importance of the *Commentarius*, it seems quite
appropriate that the text should be made accessible in an English trans-
lation to readers who would perhaps find it a somewhat strenuous task to
cope with the Latin of Father Monserrate, which is, in places, a rather
difficult one. Also that such a translation should be provided with a
commentary, dealing at some length with the various passages where the
average reader is in urgent need of somewhat detailed information. In
trying to furnish us with such a translation, Mr. Hoyland and Professor
Banerjee have, no doubt, set themselves a very laudable enterprise and have
placed us greatly under obligation for undertaking this far from easy task.
The style of the translation is a fluent and agreeable one, and the notes
seem to give the chief items required for a better understanding of the
original.

A somewhat closer inspection will, however, reveal several drawbacks,
especially in what concerns the translation. Mr. Hoyland, in the Editor’s
introduction, p. xiii, remarks that “Father Monserrate’s Latin style is
frequently exceedingly involved and obscure”, and that he himself is
quite willing to admit “the doubtful authenticity of his interpretation of
a large number of passages”. These precautionary remarks ought un-
doubtedly to disarm criticism to a certain degree, and it will certainly have
to be admitted that the Latin text presents quite a series of riddles—not
infrequently owing to its own corrupt state. But one may well express
wonder at the fact that a classical scholar should stumble over quite a
number of passages which, though sometimes of a rather puzzling nature,
will, notwithstanding, allow of a very probable solution. Some few
instances will be given below; they are, unfortunately, apt to show that
this translation must be used with a good amount of caution.

\(^1\) Cf. Charpentier, *Geografiska Annaler*, i, 269 sqq.; Hedin, ibid., p. 290 sqq.
An important passage—p. 548 sqq. of the Latin text—deals with the Pārsis whom Father Monserrate saw at Navsārī. Amongst other things he speaks of their dress in the following words: “Eorum nota, quae illis mutuo conuenit ut a reliquis gentibus distinguerentur, quasi quodam religionis signo, linthea vel gossipina xylinaque vestis est, ad foemur usque demissa, circum oram consuta, cui ante pectus, qua caput inducitur, utraque extremitas suata nectitur, et sinus quidam relinquitur quadratus, latitudine quatuor digitorum... in quod inferre quippiam susceps religionibus prohibitur.” Not to speak of minor slips, the words quoted in italics are rendered “it covers the head”; it may be suggested that a Latin scholar would not easily translate inducitur as if it were induitur, and, besides, a slight acquaintance with the real facts absolutely prohibit a rendering like that of Mr. Hoyland. The words “qua caput inducitur”, of course, mean: “where the head is put through.”

Nor does the translation of the passage concerning the homage rendered to the moon by the Mohammadans (p. 550 of the text) betray any very correct knowledge of rather obvious facts.

On p. 552, l. 6, cucurbita is rendered by “coco-nut shell” instead of “pumpkin”.

In the description of the Holi on p. 557 the words “tandem ad sordida saera sordidati... accedunt” do not, of course, mean: “having thus degraded themselves they come at length... to the most abominable part of the whole festival”, but “finally, smirched with dirt, they arrive at their filthy ceremonies”.

A rather obvious slip occurs in the translation of the passage concerning Bābā Kapūr on p. 557 sq.: “Opinabatur homo perditus, in eo beatitudinem esse positam, si omni sensu quis careat, nec corporis morbos, nec animi aegritudinis patiatur, quin magis, quodam sensuum lenocinio semisopitus deliniatur”; the words in italics are rendered thus: “though in reality one is more liable to be tortured by the incitements of the senses when in a state of semi-insensibility.” There can be no doubt that they really mean: “lest, half-lulled by the blandishments of the senses, one might be still more captivated.”

Several slips occur in the translation of the passage dealing with elephants (especially p. 585 of the text). Nor does the translation of the sentences about the Manichæans on p. 587 inspire much confidence in the

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1 This knowledge may be gathered from e.g. Anquetil Du Perron, Zend-Avesta, ii, 529, and Menant, Les Parsis, i, 134.

2 The author has just mentioned how the Hindus plaster their bodies with mud and squirt red dye over each other.
translator's acquaintance with that subject; to mention nothing else the words: "qui elementa quinque rerum, a se confecta, deos dicebant" could not possibly mean "declared that the gods were in reality the five elements *mixing together by their own action*". It seems scarcely necessary to mention that the words "a se confecta" mean something like "falsely invented by themselves", and even a perfunctory perusal of the article "Manichaeans" in Hastings's *Encyclopædia* might have furnished the materials for a less incorrect translation.

On p. 588 Father Monserrate gives some information concerning Hanumān, and tells us that: "Maessuris, Crustni et Brame frater, filius vero Para Maessuris, dicitur, mulierem quandam . . . adamasse"; this is rendered thus: "He\(^1\) is said to have been the brother of Maessur, Crustu, and Brama, and the son of Para maessur, who had visited his mother," etc. Apart from the absurd rendering of the simple Latin sentence, there is no tradition to be found of Hanumān having been the brother of the three highest gods, but it is well known that he is often said to be the son of Śiva. Consequently, the meaning is: "Maheśvara, the brother of Kṛṣṇa and Brahmā, and the son of Paramaheśvara, is said to have had intercourse with a woman," etc.

The incorrectness of the translation of ll. 1–2 of p. 592 is so obvious that it must certainly be ascribed to a *lapsus calami*; and on p. 592 the apparent slip of Father Monserrate in mixing up *Prometheus* with *Proteus*—who is well known "sese variis formis ostendere"—has apparently escaped the translator.

On p. 612 the words: "tantamque loco sanctitatem inesse praedicant, ut propter eius loci sanctitudo nem mundi opifex Deus, reliquum mundum finxerit et fabricarit" cannot possibly mean "and that place is so holy that God, the Creator of the Universe, modelled the rest of the universe upon it". The meaning is too obvious to be further dealt with here.

Several other slips of more or less consequence have been noticed by the present writer, but cannot, for want of space, be dealt with here. Some of them—as seems clear also from those already noticed—seem to imply that the translator has worked upon his text in a rather perfunctory way, and has not always availed himself of all the materials at hand for interpreting it.

The commentary, fortunately, invites less criticism from the reader. One might have wished that Professor Banerjee had not, e.g. thought *Birbitremenā [Vīra Vikrama]* to have been meant for Chandragupta II Vikramāditya (n. 42), or that he had given in n. 104 the probably correct

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\(^1\) Viz. Hanumān.
date of Chingiz Khan (as he has done in the Appendix, n. 5). On p. 91 sq. some information concerning Father Monserrate’s interesting passage on Vishnu and his avatāras might have been welcome; the notes on the rather muddled history of the Mongols in the Appendix are scarcely up to date, nor does the mention of an author called “St. Antoninus” in n. 3 on p. xxxix or the translation of Abii (viz. Scythæ) as “lifeless people” inspire confidence in the acquaintance of the commentator with classical literature. But on the whole, Professor Banerjee may be said to have solved his often difficult task with at least some amount of skill and learning.

A thoroughly revised edition of the work would undoubtedly be of great use to students of Mogul history, and it is only fair to admit that the difficulties of the undertaking have perhaps been too great to be coped with during the amount of time which may possibly have been at the disposal of the editors.

Jarl Charpentier.

1 When quoting literature concerning Chingiz Khan the standard work of d’Ohsson should not have been left out; the work of Curtin (The Mongols, 1907)—a shameless plagiarism of d’Ohsson—has fortunately been left aside.

2 The entry “D. Anthonius Florentiz Archiepiscopus in 3a parte Summarum Historiarum” on p. 533 of Father Hosten’s edition gives the easy solution of this riddle.
NOTES AND QUERIES

JAGAJ-JHAMPA

As a supplement to the late Dr. Fleet's observations on the word *tyāga-jagaj-jhampin* in the Bhāṇḍūp Plates (Epigr. Ind. xii, p. 251), I offer the following remarks on the meaning of *jagaj-jhampa* and its variations mentioned by him.

The Sanskrit dictionary gives us *jhampa*, "leap, swoop," and its derivative *jhampin*. These may be ruled out, as they give no sense in this connexion. We may therefore look for a Prakrit root, with the more confidence as heralds, from whose *praśastis* the compound is probably derived, enjoyed the privilege of coining *ari-samāsas*, compounds of Sanskrit with Prakrit words (Kittel, Gram. of Kann. Lang., p. 215). Now Hēmacandra in his Prakrit Grammar, iv, 161, and his *Deśī-nāma-mālā* iii, 55 (comm.), gives *jhampāi* as equivalent to the Sanskrit *bhramati*; with this Pischel (G.P.S., § 326) rightly connects OMe. *jhampīṭā* (Samāv. 83, where it is glossed *anīṣṭa-vacanāvākāśam kṛtvā*, "taking the opportunity for reviling"); *jhampīa*, glossed *trūṭitam ghavīṭām ca* in *Deśī*-n. iii, 61, and rendered by Jacobi as "extinguished" in the glossary to his *Erz. Māhārāṣṭrī*, p. 112 (paṁvau *jhampio jhatti*, p. 85), and *jhampāni*, "eyelash" (*Deśī*-n. iii, 54, *Pāyiya-l.*, 250). The fundamental idea in all these words seems to be that of covering over so as to darken, obscuration, whether natural (as in the case of the eyelash, the "darkener" of the eye) or adventitious; thence come, on the one hand, the idea of abusive misrepresentation, as in *Samāv.* (cf. Latin *denigrare*), and on the other that of forcible extinction, as in *Erz. Māhār.,* of which sense the gloss *trūṭitam ghavīṭām ca* is a later and probably not very accurate derivative. This explanation enables us to connect the root with the Vedic *kṣap* and *kṣapá*, "night," primarily "time of darkness".¹ Compare the Hindi *jhāpnā*, "to cover," with its cognates in many of the I.A. vernaculars. It explains, further, the Gujarati *jhāp*, "dimness," and Marathi *jhāp, jhāpan, "sealed state of the eyes, drowsiness, stupor," as, for instance, under demoniac possession,

¹ Pischel, G.P.S., § 326, suggests a derivation of *jhampāi* from *kṣap* in the sense of "to let loose", "to abandon".
jñāpaḍ, meaning the same as jñāp and also a muffling of the face, jñāpaḍī and jñāpaṇī, muffling of the face and a blind for covering the eyes of animals. Probably the Marathi jñāp, “sleep,” Kannada jampu and jompa, “drowsiness,” jompu,¹ “inebriation or stupor,” and Mar. jñāpā, jñāpaḍī, jñāpaḍē, “hut” (orig. “covert”?), and jñāpaṇ, “blind for a bullock’s eyes,” may come from the same source;² so, too, the Hindi jñāpṛī, “hut.” We may thus from the idea of obscurcation trace the meaning of “stupefying”, “causing fuddlement”. The next step is to find for the root, as a derivative from the last meaning, the sense of “bewitching”, “charming”, just as we find Sanskrit mōhana and Tamil mayakkam proceeding from the idea of stupefaction to that of fascination and charm; and apparently this is to be found in the phrase tyāga-jagaj-jhampa-jhampalācārya. Here jagaj-jhampa will mean something like “a bewitchment of the world”; jhampala and jhampaṇa will be the corresponding verbal adjective; and the whole phrase may be translated “a wizard (literally, a master skilled in enchantment) in the bewitchment of the world with his bounty”. This idea is further suggested in v. 32 of Udayaprabha’s Sukta-kirtti-kalolini (in the Gaekwad’s Sanskrit Series, No. X), where it is said of Vallabha-rāja that “this jagaj-jhampana covered up the abyss with the earth that had been bent down by (the weight of his) elephants, the earth with the floods of his warriors, and the heavens with the mass of dust thrown up by his horses”:

śvabhram sindhura-bhugnaya vasudhayā bhūmim bhatāughāir divam sapti-kṣipta-rajō-bharēna pidadhē sō 'yaṃ jagaj-jhampaṇah.

L. D. Barnett.

HINDI AND AVADHI NOTES

India has recently lost two distinguished authors. Pañḍit Rāmeśvar Bhaṭṭ, of Agra, passed away on the 18th of January, at the age of 65. He wrote in Hindi, but he was best known as a profound student of Avadhī, and his most valuable work is probably to be found in his commentaries on Tulsī Dās’s Rām Charit Mānas (Rāmāyaṇ) and Vinay Patrikā. He was at one time in railway service, but he loved his home and was glad when he obtained a position in Agra as Pañḍit in a boys’ school. A few years later he succeeded Pañḍit Bāl Mukund

¹ Kittel, Dict., p. 637, quotes sambaja and sombal as Tamil analogues; they are not in Winslow’s Dictionary.

² Possibly the Telugu jomu, “torpor, stupefaction,” may be referred to the same source, through an intermediate *jompu.
as senior Sanskrit teacher in the Agra College. He was a very approachable man of simple tastes, always glad to help others. He leaves three sons— all University graduates and all writers of good Hindi.

Pañdit Badri Nārāyana, born in 1855, died on the 14th of February. He was elected president of the third annual conference of the Hindi Sāhitya Sammelan. Unlike most Hindi poets of the present day, this well-known poet preferred to write in the Braj dialect, though he wrote two books in kharī bolī. There must be some who regret the passing of Braj as the vehicle of Hindi poetry, but it is not natural for anyone to write prose in one dialect and verse in another. While delighting in Avadhī, which has nearly gone, and Braj which is going, we may give a welcome to the kharī which has come to take their place.

T. Grahame Bailey.

THE ARABIC STANDARDS OF TIPU SAHIB

The interest of these standards is not yet exhausted. In a recent letter Mr. C. A. Storey writes that further research has led him to give up his former opinion (which I quoted in the Bulletin, Vol. II, Pt. III, p. 550), and he now holds that not the spiritual birth but the actual birth of Muḥammad Sāhib was intended. “Tipū’s era,” he adds, “consisted of solar years. 1,215 of these are enough to take one back to Muḥammad’s birth or rather to the year A.D. 572 in which Tipū seems to have supposed that Muḥammad was born.” The double peculiarity of the era is noteworthy. Solar years are used instead of lunar, and the era dates not from the hijra, but from Muḥammad Sāhib’s birth.

T. Grahame Bailey.
OBITUARY

Professor T. W. Rhys Davids

On 20th January, 1922, died one well known at the School of Oriental Studies both for her work in Pali and her personal charm, Mrs. Bode; and on 27th December of the same year died Professor Rhys Davids, not only a great Oriental scholar, but a man who deserved the gratitude of the School as an earnest advocate of its foundation and as an unwearied promoter of schemes for the wise direction of its efforts.

Professor Rhys Davids was born on 12th May, 1843, at Colchester. His father was a leading Congregational Minister, and he showed in his book, *Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in Essex*, that gift of patient enthusiasm, illuminating what would otherwise be dry details, which was a leading characteristic of his son.

Professor Rhys Davids was at school at Brighton, and gave up a good opening in the legal profession to go to the University of Breslau, where he learnt Sanskrit under Professor Stenzler, to whom, in 1880, he dedicated his *Buddhist Birth Stories*. At Breslau he learnt to value the German system of training students by research almost from the beginning of their study; whereas the system of the older English universities makes research the crown and reward of patient and thorough preparation. Each system has its merits and drawbacks; the training of Breslau prepared Professor Rhys Davids for that noble pioneer work in which the best are of necessity always beginners. In 1864 he entered the Ceylon Civil Service; and as Sanskrit had made Tamil and Sinhalese easy to him, he was able to understand the natives and their views. The production, as evidence in a trial, of a Pali sacred text that no one present could read led to the work of his life by making him resolve to master the unknown language. Pali was, however, not entirely unknown to the world. Its study by Europeans began, as Professor Rhys Davids said later (in his contribution to the Presidential Address to the Philological Society in 1875, pp. 60–79), with an "Essai sur le Pali", 1826, by Eugène Burnouf & Professor Lassen, and was carried on by Turnour in his edition of the
Mahāvamsa (of which only Vol. I was published), 1837—a work which Professor Rhys Davids called "the foundation of all Pali scholarship". Gogerly and others had used its documents. R. C. Childers, who left Ceylon in 1864, had begun his Dictionary (published 1872–5). Fausböll, at Copenhagen, had published the Dhammapada in Pali and Latin, and was editing the text of the Jātaka. Scholars here and there were doing some work, but it was reserved for Professor Rhys Davids to make Buddhism a household word, and to make it not only a valuable part of special knowledge, but a necessary link in the mental history of mankind. In the Hibbert Lectures, 1881 (p. 187), Professor Rhys Davids gave a memorable picture of the dying monk, Yātrāmullē Unnānē, who came often some distance on foot to use his last strength in teaching his eager European pupil the Pali language, and in seeking, not in vain, to inspire him with a love of Buddhist ideas and zeal for making them known to the world. "There was an indescribable attraction about him, a simplicity, a high-mindedness, that filled me with reverence." Rhys Davids often spoke of him as "the best man I ever knew". In 1877 a difference with the authorities on a question concerning native rights led him to resign his post in the Ceylon Civil Service. He returned to England and, entering the Middle Temple, read for the Bar, but never practised. His legal training was, however, not wasted; it had taught him to weigh evidence and to suspend judgment in the difficult questions of scholarship. A friend says of him at this time: "He was then vigorous both in body and mind, sitting up very late at night working and playing tennis in the Temple garden in the afternoon. He knew everybody and was a charming companion, witty, humorous, and most kind. It was the same at the club; I used to dine with him almost every night, and the party was not complete without him."

Vigorous he doubtless was, but it took some years to recover morally from the enmity that upset his career and physically from the malaria left by the climate of Ceylon, and he often had to work through much pain.

In the Hibbert Lectures, 1881, he was able to announce the founding of the Pali Text Society, of which the first committee contained the honoured names of Professor Fausböll, Dr. Oldenberg, Dr. Morris, and M. Senart, with himself as chairman. With his usual practical genius, he had reckoned that in so many volumes of a certain size and type the sacred texts could be published; and his power of seeing quite clearly what he aimed at brought both workers and money in
unfailing support for forty years, in which time, after carrying out the original plan, he was able to enlarge the sphere of publication. A friend remarks his genius for finance and his power of interesting rich people. This came from the clearness of his aims, which showed givers that their money would not be wasted, and also from the instinctive sense that he himself shrank from no sacrifice for the things for which he asked the help of others. He had now definitely given himself to Oriental work. In 1882 (till 1904) he became Professor of Pali in University College, London—an honorary post; and soon afterwards, as Secretary and Librarian of the Royal Asiatic Society (1885 to 1904), he had full scope for his energies; he filled the Society with new life, gave freshness to its debates, and a purpose to its energies. Under his auspices it published its series of Translations and of Monographs, and shared in the planning of the Indian Text Series. His labours were added to by his share in founding the British Academy. At the same time his own scholarly work was continued. He had already published, besides several papers, his manual on Buddhism, 1878, Buddhist Birth Stories, 1880, Buddhist Suttas (Sacred Books of the East, vol. xi); and in 1881 he published in the same series three volumes of Vinaya Texts with the collaboration of Professor Oldenberg. His friendship with the latter began with an act of generosity. Professor Oldenberg came to consult him about an edition of the Dīpavamsa he was wishing to make, and Professor Rhys Davids at once handed over to him all the material he had himself amassed for the same purpose. In The Questions of King Milinda (S.B.E., 1890–4) he translated a text which was, in his estimation, “the masterpiece of Indian prose” and (as a book of apologetic controversy) “the best in point of style that had then been written in any country.” He edited with Dr. J. E. Carpenter the Digha-Nikāya, i and ii (1890–1911), with the first volume of its commentary, the Sumangala Vilāsini (1886).

He had in the Asiatic Society an invaluable helper in Miss C. Hughes, the Assistant Secretary (Mrs. W. Frazer), who succeeded him in 1904 as Secretary; and he had loyal support and co-operation from many distinguished scholars and friends; yet the toils he had undertaken might well have overwhelmed him if it had not been that in 1894 his power was doubled by his marriage with Caroline Augusta Foley, whose largeness of heart and brain and highly disciplined intellect made her a fit partner in so full a life. Three children were born to them; two daughters and a son, Arthur, whose brilliant promise
as Captain of Eton and as a fighter of distinction in the Air Force met in 1917 its fulfilment in the noble sacrifice of his young life. Mrs. Rhys Davids’ great labours in the field of Buddhist Psychology and Ethics, which she made her own, did not hinder her helping her husband in all departments of his work, especially the Pali Text Society; and all her own work in like manner bears the impress of their united minds.

Their marriage was soon followed by his journey to America, 1894–5, to give lectures, which were published under the title *Buddhism: Its History and Literature* (New York, 1896). A journey to India, in 1899, gave him the delight not only of visiting the scenes of Buddha’s life, but of getting into touch with those who by authority, high position, or intellect could help in his cherished scheme of bringing the mental force of India to bear on its own history. As usual, he had a definite aim, the publishing of texts which throw light on Indian history; but, though he brought the plan into being, he left its carrying out in other hands. The immediate result of the journey was *Buddhist India*, written “from the point of view not so much of the Brahmin as of the Rajput”, with evidence collected, a good deal of it, for the first time and necessarily imperfect, yet so suggestive and light-bringing that if the advocates of Brahmanic views refuse to weigh it, “there is but one course open, and that is to declare war, always with the deepest respect for those who hold them, against such views. They are not compatible with historical methods.”

To his books must be added many papers in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, and those read before Oriental Congresses and other meetings. As another paper in this number of the *Bulletin* deals with the result of his work, no attempt has been made here to describe or discuss any of his writings, fascinating as the theme would be.

The Hibbert lectures and the American lectures show his gift as a lecturer, of making knowledge clear and delightful, and of rising to high powers of thought and moral dignity, and of carrying his hearers with him in a quickened life. “I went, never having heard of Pali before, and went away almost persuaded to take up the study of Pali at once,” said one who was by no means disposed to listen to lectures gladly.

A great change in his life followed in 1904 on his appointment as Professor of Comparative Religion in the Victoria University, Manchester, and he lectured on almost the whole field of the history of religion. In 1908 *Early Buddhism* expressed concisely some of the results to which he held most firmly in Buddhist thought. In 1910
and 1921 he completed, with the help of Mrs. Rhys Davids, the translation of *The Dialogues of the Buddha* (Digha-Nikāya) in the *Sacred Books of the Buddhists*, of which he had published the first volume in 1899. It was largely due to his unselfish activities that some of his ripest scholarship now sees the light, not in any single work but scattered through the volumes of *Hastings' Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*. He kept in touch with London by frequent and fatiguing visits to do his duty as President of the India Society and Member of the Council of the British Academy.

In 1915 he resigned his chair, and settled at Chipstead, in Surrey, where he lived a quiet scholar’s life, suffering much pain, but working through it; and not, till near the end, giving up the games that had been his refreshment for so long and the quiet intercourse with friends in which the flow of his kindly humour and the flame of his enthusiasm had lost nothing of their strength.

He wrote reviews for the *Manchester Guardian*, and it would be happy if some of these could be collected; but the great work of his last years, with the help of Dr. W. Stede, was the final arranging of the material for the new Pali Dictionary. He lived to see nearly half the work issued, when hypostatic pneumonia, after two days’ suffering, ended in a peaceful death on the 27th December, 1922.

There was never anything official or conventional in his dealings, and while he was working hard in the interests of scholarship he was not less interested in caring for all who had what he considered less than a fair chance in life—whether they were working men, or women suffering disabilities political or educational—he wished all to have their best possible development, and never failed to do his own part in giving it to them. He had a remarkable gift of sympathy. He could express himself vigorously, but would enter eagerly into the perhaps limited views of an objector, or even the reported views of a friend of the objector, and would treat them with a gentle courtesy not unmixed with humour. He could not be hard on any opinion where he felt the human being behind it, but his sympathetic understanding did not affect his own judgment. As was said of him, “he has the heart of a mountaineer,” undauntedly pursuing his own course over all obstacles. “We work that others may do better than we” was his thought from the time when he praised Childers’ Pali Dictionary, saying it was sure to be superseded (“for it was the foundation of the subsequent work... which has rendered it inadequate”), to his utterance about the new Pali Dictionary in which his high self-
effacing spirit works to practical ends when he proposes not to wait for perfection, but to publish it as rapidly as possible, so as to preserve the proceeds of the sale of the first edition for the eventual issue of a second edition "which shall come nearer to our ideals of what a Pali dictionary should be". This was always his idea, that we should give our best to enable others to pass beyond us.

In his sharing his knowledge with his pupils and subordinating his own part in order to give value to their efforts he resembled another great English scholar, Professor Cowell; and the śloka in which Professor Cowell summed his life's work would be true of Professor Rhys Davids also:

Gurur vicisyāḥ saralo yathā girau
Asevitaḥ pānthajanena tiṣṭhati|
Varam sa jiryen navaśisyasamśrito
Vṛtaḥ svatantrair viṭapair vaṭo yathā ||¹

He gave help freely both to individuals and to causes, and started the great works which cost so much, giving unsparingly of his own strength and time and effort. Yet his disinterestedness sprang from no unworltdly indifference to wealth. He well knew what it meant in freedom and opportunity, and always advocated earnestly that scholars should not be expected to work for nothing, but should receive the due reward of their labours. Of all pleasures that give health to body or mind (excepting, perhaps, such as involved death to creatures) he had keen appreciation, though he could do without them. He played golf, tennis, and billiards, and enjoyed social intercourse, of which he was the life.

Knowledge for him was not merely an accumulation of facts or of theories, but a living bond of union with the living, and a bringing back to consciousness the long fibres of life through which, though unrecognized by us, the past still speaks. For that reason it was never an effort to give up a theory or correct the statement of a fact. What he desired was the true living voice of all ages. "For," he said, "that knowledge of what man has been in distant times, in far-off lands, under the influence of ideas which at first sight seem to us so strange, will strengthen within us that reverence, sympathy, and love which must follow on a realization of the mysterious complexity

¹ Translated by Professor Cowell:

"High on his rock the lonely scholar stands,  
A mountain pine that spreads no sheltering shade;  
Rather grow old amid fresh student bands,  
A banyan with its native colonnade."
of being, past, present, and to come, that is wrapped up in every human life." That reverence, sympathy, and love was the centre of his being and the inspiration of his work.

"He was the proper friend-making, everywhere friend-finding soul;
Fit for the sunshine, so it followed him;
A happy tempered bringer of the best out of the worst."

C. Mary Ridding.

T. W. Rhys Davids: The Scholar

Professor T. W. Rhys Davids' career as a Pali scholar may be studied under the three heads of Philology, Translation, and History.

His writings on the Inscriptions of Ceylon (J.R.A.S. 1875), the Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon (1877), and his paper on Pali and Sinhalese to the Philological Society (1875) announced the coming of a scholar, well equipped with the necessary training for research involving much labour and examination of minute details. The work of the Pali Text Society, which he founded on the lines of the Early English Text Society, is a monument of his scholarship and philological attainments. With characteristic foresight he had realized that critical editions of texts were needed if he was to succeed in convincing the West that the Buddhist movement was as instructive a study as Christianity in the history of religious thought. They would, moreover, form a basis for further study and progress in the interpretation of Buddhism. In this undertaking he displayed great powers of organization and a tremendous capacity for taking pains. Funds were collected and manuscripts acquired on loan or by purchase from Ceylon, Burma, and Siam; the services of editors, Occidental and Oriental, monks and laymen, men and women, were enlisted, and the collated texts printed off with unfailing regularity. The result shows that during forty years sixty-four texts in ninety-four volumes, extending over 26,000 pages, were issued by the Society. True, the actual number of edited works that bear his name on the title-page is small, and some may have wished that he could have edited more. But the extent of his work is to be estimated not only in figures, but also by the influence that he exercised on other editors, for he supplied many of them with the necessary materials and advice. Thus it may be said that a certain number of the texts which do not bear his name are the outcome of his own editing, whether his help is explicitly acknowledged or not. His own editions are a model of what edited texts should
be. There are at least one or two texts in the Pali Text Society series that show that the editor is not familiar with his text, but has, as it were, mechanically followed the order of the words without much attention to punctuation. Sometimes essential phrases and even whole sentences are omitted, and, what is still worse, the better readings are often to be found in the footnotes—unmistakable evidence of the editor's incompetence. Rhys Davids was far too conscientious a scholar to edit his texts in this way. His method was this: The various readings are selected with judicious care, references to parallel passages are registered in footnotes, and main words and expressions collected in indices. And the completed text bears witness that he has digested, or at least has done his best to digest, the subject-matter. And he never fails to discuss somewhere or other the various rare forms and phrases and doubtful passages that he has met with. Excellent as would undoubtedly have been his work if he had edited more of the texts than he has actually done, it was well that he did not. His philological training and organizing powers were wanted for another big undertaking.

Childers had realized the importance of compiling a dictionary for the proper study of the texts that were being issued by Fausbøll and a few others. His Pali Dictionary, a monument of learning and scholarship, was completed in 1875. Rhys Davids welcomed it as "the most valuable contribution that had yet been made to the study of that language, but it was the indispensable means by which further progress could be made. Like Wilson's (Sanskrit Dictionary), it was sure to be superseded, for it made possible that rapid advance in the publication of Pali texts which has been the most marked feature in Oriental studies since its appearance". His own undertaking of the Pali Text Society is proof of the progress that has been made in the publication of texts. And in the spirit of progress he, too, realized that a dictionary more comprehensive than Childers's was needed to do justice to the newly published texts. He had made an immense store of new material, and formed a scheme of co-operation on international lines. The war put an end to the scheme, and, after "many cruel rebuffs and disappointments", Rhys Davids, assisted by Dr. Stede, brought out the first instalment in 1921. The amount of labour that Rhys Davids must have bestowed on the work can only be realized by those who know what it is to find adequate English terms and expressions for many of the elusive Buddhist words. The best criticism is offered by Rhys Davids himself: "This work is essentially
preliminary. There is a large number of words of which we do not know the derivation. There is a still larger number of which the derivation does not give the meaning, but rather the reverse. It is so in every living language. Who could guess, from the derivation, the complicated meaning of such words as 'conscience', 'emotion', 'disposition'? The derivation would be as likely to mislead as to guide. We have made much progress. No one needs now to use the one English word 'desire' as a translation of sixteen distinct Pali words not one of which means precisely desire. Yet this was done in vol. x of the Sacred Books of the East, by Max Müller and Fausböll. The same argument applies to as many concrete words as abstract ones. Here, again, we claim to have made much advance." It is comforting to be assured of the progress and advance made, and the editors will earn the gratitude of every student, to whom the Dictionary will be a boon. Those words which are left unsolved will continue to defy solution for some time to come, when we consider that two such scholars as the present editors have done their best to solve them.

The treasures of thought buried in these old Pali texts would be of no avail without adequate translations. From the outset Rhys Davids was busy making translations. His aim was to educate the public, as well as to convince the scholar. He possessed the gift of producing scholarly translations in an attractive form. He infused the glow of life into the dry bones of Buddhist studies. He never overloaded his translations with superfluous notes. He always captured the reader's interest, if not his opinion. These merits were discerned in his earliest translation, Buddhist Birth Stories (1880), in which he appealed to the general public by his treatment of such interesting topics as the migration of the Buddhist stories to the West, the origin of Æsop's fables, and the various problems connected with the original text. The same method was applied in his Questions of Milinda (1890-4), which, besides being an excellent translation, added much to our knowledge on such points as the date and authorship of the text, its value as a work of art, and the identity of Milinda and Menander. But his masterpiece was his last work of translation, The Dialogues of the Buddha, the first volume of which was published in 1899. Here he was at his best as a sympathetic exponent of the various phases of Indian beliefs. In his masterly introductions to the Suttas he translated, he made us familiar with the importance and age of the Nikayas, the differing views of the soul-theory, and the origin of the caste-system. He gave us an insight into the character of each and every type of men
under the vow of religion. Let us not forget, to his credit, that such varied and competent information was given at a time when scholars held not very clear notions on these points. In the later volumes of the _Dialogues_ Rhys Davids had the assistance of his accomplished wife.

These undertakings—the Pali Text Society and the translations, together with the numerous articles in various Oriental Journals—would have been sufficient to do credit to any man. But Rhys Davids has done more: he was a historian. His attitude towards Buddhism may be defined in his own words: The story of Buddhism was to him the story “of the everyday beliefs and customs of a people nearly related to ourselves just as they were passing through the first stages of civilization... of that interesting system of religion so nearly allied to some of the latest speculations among ourselves, and which has influenced so powerfully and for so long a time so great a portion of the human race—the system of religion which we now call Buddhism... of the only religious movement in the world’s history which bears any close resemblance to Christianity.” Again, “This Buddhist idea of the perfect life has an analogy most instructive from an historical point of view with the ideals of the last pagan thinkers in Europe before the rise of Christianity and of the modern exponents of what has been called fervent atheism.” In this spirit he wrote his _Buddhism_ (1878), the success of which was attested by the issue of the twenty-third edition in 1914. His insight enabled him to prove that nirvana was not annihilation, but “a moral condition, to be reached here, in this world, and in this life”, a view which has stood the test of later research. His _Hibbert_ and _American Lectures_ (1896) were written even in a more popular style.

Rhys Davids never lost sight of the close relation between the religion and the literature. In Buddhism, religion, it may be said, is literature, and literature religion. He treated both in _Buddhist India_ (1903), his best work from the historical point of view. The chapters on the introduction of writing into India, the settling of the relative ages of the works composing the Canon, the priority of Pali over Sanskrit, are models of clear exposition and logical thinking. Those on the Brahman position, animism, and the Buddhist kings show the breadth of his outlook and the depth of his insight. His maturest views on the religion are given in _Early Buddhism_ (1908).

_Exeter College, Oxford._

_PE MAUNG TIN._
Hajji Abdul Majid Belshah

It is with profound regret that we have to report the untimely death of Hajji Abdul Majid Belshah, who died in hospital on 23rd June, 1923.

The Hajji, as he was universally known, was essentially a lovable man, and there are Englishmen all over the East who will feel they have lost a dear friend in him. The Hajji belonged to a respectable family of Kazimain, who for two or three generations had borne the curious surname of Belshah. He first came to England as a dealer in carpets and MSS., and with his business he combined the teaching of Arabic, preparing many young officers for their interpretership examinations. The Hajji, though not a profound scholar, had a good knowledge of Arabic and Persian, and a decided gift for imparting the spoken language. His notions of grammar were practical rather than theoretical; and though he was not versed in Moslem literature, he had a rare flair for picking up valuable manuscripts, and many a precious treasure of Arabic and Persian literature or caligraphy owe their inclusion in English public or private libraries to the Hajji's skill as a collector. Perhaps the most notable event in his life was his journey to Mekka in company with Major Wavell—in whose charming book, A Modern Pilgrim in Mecca, many references are made to the Hajji under the pseudonym of Abdul Wahid.

When in August, 1914, war was declared, the Hajji came to me in the War Office and offered his services in the Intelligence Department. He also got himself naturalized as a British subject. Down to the end of 1916 he worked in my office, and was very useful in the censoring of Arabic and Persian letters. It is in my view a matter of regret that his familiarity with the Near and Middle East was not made use of. As events have since shown, he had very valuable suggestions to offer. But it was in connexion with the illustrated paper called al-Haqiqat, which appeared twice a month, that the Hajji was most useful. The captions beneath the pictures in the earliest numbers were reproduced in photo-lithography, and as the topical illustrations were often slow in coming in, the captions had to be translated into Arabic, Persian, and Turkish at very short notice, and then to be written out in a clear hand. The Hajji was untiring in his execution of this arduous task.

When the School of Oriental Studies was opened in February, 1917, the Hajji joined the staff and worked regularly till within two days of his death.
He had a great fund of anecdote, and enjoyed nothing so much as a joke at his own expense.

He married in 1920 and leaves a widow and two children. He was buried in Brookwood Moslem Cemetery and his wreath-covered coffin was followed by Moslems, Christians, and Hindus.

EDITOR.
ABU 'Ali Muḥammad b. 'Ali b. al-Ḥasan b. Muqlah, better known as Ibn Muqlah, was born in Baghdad in A.H. 272 (I. Kh.). It has been said that "the details of the childhood of great men are apt to be petty and cloying"; the historians have not provided an opportunity of judging of the truth of this generalization in his case, for their notices only begin when he had already set about earning a livelihood. He worked in one of the diwāns or administrative departments on a salary of six dinārs per mensem (Fakh., 318). Fortune favoured him, and while yet very young he came to enjoy intimacy with and a share in the counsels of Ibnu’l-Furāt during the first term of his wazirate, which extended from 296, the year following the accession of the Khalifah al-Muqtadir, to 299. He had a turn for composition both in prose and verse, and well illustrated the Arab adage: "the pen is one of the two tongues" (al-‘Iqdu’l-Farid, ii, 153, Cairo, 1316). Specimens of his verses will be given later; Ibn Miskawayh quotes his prose-account of the circumstances in which news of the murder in 296 of Md. b. Dā‘ūd b. al-Jarrāh, after

1 Ibn Khallikān, Wafayātu'l-'A’yān, ed. Wüstefeld, No. 708.
2 Al-Fakhri, ed. Ahlwardt.
he had been enticed from the place where he had concealed himself when his intrigue on behalf of Ibnu’l-Mu’tazz miscarried, was secretly communicated to Ibnu’l-Furāt; he there states that on this occasion he was a companion of the wazir’s privacy (TU., 66).  

From the account in the last-mentioned work of the closing scene of al-Muktafi’s reign (r. 289–95) some knowledge is acquired of certain personae, his friendship with or animosity towards whom influenced the major portion of his almost melodramatic career. When this khalifah lay dying his wazir, al-‘Abbās b. al-Ḥasan, looked round for one whom he might propose for the succession. He separately consulted three of his four ‘ashāb al-dawāwin—a ministry of many talents, but also of some incongruities, for they were, or became during the subsequent insurrection, divided amongst themselves. Of these Md. b. Dā’ūd suggested the name of ‘Abdūn-l-lāh b. al-Mu’tazz; Ibnu’l-Furāt, after much reluctance to taking part in these deliberations, named Ja’far b. al-Mu’tadid on the ground that his general inexperience would be an advantage; while ‘Ali b. ‘Isā contented himself with stipulating that a religiously minded man should be appointed. The wazir inclined to the view of Ibnu’l-Furāt, though he had at first protested against him on the score of his youthfulness, and obtained the supreme sanction in favour of Ja’far, who, at the tender age of 13 years, in due course succeeded, taking as his laqab or familiar name the designation al-Muqtadir bi’l-lāh.

The wazir apparently very early realized that his apprehensions on the score of al-Muqtadir’s youthfulness were justified, and intrigued against him, until in 296 he himself was murdered by al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān, likewise scheming for the deposition of the khalifah, but in favour of a different candidate, Ibnu’l-Mu’tazz, the choice of Md. b. Dā’ūd. This new claimant had considerable, as also influential, support, and was actually proclaimed khalifah, with the laqab of al-Murtadā bi’l-lāh, by his partisans, from among whom he proceeded to appoint his officials; Md. b. Dā’ūd was declared wazir; ‘Ali b. ‘Isā and Md. b. ‘Abdūn, the fourth member of the last ministry, were given portfolios. Ibnu’l-Furāt had held aloof, and had gone into hiding, whence he had to be fetched when al-Muqtadir later offered him the premiership. Of the military leaders, Mūnis al-Muẓaffar and a few others rallied what strength they could against the usurper and his

1 Tajāriḥu’l-’Umam (Gibb Mem. Ser.), vol. v: this sketch of Ibn Muqlah is based mainly on the account of him in this volume.
followers, who being seized with fear scattered without an engagement. ‘Aūb b. ‘Isā and Md. b. ‘Abdūn were forced out of their place of concealment, and brought to the capital, being exposed to rough handling from the populace on the way; through the generous mediation of Ibn’u’l-Furāt, now the wazir, they escaped the extreme penalty of the law meted out to a number of the insurgents; ‘Aūb was banished to Wāṣīt (TU., 57–66).

For three years and eight months Ibn’u’l-Furāt remained in office, when by a sudden reversal of fortune he was cast into prison and his home destituted in 299. Ibn Muqlah was one of his associates who thereupon went into hiding, where he stayed during the fortunately brief wazirates of Ibn Khāqān and Ibn Thawābah. By 300 state-affairs had become badly disorganized, and al-Muqtadir consulted Mūnis al-Muẓaffar regarding the reinstatement of Ibn’u’l-Furāt whom the khalifah had rescued from Ibn Khāqān’s barbarous treatment (TU., 84), and restored to favour. Mūnis, still smarting under Ibn’u’l-Furāt’s resentment at his dealings with Subkūrī, then governor of Fāris (TU., 77–9), represented that the recall of one who had been dismissed but a few months before could only leave an impression of the khalifah’s venality, and recommended instead the “reliable, upright, and religious” ‘Aūb b. ‘Isā (TU., 89), now in quiet retirement in Mecca. The latter came into office in 301, and extended his protection to Ibn Muqlah, permitting him to live at home in Baghdad, an act of grace which Ibn’u’l-Furāt was pleased to acknowledge (TU., 113).

The age was not prolific in great statesmen. From among the frequently changing wazirs ‘Aūb b. ‘Isā and Ibn’u’l-Furāt stand out pre-eminent, and it was fitting that on the deposition and arrest of the former in 304 the latter should have been called on to succeed him. He soon raised his henchman Ibn Muqlah to secretarial rank. “But the devil set them at variance, and each distrusted the other,” is how al-Fakhrī glows over a particularly human dissension (o.c., 318), and is less than fair, it would seem, to one of the parties. Unmindful of his patron’s favour, Ibn Muqlah took umbrage at a certain appointment he made, and lent his ear to the crafty designs of Naṣr al-Ḥājjib and Ibn’u’l-Ḥawārī, now grown disaffected by reason of the wazir’s settlement with Ibn Abi’s-Sājī (TU., 116), and who to further their own ulterior end of injuring Ibn’u’l-Furāt urged the ambitious youth to make a bid for the premiership. The wazir is reputed for his munificence; his action on this occasion was an earnest
of his magnanimity. When his nephew brought to his hearing the
rumour of his protégé’s secession he exclaimed: “Were I to doubt
Abū ‘Alī b. Muqālah after patronizing and promoting him, I would
doubt you or mine own son.” Even when the rumour had verified
itself as a bitter fact he made a considerate effort to turn him back
from his course, but Ibn Muqālah was recalcitrant, and fearing reprisals
resorted to Naṣr for aid in prosecuting his now serious purpose (TU.,
120–1; I. Ath., viii, 1021).

The breach with Ibn’l-Furāt must have widened when Ḥāmid
b. al-‘Abbās, taking advantage of the former’s inability to meet the
expenses of the cavalry from a depleted exchequer, and refusing
to pay into it for the purpose a sum from the surplus revenue of
Wāsiṭ, managed to supplant him as wazir in 306. Ḥāmid proved
unfit for the burden of office. Ibn’l-Ḥawārī, who had evidently
recommended his candidature to the khilifah, thereupon advised
the wazir to ask that ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā be released and allowed to take
charge of the departments of the administration. The wazir’s request
for the services of ‘Alī provides here a humorous interlude, the while
it shows his lack of finer sensibility. The khilifah replied to his
request: “I do not think that ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā would favourably consider
it, nor consent to follow after he had been followed and chief in rank.”
Whereupon Ḥāmid remarked in presence of the people: “Why should
he not give a favourable answer? A kāṭib is like a tailor, who sews now
a robe worth a thousand dinārs, now one for ten dirhams.” Whereat
the people laughed. ‘Alī did accept the task, and was a controlling
influence during his wazirate (TU., 126–9). Ibn Muqālah sought and
won Ḥāmid’s favour, only to lose it when the latter in his persistent
prosecution of his purpose of humiliating Ibn’l-Furāt desired him to
confront him with the charge of having misappropriated certain
trust-money, in abuse of the powers of office. But he would only
consent to framing the charge in writing, and thereby incurred the
premier’s displeasure (TU., 135). During this wazirate, however,
he administered the Sawād on behalf of ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā.

When his erstwhile patron assumed his third term of the premiers-
ship in 311, Ibn Muqālah did not go into hiding, but vainly sought an
interview with him. His friendship with Ibn’l-Ḥawārī, whom the
wazir at first treated with marked favour before issuing the order of
his seizure, alone saved him from arrest during the short time that the
latter was free (TU., 172). A fine was imposed on him (ib., 202).

1 Ibn’l-’Athir, al-Kāmil, ed. Tornberg.
From his place of confinement he wrote to his friend Zanjī, formerly Ḥāmid’s kāṭīb, who from fear of the resentment of his present superior, the wazir, was deliberately holding aloof from the unhappy captive at this juncture; the letter contained these lines of his own composing:

Think you missives banded twixt friends,
Or is it, pray, that paper’s grown too dear?
Well you might have asked me of my plight,
Since mishap dire and sudden on me is fallen!
Thy friend is he who cares for thee in any woe,
—All the world’s a friend in weal.
If not a friend, suppose thyself my foe,
—Sure, foes I’ve known to pity foes. (Fakh., 319.)

They were presumably the same lines of whose merit Ibn Miskawayh speaks disparagingly (TU., 202). He also wrote a letter to Ibu’n’-Furāt reminding him of his past services, and seeking to incline him towards him, and enclosed it in the letter to Zanjī, and asked him to forward it. Ibu’n’-Furāt on receipt of it remitted the balance of the sum in which he had been mulcted—according to al-Fakhru (loc. cit.) he was obliged to pay a hundred thousand dinārs, which amount his wife, a lady of great meāns, found for him; he also released him, “a president and proof of his clemencie.” Apparently he deemed it expedient to have one of such “nimble stratagem” at a distance from Baghdad, for he was living under surveillance in Shiraz when news reached him in 312 of Ibu’n’-Furāt’s arrest, and with it the termination of his third tenure of office. The new premier, al-Khāqānī, ameliorated the circumstances of his exile, and permitted him to go to Ahwaz; later at the intercession of a number of persons he allowed him to return to Baghdad (TU., 239–41). He appears to have continued without office until 315, when ‘Alī b. ʿĪsā, who the year before had entered on another term of the wazirate, appointed him to one of the bureaus of landed estates.

His public service, though not unbroken, had been of sufficient duration and adequate note to entitle him to consideration as a possible candidate for the premiership. His opportunity was now not long delayed, for ‘Alī b. ʿĪsā, whose gravest defect is said to have been that often he “could not see the wood for the trees” (Fakh., 315), observing the increasing burden of expenditure on the troops and the shortage of revenue, and finding that Naṣr al-Ḥājib, resenting his leanings towards his opponent Mūnis al-Muẓaffar, was turned against
him, besought al-Muqtadir in 316 to relieve him of his office on the plea of advancing years and infirmity. On the advice of Mūnis the khilafah did not at once consent to this. Ibn Muqlah now saw reason for renewing his efforts, and looked to Naṣr to promote his candidature. His chances became favourable only by contrast with the serious objections to his competitors. Al-Muqtadir took counsel of Mūnis, who stated that three names had been mooted in this connexion; Mūnis expressed himself as of opinion that the selection of al-Faql b. Ja'far b. al-Furāt would be inadvisable because of his kinship with the late wazir, whose family had so recently and so sorely been afflicted by the khilafah, and would be tantamount therefore to investing an enemy with power; that the choice of Ibn Muqlah would be ill-advised by reason of his youth and inexperience, whereas the weal of the realm required a senior of repute and merit; while Md. b. Khalaf's ignorance, so gross that he could scarce spell his own name, and his temerity effectually ruled him out. In the circumstances he could propose none other than 'Alī b. ʿĪsā. Al-Muqtadir next took the opinion of Naṣr al-Ḥājib on the three: his friendship with Md. b. Khalaf prejudiced him in his favour; Ibn Muqlah he rejected for his lack of experience and capacity, and for that none stood in awe of him. But the khilafah could not approve of Md. b. Khalaf after what he had heard of him. Ibn Muqlah now plied Naṣr with attentions, and even backed his importunities with presents, till at length he spoke on his behalf and urged that he be given a trial. The scale was inclined in his favour by the service he had rendered in sending one of his own men to Anbār with carrier-pigeons, which conveyed to him in Baghdad reports of the movements there of the hostile Carmathian force, and this information he had given to Naṣr, who communicated it to the khilafah. For this Naṣr praised him to al-Muqtadir, and said that if he had thus comported himself without official status his devotion to his royal master's interest would be so much the keener with it (TU., 304–6; I. Ath., viii, 133). His selection was doubtless influenced also by the fact that popular opinion was for him, and against Md. b. Khalaf.

It is to his discredit that he supported Naṣr in his vengeful allegation that the goodly 'Alī b. ʿĪsā had privily communicated with the Carmathian leader (TU., 308), and seized on all his wealth and brought him to an evil hour. His elevation to rank held by Ibnul-Furāt and 'Alī calls to mind the savage irony of Hogarth's engraving, Masquerades and Operas, in which the versatile but moderately endowed Wm. Kent
is featured over the gateway, having as supporters Michael Angelo and Raphael.

The situation promised well, but was suddenly convulsed. A rumour gained ground that al-Muqtadir intended to appoint Hārūn b. Gharib 'Amīru'l-'Umarā'. Mūnis, then absent in Raqqah, sped towards the capital on hearing of it; his troops entered the city, took possession of the palace, and made the khaliifah captive in the beginning of 317. Mūnis proceeded to set up in his place al-Qāhir bi'l-lāh, with Ibn Muqlah as wazir; 'Alī b. 'Īsā he liberated from his confinement in the palace. The insurrection was short-lived; when al-Muqtadir returned to power after his two days' deposition, Ibn Muqlah was retained as wazir, but the altered relationships threatened his security of tenure. In 318, al-Muqtadir became uneasy on account of his friendship with Mūnis, and taking advantage of the temporary absence of the latter, whom he distrusted, resorted to arrest, the ultima ratio of a despot, and had him seized when he waited upon him one day in the palace. He intended to replace him with al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim. To add to his discomfiture, his house was burned by Md. b. Yaqūt, a sinister influence in his life. Mūnis on his return wrote to the khaliifah expressing his dislike of his nominee, and requesting the restoration of Ibn Muqlah. This naturally incensed the khaliifah; he even resolved to have the latter put to death. 'Alī b. 'Īsā intervened on his behalf, and pertinently inquired how this intercession of Mūnis could be interpreted as a crime on the part of Ibn Muqlah; he did not leave off until he had saved him from his extremity, but failed to produce any abatement in his aversion from restoring him to office. He refused the post for himself, but nominated his brother, 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān, and Sulaymān b. al-Ḥasan, and the latter, whose enmity to the fallen wazir was apparently his strongest commendation to al-Muqtadir, was chosen (TU., 333). The transaction of public affairs, however, was in the hands of 'Alī b. 'Īsā, and he at Ibn Muqlah's request conducted the official investigation into the late administration. Details are not given, but the wazir inveighed against Ibn Muqlah harshly and contemptuously for wrongdoing and setting the ruler and his friends at variance; a penalty of two hundred thousand dīnārs was fixed by 'Alī. His staunch friend Mūnisu'l-Muẓaffar again interceded for him with al-Muqtadir, and secured for him certain concessions (TU., 339).

The political situation altered very quickly, and the fortunes of 'Alī b. 'Īsā and Mūnis became much impaired in 319. In the course
of this year no less than three appointments to the wazirate were made. The second of these wazirs took from Ibn Muqlah his signature for another two hundred thousand dinārs to be exacted from him, but this sum was reduced by a fourth through the kindly offices of Hārūn b. Gharīb on solemn condition of his not holding communication with Mūnis, who had fled for safety to Mosul, or with the latter's relations. He is reputed to have stated during his wazirate in the time of ar-Rādī (r. 322–9) that to pay this sum he took gifts from people, and with the surplus of twenty thousand dinārs purchased estates and settled them on the descendants of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (TU., 363). Hārūn's friendly interest had its limitations, however. When he heard that al-Muqtadir purposed the restoration of Ibn Muqlah, from fear of his intimacy with Mūnis he concerted with the wazir Abu'l-Fath al-Faḍl b. Ja'far to have him removed to Shirāz (TU., 363; I.Kh., loc. cit.).

The history of this period is one of kaleidoscopic changes in officialdom. Long before the close of 320 Mūnis defeated an insurgent army in Mosul, and led his forces against Baghdad. His Berber troops, apparently to his consternation (TU., 385), murdered the spendthrift and wily al-Muqtadir. Sending for Md. b. al-Mu'taḍid and Md. b. al-Muktaṣfi, he approached the latter regarding the vacant throne. He declined it in favour of the other, his paternal uncle, the above-mentioned khalifah of two days, al-Qāhir, who after oath and covenant received the sworn allegiance of Mūnis, Yalbaq, 'Alī b. Yalbaq, and others. Mūnis next proceeded to suggest 'Alī b. 'Īsā for the premiership, making reference to his fitness physical, practical, and religious. But others had as little need of a chief of this stamp as the Revolutionists of philosophers in Paris. Yalbaq, and in this he was supported by his son, was of opinion that the times would not brook a man of his character; a more complaisant nature and a less austere morality than his were needed; he recommended Ibn Muqlah, and the appointment of al-Kalwadhāni to officiate for him till his arrival. The latter proposals were approved by al-Qāhir, and by Mūnis too, for he wrote to him to return with all speed from Shirāz, the city of his banishment (TU., 386–7). He reached Baghdad on 10th Dhu'l-Hijjah, the first day of the great Festival of the Sacrifice of the year 320. He had prearranged by letter that al-Qāhir should await him at a certain time and hour which he deemed auspicious, for, as it appears from this and a later incident (inf., p. 227), he was not superior to the common superstitious belief that
the stars in their courses guided or controlled the destinies of men. In his unfortunate case there were indubitably cross-influences, apparent even now in this hour of triumph, for popular felicitations became tinged with censure for the lack of a token of courtesy in his reception of 'Ali b. 'Isā (TU., 391).

Political corruption was the everyday life and atmosphere of the age, and the new régime was as little salutary as any of its recent predecessors. Domestic politics are the story of personal ambitions and vengeance, and the maintenance of position by imprisonment and exaction. Al-Kalwadhānī, for instance, was arrested for reasons entirely or mainly personal to the wazir (TU., 392); and private vengeance was apparently the motive of his seizure of Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb, nephew of his first patron, Ibnū'l-Furāt (TU., 399-402). The cunning insinuations of Abu 'Abdu'l-lāh al-Baridī before each of the two persons concerned in turn that Md. b. Khalaf desired the wazirate, and that the wazir suspected him of this design, led to an order of arrest of the too credulous Md., and greater confusion in the nervous wazir's relationships (396-7).

Firm in his confidence in the support of his military leaders, Mūnis, Yalbaq, and 'Ali b. Yalbaq, Ibn Muqlah espoused their cause when they learned that al-Qāhir was holding clandestine communication with Md. b. Yāqūt, a rebel whom Yalbaq had reduced to surrender at Ahwaz earlier in the year (321), but who having since come to the capital had gained the confidence of the khālifah, and was turning him against this confidential band. 'Ali proceeded to attack Md. b. Yāqūt, who, however, concealed himself in the city, while his soldiers scattered and fled. He then set a close guard on the royal palace, and so strict was the surveillance that even the milk-supply was searched in case it might convey a written message. The wazir, Yalbaq, 'Ali b. Yalbaq, and his kātīb, al-Ḥasan b. Hārūn, became party to a covenant with Abū 'Ahmad b. al-Muktafī to enthrone him in place of al-Qāhir. When they reported this proceeding to Mūnis he reproved their impetuous excess, and advised delay, though entertaining no doubt as to the ill-doing of the khālifah. But 'Ali's assurance that they were virtually masters of the situation, al-Qāhir being already "a caged bird", and his majority in council over the "greybeards" Mūnis and Yalbaq eventually obtained their assent. The conspirators had still to secure the person of the khālifah, and for this purpose 'Ali must gain admission into the palace. To this end Ibn Muqlah wrote a letter to al-Qāhir, infamous for its net of falsehood to be cast
over its recipient. He represented that news had been transmitted in
two missives brought by carrier-pigeons that the Carmathians had
reached Kufsah, and he was consequently dispatching 'Ali to take the
field against them, and desired al-Qahir to admit him and speed him
on his way. The khalifah at once wrote expressing approval of his
action and project, but the wazir in his impatience after a short
interval, and before receipt of the reply, sent a second of similar import
to the first. "The best laid schemes... gang aft agley," and this
was one of the number of such, for the khalifah's suspicions were awakened
by the arrival of the second, and confirmed by the report of as-Subkari,
at that time disaffected towards Yalbaq and his son, whom he aimed
at replacing (TU., 413–14), concerning 'Ali's design on his person.
Despite the guard on the palace, al-Qahir had managed to win over the
Sajiyah section of the troops on whom Munis and Yalbaq were mainly
relying, and to whom recently when in Mosul they had given a promise
of better terms. The khalifah traded on this unfulfilled promise,
and offered the same amelioration in their terms. Having thus
taken them to his side he summoned them when the wazir's plan was
now near to completion. 'Ali managed to escape, but shortly after
was ignominiously removed from an oven, where but for an unlucky
chance he would have eluded search. Ibn Muqlah and al-Hasan, on
hearing of the miscarriage of their plan, went into hiding. Yalbaq
betook himself to the palace to smooth over the matter with al-Qahir,
but was arrested with those who accompanied him. Munis excused
himself on the ground of physical inability from attending on the
khalifah to offer his "paternal" counsel, but the latter persisted
till he went to comply with the request, only to be imprisoned within
the palace. The clamour of his men for Munis satisfied al-Qahir of
the inadvisability of allowing longer respite to Yalbaq and him,
Ibn Muqlah's friends of long standing, and to Yalbaq's son, and he
personally saw to it that they were done to death with harrowing
circumstance. That a similar fate would have overtaken Ibn Muqlah
is probable; measures were taken to discover his whereabouts; his
brother was arrested and searched, but the trail yielded nothing
(TU., 411–25).

From his place of hiding he continued his machinations against
the head of the state; by correspondence he tampered with the loyalty
of the Sajiyah and Huariyah troops. Al-Hasan b. Harin aided and
abetted him with novel and clever resourcefulness; venturing forth
by night disguised at times as a beggar, seeking an alms for his chanting,
and sometimes as a woman, he met them and incited them to violence against al-Qāhir. He bribed an astrologer to inspire ʿSimā with fear for his safety, till at length at the head of these two corps he attacked the palace, and seized the cruel and pleasure-loving khālifah, who was soon after deprived of his eyesight, and so by the dictate of tradition rendered incapable of further exercise of imperial authority (TU., 448 ff.). He is said to have survived his affliction full sixteen years (Tuʿrīkh-i Guzīda, Gibb M. Ser., 344). From time to time during this period he was allowed his liberty, then again imprisoned; on one occasion (cf. Haft Iqlīm: "for long") he begged at the mosque of al-Mansūr in Baghdad, his object being to bring opprobrium on al-Mustakfi (r. 333-4; Fakh., p. 324).

Abūʿ-ʿAbbās Md. b. al-Muqṭadīr, with the laqab ar-Rāḍī bīl-lāh, succeeded. When ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā declined the wazirate, ʿSimā proposed Ibn Muqlah, who was again chosen for the high office. ʿAlī, too, considered him the most suitable for the times. This his third premiership began in 322. He entered on it with good resolutions: "I swore to God in my concealment to do harm to none, and made vows." His first act was one of clemency in releasing the secretarial and military prisoners in the palace-keep, and certain other persons (TU., 457). But his supremacy was soon challenged and his powers usurped by Md. b. Yāqūt, who not content with his rôle of military chief, extended his direction to the other departments of the administration, until Ibn Muqlah was left a mere nominal head. With this semblance of authority he was forced to be content, till he induced the khālifah to have him and his wine-bibbing brother, al-Muẓaffar b. Yāqūt, arrested in the year 323 (TU., 490). For the specious purpose of setting at rest the mind of their anxious father, then on military duty in Wāṣīṭ, he sent through Abū ʿAbdīl-lāh al-Baridī a message to him that their confinement had been necessitated by the repeated clamour of the troops, who threatened serious measures unless this action was taken (TU., 493).

When this successful coup restored to him authority, he made his son, Abūʿl-Ḥuṣayn ʿAli, a son in the art of government as well, associating him with him in the administration; by royal mandate the acting powers of wazir were delegated to him in this same year, his nineteenth. The son operating under the ægis of an experienced father, and for a khālifah of recent enthronement, had thus an opportunity that might well have been coveted. The situation was admittedly not without drawbacks, but possibly none that could not
have been removed by a capable control of the finances. Al-Muqtadir had been spendthrift (TU., 384); al-Qāhir, too, had been prodigal of state-resources. By reason of this and other drains, not all for honest ends, and the occasional withholding of provincial revenues by rebellious governors, the treasury was frequently unable to pay the mercenaries regularly, with the result that they sometimes weakened the authority they had been employed to strengthen, and even assumed the rôle of "king makers". Financial straitness beset the new régime under ar-Rādī; when Abū ‘Abdi‘l-lāh al-Baridī, for instance, stopped the payment into the imperial treasury of the revenues of Ahwaz, Ibn Muqlah wrote to him an impassioned appeal: "... I hope you will not persist in returning ingratitude for my favours and kindness to you, ... and that you will help me in my sore plight, to the like of which none has ever been reduced that has sat in the seat of power, and will protect me with material aid from what is impending" (TU., 504-5). That the faults of the father were reproduced in the son may be gathered from the incident narrated in the following paragraph; that they were magnified in him was the opinion of 'Āhmad b. 'Alī al-Kūfī, an authority possibly prejudiced against both, however, who declared that the son was the worse, and that whatever effrontery, hardness, and meanness characterized the untrustworthy father were also characteristic of the son (TU., 504).

Ibn Muqlah, under the khalifah’s instructions, set out in 323 for Mosul with a punitive force against al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abdi‘l-lāh b. Ḥamdān, with whose connivance Sa‘īd b. Ḥamdān, his uncle, had been murdered. Al-Ḥasan further had not remitted the dues of the revenue to the capital, having, it is said, been instigated thereto by ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā. ‘Alī was arrested and fined, but soon released on his oath neither to create nor to promote disaffection (TU., 498-9). That al-Ḥasan b. Ḥamdān had reliance on ‘Alī, and none whatever on the premier’s fidelity, was made very clear in his reply to the messenger whom Ibn Muqlah during his stay at Mosul sent to him asking him to renew his allegiance, and promising him security (TU., 501).

The premier set out for Mosul; after pursuit of the now fugitive al-Ḥasan, he stayed in the city for a time collecting the revenue and negotiating a loan from the grain-dealers. Sahl b. Ḥāshim, al-Ḥasan’s kātib and an adroit intriguer to boot, paved the way for his master’s return; by means of a gift of money he induced the acting wazir to write to his father urging his speedy return on the ground
that relations with the khalifah were embarassed. His father came
back, to be received by ar-Rādī with honour and presents!

The annalistic method of Ibn Miskawayh affords a grateful source
of court-records, but this fifth volume at least of his history leaves
the impression that statecraft was then a gladiatorial art, not a
disciplined hegemony. A Hogarth might well have placed over the
hall of pageant of this epoch of the Abbaside dynasty a clock having
inscribed on the pendulum "intrigue", on the minute hand "revenge",
and on the hour hand "government" (cf. his Large Masquerade
Ticket, 1727). Yet a little and an enemy's conspiring was to outwit
Ibn Muqlah's cunning, and his vengeance to overthrow him. The two
sons of Yāqūt, Md. and al-Muẓaffar, had been cast into prison (sup.,
p. 223), where the former died. In 324 the latter was released by the
premier, who swore to befriend him and to molest him no more (TU.,
508). But feeling certain that Ibn Muqlah was the cause of their
ill-fortune, and of his brother's death, he straightway employed his
freedom in the quest of revenge, and to this end got into touch with
the Hujariyah troops. In this atmosphere of suspicion and espionage
nothing could long remain secret. The wazir came to hear of his
purpose, and concerted with Badr, the Prefect of Police, counter-
measures, himself remaining astutely aloof from all connexion with
their fulfilment. The no less astute al-Muẓaffar then advised the
Hujariyah to make every show of obedience and loyalty to the wazir,
until by this ruse they lulled his suspicions and induced him to remove
Badr and his men, and the Sājiyah troops from the palace, which they
promptly seized and secured possession of the khalifah. Al-Muẓaffar's
cause was thereby greatly strengthened, but he himself continued to
make profession of his loyalty to the wazir.

Danger was also imminent from another quarter. Md. b. Rā'iq
withheld this year the revenues of Wāsiṭ and Baṣrah. Ibn Muqlah
as a preliminary to coercive measures dispatched to him two envoys,
but with their request he refused to comply, and sent by them a private
letter to the khalifah, soliciting the wazirate and promising to meet
all financial obligations. The khalifah did not, however, take action
on this. Ibn Muqlah, pursuing a tortuous policy, prepared to send
another agent to Ibn Rā'iq to assure him that the force, which was
actually intended for coercive measures, would have as its objective
Ahwaz, and not his sphere of administration. He accompanied this
agent to the khalifah to obtain his sanction, but was waylaid in the
antechamber of the palace by al-Muẓaffar and the Hujariyah, who
sent him captive to the royal presence, denouncing him as the mischief-maker and instigator, and requesting a successor. Ar-Rāḍī approved their action, and left the selection to them, whereupon they nominated ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā. He declined the post in favour of his brother, ‘Abdūr-Raḥmān, whose policy, however, he influenced (TU., 509–13).

The fallen wazir was made over to his successor, who scourged him with whips, and took his signature for a million dinārs. He was next handed over to Abu’l-‘Abbās al-Khaṣībī, al-Qāhir’s last wazir, who had saved himself by donning woman’s guise when his master was seized and deposed (TU., 452), and whom Ibn Muqlah had the year before, in 323, banished to Omān, whence he secretly returned (TU., 497, 513). Again he was scourged, and this time placed in the stocks, and a sum of over fifty thousand dinārs had been extorted from him when his old friend Abu Bakr b. Qarābah interceded for him, and on declaring himself responsible for the balance due from him obtained his freedom. It appears that he spent the next year in the retirement of his home (I. Kh., loc. cit.). According to Thābit b. Sinān, however, he was in hiding at the time of the appointment of al-Fāḍl b. Ja’far b. al-Furāt as wazir, in 325; he quotes the authority of one who met him and asked him why he did not go or write to congratulate him, to which he replied that he did not trust him sufficiently; probably apprehension lay nearer his heart than the bravado apparent in his lines:—

Will spirit like mine consent
To seem humble and suppliant? (Fakh., 331.)

‘Abdūr-Raḥmān proving unfit for the premiership, gave place in 324 to the likewise incapable Sulayman b. al-Ḥasan, who in turn made way for Md. b. Rā‘iḍ, on whom the Khalifah conferred the honorific title of ‘Amīrul-‘Umarā’. The latter confiscated the estates of Ibn Muqlah and his son. When Ibn Muqlah humbly entreated their return, he was put off with repeated promises, till despairing of the dull delay, and satisfied that he would have to be content with words only, he instituted every manner of intrigue against him. His epistolary campaign began with a letter to the military chief Bajkam, then in Wāsit, instigating him to seek Ibn Rā‘iḍ’s place; he wrote in similar strain to Washmgir; he dictated to ‘Ali b. Hārūn Ibn al-Munajjim (sic, TU., 580; cf. I. Kh., loc. cit.) a letter addressed to ar-Rāḍi that was either a piece of egregious intrigue or a desperate throw, for he stood to gain all or lose it according to its reception. In it he advised him to seize Ibn Rā‘iḍ and his relations, assuring him that he could be made to pay three million dinārs, and counselled him
to summon Bajkam to replace him. The result showed that he had certainly made a foolish bid to oust the royal favourite. Decoyed by the khaliifah’s encouragement, the falsity of which he failed to discern in his stars (TU., 581), he sought and was promised a secret audience in the palace, and was thus lured to his arrest and confinement in the palace-keep, where he was destined for the rest of his days to eat the bread of affliction. Ar-Rāḍī communicated the result of his stratagem to his favourite, and correspondence passed between them; probably it related to the nature of the punishment which should be inflicted, for Ibn Rā’iq is said to have requested that his right hand be cut off as being the one that had penned the representation which might have led to his downfall (I. Kh., loc. cit.); al-Fakhrī is less explicit, merely stating that his enemies calumniated him. Either because of these aspersions and fear of his animosity, or more likely at the instigation of Ibn Rā’iq, the khaliifah caused his right hand to be amputated, and sent him back to prison. Superstition has traced the cruel affliction to an ulterior cause, the imprecation of Abu’l-Ḥasan Md. b. ‘Aḥmad, known as Ibn Shanabūdḥ (I. Kh., loc. cit.). He was a reputed Qārī’, and was accused by a number of persons before Ibn Muqlah of having made slight alterations in words in his reading of the Qur’ān. The wazir imprisoned him, and ordered him seven lashes; in the course of their being inflicted he exclaimed: “May the hand of the wazir be cut off!” (Haft Iqīm). The severed hand was preserved in a casket in the Treasury, a gruesome practice then observed, and was said to have been produced a few years later during the reign of al-Muttaqī (r. 329–33; Fakh., 323).

Relenting somewhat the khaliifah summoned Thābit b. Sinān, who narrates that he was sent at the close of the same day to tend him. He found him in a locked chamber, in sore plight, and was greeted with tears. The stump had been covered with a coarse garment, and was badly swollen from a hempen cord tightly fastened near the place of amputation; there was a crude application of dung. The physician dressed it anew, and tended him till he became convalescent. The patient would inquire at his entry for news of his son, Abu’l-Ḥusayn, and on hearing that he was in safe concealment would be composed. Then he would break into tears of lamentation that the hand which had rendered service to the state thrice, under three khaliifahs, and with which he had twice (thrice, Haft Iqīm) copied the Qur’ān, and written traditions of the Prophet (Fakh., 320), had been submitted to the penalty meted out to the thief in Muslim law. When the
physician sought to soothe him, saying that no further misfortune would befall him, he would reply with true premonition of the end: “Not so, for tribulation besets me as a hectic fever the limbs, and will ne’er leave me till it deliver me over to death.” Then he quoted these lines of his plight:

If part of thee die, weep for its fellow,
For one part is fellow of another. (TU., 583.)

The physician’s services, and possibly also his companionship, which may have had the beneficence ascribed by Josiah Wedgwood to “the influence of a good flow of spirits upon the whole animal economy”, aided nature’s healing efficacy. To beguile the tedium of his life in durance he turned his thoughts to the composition of poetry, in which he deplored the loss of his hand, and complained of the ungrateful return for his services. These lines are ascribed to him, and may well have been penned behind the prison bars:

Time tried me with its changes,
But my heart ne’er weakly quailed,
I’m used to days both good and ill,—and oft
The thing most strange doth turn to use and wont.

(Fakh., 319.)

When he recovered he decided to put his fortune once more to the test; he corresponded from prison with ar-Rāḍī, promising to procure for him money, and urging his reinstatement seeing that his dismemberment would be no obstacle. He is said to have overcome this physical disability by fastening the qalam (reed-pen) to the stump of his right arm (TU., 583), to such good effect that one could not distinguish it from his earlier handwriting, and he had been noted for his calligraphy (Fakh., 321).

About this time Bajkam reached Baghdad, and his vicinity to the unfortunate prisoner being deemed dangerous, the latter was removed to a secret place, and the further precaution against a renewal of mischief on his part taken of cutting out his tongue, at the instance of Ibn Rā’iḥ (I. Kh., loc. cit.). He remained there a long time, till he was afflicted with a severe diarrhoea; there was none to cure him, and none even to tend him, so that perforce he had to draw water from the well himself, plying the rope with his left hand and his teeth alternately, until in 328 (327, Haft Iqlīm) death came to relieve him from his sore distress. He was buried in the palace precincts, but his body was later exhumed and made over to his family.

It has been observed that there were a number of triple coincidences connected with him; he thrice held the wazirate; thrice he journeyed,
being twice banished to Shiraz (sup., 217, 220), and once he travelled to Mosul (sup., 224); he was thrice interred, once as stated in the palace, once by his family, and a third time by his wife at her own house (Fakh., 321). The list has been extended with the passage of time; Ibnu'l'-Athîr (vi, 260) contributes one more, that he had three servitors specially attached to his person, while the Haft Iqlîm states that he thrice copied the Qur'ân, and attributes to him the invention of the Khaft-i thulth, or naskhî in large hand, from the Kûfî (Hughes, Dict. of Islam, art. "Writing").

He is best known to fame as the inventor of a style of writing called Naskhî, derived it is said from the stately and ornate Kûfî script, which originated in Kûfah in the time of the early khalifahs, and which it supplanted by reason of its being more cursive. With him is associated Ibnu'l-Bawwâb (e.g. in 'Awfi's Lubûbu'l'-Albâb, i, 44, 122, Browne's Pers. Hist. Ser.; he died in A.H. 413), who developed and improved on his effort. But the discovery by the savant Silvestre de Sacy early in the nineteenth century of MSS. from Egypt written in Naskhî, and dating from a time almost contemporaneous with the Kûfî of the monuments, rendered the traditional view no longer tenable. The Phoenician alphabet was the parent of naskhî. Kûfî, the one-time script of Arabia, is in the opinion of P. Berger (Hist. de l'écriture dans l'antiquité) a Nabatean alphabet, transformed by imitation of Syriac writing.
THOMAS STEPHENS, S.J., THE FIRST ENGLISHMAN IN INDIA

By James Southwood

[In view of the curiosity which has been aroused by the examination of the works of Father Thomas Stephens, S.J., preserved in the Marsden Collection—which has now been transferred from King's College to the School of Oriental Studies—the following biography of this first Englishman to visit India cannot fail to be of interest to our readers. The letter addressed by Thomas Stephens to his father, in which he recounts the incidents of his voyage to India, does not appear in print for the first time, but on account of its innate charm of style, and of the vivid picture it presents of a voyage round the Cape in the second half of the sixteenth century, it certainly deserves to be better known, and no excuse is required for its reproduction.—EDITOR.]

The bitter religious strife and persecution prevailing in England during the latter half of the sixteenth century is, more or less, responsible for the great dearth of facts concerning the lives of many of our eminent men of this period; and the records relating to Thomas Stephens unfortunately prove no exception to the rule. Therefore, little can be gleaned of his early days in this country, and although the chief authorities are Jesuit writers, they are not always reliable, particularly where dates are concerned. Even the date of his birth cannot be given with absolute certainty. The early Jesuit writers place it at 1549; but the painstaking inquiries of Mr. Herbert Chitty show it could not be earlier than 1550. In the Wiltshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Magazine (xxxii, p. 220) this writer identifies him with the Thomas Stevens who was elected on the Foundation of Winchester College in 1564 when he was thirteen years of age; i.e. 13–14 when admitted as a scholar, for the admittance usually took place within twelve months.

In the original Register of the College he is described as of “Busheton” \(^1\) in the diocese of Salisbury, which Mr. Chitty identifies with the modern Bushton, in the parish of Cliffe Pypard, Wiltsire, and which, at the period in question, formed part of the diocese of Salisbury. This authority also made two important discoveries at the Record Office as a result of his examination of the Assessment Rolls. In one of 1571 (13th Eliz.) he found a Thomas Stevens among those assessed at Bushton; and in another of 1576 (18th Eliz.) the same person was assessed on goods valued at £15. The latter entry bears the note: “exoneratur per billam residencie,” which confirms the statement of Hakluyt that at the time when Stephens wrote his first letter home, from Goa, his father was a merchant in London; and there can, therefore, be no reasonable doubt that Mr. Chitty is right in his deduction that the Thomas Stevens here mentioned was the father of the Jesuit Missionary.

From Hakluyt's work one gleans that Thomas Stephens was sometime of New College, Oxford; and, according to the Douay Diaries, his brother Richard was also at the same college; but no trace can be found of either names in the registers at Oxford. Still, this proves nothing, one way or the other; for the names of other Catholics, said to have been at the University at this period, are likewise absent, which is in itself very significant.

The year 1572 was a memorable one in Stephens’ career, for it was then that he formed his friendship with Thomas Pounde, who, after having previously been a great favourite at the Court of Queen Elizabeth, had become one of the many notable recusants; and the life-story of Pounde fills an eloquent page in the history of Roman Catholic martyrrology. Together, the two friends travelled the country for some two years; and on one occasion, at Ludlow, in Shropshire, they were arrested as spies, but were released after a few hours’ detention. No doubt the desire to escape the cruel persecution meted out to his co-religionists led Pounde, in 1574, to sell the greater part of his property, with a view to secretly setting out for Rome, and shortly afterwards the friends came to London. But persecution still dogged the recusant, and before he could finish his arrangements he was arrested by the Queen’s Officers and committed to the Marshalsea.

This, the beginning of a long series of incarcerations, extending over thirty years, was responsible for Stephens’ visit to Rome, which

\(^1\) This name was variously spelt Bubton, Busten, Bubsten, and Buston, which accounts for the learned Father being sometimes known by these names.
he made in the following year, at Pounde’s request, to lay before the Father-General his friend’s humble petition to be admitted to the Society as one of his sons. The application, however, proved unsuccessful, and when Stephens renewed it, in 1578, Pounde was duly admitted.

The second petition, addressed by Stephens from the Roman College, of the 4th November, 1578, throws a side-light on his relations with Pounde: “I also, Thomas Stephens, your paternity’s unworthy son, humbly beg this favour for my said master, conjointly with whom for two years, more or less, in the world, I entertained this same intention, of both of us going to Rome and giving ourselves up to the Society. Being well acquainted with his life and conversation, I have noted the following facts: When I first turned my thoughts to the Society of Jesus, Divine Providence so ordained it that I should become acquainted with the said Mr. Pound; and although when out of doors I assumed the character of his servant, a position better suited to my means, and chiefly useful as a blind to the inquisitive Protestants, yet indoors I lived on terms of equality as his guest.”

As to the exact date when Stephens himself was admitted to the Society of Jesus, some confusion exists. Foley (Records of the English Jesuits, vol. vii, p. 1453) states that he entered the Society at Rome on the 20th October, 1575, at the age of 26, when he studied philosophy with Father Garnett, and afterwards theology with Fathers Parsons and Faunt. This date, too, is corroborated by Father Parsons in his “Domestick Difficulties”, written in 1600 (Catholic Record Society, Miscellanea, ii, p. 64). On the other hand, De Backer (Bib. de la Compagnie de Jésus, ii, col. 468) says that Stephens joined the Society on the 11th October, 1578, and his contention is supported by Oliver (Collections, p. 197) and other writers. A reasonable explanation for this difference in dates is, probably, that the first is that on which the future missionary entered the Novitiate of St. Andrew, and the second date that on which—after completing his probation—he was admitted as Scholasticus into one of the Colleges at Rome, when he would take the vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience. Stephens left Rome, while still Scholasticus, and journeyed to Lisbon, where, on the 4th April, 1579, he embarked for Goa, in one of a fleet of five vessels which sailed under the command of João de Saldanha. He reached his destination some six months later—24th October—and apparently was ordained the following year. For convenience’s sake he seems to have adopted the Portuguese form of his
name—Thomaz Estevam; but there was no attempt at hiding his nationality.

Despite the fact that the learned Father seems to have been a good correspondent, only two letters written by him are known. The earlier one was written to his father under the date of 10th November, 1579. In quaint old-time English it gives a graphic description of the perils and dangers of the voyage to India, via the Cape of Good Hope, in those early days, and incidentally sheds a vivid light upon the man himself. So piquant in style, so full of interest, and so illuminative is this remarkable document, that no excuse is made for reproducing it in extenso from Hakluyt’s *Principal Navigations, Voyages, etc.*, 1904 (vi, pp. 377-85):

After most humble commendations: These shall be to crave your dayly blessing, with like commendations unto my mother; and withall, to certify you of my being: according to your will and my duety. I wrote unto you taking my journey from Italy to Portugall, which letters I thynke are come to your hands, so that presuming thereupon, I thynke I have the lesse need at this time to tell you the cause of my departing, which nevertheless in one word I may conclude, if I do but name obedience. I came to Lisbon toward the end of March, eight dayes before the departure of the shippes, so late that if they had not bene stayed about some weighty matters, they had bene long gone before our comming: insomuch that there were others ordained to goe in our places, that the king’s provision and ours also might not be in vaine. Nevertheless our sudden comming tooke place, and the fourth of Aprill five shippes departed for Goa, wherein besides shipmen and soldiery, there were a great number of children which in the seas beare out better then men, and no marvell, when that many women also passe very well. The setting forth from the port I need not to tell how solemne it is with trumpets, and shooting of ordinance, you may easily imagine it, considering that they go in the maner of warre. The tenth of the foresayd moneth we came to the sight of Porto Santo neere unto Madera, where an English shippes set upon ours (which was then also alone) with a few shots, which did no harme, but after that our ship had layed out her greatest ordinance, they straight departed as they came. The English shippes was very faire and great, which I was sory to see so ill occupied, for she went roving about, so that we saw her againe at the Canarian Iles, unto the which we came the thirteenth of the sayd moneth, and good leisure we had to woonder at the high mountaine of the Iland Tenerif, for we wandred betweene that and great Canaria foure dayes by reason of contrary windes: and briefly, such evill weather we had untill the foureteenth of May, that they despaired, to compass the Cape of Good Hope that yeere.
Nevertheless, taking our voyage betwixt Guinea and the Islands of Capo Verde, without seeing of any land at all, we arrived at length unto the coast of Guinie, which the Portugals so call, chiefly that part of the burning Zone, which is from the sixt degree unto the Equinoctiall, in which parts they suffered so many inconveniences of heats, and lacke of windes, that they thinke themselves happy when they have passed it: for sometimes the ship standeth there almost by the space of many dayes, sometime she goeth, but in such order that it were almost as good to stand still. And the greatest part of this coast not cleare, but thick and cloudy, full of thunder and lightening, and raine so unwholesome, that if the water stand a little while, all is full of wormes, and falling on the meat which is hanged up, it maketh it straight full of wormes. Along all that coast we often times saw a thing swimming upon the water like a cocks combe (which they call a ship of Guinea) but the colour much fairer; which combe standeth upon a thing almost like the swimmer of a fish in colour and bignesse, and beareth underneath in the water, strings, which save it from turning over. This thing is so poisonous, that a man cannot touch it without great peril. In this coast, that is to say, from the sixt degree unto the Equinoctiall, we spent no lesse then thirty dayes, partly with contrary windes, partly with calme. The thirtieth of May we passed the Equinoctiall with contentation, directing our course as well as we could to passe the promontory, but in all that gulf, and in all the way beside, we found so often calmes, that the expertest mariners wondred at it. And in places where are alwayes woont to be most horrible tempests, we found most quiet calmes which was very troublesome to those ships which be the greatest of all other, and cannot go without good windes. Insomuch, that when it is tempest almost intollerable for other ships, and maketh them maine all their sailes, these hoise up, and saile excellent well, unless the waters be too furious, which seldom happened in our navigation. You shall understand, that being passed the line, they cannot straightway go the next way to the promontory: but according to the winde, they draw alwayes as neere South as they can to put themselves in the latitude of the point, which is 35 degrees and an halfe, and then they take their course towards the East, and so compass the point. But the winde served us so, that at 33 degrees we did direct our course toward the point or promontory of Good Hope.

You know that it is hard to saile from East to West, or contrary, because there is no fixed point in all the skie, whereby they may direct their course, wherefore I shall tell you what helps God provided for these men. There is not a fowle that appereth, or signe in the aire, or in the sea, which they have not written, which have made the voyages heretofore. Wherfore, partly by their owne experience, and pondering withall what space the ship was able to make with such a winde, and such direction, and partly by the experience of others, whose books and navigations
they have, they gesse whereabouts they be, touching degrees of longitude, for of latitude they be alwayes sure: but the greatest and best industry of all is to marke the variations of the needle or compasse, which in the Meridian of the Iland of S. Michael, which is one of the Azores in the latitude of Lisbon, is just North, and thence swarveth towards the East so much, that betwixt the Meridian aforesayd, and the point of Africa it carrieth three or foure quarters of 32. And againe in the point of Afrike, a little beyond the point that is called Cape das Agulias (in English the needles) it returneth again unto the North, and that place passed, it swarveth againe toward the West, as it did before proportionally. As touching our first signes, the neerer we came to the people of Afrike, the more strange kindes of fowles appeared, insomuch that when we came within no lesse then thirty leagues (almost an hundred miles) and sixe hundred miles as we thought from any Iland, as good as three thousand fowles of sundry kindes followed our ship: some of them so great that their wings being opened from one point to the other, contained seven spannes, as the mariners sayd. A marvellous thing to see how God provided, so that in so wide a sea these fowles are all fat, and nothing wanteth them. The Portugals have named them all according to some propriety which they have: some they call Rushtailes, because their tailes be not proportionable to their bodies, but long and small like a rush, some forked tailes because they be very broad and forked, some velvet sleeves, because they have wings of the colour of velvet, and bowe them as a man boweth his elbow. This bird is alwayes welcome, for he appeareth nearest the Cape. I should never make an end if I should tell all particulars: but it shall suffice briefly to touch a few, which yet shall be sufficient, if you marke them, to give occasion to glorifie almighty God in his wonderful works, and such variety in his creatures. And to speake somewhat of fishes in all places of calme, especially in the burning Zone, neere the line (for without we never saw any) there waited on our ship fishes as long as a man, which they call Tuberones, they come to eat such things as from the shippe fall into the sea, not refusing men themselves if they light upon them. And if they finde any meat tied in the sea, they take it for theirs. These have waiting on them six or seven small fishes (which never depart) with gardes blew and greene round about their bodies, like comely serving men: and they go two or three before him, and some on every side. Moreover, they have other fishes which cleave alwayes unto their body, and seeme to take such superfluities as grow about them, and they are sayd to enter into their bodies also to purge them if they need. The mariners in time past have eaten of them, but since they have seene them eate men their stomachs abhorre them. Nevertheless, they draw them up with great hooks, and kill of them as many as they can, thinking that they have made a great revenge. There is another kind of fish as bigge almost as a herring, which hath wings and
flieth, and they are together in great number. These have two enemies, the one in the sea, the other in the aire. In the sea the fish which is called Albocore, as big as a salmon, followeth them with great swiftnesse to take them. This poore fish not being able swim fast, for he hath no finnes, but swimmeth with mooving of his taile, shutting his wings, lifteth himselfe above the water, and flieth not very hie; the Albocore seeing that, although he have no wings, yet he giveth a great leape out of the water, and sometimes catcheth him, or els he keepeth himselfe under the water going that way on as fast as he flieth. And when the fish being weary of the aire, or thinking himselfe out of danger, returneth into the water, the Albocore meeteth with him: but sometimes his other enemy the sea-crow, catcheth him before he falleth. With these and like sights, but alwayes making our supplications to God for good weather and salvation of the ship, we came at length unto the point, so famous & feared of all men: but we found there no tempest, only great waves, where our Pilot was a little overseeen: for whereas commonly al other never come within sight of land, but seeing signes ordinary, and finding bottome, go their way sure and safe, he thinking himselfe to have winde at will, shot so nigh the land that the winde turning into the South, and the waves being exceeding great, rolled us so nere the land, that the ship stood in lesse then 14 fadoms of water, no more then sixe miles from the Cape, which is called Das Agulias, and there we stood as utterly cast away: for under us were rocks of maine stone so sharpe, and cutting, that no ancre could hold the ship, the shore so evill, that nothing could take land, and the land itselfe so full of Tigers, and people that are savage, and killers of all strangers, that we had no hope of life nor comfort, but onely in God and a good conscience. Notwithstanding, after we had lost ancre, hoising up the sailes for to get the ship a coast in some safer place, or when it should please God, it pleased his mercy suddenly, where no man looked for helpe, to fill our sailes with wind from the land, & so we escaped, thanks be to God. And the day following, being in the place where they are alwayes wont to catch fish, we also fell a fishing, and so many they tooke, that they served all the ship for that day, and part of the next. And one of them pulled up a corall of great bignesse and price. For there they say (as we saw by experience) that the corals doe grow in the maner of stalks upon the rocks in the bottome, and waxe hard and red. The day of perill was the nine and twentieth of July. And you shall understand that, the Cape passed, there be two wayes to India: one within the Ile of S. Laurence, which they take willingly, because they refresh themselves at Mosambique a fortnight or a moneth, not without great need, and thence in a moneth more land in Goa. The other is without the Ile of S. Laurence, which they take when they set forth so late, and come so late to the point, that they have no time to take the foresayd Mosambique, and then they goe heavily, because in this way
they take no port. And by reason of the long navigation, and want of food and water, they fall into sundry diseases, their gummies waxe great, and swell, and they are faine to cut them away, their legges swell, and all the body becommeth sore, and so benumbed, that they can not stirre hand nor foot, and so they die for weaknesse, others fall into fluxes and agues, and die thereby. And this way it was our chance to make: yet though we had more then one hundred and fifty sicke, there died not past seven and twenty; which losse they esteemed not much in respect of other times. Though some of ours were diseased in this sort yet, thanks be to God, I had my health all the way, contrary to the expectation of many: God send me my health so well in the land, if it may be to his honour and service. This way is full of privy rockes and quickesands, so that sometimes we durst not sail by night, but by the providence of God we saw nothing, nor never found bottome untill we came to the coast of India. When we had passed againe the line, and were come to the third degree or somewhat more, we saw crabs swimming on the water that were red as though they had bene sodden: but this was no signe of land. After, about the eleventh degree, the space of many dayes, more then ten thousand fishes by estimation followed round about our ship, whereof we caught so many, that for fittene dayes we did eate nothing els, and they served our turne very well: for at this time we had neither meat nor almost any thing els to eate, our navigation growing so long that it drew neere to seven moneths, where as commonly they goe it in five, I meane when they saile the inner way. But these fishes were not signe of land, but rather of deep sea. At length we tooke a couple of birds, which were a kinde of Hawks, whereof they joyed much, thinking that they had bene of India, but indeed they were of Arabia, as we found afterward. And we that thought we had bene neere India, were in the same latitude neere Zocotoro, an Ile in the mouth of the Red Sea. But there God sent us great winds from the Northeast or Northnortheast, whereupon unwillingly they bare up toward the East, and thus we went tenne dayes without seeing signe of land, whereby they perceived their errour: for they had directed their course before alwayes Northeast, coveting to multiply degrees of latitude, but partly the difference of the Needle, and most of all the running seas, which at that time ran Northwest, had drawn us to this other danger, had not God sent us this winde, which at length waxed larger, and restored us to our right course. These running seas be so perillous that they deceive the most part of the governours, and some be so little curious, contenting themselves with ordinary experience, that they care not to seeke out any meane to know when they swarve, neither by the compass, nor by any other triall. The first signe of land were certain fowles which they knew to be of India: the second, boughes of palmes and sedges: the third, snakes swimming on the water, and a substance which they call by the name of a conie
of money, as broad and as round as a groat, woonderfully printed and stamped of nature, like unto some coine. And these two last signes be so certaine, that the next day after, if the winde serve, they see land, which we did to our great joy, when all our water (for you know they make no beere in those parts) and victuals began to faile us. And to Goa we came the foure and twentieth day of October, there being received with passing great charity. The people be tawny, but not disfigured in their lips & noses, as the Moores and Cafres of Ethiopia. They that be not of reputation, or at least the most part, goe naked, saving an apron of a span long, and as much in brede before them, and a lace two fingers broad before them, girded about with a string and no more: and thus they thinke them as well as we with all our trimming. Of the fruits and trees that be here I cannot now speake, for I should make another letter as long as this. For hitherto I have not seene a tree here, whose like I have seene in Europe, the vine excepted, which nevertheless here is to no purpose, so that all the wines are brought out of Portugall. The drinke of this countrey is good water, or wine of the Palme tree, or of a fruit called Cocos. And this shall suffice for this time. If God send me my health, I shall have opportunity to write to you once againe. Now the length of my letter compelleth me to take my leave: and thus I wish your most prosperous health. From Goa the tenth of November, 1579.

Your loving sonne,  
Thomas Stevens.

The only other letter extant—and this unfortunately is imperfect—is preserved in the National Library at Brussels. The original is written in Latin; but a translation is given in the biographical note to the new edition of Stephens' Puranna. The letter, dated the 24th October, 1583, is addressed to his brother Richard. This brother entered the English College at Douay in 1573, and afterwards became Doctor of Theology, dying there on the 19th April, 1586.

Like the letter to his father, this second letter is of surpassing interest; but want of space makes it impossible to give more than the most salient features. He speaks of a serious illness which overtook him during his first year at Goa. Shortly afterwards he was advanced to Holy Orders and sent to the Peninsula of Salsette, south of the Island of Goa “to help the Christians lately converted”. Some interesting facts are disclosed relating to the martyrdom in the Peninsula of Jesuit Fathers, and the difficulties experienced in the conversion of the natives. Speaking of the many languages of the country, he tells us their pronunciation is not disagreeable, and that their structure is allied to Greek and Latin; describing the phrases
and constructions as being of a wonderful kind; and that "the letters in the syllables have their value, and are varied as many times as the consonants can be combined with the vowels and the mutes with the liquids". Then follow an account of the climate and a passing reference to Calvinism and Arianism; the letter ending with a prayer to God for them "to make headway in the face of adversity" and finally obtain salvation.

It is evident from this letter that the learned Father had commenced the study of native languages. Ribadaneira, in his Bib. Script. S.J. (p. 768), stated that he "primus Canarinnm idioma in regulas ordinemque digessit. Indostanum etiam quo nobiliores utuntur perfecte calluit". Professor Pollard has inferred from this that Stephens was the first to make a scientific study of Canarese and Hindustani, and also to write manuals of piety and grammars in these languages (Dict. Nat. Biog. Supp., iii, p. 355); but there can be no doubt that Konkani and Marathi are the languages referred to, for it was these he studied, and in which he wrote his works.

On the subject of Stephens' ecclesiastical appointments uncertainty prevails. He is said to have been for a time Minister of the Professed House at Goa, and undoubtedly for some years was Rector of the college at Margão in the district of Salsette, and was temporary Socius to the Visitor, and Spiritual Coadjutor; but the various authorities differ as to the dates when these appointments were held.

Thenceforward only fleeting glimpses of this eminent pioneer are obtainable. To those in trouble he was ever ready to hold out a helping hand; and it is only from the grateful acknowledgment of his kindness from some of those whom he had assisted in their hour of need, that we are able to glean the little we know of his latter-day life. In 1583, the enterprise of four bold English adventurers excited the jealousy of the Portuguese, who caused them to be arrested at Ormuz and deported to Goa for imprisonment. Two of the quartet, John Newberie and Ralph Fitch, in writing home, speak gratefully of the help rendered them by Father Stephens in their efforts to obtain release; and, in like manner again, in 1609, a certain French traveller, François Pyrard de Laval, who with some Englishmen had been cast into prison at Goa, speaks of the Father's kindly assistance.

In 1619 Father Stephens passed away, having spent forty years in the province of Goa. He is the first recorded Englishman in India, the precursor of a people destined to rule that country for some centuries.
NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE OXUS-JAXARTESES BASIN

By Professor Arnold J. Toynbee

I

THE PROBLEM

The Basin of the Rivers Oxus and Jaxartes (which may be regarded as a single unit from the geographical as well as the historical point of view) has several times over played a particular part in the world's history. In conjunction with its complement, the Basin of the Tarim, it has served as a corridor or line of communication between the home-lands of several independent civilizations. By this route, the Middle Eastern World (and the Mediterranean World behind it) has communicated with India, and both India and the Middle East (sometimes alternately and, less often, simultaneously) with the Far Eastern World of China, Korea, and Japan.

Every historian must have noticed the similarity, in this respect, between the functions of the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin and of Syria, and the parallel does not appear to break down when it is pressed. Syria (with its annexe, North-Western Mesopotamia) has linked Anatolia with Iraq and both these regions with Egypt, at periods when these three regions were respectively the foci of civilizations; and there is a symmetry between the two routes not only in the character of their termini, but in that of the regions by which they are flanked on either hand. In both cases one flank is covered by an exceptionally inhospitable plateau (Arabia in the one instance, Tibet in the other); and when the corridor has been playing the part of a conductor between its termini, this flanking plateau has usually offered a blank wall, neither receiving nor exerting social or political influence upon the corridor to any appreciable extent. At certain critical moments of history, however, this general rule has been broken by startling and far-reaching exceptions. The most celebrated of these are the irruption of the Muslim Arabs into Syria, which began in A.D. 632, and the irruption of the Buddhist Tibetans into the Central Asian corridor a generation later.1 These are examples of a phenomenon which,

1 The Tibetans cut the Central Asian line in the Tarim Basin, which they first occupied circa A.D. 670-92, and then again from circa A.D. 790 until the middle of the ninth century, when the Uigurs broke into the corridor from the opposite flank and turned the Tibetans out of it.
though exceptional, has occurred on more than one known occasion in either area.

In both cases, again (to pursue the parallel), the other flank is skirted not by a normally quiescent and non-conducting plateau but by a highly sensitive coast-line. It is true that the sea which that coast-line delimits is not composed of identical elements in the two cases. Syria is flanked by the salt-water sea of the Mediterranean, the Central Asian corridor by an inland sea of grass and gravel—the Eurasian Steppe. Nevertheless, from the human (as distinct from the physiographical) point of view, there is a serious and not merely a fantastic analogy between these two flanking regions. Both watersurface and steppe-surface are accessible to Man, but only as a pilgrim and a sojourner. Neither offers him anywhere in its broad expanse (apart from the islands or oases) a place where he can rest the sole of his foot and settle down to a sedentary existence. Both provide strikingly greater facilities for travel and transport than those parts of the earth’s surface upon which human communities are accustomed to live in permanence; but both exact (as the penalty for trespassing upon them) the necessity of constantly “moving on”, or else of “moving off” their surface altogether, and finding some standing ground upon terra firma, somewhere beyond the coasts which respectively surround them. Thus there is a real similarity between the Nomadic horde which annually follows the same orbit of summer and winter pasture-grounds, and the fishing fleet which cruises from bank to bank according to the season; between the convoy of merchantmen which exchanges the products of the opposite shores of the sea, and the camel-caravan by which the opposite shores of the steppe are linked with one another; between the water-pirate and the desert raider; and between those mysterious, explosive movements of population which impel Minoans or Crusaders to take to their ships and to break like tidal waves upon the coasts of Syria, and those other movements which impel Sakas or Yue-Chi or Ephthalites or Turks or Mongols to swing out of their annual orbit on the steppe and to break, with equally mysterious suddenness, upon the settled lands of the Tarim Basin and Transoxania.

The history of Syria is so familiar that it would be superfluous to give historical chapter and verse for the phenomena in the Syrian theatre. On the other hand, it may be useful to recall the chief instances in which the Central Asian corridor has transmitted influences from one terminal civilization to another. Our earliest information, hitherto,
has been provided by the discoveries of the Pumpelly Expedition,\(^1\) which prosecuted its most intensive studies in the oasis of Anau in Trans-caspia, at the south-western corner of the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin, where the basin impinges upon the Iranian plateau. Mr. Pumpelly and his collaborators have discovered clear affinities between prehistoric Anau and prehistoric Elam; and they have proved that the achievements of Anau (in material technique and still more in the domestication of animals) were carried westwards by migrations—presumably across the Eurasian Steppe—and so introduced into Europe.

In the much more recent period of the Achæmenid Empire (from the middle of the sixth century B.C. onwards), Professor Michael Rostovtzev has lately\(^2\) traced how contemporary Middle Eastern art and culture were transmitted, via Transoxania, to the adjoining sector of the Steppe now occupied by the Kazaks and at that time by the Sarmatians; and how the Sarmatians, in their subsequent migrations westwards, carried these distinctive forms of technique and expressions of taste far beyond the boundaries of the Steppe—into the heart of early Mediaeval Europe.

The Central Asian corridor performed its historical function on a third occasion, after Alexander had destroyed the Achæmenid Empire, when Hellenism, following in the wake of his armies, temporarily submerged the indigenous civilization of the Middle Eastern World. In these circumstances, the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin became the route by which Hellenic art penetrated into North-Western India; a syncretistic Græco-Buddhist culture was generated thereby in the borderlands on either side of the Hindu Kush; and eventually the Central Asian corridor—exercising its function again—transmitted this fruitful offspring of two great civilizations to enrich a third. The discoveries of Stein, le Coq, and others in the Tarim Basin and the Turfan Depression have caught Græco-Buddhist culture in the act of transmission to the Far East, where it produced an aesthetic revolution as profound as that which distinguishes Byzantine art from the art of Ancient Greece herself.

This was not the last of the permutations and combinations in which Central Asia was to play the decisive rôle. From the third century


after Christ onwards, when the tide of Hellenism began to ebb from the Middle East and the indigenous local civilization began to reassert itself there, the corridor gradually ceased to transmit influences to the Far East from the Graeco-Roman World and India, in order to place the Far East in contact with the new movements which were expanding concentrically from the Middle Eastern focus—principally through the vehicle of "Missionary Religions". In successive waves of influence Manichæism, Nestorianism, and Islam made their "Golden Journey" along the corridor—far past the longitude of Samarkand—until they seeded themselves in the north-western outskirts of China.¹

Finally, during the last fifty years, Transoxania has been incorporated in the political system of Russia, and the introduction, via Westernized Russia, of Western mechanical technique has equipped the corridor with material means of playing its historical part which are immeasurably superior to any which it has ever possessed before. Three of the principal caravan routes have already been replaced by the Trans-siberian, the Tashkend-Orenburg, and the Trans-caspian Railways, and the experiments in motor tractors which are now being made in the French Sahara promise, if successful, to open routes across desert surfaces hitherto almost impracticable even for the camel. This latest scene in the drama is still very far from having reached its climax, and the Russian Revolution has recently added an incalculable factor to the problem; but it is safe to prophesy that if Russian diplomacy, arms, commerce, technique, art, and ideas do succeed in producing any permanent effect upon the histories of Persia, Afghanistan, India, Tibet, or China, the rôle of the Central Asian corridor in this modern process of transmission will be at least as important as it has been in similar processes in the past.

These are, perhaps, the principal cases in which the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin has played, or is playing, a transmissive part similar to that which has been played historically by Syria. Yet, even the most superficial survey of Central Asian history suggests a feature in which the destinies of the two corridors, so like in one respect, have been totally different. The transmission of other regions' achievements has not been all that Syria has achieved herself. At certain times, without prejudice to

¹ From the point of view of what follows, it is worth noting that the Islamic wave spread from the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin in another direction simultaneously. By the first quarter of the tenth century after Christ, Islamic influences from Transoxania, crossing the Steppe along the route of the present Tashkend-Orenburg Railway, had resulted in the conversion of the White Bulgarians, who held the key to the Volga Basin at the junction of the Volga with the Kama. The same wave gradually spread over the Bashkirs of the Ural region and the Tatars of Siberia.
her normal transmissive function, she has herself been an original creator. For example, during the six centuries which intervened between the Volkerwanderung of 1425–1125 B.C. and the foundation of the Achæmenid Empire, Syrians successively discovered the Alphabet, the Atlantic, and that particular conception of God which is common to Judaism, Zoroastrianism, Christianity, and Islam, but not to the religious thought of Hellenism, of the Far East, or of India. In contrast to these stupendous creative achievements of the Syrian corridor, the Central Asian corridor has hardly any "original work" to show.1 While perpetually transmitting the influences of other civilizations, the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin appears never to have succeeded in itself becoming a centre from which influence and energy have radiated outwards in different directions. Why did it fail (unlike Syria, its counterpart in other respects) to rise to that higher plane of activity? Perhaps the best approach towards finding some answer to this question will be to single out and examine the occasions on which the region came nearest to that achievement, and so to analyse, if possible, the causes which, in each case, produced failure in the end.

Two such occasions suggest themselves. The first presented itself about A.D. 651, when the Muslim Arabs, after destroying the Sasanian Empire, had made their occupation of its former territories effective up to the north-eastern edge of the Iranian Plateau, but had not yet attempted to conquer the independent states of the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin. This situation offered the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin an opportunity which will be discussed below; but this opportunity had been irrevocably lost by A.D. 741, the year which marks the definitive incorporation of Tukharistan and Transoxania in the Arab Empire.

A second occasion presented itself, in quite different circumstances, about the middle of the fourteenth century of the Christian era, when the Chagatai branch of the House of Chingis Khan2 was finally converted to Islam. This second opportunity lasted for a century and a half, and was only lost in A.D. 1513, when Babur (then the principal surviving member of the House of Timur) finally abandoned his attempts to recover, from the Uzbegs, his ancestral possessions on the northern side of the Hindu Kush. It will be simplest to consider these two occasions separately, but in chronological order.

1 Unless the Avesta and the Persian Epic originated among the Iranians of the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin and not among those of the Iranian Plateau.

2 The Chagatai appanage included the Oxus-Jaxartes and the Tarim Basins (i.e. the whole of the Central Asian corridor) together with that sector of the Eurasian Steppe (then called Moghulistan) which lies immediately to the north of them.
II

THE FIRST LOST OPPORTUNITY (A.D. 651–741)

The axis of the Muslim Arab Empire under the Umayyad Dynasty lay within a zone running, in a direction slightly west of north, from the Indian Ocean to the Taurus Range, and including the sites of Mecca, Medina, and Damascus. From this axis, which had been established substantially by A.D. 636 with the occupation of Antioch, the Arab conquests spread laterally in either direction. One line of expansion led through Egypt round the southern and western shores of the Mediterranean, the other through 'Iraq and across the Iranian Plateau till it skirted the southern shore of the Eurasian Steppe. Both lines, as they extended, curved continually towards the north, until, by A.D. 721, they constituted an immense crescent, with Damascus at the centre-point of the arc, and with the two horns protruding respectively beyond the Pyrenees on the north-west and beyond the rim of the Iranian Plateau on the north-east. At the beginning of A.D. 721 it was an open question whether the Arab advance on either front would proceed still further. On both fronts, the Arabs at that moment had not only reached but had just overshot a well-defined physical boundary, and thus found themselves on the verge of two new worlds to conquer. One of these worlds was the Trans-pyrenean and Trans-alpine region of Western Europe, in which the Romans had sown some precarious seeds of their civilization seven or eight centuries before. The other was the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin, which had retained certain elements of Middle Eastern culture (in the form of Zoroastrianism and Nestorianism) in the course of transmitting them, during the previous five centuries, from the Middle East to China, as well as certain elements of Indian culture (in the form of Buddhism), which it had been transmitting to the same destination during the five centuries before that. In A.D. 721 it was equally uncertain whether the Arabs, starting from the narrow foothold which

1 As early as A.D. 713 Musa had occupied Septimania (the strip of French coast between the Pyrenees and the Rhone which had previously belonged to the Visigothic kingdom of Spain), while Qutayba had penetrated far beyond the bounds of Khurasan, into Khwarizm and Farghana. It has been shown, however, by Mr. H. A. R. Gibb in The Arab Conquests in Central Asia (London, 1923, Royal Asiatic Society) that the campaigns of Qutayba in the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin, though brilliant and extensive, were superficial. Their results were almost entirely lost after his death, and, by the beginning of the year 721, the Arab holdings in Tukharistan and Transoxania beyond the Iranian Plateau were as small as the Arab holdings at the same date in Gaul beyond the Pyrenees.

2 Assuming that Zoroastrianism originated in Media and not in Bactria (in which latter case it would have been a native product of the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin).
they had already secured in both of these fields, would proceed to conquer either or both of them completely; or whether in one field or in both they would be forced, after an unsuccessful offensive, to accept the *status quo*; or whether, again, they would eventually be driven out of adjoining territories, which had been incorporated in the Arab Empire successfully at an earlier date, by offensive movements on the part of hostile powers surviving in these two still unconquered regions.

Before examining the very different fortunes which, in fact, attended the further military enterprises of the Arabs at these two extremities of their Empire, it is worth drawing attention to the remarkable parallel between the two positions from the geographical point of view. While the home-base of the Umayyad power lay in Syria, it possessed two secondary bases, nearer to the respective fronts, in two rich lowlands—Andalusia in the one case and 'Iraq in the other—from which armies could draw abundant supplies. Beyond these friendly lowlands the Arab lines of communication had to traverse two comparatively arid and inhospitable plateaux—the plateau of Castile, in Spain, and the plateau of Iran in Persia—and, on either plateau, the Arab lines were dangerously flanked to the left by a long, narrow strip of unconquered territory. The previous Western Christian masters of Spain were still holding out in the narrow zone between the crest-line of the Asturian Mountains and the southern coast-line of the Bay of Biscay. The previous Zoroastrian masters of Persia were likewise still holding out in the almost equally narrow (though much longer and altogether more extensive) zone between the crest-line of the Elbruz Mountains and the southern coast-line of the Caspian Sea.¹

In both cases these unconquered zones were dangerous—partly because they threatened a long and exposed flank; partly because they were natural fastnesses which it would be extremely difficult to occupy and subdue effectively in the teeth of a hostile population, but, most of all, because both zones, in spite of being enclaves, were able to communicate by sea² with more powerful communities of co-religionists in friendly and still unconquered hinterlands.

¹ In climate and vegetation the Elbruz range may be considered as being a detached and remote enclave of Northern Europe, and the sub-tropical coastal belt between the Elbruz and the Caspian as a similar enclave of India. Compare the equally curious enclave of Mediterranean climate along the south-eastern littoral of the Black Sea, which also faces northward.

² At that time the main stream of the Oxus may possibly have flowed into the Caspian, and this would have afforded water transport all the way from Daylam to Sughd via Khwarism. But, in any case, there was always a caravan-route between Khwarism and the eastern coast of the Caspian.
These hinterlands were the two worlds of North-Western Europe and the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin, upon which the Arabs had as yet made no permanent impression. Physically, both were easier to invade and more tempting to seize than the two conquered plateaux behind them. They consisted mainly of lowlands, containing fertile areas of cultivation and considerable cities. The social and political factor, however, was more important than the environmental, and here, again, there was, up to a certain point, a curious similarity in the conditions. In Gaul, a population which had been Latinized and half-civilized by Rome, and incidentally converted to Christianity, had been overrun, since the beginning of the fifth century after Christ, by barbarian backwoodsmen from Northern Europe—Burgundians and Franks. In the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin, a civilized Iranian or Iranized population had been penetrated by the diverse influences of Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, and Nestorianism, and had been overrun (again, since the beginning of the fifth Christian century) by successive parties of Nomads from the Eurasian Steppe—Ephthalites and Turks. What is more, the relations between the two layers of population in either case had developed in much the same way. In either case the indigenous element had been partly barbarized by its new barbarian masters, but had succeeded, on the whole, owing to its superiority in numbers and in civilization, in assimilating the barbarians to itself. Above all, it had converted them to its own religions and had thereby prepared their minds for making common cause against the Arab invaders, who were bringing with them a new "missionary religion" altogether.

Thus the two objectives of the Arabs in A.D. 721 were remarkably analogous to one another, and for the next dozen years the fortunes of war were correspondingly similar in either region. In both cases, the Arabs found themselves confronted with a more vigorous resistance than they had previously encountered. By the beginning of the year 733, in consequence of the disastrous Battle of the Pass in 731, they had lost all but three fortresses beyond the Oxus, and one or two in Tukharistan; while at the same date, owing to the (less serious) reverse at Tours, they had retreated again to the Septimanian extremity of Gaul. Ultimate success was not in either case out of the question, but experience seemed to show that in both areas it could only be purchased at the price of great and sustained military efforts. In both areas, however, the sequel falsified such expectations. The Battle of Tours was accepted as final, and from that time onwards the Arabs

1 For the differences in this respect see pp. 257–62 below.
often lost, but practically never gained, ground on their north-western frontier. On the other hand, the seemingly not less serious situation on the north-east was so dramatically reversed during the next nine years that by A.D. 741 the whole of the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin had been incorporated definitively in the Arab Empire.

It is unnecessary to insist upon the momentous consequences of this difference in the local fortunes of Arab empire-builders for the subsequent history of mankind. On the north-western front (to quote one of Gibbon’s most celebrated passages), 1 “a victorious line of march had been prolonged above a thousand miles from the rock of Gibraltar to the banks of the Loire; the repetition of an equal space would have carried the Saracens to the confines of Poland and the Highlands of Scotland; the Rhine is not more impassable than the Nile or Euphrates, and the Arabian fleet might have sailed without a naval combat into the mouth of the Thames. Perhaps the interpretation of the Koran would now be taught in the schools of Oxford, and her pulpits might demonstrate to a circumcised people the sanctity and truth of the revelation of Mahomet.” Gibbon might have added that such additional conquests would ultimately have given the Arabs the mastery of the Atlantic (almost achieved, fifteen hundred years earlier, by their Phoenician forerunners), and so of the New World; for the different issue of the Arab enterprise in the north-east shows that none of these conjectures are fantastic. It is not absurd to suggest that the military reverse suffered by ‘Abdu’r-rahman at Tours entailed the loss of America for Islam, when it is a historical fact that the diplomatic successes of Asad and Nasr during the next few years opened a door to Islam which enabled her eventually to win adherents and establish footholds on the banks of the Volga, the Irtish, and the Hoang-Ho. What actually happened in the north-east enables us to reconstruct, with some confidence and even in some detail, the first stages of what would presumably have happened in the north-west had the fate of Gaul, like that of Transoxania, been re-decided between A.D. 732 and 741. With the Arab Empire permanently established in their rear, as well as in front of them, and with their co-religionists in Gaul apostasizing in increasing numbers to Islam, the Christians of the Asturian enclave could no more have resisted assimilation than the Zoroastrians of the Caspian Provinces found themselves able to do after the Arab conquest of Transoxania.

1 Chapter 52 (vol. vi of J. B. Bury’s smaller edition of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire).
The Asturians, like the Daylamites, Tabaristanis, and Jurjanis, would almost inevitably have been converted to Islam in the course of the ninth and tenth Christian centuries. It is true that such conversion, had it taken place, would not have prevented the Asturian mountaineers, in the course of the tenth century and thereafter, from issuing out of their fastnesses and beginning to push down across the plateau. That movement was a consequence of the growing social and political weakness, at that time, of the Arab Empire throughout its extent. It was not affected by the religious factor, and the converted Daylamites therefore took the offensive in Persia simultaneously with the unconverted Asturians in Spain. In the sequel, however, the religious factor made a world of difference. The Buwayhids, descending as Muslims (though as Muslims of the Shi‘i persuasion), were not, by their conquests, diminishing the territories of Daru‘l Islam. For this reason, those conquests were not so fiercely opposed as those of the Christian Asturians, and were therefore not only more rapid in their extension, but also more superficial and transitory in their effects. They did nothing to check the steady expansion of Islam into its north-eastern hinterland; and similarly the activities of Islamized Asturians would not, presumably, have prevented an advance of Islam from Gaul and Germany (along the roads actually taken by Western Christendom) into Scandinavia, Poland, and Hungary.

Conversely, the actual course of history in the north-west indicates what might have happened in the north-east had Qutayba’s work not been performed over again—and, this time, conclusively—by Asad and Nasr. Because, in A.D. 733, the Arabs lacked the will-power to complete the conquest of Gaul, the Austrasian Franks were able to join hands with the Asturians and to ensure that Asturia should be an advanced base for future Western counter-offensives against the Muslims. This was one of the objectives of Charlemagne’s campaign which ended in A.D. 778 at Roncesvalles; and, in spite of that discomfiture, the objective had been achieved by A.D. 801, when Charlemagne’s Spanish march was pushed forward beyond Barcelona. From that date onwards, the local Asturian front became part of a united front of Western Christendom; the ascendency on the Spanish border had definitely passed from the Muslims to the Westerners; and there is nothing surprising in the developments of the next four and a half centuries, which were consummated in A.D. 1235 by the

1 Both under Umayyad sovereignty in Spain and under ‘Abbasid sovereignty elsewhere.
conquest of Cordova, and which resulted in the expulsion of the Muslims from every part of the Peninsula except the enclave of Granada.

It is interesting to examine the possible course of events in Persia in the light of these actual events in Spain. Had Asad and Nasr failed to incorporate the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin, it is improbable that the Arab Empire would long have retained its hold upon Khurasan. Within the next half-century the independent principalities in Sughd and Tukharistan (reinforced by Türgesh and other adventurous nomads off the Steppe) might have driven the Arabs back south-westward through Damaghan and the Caspian Gates, and have made the Dasht-i-Lut the north-eastern boundary of Daru‘l Islam for the time being. In that case (and this is the suggestion towards which these parallels and hypotheses have been leading) the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin, for the first time in recorded history, would have exchanged the rôle of a transmitter for that of a creator of civilization; and the new civilization of the West, which first emerged in eighth-century Gaul and has continued to rise and to spread until, to-day, it is over-shadowing the world, would have possessed a counterpart and a contemporary in Central Asia, with which it would sooner or later have come into contact or collision across the ruins of Islamic society.

It is, of course, quite impossible to conjecture what shape and colour this hypothetical Central Asian civilization would have taken, since it had not even begun to germinate before its prospects of life were cut off by Islam. There might have been a struggle between Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, and Nestorianism for the possession of its infant soul, and there is no guessing how that struggle would have gone. The Zoroastrian element would have gained by the renewal of contact with the Caspian Provinces and by the correlated south-westward expansion across the Iranian Plateau. On the other hand, Buddhism and Nestorianism were represented in greater force than Zoroastrianism in the Tarim Basin and on the Eurasian Steppe, into which the growing civilization would have been expanding simultaneously in the opposite direction. Other influences would have been added, as relations became closer with India and China; and it is possible that the outcome might have been some syncretism or eclecticism of the type which the Emperor Julian attempted unsuccessfully to establish in the Græco-Roman World and which actually prevails in modern India and China. It is hardly possible to reckon in terms of such imponderable factors as these; but it is not quite so difficult to reconstruct what would have been the stages in this unborn Central Asian civilization's
geographical extension. Certainly its south-western boundary would not have stood permanently at the Dasht-i-Lut. That physical barrier is outflanked on the north by the Caspian Provinces of Tabaristan and Daylam, which, ex hypothesi, would have been incorporated in the Central Asian World already. During the second quarter of the tenth Christian century, the Buwayhids would duly have descended upon the Iranian Plateau from Daylam, but as Zoroastrians and not as Muslims and as conquerors of fresh territory for Central Asian civilization at the expense of Islam, instead of being a mere domestic incident in Islamic history. The progress of Central Asia at the expense of Islam would, no doubt, have gone steadily forward. Even if the Sunni world had made more effective efforts to save 'Iraq, or, at least, Baghdad itself, from the hand of a Buwayhid unbeliever than it actually made when the Caliph fell into the power of a Buwayhid sectarian, the Buwayhid’s work would have been finished by a Zoroastrian or a Nestorian Saljuq; for, in the meantime, Central Asian civilization would have become solidly established between Daru’l Islam and the Eurasian Steppe, and the nomadic peoples who broke upon the Middle Eastern coasts of the Steppe in the Völkerverwanderung of A.D. 975–1275 would therefore have been converted to the civilization of Central Asia and would have come, not as reinforcements, but as alien and destructive enemies to the civilization of Islam. As it was, the Saljuqs, meeting Islam and succumbing to it in the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin, travelled on westward as Muslims and only discharged their thunder upon the Byzantine civilization of Anatolia. If we may imagine them converted, in Transoxania, to some non-Islamic religion instead, and meting out to Muslim ‘Iraq and Syria the treatment which they actually meted out to the Byzantine world, we can estimate how disastrous the effect would have been upon the destinies of Islam.

This, again, is not a fantastic conjecture, for, in the last phase of the Völkerverwanderung of A.D. 975–1275, a catastrophe of this very kind actually did bring Islam within an ace of destruction. In any Völkerverwanderung, the convulsions are apt to reach their maximum intensity immediately before the disturbance dies down altogether; and at the same time, as the disorder works up towards its climax, populations are upheaved and discharged outwards from deeper and deeper recesses in the area of disturbance. In the case in question, the area of disturbance was the Eurasian Steppe, and the first elements discharged by it upon the Islamic World were the occupants of the
peripheral or "in-shore" zone of the Steppe, of whom the Saljuqs may be taken as the leading example. Since, for a considerable period before their upheaval, these peripheral nomads had been in contact with, and under the influence of, the civilization then prevalent in Transoxania, and since, furthermore, that civilization happened, owing to the decision of A.D. 741, to be not some independent Central Asian growth but the conquering civilization of Islam, the Saljuqs had themselves become Muslims before the Völkerwanderung hurled them upon Muslim lands, and it has just been remarked how this previous assimilation rendered their invasion comparatively harmless to Islamic society. In the final and most convulsive phase of the Völkerwanderung, however, the phenomena were not equally favourable from the Islamic point of view; for, in this phase, the Islamic world was assailed by nomadic invaders from the innermost depths of the Steppe—depths to which Islam, in spite of having conquered Transoxania, had not had time to penetrate during the five centuries which had intervened. These depths, however (which coincided with what are now Mongolia and Zungaria), had not been left unevangelized. In conquering the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin, Islam had, indeed, prevented that region effectively from becoming the centre of a new Buddhist or Nestorian or blended Buddhist-Nestorian civilization, but she could not prevent these rival religions, whose future in Central Asia she had destroyed for any effective purpose of social construction, from drifting eastwards along the Central Asian corridor and establishing a curious, transitory, and abortive ascendancy over the minds of Uigurs and Naimans. Indeed, it is possible that Muslim aggression against Sughd and Farghana hastened the conversion of the Far North-East to Manicheism and Nestorianism by causing a dispersion abroad among nomad gentiles of Transoxanian refugees.\(^1\) If so, the unborn civilization of Central Asia at any rate left a ghost in the shape of "Prester John", and that ghost very nearly succeeded in taking its revenge upon the remote successors of those Muslim conquerors who, five centuries before, had cheated it of life in the flesh. It is doubtful whether there were any Buddhist or Nestorian elements in the original nucleus of Chingis Khan's nomadic confederacy, and even among the tribes on the pasture lands immediately to the west of his, these elements were probably very small in numbers. They possessed, however, something

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\(^1\) Buddhism, which travelled eastward and south-eastward along the corridor to the Far Eastern World, does not appear to have penetrated the steppe-country to the north.
like a local monopoly of technique and knowledge; the communities among whom they were found were incorporated in the Mongol community on terms more nearly approaching equality than was the case with remoter and more alien populations subsequently conquered; moreover, their incorporation occurred at a moment when Chingis's empire was assuming proportions which made the introduction of some kind of civilized order a necessity—and thus it was that these few and scattered survivors of submerged societies were paradoxically raised to places of honour and influence round a throne which bade fair to dominate two continents.

Had this suddenly evoked spectre of Far Eastern Christendom succeeded in grasping the hand of Far Western Christendom, which (owing to the faint-heartedness of Arab empire-builders after A.D. 732) was by this time a creature of flesh and blood in all the aggressive lustiness of early manhood, it is hardly possible to believe that Islam could have survived; and it is sometimes forgotten how very near to accomplishment this dramatic reunion of co-religionists, long sundered by the horns of the Crescent, was several times brought, through overtures from both sides, in the course of the thirteenth century after Christ. The overthrow of the Khwarizm Shah in A.D. 1220 seemed at first sight to have cancelled, at one stroke, five centuries of Islamic effort in the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin, and the sack of Baghdad and the irreparable devastation of Iraq in A.D. 1258 by Hulagu Khan were like mortal blows at the political and economic heart of the Islamic commonwealth. Now the project of Hulagu's expedition appears to have been suggested to the mind of his overlord, the Khaqan Mangu, by the Uniate-Catholic King Hayton of Little Armenia; and it may have been Hulagu's Nestorian wife who inspired him, in turn, to send his advance-guard across the Euphrates, in order to attack the Muslims in their last citadel of Egypt, under the command of the Nestorian general, Kit-Bugha. In A.D. 1260, when Kit-Bugha captured Damascus and momentarily gave the local Monophysite and Orthodox Christians the dominion over their Muslim neighbours, the Western Crusaders were still clinging to Acre and a few other strongholds on the Syrian coast, and they were not blind to the possibilities which "Prester John's" miraculous intervention might offer. Already Friar Giovanni di Piano Carpini had been sent to the Khaqan's court at Qaraqorum by Pope Innocent IV in A.D. 1246 and Friar William of Rubrouck by St. Louis in A.D. 1253. Between 1260 and 1269 Marco Polo's father and uncle made their way
to the same destination as private merchants, and returned as bearers of a letter to the Pope from the Khaqan. In 1271 they set out, this time from Acre, to make the journey to Qaraqorum again, bearing an answer from the Pope, and accompanied by Marco, and it was not till 1295 that they returned to Venice via the Indian Ocean. Meanwhile, a letter (still preserved) had been sent in 1295 by the Il-khan Arghun to the Court of France, to be followed by another in 1305 from his son Uljaytu. Thus, during the latter half of the thirteenth century, the two enemies of Islam came within measurable distance of co-operation. It was not till after the fall of Acre in 1290 and the successive failure of the second and third Mongol invasions of Syria in 1281 and 1303, that this possibility disappeared.

Such were the straits to which Islam was reduced in the last phase of the *Völkerwanderung* of A.D. 975–1275, and this although, as recently as A.D. 1220, Islam had been the dominant cultural and political force as far north-eastward as the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin. Supposing, however, that, five centuries earlier, that region had resisted assimilation and had developed an independent and aggressive civilization in the meantime on the lines suggested above, the eventuality which, in actual fact, only passed in a flash across the page of history as a picturesque possibility, would almost certainly have taken shape as a historical event of permanent importance. Supposing that, by 1220, Islam had already been driven west of the Euphrates, and that a new Central Asian civilization had already extended its domain from that river on the south-west to the border of Chingis Khan’s homelands in the opposite quarter, it is probable that the Buddhist-Nestorian culture, which exercised so marked an influence upon the twelfth and thirteenth century Mongols even in its dim and shadowy actuality, would have captured them heart and soul, and that they would have made themselves its apostles as they went forth, conquering and to conquer, to the ends of the earth. In that case the western bank of the Euphrates would have been Islam’s first and last line of defence, and it is hardly conceivable that a single line would not have been broken. Had that happened, Islam in the thirteenth Christian century would have suffered the fate of Byzantine civilization in the eleventh. The Far Eastern and the Far Western enemy would have united to storm her Egyptian citadel.¹ She would have become a submerged society, and by the twentieth Christian century she might

¹ Just as in the eleventh century the Saljuqs and the Normans broke simultaneously upon the Byzantine World.
only have been represented by such remnants as now actually survive of the Armenian and Syrian Monophysites or of the Nestorians themselves.

These were some of the issues which hung upon the failure or success of the respective Arab empire-builders in Gaul and in the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin between A.D. 721 and A.D. 741. It remains to account, if possible, for the remarkable difference in Arab fortunes in the two areas, by which these far-reaching and momentous consequences were brought about. Why did the Arabs fail to conquer Gaul and succeed in conquering Transoxania? There were, as it happens, a number of factors which actually tended to make the latter enterprise the more difficult of the two. The Oxus-Jaxartes Basin had not previously been found an easy region to subdue. Alexander the Great spent two whole years upon it, and only succeeded in the end by a policy of conciliation, although it had taken him not more than five years to conquer outright, without parley or compromise, the entire Middle East, from the Dardanelles and the Libyan oases to the north-eastern corner of the Iranian Plateau. This contrast between the resisting-power of the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin and that of the remainder of the Achaemenid Empire at that date is the more striking when it is recollected that, by Alexander's time, "Bactria" and "Sogdiana" had been incorporated in the Achaemenid dominions for more than two centuries and might therefore have been expected to follow suit to the other provinces.

The conditions for conquest were distinctly less favourable at the time when the same enterprise was successfully attempted by the Arabs, for by A.D. 651, the date at which they arrived on the borders of the region, it had been continuously separated, in the political sense, from the Iranian Plateau, and had been intermittently in a state of war with it, for not less than 900 years. Mr. Gibb, in his work already cited, brings out very lucidly the political and social contrast between Sasanian Persia and Transoxania and Tukharistan under Kushan, Ephthalite, and Turkish ascendency. This long-standing separation evidently militated seriously against the Arabs' attempt to amalgamate Transoxania with Iran in a single empire; and if Mr. Gibb is right in his contention that Transoxania virtually stood aside from Abu Muslim's movement in Khurasan which overthrew the Umayyad dynasty at Damascus, that would certainly indicate that the traditional particularism of Transoxania was still a very powerful psychological force even after the annexation of the region to the Arab Empire had become an accomplished fact. On the other hand, a much
closer sense of affinity—based on the common inheritance of Western
Christianity, the Latin language and culture, and the memory of
the Roman Empire—still existed in the seventh and eighth centuries
after Christ between Gaul on the one hand and Spain and North-West
Africa on the other, and the previous conquest of the two latter
countries by the Arabs might have been expected to lead on to the
conquest of Gaul, if only by the mere force of momentum. In A.D. 721
the Pyrenees were not nearly so formidable a political and cultural
barrier as was the north-eastern rim of the Iranian Plateau.

As compared with Gaul, again, Transoxania possessed other assets
as well. From the military point of view, the Empire of the T'ang may
have proved a broken reed, but the diplomatic support against the
Arabs which the independent states of Transoxania and Tukharistan
were constantly receiving from the Court of Chang-Ngan was at any
rate an effective moral weapon, especially since, to the Arabs, its value
long remained imponderable and therefore subject to over-estimation.
The Aquitanians, Neustrians, and Austrasians, in the crisis of
A.D. 721–32, do not appear to have received either naval assistance in
the Mediterranean or diplomatic support at Damascus from the Court
of Constantinople, so that both the fighting and the bluffing had all
to be their own. In matters of topography and climate, moreover,
Transoxania was a more difficult country than France for an invader.
The cultivated areas were not continuous, but were separated by
stretches of steppe and desert; the rivers, being mightier streams
than the Garonne, the Loire, or the Seine, offered correspondingly
greater obstacles; and between the crossing of the Oxus at Tirmidh
and the Transoxanian Metropolis of Samarkand there were formidable
mountains to be traversed which had not their like at any point on the
road from Narbonne to Tours. As for political unity, it was still hardly
more than nominal in the Frankish dominions at this period and was
of little account for the practical purpose of military co-operation,
so that, even from this point of view, the Transoxianians and
Tukharistanis were scarcely at a disadvantage as compared with the
peoples of Gaul, while such disadvantage as there may have been was
no doubt more than compensated by the greater vitality of local political
life in the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin and the distinctly higher level of
general civilization.

All the foregoing considerations certainly appear to increase the
difficulty of the problem—unless possibly the "higher level of general
civilization" at that time to be found in Transoxania supplies the
clue. In what, after all, did the superiority, in this respect, of Trans-

1 It might, of course, be suggested that a clue is also to be found in the much greater distance of Gaul than that of the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin from the Syrian centre of the Umayyad Power, and it even might be argued that this geographical difference was the capital factor. It is true that the distance from Damascus to Narbonne overland, via North Africa and the Straits of Gibraltar, is approximately twice as great as the distance from Damascus overland to Merv. The significance of this fact has to be discounted, however, by two considerations. In the first place the north-western (but not the north-eastern) front was connected with the main base of the Arab Empire by an alternative water-route, extending along the length of the Mediterranean from the Syrian ports or Alexandria to Barcelona, Empuries, or Agde. It would be interesting to know to what extent (if any) the Constantinople Government made use of its naval ascendancy in the Mediterranean at this period in order to deny to the Arabs the employment of this maritime route for the conduct of their Gallic campaigns. As far as the present writer is aware, no precise evidence on this point has been preserved; but (given the probable relative strength of Byzantine and Arab sea-power in the eighth century) it seems unlikely that the Byzantines can have blocked this route altogether, and—so far as it was available—it must have been both quicker and easier (given the relative development, at that period, of land and water transport facilities) than the quantitatively shorter overland route from Syria to Khurasan. In the second place, however, it is doubtful whether the comparative difficulty or ease of communication between Syria and the frontier war-zones was a military factor of first-rate importance; for the historical records indicate that (in the Umayyad, as in its predecessor the Achaemenid, Empire) imperial troops from the centre seldom put in an appearance on the borders. Border-campaigns, even when planned on an ambitious scale, were generally dependent almost entirely upon local man-power, drawn partly from Arab military colonies (previously planted in the frontier-provinces of the time) and partly from loyal elements recruited among the provincial population. The man-power of the Arab colonies was, of course, limited; but, when an additional military effort was desired, the frontier commanders seem normally to have met the need, not by calling upon Damascus for Arab reinforcements, but by drawing more largely upon the non-Arab provincial elements. The unusual strength of the Berber levies from North-West Africa and of the Iranian levies from Khurasan was a marked feature in the armies with which Qutayba and 'Abdu'r-rahman invaded Transoxania and Gaul respectively. For these several reasons, it would be rash to rely too much upon the factor of distance in seeking for an explanation of the failure of the Arabs in Gaul in contrast to their contemporaneous success in the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin.

Addendum.—Mr. H. A. R. Gibb, with whom the writer has had the benefit of discussing the considerations advanced above, suggests that they ought not to be pressed too far and that the factor of distance may have been more important than the writer had supposed. Without having re-examined the evidence in detail, Mr. Gibb is under the impression that evidence is lacking to show that the Arabs used the maritime line of communication between Syria and Spain, and thus such evidence as exists points rather to the land route via North Africa as being normally employed. In other words, the sea-power which the Arabs mustered in the Levant for their campaigns against Rum was not available (or, at any rate, was not used) to assist them in maintaining their north-western front in Gaul; and if, for this purpose, they used the land route, that placed their communications at the mercy of the Berbers in Africa (not to speak of their troubles with Berber troops and colonists in Spain itself). In consequence, Spain was being constantly left in the air, and a case of this occurred in A.D. 740 (that is, within the critical period after the indecisive Battle of Tours). In contrast to this, Hisham was able to reinforce Khurasan with troops from Iraq after the Battle of the Pass (in itself, a more serious reverse than the Battle of Tours), and apparently with troops from Syria, as well, at the critical moment in the revolt of
oxania over contemporary Gaul consist? Undoubtedly in an
immeasurably greater development of international trade, as might be
expected in a region which always had been, and still was, a corridor
of communication between surrounding societies, whereas the Gaul of
that day was a semi-civilized region penned up in a blind alley at the
ends of the civilized earth. That difference has an important bearing
on our problem, for it means that the eighth century population of
Gaul possessed no vital commercial interests which would be damaged
or promoted by possible alternative relations between them and the
Arab Empire. At that date they were an agricultural society, and
little more besides—such commerce as existed between Gaul and the
rest of the world being then largely carried on by Italians, Syrians, and
other outsiders. Transoxania, on the other hand (as has been argued
forcibly by Mr. Gibb), was a commercial community first and foremost.
Her numerous and well-peopled cities could not subsist upon the local
oasis-cultivation, the extent of which was limited by a restricted water-
supply, however scientific the methods of irrigation. For such a
society, international trade was not only an optional source of surplus
profit but a necessity of existence; and each new development of the
struggle with the Arabs struck a fresh blow at this staple of Trans-
oxania’s economic life.

During the first phase of the struggle, which may be dated from
Qutayba’s opening campaign in A.D. 705 down to A.D. 719 (by which
year the greater part of his work had been undone through the
unaided efforts of the Transoxanians and Tukharistanis them-
selves), the damage to trade was evidently not intolerable. The
commercial classes in the Oxus-Jaxartes principalities were not yet
faced by an unprecedented situation, for the Arab Empire in this
quarter had simply stepped into the shoes of the Sasanian Empire,
with which the Transoxanian powers had frequently been at war.

Harith. [For the special position of the Syrian troops, Mr. Gibb refers to H. Lammens :
Études sur le Règne du Calife Omaïyade Mo‘awia I : Beyrut, 1906 (pp. 267–8).] It is
true that Syrian troops, with Egyptian reinforcements, were likewise sent to Africa
in A.D. 740 or 741, but that was for the purpose of crushing the local Berber revolt, not of
reinforcing Spain, and in any case these troops were crushingly defeated by the Berbers
in Morocco. Mr. Gibb also suggests that a concentration of effort was a further factor
in the ultimate success of the Arabs on the north-eastern front. Besides the expansion
into the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin via the Iranian Plateau, there had been an expansion
via the Persian Gulf into the lower basin of the Indus, and this had been at its height
during the period of Qutayba’s campaigns. On the other hand, from the time of
Junayd’s transfer to Khurasan, the Arabs merely maintained their positions in Sind,
and the whole of their striking force in the east was directed towards the Oxus and
Jaxartes.
During these earlier hostilities, the Government of Ctesiphon appears, on more than one occasion, to have placed embargos upon Transoxanian trade along routes that traversed the Sasanian dominions; but they had never succeeded in dealing that trade a mortal blow, and the Sughdian merchants had shown enterprise and ingenuity in opening up alternative means of communication with their Mediterranean customers. Even, moreover, if their trade with the Middle East and the Near East were temporarily cut off, they still remained the monopolists of the overland route between the Far East and India, and the volume of this branch of commerce was no doubt sufficient to secure them against anything like an economic catastrophe. This was the situation down to A.D. 719; but it was altered—and, as it turned out, very much for the worse from the point of view of Transoxanian trade—when, in A.D. 720–1, the Türgesh nomads began to take a hand in the struggle between the Transoxanian city-states and the Arab Empire. The Türgesh intervened as mandatories of the Government of Chang-Ngan and as auxiliaries of the Transoxanians in their war of liberation; and, as far as fighting the Arabs was concerned, they performed their task efficiently. For seventeen years they kept the Arab forces on the defensive, inflicted upon them several military disasters, and gradually forced them out of their fortresses beyond the River. The nominal beneficiaries discovered, however, that the remedy was worse than the disease. Officially, the Türgesh were the subjects and agents of civilized China; but the Chinese authorities exercised no supervision, and the Türgesh evidently behaved as nomads invariably do when they find themselves in military control of sedentary populations. The eastern trade-routes were cut; and, when the Türgesh actually crossed the Upper Oxus and began to push the Arabs out of Tukharistan, that must have made matters still worse from the economic point of view, for the insecurity was thereby extended to the routes between Transoxania and Hindustan. Meanwhile, the Chinese suzerains of the Türgesh had already become so incensed against their unmanageable vassals that they took the opportunity of the victory gained at last by the Arab governor Asad over the Türgesh Khaqan in Juzjan and Khurasan (A.D. 737) to destroy the Türgesh confederacy.

1 e.g. the embassy which arrived in A.D. 568 at the Court of Constantinople from the Khaqan of the nomad empire of the Turks included a Transoxanian prince, whose object was to open up a trade-route north of the Caspian, and therefore beyond the reach of interference by the Persians. It seems probable that this embassy was sent on the initiative of the Transoxanian merchants, though it was headed by a representative of their suzerain, the Turkish Khaqan.
and to disperse the horde. It is safe to conjecture that the Transoxanian commercial classes, on whom the direct losses had fallen, felt even more bitterly against the Türgesh than did the Government of the T'ang, and this explains the immediate and general success which attended the conciliatory policy initiated by Asad and his successor Nasr.

In 736 Asad appears to have come to an understanding with the Iranian notables of Tukharistan. The national capital of Balkh, ruined in the previous wars, was rebuilt, under Asad's auspices, by the Tukharistanis themselves, in order to replace Merv as the seat of the Arab provincial administration. This step was taken by Asad the year before his victory over the Türgesh, and the succeeding year (A.D. 738) was signalized by Nasr's declaration of amnesty and guarantee of rights to the peoples of the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin. The tolerance of non-Arab nationalities and non-Islamic religions, upon strict but not unbearable conditions of inferiority, was a permanent feature in the policy of the Arab Empire—a feature without which that Empire could never have achieved its astonishing triumphs. Nasr's charter, however, appears to have been exceptionally favourable; and, if this was the fact, he was only following (of course, unconsciously) the conciliatory policy of Alexander in the year 328 B.C., in which policy Alexander himself may have been anticipated, for aught we know, by Cyrus or whoever of the Achæmenids first incorporated the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin in his empire.¹ In A.D. 738 Nasr offered the Transoxianians an honourable escape from the terrible dilemma of political servitude or commercial ruin. On condition of accepting Arab sovereignty on not intolerable terms, they were given the prospect, not merely of commercial recovery, but of prosperity such as they had not perhaps enjoyed for a millennium. If once the political objections to incorporation in the Arab Empire were surmounted, there could be no doubt of its advantages from the economic point of view; for, in place of a permanent military front upon their south-eastern border, it opened to Transoxanian merchants a hinterland stretching from Khurasan to the Mediterranean and from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic. Moreover, Arab statesmanship set itself promptly to reopen the trade-routes leading along the Central Asian corridor to the Far East. "Shortly after his recapture of Samarkand" (probably in

¹ No record of this event survives, but some modern historians have conjectured that the Achæmenid kingdom of Persis and Susiana had already annexed Khurasan, Bactria, and possibly Transoxania before it overthrew the empire of the Medes.

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A.D. 739), Nasr "sent an embassy to China. This was followed up in 744 by a much more elaborate embassy, obviously intended to regulate commercial relations in the most complete manner possible, in which the Arabs were accompanied by ambassadors not only from the Sogdian cities and Tukharistan, but even from Zabulistan" [south-east of the Hindu Kush] "Shash, and the Türgesh. Two other Arab embassies are also recorded in 745 and 747." 1 The inclusion of representatives from Zabulistan suggests that steps had already been taken to reopen the overland trade-route to India.

These facts, which have been established and interpreted by Mr. Gibb, satisfactorily explain the ease and the permanence with which the Oxus-Jaxartés Basin was incorporated in the Arab Empire between A.D. 737 and A.D. 741. Do they not also suggest a reason for the failure of the Arabs, during the same period, in Gaul? The non-commercial Aquitanians and Neustrians were not confronted with the same dilemma as the Transoxanians in dealing with the Arabs. They had little or no foreign commerce to lose by war with the great neighbouring power; in defending their political independence, they were at the same time defending their fields, which were the source of their prosperity as an agricultural population; and by summoning their overlords, the Austrasians, to the rescue, they were not exposing themselves to any such economic calamities as those which the Transoxanians incurred when they called in the Türgesh.

If this line of argument is correct, the superior civilization of eighth-century Transoxania—in other words, her higher commercial development—as compared with eighth-century Gaul, was the principal reason why she succumbed to Arab imperialism and lost this her first opportunity 2 of founding a distinctive civilization of her own, whereas Gaul preserved her liberty of self-determination and so gave birth to that Western civilization in which we ourselves still live and move and have our being.

1 H. A. R. Gibb, op. cit., p. 92.

2 The writer hopes to find a later occasion for discussing the second opportunity, which occurred, in his belief, between the middle of the thirteenth Christian century and A.D. 1513.
STUDIES IN SEMITIC KINSHIP
By Brenda Z. Seligman
(Continued from p. 68.)

II. COUSIN MARRIAGE

As cousin marriage has been dealt with so exhaustively by Sir James Frazer and also by Professor Westermarck, I feel I owe some apology for bringing forward the subject again. In the first place I must say that I put together the notes for this paper before the publication of either Folk-lore in the Old Testament or the new edition of The History of Human Marriage, and that I am concerned not with the problem as to how this form of marriage has arisen, but why it has spread as it has, and indeed is still spreading.

The type of cousin marriage with which I propose to deal is that between the children of two brothers. While following Sir James Frazer in calling such cousins, ortho-cousins, I propose to limit the meaning of this word. The term ortho-cousin has been applied to all cousins who are not cross-cousins; this is permissible only from the standpoint of our own civilization. In order to understand the social organization of the lower cultures we must try to see relationships from their point of view. So when descent is reckoned in the female line the children of two sisters are ortho-cousins, but the children of two brothers are not necessarily ortho-cousins; in the same way when descent is reckoned in the male line the children of two brothers are ortho-cousins. The word thus corresponds to “brother-sister”, used in the classificatory sense and is a convenient term. It is true that some peoples use one term for brother, or sister, and all cousins; this is where the importance of relatives of both parents is recognized even if descent is limited to one side of the family only, and is almost certainly the result of simplification of terminology. Except for one doubtful case (to be considered later) the habitual marriage of ortho-cousins, the children of brothers, though of wide distribution, is dependent on the Muhammadan culture, and though this type of marriage is entirely at variance with the ideas of clan organization and exogamy prevalent in Africa, it is, nevertheless, spreading with the advance of Islam.

1 Thus, Frazer: “In the case of ortho-cousins the related parents are of the same sex, whether both male or both female; whereas in the case of cross-cousins the related parents are of opposite sexes, the one being male and the other female.” Folk-lore in the Old Testament, vol. ii, p. 98.
The problem to be considered is why should ortho-cousin marriage gain ground thus in opposition to native prejudice, and what are the underlying ideas which lend it its force? For though part of Muhammadan custom, it is no part of Muhammadan law. In order to throw light on this question we must consider how this form of marriage arose. Sir James Frazer says that "the preference for marriage with the father's brother's daughter arose at a time when the relation of children to their father was not only recognized but regarded as more important than the relation to their mother, and when consequently, property descending to the male line, men had an economic motive for marrying their daughters to their brother's sons in order to allow them to share the family inheritance. In such circumstances it would be natural that a father should ask less for the hand of his daughter from his brother's son than from a stranger or even from his sister's son, who, under the system of father-kin, would inherit none of his mother's brother's property and would not therefore have any advantage to offer as a match to his mother's brother's daughter. Thus we can perhaps understand how the substitution of father-kin for father-kin should lead in time to a corresponding substitution of marriage with an ortho-cousin, the father's brother's daughter, for the old marriage with a cross-cousin, the daughter of either of a mother's brother or of a father's sister. Among the Arabs, with whom the system of father-kin has long been established, the preference for marriage with the ortho-cousin, the father's brother's daughter, is decided and is perhaps gaining ground; but the evidence I have adduced suffices to prove that even among them this comparatively new form of marriage has not yet entirely ousted that old marriage with a cross-cousin, the daughter of a mother's brother, of which the classical instance is Jacob's marriage with Leah and Rachel."  

While agreeing with Sir James that the marriage of ortho-cousins is a less primitive custom than the marriage of cross-cousins, and therefore likely to be later, and that it can only have arisen among a patrilineal people, and recognizing the economic advantage of it, I do not consider that his explanation is adequate, nor can I see why he should suggest that with a change in the method of reckoning descent, the custom of cross-cousin marriage should change to the marriage of ortho-cousins. On the contrary, tribes practising cross-cousin marriage usually have

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1 Folk-lore in the Old Testament, vol. ii, p. 263. The view expressed here is supported by Professor Westermarck (History of Human Marriage, vol. ii, p. 68, n. 3) and is opposed to that of Robertson Smith.
the most definite ideas of incest (as Sir James Frazer has shown himself), and there is much evidence that the change from matrilineal descent to patrilineal descent among African tribes has widened the meaning of the term incest. Among some peoples, notably the Baganda,¹ it is probable that before the change from matrilineal to patrilineal descent took place cross-cousin marriage was practised, while at the present day all consanguineous marriages are rigorously prohibited. Among the Nilotes also it is clear that the change in descent has not decreased the bars to marriage and has probably increased them.² Our task is thus a double one, (a) to examine the marriage customs of the Semites, and (b) to determine what is the psychological force behind this custom which has enabled it to break down and over-ride the laws of incest of many African tribes.

If, as I suppose, the Arabs, an incoming people of a superior culture, already practising this form of marriage, looked upon it as a hereditary right, its adoption by peoples who were influenced by the Arabs, as, for example, the Beni Amer, is easier to understand than if the marriage were merely an economically useful custom.

The Beni Amer have embraced the religion of the Arabs and accepted their law, while they have retained their own language and the majority of their customs that do not directly conflict with Islam, although the amount of Arab blood in the tribe is probably insignificant. Where marriage is by purchase, as it is in most parts of Africa, a young man may have great difficulty in procuring a wife, whereas a man of established position can obtain more than one easily. The young man has two avenues open to him, he may inherit widows, or, the bride-price, paid for certain of his female relatives, may fall due to him, and with this he may purchase a wife for himself. It is only where there has been considerable outside influence that a man will work to accumulate money to buy cattle or hoes and spears for a bride-price.³

Now Islam, in theory at least, abolishes the bride-price; the mahr is a

¹ These conclusions are deduced from the relationship terms and avoidance customs given by the Rev. John Roscoe, *The Baganda*, chap. v.

² There is much evidence for change in mode of reckoning descent among the Lango of Uganda (cf. J. H. Driberg, *The Lango*), while my unpublished material dealing with Dinka, Shilluk, and Acholi support the view set forth.

³ This is noteworthy among the Shilluk who in their present state of contact with white civilization occasionally work for money. One informant presented a typical instance. He had worked for a period and bought a cast net with his savings. He returned to his village and caught fish for his father-in-law, but buying a canoe or paying his own bride-price had not occurred to him, because he depended on certain relatives to provide these necessities.
settlement on the bride and cannot be taken by her brother or any other relative in order that he may use it to purchase a bride for himself. Moreover, by Muhammedan law marriage with the father's widow is forbidden. Thus, when Africans accept Islam they have to renounce their two best chances of marrying. What can the Arab culture offer them in its stead? If it offers the hand of the ortho-cousin by hereditary right as a certainty, it would seem not to matter greatly whether a man must pay more or less for her than for another bride,¹ she cannot be taken away by someone else before he has had time to collect the mahr, which in due course he will obtain from various relatives. Further, Arab fathers accept a greater responsibility in providing a mahr for their sons than African fathers do as a rule. It would seem that such economic considerations, backed by the socio-religious prestige of Islam, have been strong enough to change the native ideas of incest, which the change from patrilineal to matrilineal descent alone fails to bring about.

In investigating the history of the Arab type of marriage we naturally turn first to Babylonia. Here among the numerous marriage contracts that have been discovered and read there is not one that refers to the marriage of relatives. The names of the parents and usually the grandparents of both contracting parties are given. Some hundred Semitic contracts have been translated and also about half the number of Sumerian contracts. Though no law prohibiting the marriage of relatives has been discovered, Professor Langdon considers that the whole literature points to the fact that such marriages were not countenanced among the Sumerians. For the Semites, in later times, he is less positive, though on the whole he considers that had consanguineous marriages been allowed, some record of such marriages would have come to light. However, fresh material is being found every day, and negative evidence can never be taken to settle a point conclusively.

Professor Langdon has himself translated emu rabu, literally

¹ One of the main economic obstacles to the acceptance of Christianity in Africa is the abolition of the bride-price, for normally this returns to the family and a bride's brother benefits by it. If a native Christian should not demand a bride-price for his daughters, his son cannot raise the necessary goods to obtain a wife. A young man cannot hope to obtain a wife without payment, so the young Christian or the pagan son of a Christian is forced to leave home and earn money working for the white man if he is ever to marry. This is probably a stronger deterrent from Christianity (at least among the younger men) than the enforcement of monogamy. It is noteworthy that among the Ashanti, where mass conversion to Christianity is taking place, the bride-price is practically nominal, and is to be regarded perhaps as a ceremonial survival.
“great father-in-law”, as uncle, but he attached no sociological meaning to his interpretation. Yet it seems extremely unlikely that people should have chosen the title for father-in-law with the epithet “great”, to mean uncle, merely from courtesy. If Professor Langdon’s rendering of emu rabu be accepted it cannot be devoid of sociological significance. The marriage of ortho-cousins may have already been customary at the time when this word came into use, in which case the explanation is evident, since the paternal uncle is the father-in-law. Nor is this an improbable supposition, for the word occurs only in the syllabaries of the period of Khammurabi, as a translation of a Sumerian word. If the translators recognized that the Sumerians made use of a relationship term which they themselves did not possess, they might have translated it according to their own ideas, disregarding the Sumerian conception of exogamy. Although no records of Babylonian endogamous marriages have been found, the culture of Ur of the Chaldees was practically Babylonian, and Abraham had no scruples about marriage within the family for his sons Isaac and Ishmael. Moreover, Nahor had married the daughter of one Haran before the patriarchal group had left Ur, but it is not quite clear from the text whether this Haran was the brother of Nahor, or another man of the same name, though the former seems more probable.

Among the patriarchs of Israel descent was established in the paternal line and endogamous marriages were not only allowed but encouraged. Esau married Malahath, the daughter of his father’s brother, Ishmael; Isaac married his paternal uncle’s son’s daughter, Rebekka; Jacob married Rachel and Leah, his paternal grandfather’s brother’s son’s daughter’s daughters, but owing to his father’s marriage to Rebekka his wives were also his cross-cousins. Sir James Frazer looks upon the marriage of Jacob as a typical cross-cousin marriage, and after following the custom all round the world, concludes that it is reasonable to suppose that this marriage was customary among the Semites in the patriarchal age. Now, if as Sir James Frazer shows, cross-cousin marriage is invariably associated with exogamy, then it is clear that the marriage of Jacob was not a typical cross-

1 “Studies in Semitic Kinship,” I.
2 Mistakes of the same kind have happened frequently, especially when writing the Gospels in hitherto unwritten language. A missionary who knows Dinka well told me that he has been horrified on discovering the native conception of words that he had used in his earlier days as translations of English words.
3 Gen. xi, 29.
cousin marriage. The Arabs to-day, though recognizing the exact relationship in a marriage of this kind, would still look upon such a cousin as the daughter of the 'amm (the father’s brother). Had the cross-cousin marriage been common among the patriarchs we should expect to find other examples. Instead of which we find several examples of marriages of near kinsfolk counting the relationship through the father, and later we see the marriage of Amram with Jochebed, his father’s sister, and the marriage of the daughters of Zelophehad with their father’s brother’s sons.1 It is noteworthy that the servant of Abraham says of Rebekka “she is my master’s brother’s daughter” (Gen. xxiv, 48). At the present day any Kabashi Arab would say the same thing in like circumstances, the importance in his mind, as in the mind of Abraham’s servant, would be the relationship through the father, the exact degree would be of no importance. Typical cross-cousin marriage (the marriage between children of brother and sister) excludes the possibility of the marriage between the children of two brothers or two sisters. On the other hand, the orthodox Arab marriage does not exclude any other type of marriage theoretically. Indeed, I was told among the Kababish that though the marriage with the bint 'amm, the ortho-cousin, was the best marriage, the next best marriage was with the bint khal, the cross-cousin. Similar statements have been made for the Arabs of Egypt, Syria, Morocco, and Mesopotamia. I was, therefore, greatly surprised to find when I had recorded a genealogy with fifty-seven marriages that marriage with the bint khal only occurred once. It seems possible therefore that genealogical records might show similar results in other Muhammadan countries.2

Although many Arabs look upon the marriage with the father’s brother’s daughter as the most desirable marriage, among some tribes this marriage is considered a right and this is so in Arabia.3 In Mecca, among the upper classes, children are betrothed in infancy. The bint 'amm (daughter of the father’s brother) is the proper first wife, but if she has disgraced herself or if she does not wish to contract the marriage the ibn 'amm (son of the father’s brother) will divorce her formally.4 In Arabia Petraea the ibn 'amm can interfere at the last moment with the marriage of his bint 'amm to another man. In order to circumvent the

1 See footnote, p. 274.
claim of the *ibn 'amm* a man will carry off a girl and place her under the protection of another tribe and then return to her father and enter into negotiations for the marriage.\(^1\) In Arabia the authority wielded by the cousin is clearly seen in an incident related by Doughty. Because it was not considered correct for a husband to ask for a runaway wife personally, Doughty was asked to do this for his host. He found the woman among "her mother’s kinsfolk" and in answer to his request "a young cousin said, 'I am her father, and Hirfa is mine, Khalil; no, we will not give her more to Zeyd.'"\(^2\) Among the Arabs of Moab,\(^3\) Jaussen says, "aussitôt qu’un Arabe se félicite de la naissance d’une cousine, il peut se flatter en meme temps de l’avoir un jour pour épouse." According to Jaussen, the "cousin" may be the daughter of a maternal or paternal uncle; he quotes several examples showing how the right had been enforced against opposition, but unfortunately does not mention whether the inopportune bridegroom was the son of the paternal or maternal uncle.

Robertson Smith states that at Taif a man could not give his daughter to another if his brother’s son asked for her, and that the latter can have her "cheaper" than another man.\(^4\) Although this statement is generally made, and it would seem to be reasonable to suppose that if a man has a right to marry a woman he would need to pay less as *mahr*, yet we found the reverse the case among the Kababish.\(^5\) Here, however, all our work was done among the Sheykh’s division of the tribe, and the large dowries paid were probably an exhibition of family pride. The Kawahla, neighbours of the Kababish in Kordofan, also declared that they paid more for a *bint 'amm* than for a strange bride, and the few cases that I recorded confirmed this surprising statement. It should, however, be remembered that according to Muhammadan law the *mahr* is no longer a bride-price, but a settlement on the wife.

Among the Kababish, the ortho-cousin marriage predominates. It was clear that no other alliance for a girl would be considered if there were an *ibn 'amm* available for her. Further, if a lad were betrothed to his *bint 'amm* who was considerably younger than himself,

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\(^2\) Doughty, op. cit., vol. i, p. 236. The girl was persuaded to return by her mother’s sister.


\(^4\) Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*, p. 163.

he could not take another wife while waiting for her to grow up. *Bint 'amm* could not be second to any other woman unless she, too, were *bint 'amm* to the husband.\(^1\)

It would be easy to quote many more examples of ortho-cousin marriage among Muslims. These examples have been chosen to show that this marriage is not merely looked upon as economically convenient, but that a man has a right to make it; and also that among some peoples the economic aspect of this form of marriage is disregarded.

It is quite clear that in Arabia, before the time of the prophet, widows were inherited by the next of kin. This is forbidden in the Koran. In the same chapter men are forbidden to marry their father’s wives, but that this is an innovation is seen by the addition “though what is passed may be allowed”. Robertson Smith writes, “both passages according to the commentaries refer to the same practice... from the mass of traditional accounts of the matter, I select... one of those preserved in Tabari’s great commentary.”\(^2\) ‘In the Jahaliya, when a man’s father or brother or son died and left a widow, the dead man’s heir, if he came at once and threw his garment over her, had the right to marry her under the dowry (*mahr*) of [i.e. already paid by] her [deceased] lord (*sahib*) or to give her in marriage and take her dowry. But if she anticipated him and went off to her own people, then the disposal of her hand belonged to herself.’ The symbolical act here spoken of is the same that we find in the book of Ruth (iii, 9), where the young widow asks her husband’s kinsman Boaz ‘to spread his skirt over his handmaid’, and so claim her as his wife.”\(^2\)

Robertson Smith produces numerous examples to show that one woman had been married by a man and his son among both the great branches of the Arabs, and it is clear from the following quotation from Shahrastani that the custom of forming such marriages had arisen out of the right of inheriting widows. “The Arabs observed some of the prohibitions of the Koran, for they did not marry mothers or daughters or aunts on either side, and the grossest thing they did was that a man took two sisters in marriage at the same time, or that the son succeeded to his father’s wife.”\(^3\) Doughty gives a modern example of succession to the widow of the deceased by the heir, but in this

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1. The Sheykh of the Kababish had two wives both *banat 'amm*, but before marrying the second he had divorced another who was not his *bint 'amm*.
case it is the brother's son, not the son, who is the heir. The Sheykh of Shammar had succeeded to his brother and was then murdered by his brother's son, who succeeded to the Sheykhship and immediately united himself to the widow whose husband he had himself murdered. Surely, such a marriage would have been impossible had not the inheritance of widows by the heir been in accordance with public opinion. The whole story is given and there is no suggestion that the Sheykh's wife was plotting against her husband. Further evidence of the rights over a woman by inheritance are seen in the marriage laws in Morocco, "according to the Māliki school of Muhammadans, to which the Moors belong, a woman cannot be married without the permission of her wali (guardian), who is in the first place her son by a former marriage, in the second her grandson (son's son), in the third her father, and, in default of these, one or other of her paternal relatives in the following order: the full brother, nephew, grandfather, uncle, cousin. If she has no such relative, her wali is the qadi." Thus, although a woman always belongs to her father's kin, not her husband's, yet when it comes to her second marriage, her wali, whose permission she must obtain, is her husband's heir. She must obtain her son or grandson's permission even if her own father is living. This can only mean that qua wife she is the property of her former husband's heir.

The clearest proof of all that the marriage with the bint 'amm was looked upon by the Arabs as an inherited right, in exactly the same way as the inheritance of widows, is brought forward by Robertson Smith. "Wahidi relates that when a widow called Kobaisha came to complain to the prophet that she had been taken to wife against her will by her deceased husband's heir, who would neither do a husband's part by her nor let her go free, 'the women of Medina came to the apostle of God saying, we are in the very same case as Kobaisha, except that we have not been taken in marriage by our step-sons but by our cousins on the father's side.'" It would seem that unmarried daughters of the deceased may have been looked upon by the heir in the same way as the widows of the deceased; certainly guardians married their wards. In Sura IV there is no prohibition against the marriage of

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1 Doughty, Arabid Deserta (1888), vol. ii, chaps. i and ii.
2 E. Westermarck, Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco (London), 1914, pp. 15-16.
3 Among Arabs generally a woman's honour concerns her own kin and only in a lesser degree her husband. A woman who had committed adultery might be slain by her father or brother, but never by her husband.
wards, but injunction to treat them fairly. However, this marriage must have been forbidden later in Muhammadan law, for it is said that "no male has any right to the custody of a female child, but one who is within the prohibited degrees of relationship to her".¹

Thus, in Arabia, before the time of the Prophet, the inheritance of widows and the marriage of heirs to their wards as well as the marriage of a woman by her father's brother's son were looked upon as rights. Although we see all three forms of marriage (i.e. the marriage of wards, widows, and cousins) in existence at the same time, the two former being straightforward examples of inheritance, it is reasonable to look upon the third form as a development of the other two.

The marriage between the children of two brothers may have come about in more than one way—unhappily there is no direct evidence of its history. If we grant that the term "father" was used in a classificatory sense,² then, theoretically, a man might equally have inherited the widow of his father's brother or the widow of his own father, and the right to the former's widow might subsequently have been transferred to her daughter.³ If this occurred with infant betrothal the ortho-cousin marriage would have been established. It is, however, unlikely that the marriage of ortho-cousins is as old as the classificatory use of ab in Semitic languages. Another possibility is that a man might have had the right to his brother's daughter and his son might have inherited this right or he might have transferred it to his son. Or assuming that the old men of the tribe were able to procure young wives, and a man regularly expected to inherit his father's wives, the sons may have been allowed access to them,⁴ and then as the feeling grew against this custom some compensation would be expected; but the fathers could not offer their daughters instead of their wives because they were sisters to their sons, and so the arrangement with their brothers was the best the old men could do for their sons. If this is the origin of this type of marriage it would account for it being the father's duty to provide the mahir. This is certainly looked upon as a duty among Muhammadans, a youth is not expected to work in order

² "Studies in Semitic Kinship", I.
³ It is needless to go into the argument, but if this had been the case a similar development in other Semitic peoples might have been expected, in this case the change of words for father-in-law ("Studies in Semitic Kinship," I) would be the reverse of what has actually taken place. For examples of transference of right, see H. Junod, The Life of a South African Tribe, vol. i, p. 233.
⁴ See below evidence for polyandry.
to earn it, and the ortho-cousin marriage is usually arranged while the children are quite young. It seems possible that the last two factors have been active in consolidating the right to the hand of the bint 'amm. Although there is no direct evidence that the marriage with the brother's daughter was ever considered a right, and the marriage is forbidden by Muhammadan law, yet the prohibition is tacitly ignored.\(^1\) Several examples of this marriage have been quoted from the Old Testament, and it is still legal among the Jews.\(^2\) At the present day the idea of marrying the father's widow is so repulsive to Muslims that I have seen an Ababda spit on the ground and turn away in disgust when he heard it was a custom among the Shilluk. There is even a word in classical Arabic, مقتسي, meaning "one who has married his father's wife", from a root meaning "to be hateful"; it is not, however, used in modern Arabic, at any rate, in Egypt.

For a man to marry a woman who had been divorced by his father is forbidden, but it may be supposed that this marriage was practised before its prohibition by the Prophet,\(^3\) and such women are frequently married by a near kinsman of their previous husband at the present day. Doughty mentions two cases.\(^4\) All this points to the strong hold the inheritance of the father's widows had on the Arabs in pre-Islamic days, but it cannot be supposed that the ortho-cousin marriage arose because Muhammad forbade the marriage with the father's widow or divorced wife, for we know that it was already customary. Yet the absolute prohibition by Muhammadan law to the inheritance of widows and the guardianship of female wards who were marriageable (hence prohibition of marriage with wards) may have made the ortho-cousin marriage more popular. Thus, men who saw two customary avenues for obtaining wives cut off from them, may have clung to the third, which was still open to them, and reinforced it as a hereditary right.

\(^1\) The Kababish, p. 137.
\(^2\) Rabbinical Law recommends the marriage of uncle and niece. The legal importance of the levirate is still recognized. A curious case occurred recently in Palestine: a man who had married his brother's daughter died, it then became clear that legally his widow ought to marry her own father which, of course, she could not do.
\(^3\) "And marry not women whom your fathers have married: for this is a shame, and hateful, and an evil way: though what is passed may be allowed." The Koran, Sura IV. It is clear that there were Believers living who had married women whom their fathers had married, but whether the latter were widows or divorcees it is not possible to say from the passage.
Robertson Smith recognized that the marriage with the *bint 'amm* arose from the inheritance of widows, but he was so concerned to show the gradual evolution by means of polyandry of the patrilineal group from one that was matrilineal and exogamous, that he only gave examples of inheritance of women to show that they were part of the *ba'\al* system of marriage, or marriage of dominion, which he considered necessarily later than the *mot 'a* or matrilocal marriage, supposing that fraternal polyandry was a necessary stage in Arab tribal development before such inheritance could take place.\(^1\) Robertson Smith apparently did not realize that the inheritance of widows can and does take place equally in matrilineal and patrilineal society, so that marriage by capture and the establishment of the *ba'\al* type of marriage were not necessary steps leading to the treatment of women as property. The difference in matrilineal and patrilineal society is the identification of next of kin; in matrilineal society a man inherits his mother's brother's widow, and if exogamy exists this form of inheritance does not interfere with it, even if, instead of taking the mother's brother's wife or widow, a man marries her daughter instead.\(^2\) Nor with patrilineal descent need this form of inheritance interfere with exogamy where it exists, if the heir is the son, the brother, or the brother's son. But where the daughter as well as the wife is looked upon as being part of the property of her father, and the next of kin may be the father's brother's son, then endogamy must take place. The desire to keep property in the family \(^3\) would tend further to break down any feeling in favour of exogamy, though it is perhaps incorrect to speak of this state of affairs as endogamy, for nowhere amongst the Semites are marriages with foreigners forbidden.

\(^1\) The main thesis of *Kinship and Marriage* may briefly be stated thus: Originally descent was reckoned in the female line, marriages were matrilocal, the husbands were merely visitors, so that a state of society existed which is compared to Nair polyandry. Later, captured women were shared by a group of brothers and there existed a state of society comparable to Tibetan polyandry. It was during this Tibetan or fraternal polyandrous stage that according to his hypothesis paternity was recognized and property and women were inherited in the male line.

\(^2\) Rivers has shown how cross-cousin marriages in Melanesia came about in this way (*History of Melanesian Society*), and there is evidence for supposing that the same mechanism, that of transference, may have been at work in Africa.

\(^3\) The daughters of Zelophehad inherited their father's property because they had no brothers, and then in order to prevent the inheritance passing from tribe to tribe they were commanded to marry whom they thought best within the tribe of their father. This appears to have been a special case, and the law that arose from it applied to heiresses only. It is stated that they actually married their father's brother's sons; this, though not accounting for the custom, shows the trend of public opinion in its favour. See the daughters of Zelophehad, Num. xxvi, 33, xxvi, 1-11, and xxxvi, 6-12.
It is necessary to digress slightly from our subject in order to consider the question of polyandry on which Robertson Smith lays so much stress. Robertson Smith shows that the word kanna was used for the wife of a son or brother, and also for own wife in Arabia, while the same word in Hebrew kallā means both a daughter-in-law and a spouse, in Aramaic a bride and apparently a sister-in-law. While Robertson Smith considers the anomalous use of these terms can be explained only by the practice of polyandry, recent work in anthropology has given us numerous examples of the term "wife" being used for potential wife, so that a woman who is called "wife" by a man may never be his real wife unless he cares to claim her, or she may be inherited by that man after the death of her first husband. There are conditions so closely paralleled in Africa that I trust I may be forgiven for going out of the Semitic area to illustrate these two points; both occur among people with patrilineal descent. Among the Shilluk a man inherits the widow of his father or his brother, but before his marriage he has a qualified right of access to these women during the lives of their husbands. Roscoe states that among the Bahima strict chastity of women is enjoined before marriage, but after marriage a man shares his wife with visitors, and even his own father when his father comes to stay with him. Fraternal polyandry is practised by men too poor to get individual wives.

While agreeing that the evidence which Robertson Smith brings forward points indisputably to the fact that the pre-Islamic Arabs did not have the same ideas of chastity for married women as were taught by the Prophet, far from supporting the hypothesis that polyandry was the general rule of marriage in Arabia, I would suggest that the same evidence points to it being either local or occasional. As we have suggested above it seems probable that those relatives who would inherit widows may also have had the right of access to them in their lifetime. Thus, the two principal arguments that Robertson Smith brings forward (a) that the heirs had a right to take a woman whom her husband had divorced, and (b) the use of one term to indicate different relatives, seem to refer to the inheritance of women as property and perhaps to rights of access rather than to polyandry.

Among the Jews the inheritance of widows by the brother was established (the levirate); the inheritance of widows by the son took

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2 Mackie Ethnological Expedition to Central Africa. Frazer, Man, June, 1920.
place in Israel but was disapproved. Such disapproval may not have been constant or may have been insufficient to stamp out the practice, for the state of public opinion is seen clearly in 2 Sam., chap. xvi, verses 21 and 22: "And Ahithophel said unto Absalom, go in unto thy father's concubines, which he hath left to keep the house; and all Israel shall hear that thou art abhorred of thy father; then shall the hands of all that are with thee be strong. So they spread Absalom a tent upon the top of the house; and Absalom went in unto his father's concubines in the sight of all Israel." These verses can only mean that the people recognized that Absalom publicly entered into his inheritance from his father during his father's lifetime, and so his followers flocked to him while the supporters of the old king gathered round him.\(^1\) Thus it may be argued that it was no uncommon thing for a man to have access to his father's wives, and though this was regarded as an abuse in later times, it could scarcely have begun as such or there would not be so many prohibitions against this practice. The meaning of the command, "a man shall not take his father's wife, nor discover his father's skirt," \(^2\) becomes perfectly clear with Robertson Smith's explanation that "to throw a garment" over a woman was the symbolic act for exercising rights of inheritance.\(^3\) The same prohibition occurs in Deut. xxvii, 20; Lev. xviii, 8, and Lev. xx, 11; Ezek. xxii, 10; Amos ii, 7; \(^4\) and in 1 Cor. v.

Among the Jews the importance of the levirate as a legal means of disposal of widows must have weighed against the illegal practice of a son succeeding to his father's wives. Also, settled life must have made it far easier for a young man to obtain a wife than it had been among the nomad Arabs. So it is not surprising to find that although the marriage with the father's brother's daughter is permitted, it has never acquired the sanction of a right and actually never became a common practice.

Although it is often stated that the ortho-cousin marriage is as common among the Copts as among the Muslim population of Egypt, genealogical records would be required to prove this before stress should be laid upon the point. The information that I have received from two educated Copts independently is that all types of cousin marriage are allowed among them, the marriage of ortho-cousin takes place,

\(^1\) Sir James Frazer interprets these verses in the same way, op. cit., vol. i, p. 541, n. 3.
\(^2\) Deut. xxii, 30.
\(^3\) Robertson Smith, op. cit., p. 105.
\(^4\) This is not a case of prohibition to marriage, but a man and his father are forbidden to approach the same maid.
but is never looked upon as a right, nor is it especially sought; on the contrary, the cross-cousin marriage is preferred. Supposing that more careful study should establish the prevalence of the ortho-cousin type of marriage among the Copts, we are faced with the following problems:—

(1) Has this form of marriage been introduced by Muslim influence? or (2) can it be shown to have existed before the advent of the Arabs?

If the latter, has it arisen independently, or has the African ortho-cousin marriage spread from Egypt?

In considering these questions, it may be stated briefly that the Egyptians were not bound by any exogamous laws before Christianity, and we know that the marriage of near kin was not repugnant to them. The early Christians respected only the Levitical and Roman bars to marriage, stricter prohibitions came in later, but it was not until the Council of Agde in 506 that affinity and consanguinity were reckoned as bars to marriage. Before this time, at the Council of Chalcedon in 451, the Coptic Church had split from the Greek Church. At this period cousin marriage was encouraged in order to segregate the Copts and separate them from the followers of the Greek Church.1 Taking all this into account, it does not seem improbable that, should the ortho-cousin marriage be found to predominate among Copts, this predominance may be due to Arab influence. Under Arab influence the Coptic women have adopted veiling; indeed, considering the limited distribution of this type of marriage, a separate origin is so unlikely as to be scarcely worthy of consideration. Had we no history of the Arabs before their conquest of Egypt, it would be possible to argue that the Arabs having adopted the custom of ortho-cousin marriage in Egypt proceeded to cause its spread in Africa. The evidence brought forward in this paper is sufficient to disprove this.

Before concluding, a few words must be said about the marriage of the children of brothers in other parts of the world. The only other instances of this marriage that I have seen recorded are among a Bantu people "of the interior" of South Africa, mentioned by Theal,2 and in Madagascar. The reference to the former is too vague to call for comment. The marriage in Madagascar is particularly interesting. The Malagasy are not Muslims, but, according to Mr. Sibree, there is

1 I am indebted to Dr. G. Subhby for this information, who says that in spite of early encouragement by the Church there is no strong feeling in favour of cousin marriage to-day.

a strong Arabic element in the language of Madagascar: "Thus days of the week and month, terms connected with divination and astrology, money and commerce, and many others are purely Arabic words."  

It must, however, be noted that although property appears to have passed in the male line, blood was reckoned in the female line, so that a Malagassy in marrying the daughter of his paternal uncle was not marrying a blood relative and such cousins are not true ortho-cousins. The marriage between the children of two sisters was strictly forbidden, but "marriage between brothers' and sisters' children is also allowable on the performance of a slight prescribed ceremony supposed to remove any impediment from consanguinity."  

Clearly, then, the marriage of the Malagassy presents differences to that of the Arabs. As it is associated with descent in the female line it cannot have the same history as that of the Arabs. It should be noted that the Malagassy also practised the levirate, a younger brother being bound to marry the widow, children of such marriage being considered heirs to the deceased. Evidently, although the relationship traced through the mother was considered of great importance with regard to incest, relationship through the father was also recognized. Thus, though the customary marriage among the Malagassy and the Arabs is the same, there are two important differences in the ideas underlying the practice. The Arabs know they are marrying relatives by blood and have no objection to the idea. The Malagassy, on the other hand, consider marriage with blood relatives to be incest, but do not regard the children of two brothers as blood relatives. Both people recognize the inheritance of property in the male line, but whereas the Malagassy recognize women's rights to property, and do not regard women themselves as property (as in the practice of the levirate the children born to the brother of the deceased belong to the deceased, not to his heir), it is clear that before the reforms introduced by Islam the Arab regarded women, both wives and wards, as property to be inherited. This has been altered by law, but it would seem that the idea is deep-seated, and my suggestion is that it is the permanence of the idea of woman as property that, with the spread of Islam, has among many African tribes broken down the prejudice against incest, and facilitated the spread of a form of marriage which would previously have been regarded as incestuous by those same tribes. I believe that the change from matrilineal to patrilineal descent and the possible economic  

advantages of this form of marriage would have been insufficient to break through so strong a feeling had not these tribes previously regarded women as inheritable property. The new form of marriage must have seemed an extension of the old rights of inheritance (now prohibited). Thus the Beni Amer and Hadendowa have since the introduction of Islam adopted the custom of marrying their ortho-cousins whom they address by the same term as their own sisters. In doing so I suggest that they were able to regard their ortho-cousins as inheritable property, and as they had never regarded their own sisters in this light, they were able to modify their views on incest without outrage to their sense of right.


p. 56, col. 3, l. 9, for dōdoh read dōdah.
p. 56, col. 5, l. 9, for 'amont read 'ant.
pp. 59 and 60, for Buchanan Grey read Buchanan Gray.
SOME NOTES ON THE MATTĀ-VILĀSA

By L. D. Barnett

THE farce styled Matta-vilāsa-prahasana, to which I have previously adverted in these columns (I, iii, p. 35 ff.), seems to have formerly enjoyed a considerable vogue in Southern India, owing perhaps as much to its genuine merits as to its royal authorship. The scene in it where the Buddhist friar recites the Sikkhāpadas is echoed in another play, the Bhagavad-ajjukīya; a reference to it has been pointed out in my paper on the Kalyāna-sāugandhika (above, III, i, p. 35); and there exists an anonymous commentary upon it (Brit. Mus. Or. 9272).

A large part of this commentary consists of chāyā, or Sanskrit renderings of the Prakrit passages. As in a fairly large number of cases these renderings point to a Prakrit text differing somewhat from that printed in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, it seems worth while to collect them here and to reconstruct the original Prakrit readings which they indicate, together with some remarks on the Sanskrit text attested by the commentator. Such a reconstruction of Prakrit must, of course, be tentative: the Sanskrit renderings of the Prakrit may be perhaps mistaken or faultily transmitted, and even when they are correct we cannot be sure, with our imperfect knowledge of the Southern school of Prakrit, whether the Prakrit as rendered by us is in accordance with the rules really followed by the original author. Nevertheless, the effort seems worth making; and with these reservations I offer the following notes. The references are to the pages of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.


p. 3, l. 3. Leg. kim dāni ayyēna nāḍaam nāḍaiddavvam. Comm. kim idānim ayyēna nāṭakaṁ nāṭayitavyam.


p. 6, l. 8. Leg. nāmahēeṇa abhidhādum. Comm. nāmadhēyēnābhidhātum.
Ib., ll. 9–10. *Comm.* yas tvayāparaḥhyati sa madodayaḥ sulabhapaḍaskhalitaḥ. The reconstruction of the text here is not quite clear to me.


p. 12, ll. 5–8. *The Comm. reads:* pañcasugandhodbhodbhitaṁ [sic!]


Ib., l. 11. *Leg.* ayi Ėampavāśi. *Comm.* ayi Ėampavāśi duṣṭakapāli

... Ėampavāśi Ėampākhyāśivakṣētrē vastuṁ śilam asya.1


1 Ėkampa (Ēkamba) is the same as Ėkāmbara-nātha, a title under which Śiva is worshipped in Conjevaram. "The great and principal temples of the town are now only three. The oldest of these is that dedicated to Śiva under the name of Yēkambara Nādar or "lord of the one Aether". It is the headquarters of the Adwaitam, or 'Nondualistic', doctrine... The object of worship in the holy of holies is a lingam... This is probably the oldest building in the town... Its origin probably dated from a very humble village shrine. There are even allusions in the Stalapurāṇa to its having sprung from a mango tree... The earlier portions were, no doubt, as tradition asserts, the works of the Chola kings," etc. (C. S. Croce, Manual of Chingleput District, pp. 111–12.) There is also a cult of Ėkāmbara-nātha at Omandur, in Musiri Taluk, Trichinopoly District, and perhaps elsewhere.
Ib., l. 17. *Comm.* abrāhmaṇyam brāhmaṇeṣv asādhu vartate.
p. 24, ll. 1–2. *Leg.* "vibhavaridīdakavājiassa. *Comm.* "vibhava-
daridrakāpālikasya.
Ib., l. 17. The *Comm.* translates dantāṇi of the text by dantāṇi, which shows that he regarded the word as neuter, though Sanskrit

¹ Or amhāaṃ. See W. Printz, *Bhāsa's Prakrit*, p. 29.
grammar demands masculine gender. Those who may challenge this view, and, in defiance of the dictum of Hemacandra lingam atantram (iv, 445), would see in dantāṇi an instance of the alleged masc. plur. accus. in -āni (cf. W. Printz, Bhāsa's Prakrit, p. 26), will do well to note and perpend the indubitable masc. plur. accus. mahālāc on p. 25, l. 15, as well as the list of masculines converted to neuters in Dr. Thomas's edition of the Bāhraspatya-artha-śāstra (Lahore edition, p. 20).


p. 25, l. 1. Leg. sūṭattanēna kahāṃ maē sāha viḷōhaṃ kaḷēśi. Comm. śūratvēna kathaṃ mayā saha virōdhaṃ karōsi.

Ib., ll. 2–3. Leg. gāmasūkaraḥgaḷaṃ āḷuhia . . . śāgaṇēna padibhaṅjia Ėḷāvaṇaṃ gahidē śaśudē timiṅgalē. Comm. grāmasūkaragaḷaṃ āruhyā . . . śvagaṇēna pratibhaṅjya 1 āṁravaṭaṃ grhītaḥ sautas timiṅgalaḥ | grāmasūkaraḥ kukkuraḥ tasya gaḷaṃ kaṇṭhaṃ gaganam utpattīṇa mayā śvagaṇēna saha Āṁravaṭaṃ pratibhaṅjya grhītaḥ sautas timiṅgalaḥ ity unmatapralāpaḥ.

Ib., ll. 4–6. The text indicated by the Comm. is obscure and perhaps corrupt. He writes: Hanumata ēṣa musalasamaviśalalambahastē dādurē mē śaktiḥ | athavā kiṃ mama trāilōkyaviditaparāakramasya śaktyā kāryam?


Ib., l. 2. Leg. mā maṃ tāḷēha. Comm. mā māṃ tāḍayatha.

Ib., l. 3. Leg. uvaharāmi. Comm. yāvad ēṇam upaharāmi pūjayāmi | asya naiśyē kapālam iti sēṣah.


Ib., l. 13. Leg. bhavaṃ. Comm. bhavān.2

p. 27, l. 5. Leg. bhavaṃ evvaṃ ēdaṃ. Comm. bhagavan ēvaṃ ēṭat.

1 Wrongly written in the MS. pratibhamijē.
2 After this the Comm. gives the words bhagavan mastakēna vaṅdāmi, pointing to a Prakrit bhavaṃ matthaēna vaṅdāmi, which is not in the printed text here.
A NOTE ON THE TEXT OF KALYANASAUGANDHIKAM

By L. D. BARNETT

MR. K. RAMA PISHAROTI, M.A., has very kindly reported to me the readings of the MSS. of the Kalyanasaugandhim in the library of the Sanskrit College at Trippoonithura, and I gratefully present the most important of them as a supplement to my provisional edition of that play in this Bulletin, Vol. IV, p. 33 ff. They are as follows:

p. 36, l. 3: omit parikramya; ib., l. 4: praviśya nati; ib., l. 6: ājnāptah; ib., l. 7: Kahaṁ only; ib., l. 9: prajñāguneṇa; ib., l. 12: kavindraḥ; ib., l. 14: sandarśayeti; ib., l. 15–16: Sudhāhappahubhūnam puvvakavinam muttud...ahinivēsō; ib., l. 27–8: omit Brāhmaṇi ēhy ēhi. p. 37, l. 4: uditah; ib., l. 5: munijanaḥ; ib., l. 7: āmukhaḥ for sthāpanā; ib., l. 12: sphantadubalam (read spanduḍad’); ib., l. 14: naddhē for mugdhē; ib., l. 16: adhādhdida maggō...ēsā vēdanā; ib., l. 18: mahān prayāśah; ib., l. 24: -vilasat- for -vimala-; ib., l. 26: Kahaṁ puṇa...anukampanidvaththam; ib., l. 32: parikramyōrdheam avalōkya. p. 38, l. 3: anupadam api garvam; ib., l. 5: vyatītakālaprāyaścittam; ib., l. 6: samāpayisyāvaḥ; ib., l. 15: Gandhāmādanamahāsāāilendram; ib., l. 16: omit avalōkya; ib., l. 22: add (avalōkya) before Ahō; ib., l. 27: omit Parikramya; ib., l. 28: atiramanīya2; ib., l. 30: gītām; ib., l. 33: add (smṛtvā) before Kim. p.39,l.1: read (parikramya sparśam rūpayan). Ayē sannihitēna; ib., l. 2: omit Tathā hi; ib., l. 7: before Īdāṁ add Taṁ asya mārgam anusarāmi (parikramyāvalōkya saharṣam). Saphalō me pariṣṭamah; ib., l. 12: bhramarakamayāir; ib., l. 14: madhurasuyatūṁ; ib., l. 15: upaharāmi (puspāpacayam kṛtvā sagarvaṁ). Bhōḥ; ib., l. 19: -jivalōkajivagrahaṇa-; ib., l. 21: -sāugandhiḥkāharanaśajitā; ib., l. 23: Api ca for Iha hi; ib., l. 27: karōmi; ib., l. 28: Bhō rākṣasa...pralapasyas (sic!); ib., l. 29: hālīy anayam; ib., l. 30:

1 Or tumhānaṁ: cf. above, note on p. 18, ll. 8-9.
read punar abhinukham, omit Re re, and for rakṣasopasaṇa read Bhavatu manuṣapasaṇa; ib., l. 36: Manyē mayā hatō myta-. p. 40, l. 1: Aha ... rakṣasān hanisyanti; ib., l. 3: Bhū rakṣasa; ib., l. 10: navāmbu; ib., l. 13: omit re re; ib., l. 25: 'smi, idāniṃ pratiniyṛtaḥ. (Tataḥ ...); ib., l. 28: nō; ib., l. 29: gatāgatam; ib., l. 32: omit (sasambhramām); ib., l. 33: duveśidēna vaśī paripīdiamānmanāṇā vaṇḍavārīṇā (sic !). p. 41, l. 1: omit ēṣa; after (graṇham nātayitvā) add Priyē; ib., l. 9: Ayam anukūlaḥ; ib., l. 13: edam ...-parināham; ib., l. 15: Idam atidūratvād; ib., l. 18: kulaparvatāḥ; ib., l. 19: omit stage-direction; ib., l. 20: Ammō savvām mahaṃtaṃ savvuttam (vilōkya); ib., l. 29: (pranama). Namō. p. 42, l. 4: amhē for iha vi; ib., l. 5: sāhu disai; ib., l. 7: amatāmbu ... ghā; ib., l. 12: -tthahanādapabhirō ... maṃśu pūrāī; ib., l. 17: gajendrāḥ; ib., l. 18: pāmādō bō; ib., l. 19: omit Sakhi; ib., l. 20: maṇi- for -sphātika-; ib., l. 21: anayōr; ib., l. 26: āṭam; ib., l. 29: avaśam ayē. p. 43, l. 1: vibhinna-; ib., l. 4: Na hi kiṇcid iha; ib., l. 11: -bhūmē for vahneś; ib., l. 15: mānuṣapāsō ... naḥ; ib., l. 19: arunapiśaṅgāiḥ; ib., l. 24: Tab ayam; ib., l. 25: -pratiṣṭa- (sic !); ib., l. 29: idam for abhidhānam; ib., l. 31: Ham for Hanta; ib., l. 35: dagdhā yena purā divākarakāriṣv aparṣṭa-. p. 44, l. 5: vadiśyatī rājā nah; ib., l. 9: apanēśyāmi ... purusādhama; ib., l. 13: yāśyāmāḥ; ib., l. 22: saṁyantā; ib., l. 23: Ahō bata mayāpi sapinīśūtalena; ib., l. 36: before Vidyādharaḥ add (tataḥ praśisati vidyādharaḥ, evayōr antaram praviśya nivārayan), and omit following stage-direction; the words Hanuman ... upasūhitam should be printed as a verse. p. 45, l. 3: omit stage-direction; ib., l. 7: omit idam; ib., l. 9: sapraśrayā; ib., l. 15: omit first āśeva; ib., l. 18: sahaçari; ib., ll. 21, 23, 31: Ubbhau for Bhīmaḥ; ib., l. 26: prēṣitaḥ; ib., l. 31: omit Bhēk; ib., l. 33: Adya for Aham; ib., l. 34: anayōr. p. 46, l. 2: add Hā bhaktajanavatsala kim na jānīṣe? ; ib., l. 11: varam iva; ib., l. 16: mayādaḥ; ib., l. 18: sa for tam; ib., l. 20: Dhīrō khalu bhavān nātyartham; ib., l. 22: Idāniṃ prakṛtiśtho, omitting Kumāra; ib., l. 25: cētaḥ for manah; ib., l. 29: -vīkāraruṣītā. p. 48, l. 10: omit Ārya; add Kutaḥ after anugrahaḥ; ib., l. 11: iva mé; ib., l. 15: omit Nana; read śrōtaeyam kila; ib., l. 22: after rōcate read Gacchatu bhavān punardarśanāya. Vidyādharaḥ, Bādham (niśkrāntah); ib., l. 25: Ubbhau parikramya; ib., l. 26: -niḥkāvatī (sic !); ib., ll. 28-30: omit Hanumān’s speech; ib., l. 31: omit Pariśvajati; read āśramasthā praviśati; ib., l. 32: at end of line add (Ubbhāv upāstya); b., l. 33: BHĪMAH for UBBHĀV. p. 49, l. 6: instead of line as printed
read \textit{DRÅUPADĪ}, \textit{Auggahidamhi}. \textit{HANUMĀN}. Kumāra āśva, etc.; ib., ll. 8–9: \textit{maē ēdajjāham} \textsuperscript{1} teṭṭōka; ib., l. 10: \textit{ata ēvāinam atisāhasē}; ib., l. 11: \textit{anō mē mañōrahō}; ib., ll. 13–14: \textit{Savaṃ suṇādu ayyō}. \textit{Nivuttasamaṇām} mama ṣāhānaṃ devāsurasamgāmasamvī samarāgamaḥ bhaviṣsid; ib., ll. 16–17: \textit{Tassim abadhdhadikkhō tassa gandhappamōdabahuṇāṇandaṇandaguna} (sic !) ayyō vivādam karissiditti, sōadhdiavāena maē evaṃ kidāṃ; ib., ll. 18–19: \textit{Vididaṃ evva, ayyadassanaṣuhaṃ uvaḍḍiantiē maē saṃvō Nāradamunēnāpi} (sic !) vibuhabhabhagāgē Ḍjjunē paṣīdō; ib., l. 22: \textit{kīṃ aparāṃ jahā rakkhhasavaccanādō Jānakī tahā ripuvaṭccanādō ahaṃ pi rakkhidavā; ib., l. 23: \textit{Idam for Kim}; omit Vada. p. 50, ll. 1–2: \textit{Ēsō mē pavao, bhāṭṭunō Ajjunassa ranabhūmiē vattamāṇassa dhujāṣe saṃnihidēṇa ayyaṇa uggappanādēṇa sakkhōḥidavē sattusahō} (read -saṃghō); ib., l. 3: \textit{Bhavatu, evvaṃ tāceat karisyē}. Pāṭya; ib., l. 5: kartāsīmī tān ūrjakhanapakāṣāḥ; ib., l. 6: \textit{tattētu}; ib., ll. 9–10: priyēnōktam svikṛta-; ib., l. 11: abhyāṣagā; ib., l. 12: -hiṭāṣ . . . prāpsyasi; ib., l. 13: \textit{Auggahidamhi}; ib., l. 17: \textit{pi kṛtyagasi}; ib., l. 18: \textit{tāt for eka}; ib., l. 25: \textit{nṛpaḥ savijayō 'yam}, and as alternative \textit{nṛpō 'py anugatāyur}.

The MSS. regularly in Prakrit passages denote a double consonant by writing it singly, preceded by the sign of repetition (a small circle with a stroke below it); hence they occasionally confuse a double consonant with an \textit{anusvāra} and consonant (e.g. p. 41, l. 20: \textit{mahāntaṃ}; p. 49, l. 8: \textit{ēdajjāham}; l. 17, sōadhdiha-; p. 50, l. 2: \textit{sahkhōḥidavē, sahho}).

These readings in general agree with the longer recension which I have denoted by \textit{B}. Some of them supply obviously necessary emendations of the text. A few are due to errors; and a large number are simply variants, due to arbitrary alteration of the working.

Pandit Venkatarama Sarma has favoured me with some corrections and suggestions, among them being the very probable emendation \textit{rājyasukhaṃ} on p. 46, l. 28.

\textsuperscript{1} Perhaps to be corrected to \textit{ēdāṃ jānīdam}. 
GLOSSARY OF HINDI PHONETIC TERMS

By T. Grahame Bailey, M.A., B.D., D.Litt.

THIS is an attempt, made so far as I know for the first time, to give a Hindi translation of all the more ordinary phonetic terms in use at present. Doubtless the list could have been enlarged by the inclusion of rarer words, but such a course might have lessened its utility. The phonetic words or phrases have been taken for the most part from a work by Professor Jones. They number about 180. A few of the Hindi equivalents will be recognized as common in works on grammar. They do not, however, carry one far. For the rest I have had to put down the words which seemed to me best to express the required idea. Pioneer work of this description is always capable of improvement. It should be undertaken not by an individual but by a learned committee.

The attention of students is drawn to a few points:

1. These phonetic terms are intended to apply to any and every language. They do not specially refer to Hindi or Sanskrit. It follows that a term which suits Hindi may have to be discarded because it does not suit English or French or other languages, e.g. aṣar for “syllable”.

2. Old words used by Hindi grammarians must be used with a changed connotation and denotation. Thus, it is natural to use svar for vowel, but modern phonetic science will not admit that ṭ, ṭ, ḫ, ḫ are vowels. Again, ghoṣ seems to be the best word for “sonant”, and it must therefore apply to sonant vowels, but it may be questioned whether any Hindi grammarian ever contemplated this extension of its meaning.

3. Spelling: I have aimed at spelling words as they are ordinarily pronounced in conversation by men of moderate education. There are one or two harmless deviations from this; ś and s have the same sound to-day in Hindi. Some may criticize the employment of ṃ, but in my own pronunciation I always distinguish between n and ṃ, and some Indians do so. Sanskrit scholars will object to my venturing to alter hoary Sanskrit spellings, but before they hold up their Sanskrit hands in horror or lose any Prakritic hair I would beg them to consider that there is no more reason for giving Hindi words an ancient
dress than there is for using in English such forms as knihte, briddles, constantia, societas, discipula, telegramma, geologia, and others. In English we never dream of spelling tatsams or semi-tatsams after their Saxon, Latin, or Greek originals; we feel that we have as much right to alter them to suit our modern requirements as we have to alter any tadbhav. Hindi has the same right.

(4) Sanskrit words: I have not wholly avoided Sanskrit words. Some are rooted in grammatical terminology, and are understood by those who are likely to study phonetics. In protesting against every attempt to make Hindi a handmaiden to Sanskrit we must conserve the power it has of taking words from Sanskrit or any other language and assimilating them for its own purposes. Three Indian scholars who wrote in Hindi a large three-volume History of Hindi Literature, have some splendid pages on this subject. I give a translation of one or two sentences:

"Hindi is the simple language of the people. (If it is rendered difficult by the adoption of Sanskrit forms) the only possible result will be that Hindi, like Sanskrit, will be numbered among dead languages. It is our sacred duty to save it from such a fate." After giving examples of words which may correctly be spelt in several ways, they proceed: "Proud Sanskrit scholars may turn up their noses and raise their eyebrows at these forms, but Hindi fearlessly uses them all and will continue to do so. The truth is that the correct forms of words are those which people of ordinary education use in speech. If anyone writes other forms, we certainly admit them as a concession, but we have no hesitation in calling them improper. We hold that there is no harm in using new forms, and as regards sandhi we assert that Hindi is at perfect liberty to disregard it or conform to it at will." These are brave words, and they are wise words. Let it not be forgotten that Sanskrit is dead, Hindi lives.

**Vocabulary of Hindi Phonetic Terms**

accent, see "stress"; tonic accent, ūchāi batānevālā bal,  
uchātā sūchak bal, m.; quantitative accent, parimāṇa svuṭhak bal, māṭrā bal.

affricate (consonant), spars-  
saṅgharṣaī (vyanjan).

alphabet, varṇmālā, f.  
alveolar, masūre kā.

artificial palate, see "palate".

aspirate, aspirated, aspiration,  
mahāprān, m., h-kār kī dhvāni (vālā).

back, pīchhe, pīchhe kā.

back of tongue, jībh ka pīchhālā  
bhāg, m.
back vowel, pîchhe kā svar, m., pîchhlā svar.
bilabial, donō hōthō kā, devyośthya.
blade of tongue, jîbh kā phal.
breath, sās, f., svās, m.
breathe, sās lena; breathe out, sās chornā.
breathed sounds (so-called), see “voiceless”.
broad transcription, sādhāran lipi (f.) or lekhan (m.).
cacuminal, see “retroflex”.
cardinal (vowel), mukhya svar, m.;
pradhān svar.
change, n., vikār, m.; v. badalnā.
class (of letters, sounds, etc.),
varg, m.
clear l, sāf l-kār, m.
close vowel, sakrā svar.
compound, adj., sayukt.
consonant, vyāñjan, m.; see “affricate”, “plosive”.
consonantal vowel, vyāñjan svar, m.
dark l, moṭā l-kār.
dental, dāntya, dāntō kā; see “labio-dental”, “post-dental”, “pre-dental”.
devocalization, aghoś kannā or honā.
dialecēt, upabhāṣā, f., bōli, f.
diphthong, do jure hue svar,
deisvar, m., yaugik svar, m.
divide, bāntnā, vibhakt kannā.
division, bhāg, m., vibhāg, m.
drum of ear, kān kā patah, m.
ear, kān, m.; see “drum”.
epiglottis, āvarn ka ḍhaknā, m.
experimental (phonetics), kal vālā,
yantrvālā, yantrik.
exlosion, bhak, f.
food-passage, ann kī nali, f.
form, ākār, m.
forward, āge, āge kā.
fricative, ragarnevālā, saṅgharṣī.
friction, ragar, f., saṅgharṣ, m.
front of tongue, jîbh kā aglā bhāg.
front vowel, āge kā svar, aglā svar.
glide, saṅkrāmak, m.; see “off-glide”, “on-glide”.
glottal, glautīs kā; glottal stop, hamzā, m.
glotīs, glautīs, f.
gum, masūrā, m.
guttural, gale kā, kanṭh kā, kanṭhya; back guttural, jiṁū mūliya (vyāñjan, m.);
gutturo-labial, kanṭh aur hōthō kā, kanṭhausthya, gutturo-palatal, kanṭh aur tālu kā, kanṭh-tālāvya.
half-close (vowel), adh sakrā, adh saṅkuchāt.
half-open, adh kholā.
high vowel, iṭchā svar, uṭch svar;
this may mean “high voice”; when there is danger of mis-
understanding, we may say iṭchā sthān kā svar.
intonation, sur, m.
inwards, bhūtar.
inverted sounds, see “retroflex”.
labial, hōthō kā, oṣṭhāya.
labio-dental, dāntō aur hōthō kā, dantausthāya; see “bilabial”, “guttural”.
language, bōli, f., bhāṣā, f.
larynx, svās yantr, m.; sās kā yantr.
lateral, ek or ka, or ka.
lax (vowel), ḍhīlā (svar).
length, lambāi, f.
letter, aćchhar, m., akṣar, m.,
varn, m.
lip, hōth, m.; lip-rounding hōthō
ko gol karnā, hōthō ki golāi,
hōthō kā barhānā.
long, lambā, dirgh.
low (vowel), nīchā (svar).
lung, phephrā, m.
membrane, jhīllī, f.
mid (vowel), bic kā, madhya
(svar).
mixed (vowel), misrit (svar).
monophthong, ek svar, m., mūl
svar, sūdī svar, maulik svar;
see “pure”.
mouth, mūh, m.
mouth cavity, mūh kā khol,
mukh-vivar, m.
narrow transcription, byaurevār
lekhān (m.) or līpi (f.).
nasal, sānunāsik, anunāsik.
nasal cavity, nāk kā khol, nāsā
vivar, m., nāsikā vivar, m.
nasalization, sānunāsikta, f.
natural, prākritik, svābhāvik.
nature, prakriti, f., svaabhāo, m.
neutral (vowel, etc.), udāsin.
nose, nāk, f.; see “nasal”, etc.
off-glīde saṅkrāmak kā dūsrā
bhāg, paśchāt saṅkrāmak, m.
on-glīde, saṅkrāmak kā pahlā
bhāg, pūre saṅkrāmak, m.
on (vowel), khulā (svar).
organs of speech, bhāṣaṅ ke ang
or avyay.
outwards, bāhār.
palatal, tālu kā, tālavya; see
“guttural”.
palate, tālu, m.; artificial do.,
banāvaṅī tālu, kṛitrim tālu;
hard do., kathin tālu; soft
do., komal tālu.
phoneme, dhvani śrenī, f.; no
accurate word, “fonim”, m.,
may have to be used.
phonetic, dhvanyātmak, dhvanisāstri,
dhvanitātveik.
phonetic sign, dhvanyātmak sāṅket.
phonetic theory, dhvaniśāstri or
dhvanitātveik siddhānt, m.
phonetic transcription, dhvan-
yātmak lekhan (m.) or līpi (f.).
phonetics, dhvaniśāstr, m., dhvani-
tattva, m.
pitch, sur, m., uchāi, f., uchāi
nichāi, f., uchhāi, f.
place (of utterance), sthān, m.,
bhāṣaṅ sthān, m.
plosive consonant, sparś vyaṅjan.
post-dental, paśchāt dantya,
pichhle dāntō kā.
pre-dental, pūre dantya, agle dāntō
cā.
prefix, upasarg, m.
pronunciation, uchchārān, m.
pure (vowel), sūdī (svar, m.),
mūl (svar), maulik (svar); see
“monophthong”.
quadrilateral (of vowels), (svarō
cā) caturbhuj, m.
quantity, see “length”.
resonance chamber, nād vivar, m.;
see “sonority”.
retroflex, mūrdhanya; inverted
vowel, mūrdhanya svar, m.
rolled, see “trilled”.
rounded (vowel), gol or barhā huā
(svar).
rounding, golāi, gol karnā; inner
do., pichhe ki golai; outer do., aye ki golai.
semi-vowel, adh svar, m., antasth.
sentence, vakya, m.
short, chhot, hrsv.
shortening, chhot, karn, hrsv karn.
sibilant, usam, usm.
sign, sauket, m.
significant, jis se arth me bhed ho, arth-suchak; non-significant, jis se arth me bhed nahi, arth-suchak nahi.
sonority, suna, f.
sound, dhvani, f.
speech, bhasha, f., bhasha, m.; speech-sound, bhasha dhvani, f.; speech-mechanism, bhashan yantr, m., vak-yantr; speech-basis, kisi ki apni prantiya sthanik boli.
spreading of lips, muh caur karn, muh phailana.
standard pronunciation, pramani uchcharaan, m.
stop, thahrdo, m.; stop-consonant, see "plosive".
stress, bal, m.; sentence stress, vakya bal; one must trust to the context to distinguish this meaning from the other possible one, "power of speech"; syllabic stress, sabd ke kisi bhag par bal; word stress, sabd bal; to stress, bal dena (ko) bali karn (ko).
stressed, bali.
subsidiary cardinal vowel, dusri shreni ka mukhya (or pradhana) svar.
suffix, pratay, m.
surd, see "voiceless".
syllabic, sabd ke kisi bhag ka; see "syllable".
syllable, no word, use bhag, m., sabd ka bhag; akshar, letter, will not meet the case of words taken from English, French, and other non-Sanskritic languages.
teeth-ridge, masura, m.
tense, tang.
throat, gal, m.
tip of tongue, jibh ki nok, f., jihvagra, m.
tongue, jibh, f.; base or root of tongue, jibh ki jar, jihva mul, m.; see "back", "blade", "front", "tip".
tongue-tip trill, jibh ki nok ka kampan, jihvagra kampan.
tooth, dant, m.; see "teeth-ridge".
triangle (of vowels), (svaro ka) tribhuj, m.
trill, n., kampan, m.; v. i., kampa; v. t., kampana; see "uvulartrill", "tongue-tiptrill".
trilled consonant, kampan vaanjan, m.
triphong, trisvar, m.; tin jure hue svar.
aspirated, alppraan; jis me h-kar nahi.
unrounded, anbarch, gol nahi.
 unstressed, nirbal, balhin, durbal; see "weak".
unvoiced, see "voiceless".
uvula, ghaanti, f.
uvular, ghaanti ka, ghaantiavela.
uvular consonant, ghaṇṭikā vyāñjan.

uvular trill, ghaṇṭikā kā kampan.

variety of pronunciation, uchchārāṇ kī bhinntā.

velar, gale kā, kaṇṭh kā, kaṇṭhya.

vibrate, kämpnā; v. t., kämpānā.

vibration, kampan, m.

cordial cords (chords), svar rajju, m.

dye, nād, m.; voice-indicator, nād sūchak.

voiced, ghos, nād; voiced plosive, ghōs or nād sparś-vyañjan;

voiced sound, ghos dhvani, f.

voiceless, aghos.

vowel, svar, m.; see "back", "cardinal", "close", "con-sonantal", "diphthong", "front", "half-close", "half-open", "high", "low", "mid", "mixed", "monophthong", "rounded", "semi-vowel", "unrounded", "subsidiary".

weak, durbal; and as for "unstressed"; weak form of small words, choṭe šabdō kā durbal uchchārāṇ.

whisper, v., phusphusāṇā, phus-phusāke bolnā; n., phus-phusāhat, f.

windpipe, sās ki nāli, f.; svās nāli, f.

word, šabd, m.
NOTES ON THE SANSKRIT DRAMA
By Professor A. Berriedale Keith

1. Bhāsa

The fate of Bhāsa has been an unhappy one; long but little more than a name, his dramas have now been rescued from oblivion only to become the object of an energetic attack, which assures us that they are compilations and adaptations made for the stage of Kerala not earlier than the eighth century A.D., derived to some unknown extent from the works of Bhāsa, which, however, are now lost.

The evidence adduced by Messrs. Pisharoti seems inadequate to support these conclusions. The Pratimānāṭaka must come after Kālidāsa, because the genealogy of Rāma is not that of Vālmīki, but accords with that followed by Kālidāsa. This clearly is of no weight, since we cannot imagine for a moment that Kālidāsa invented the genealogy, which in point of fact is Purānic. The Cārudatta is asserted to be an adaptation of the first four acts of the Mṛcchakaṭīkā; it has, in point of fact, been proved in conclusive detail by Dr. G. Morgenstierne, that the Mṛcchakaṭīkā is a working over of the Cārudatta, and no candid consideration of the two plays can evade this result. The Avimāraka is held to be modelled on the stories of the Daśakumāracarita, in apparent oblivion of the fact that the Kathā is far older than Daṇḍin. Thus positive evidence of the late date of the dramas is wholly lacking. A more formidable argument is adduced by Dr. Barnett, who suggests that the Nyāyačāstra of Medhātithi, alluded to in the Pratimānāṭaka, is none other than the Manubhāṣya of Medhātithi, which may be placed in the tenth century A.D. But there is the greatest difficulty in regarding this as probable. If the passage in the Pratimā is considered, it will be seen that the enumeration gives the Mānavīya Dharmačāstra, the Māheṇvara Yogačāstra, the Bārhaspatya Arthačāstra, Medhātithi’s Nyāyačāstra, and the Prācetasa Çraddhākalpa. It is obviously most remarkable that, if the Manubhāṣya were meant, it should be separated from the Dharmačāstra itself, and, in the second place, it is clear that a different kind of Častra is desired, and is actually given. The effort, therefore,

2 Über das Verhältnis zwischen Cārudatta und Mṛcchakaṭīkā.
to assign the Pratimā to the tenth century A.D. or later appears wholly to fail.

Nor can it be said that the antiquity of the Sanskrit and Prākrit is only an ingenious myth. Nothing has yet been adduced by any critic from the Sanskrit to render it probable that the author knew Kālidāsa, while every probability points the other way. The Prākrit is certainly antique; it occupies a position intermediate between that of our textual remains of Āśvaghōṣa and that of Kālidāsa in our normal editions. The fact cannot be explained, as by Messrs. Pisharoti, on the score that the Prākrit of the dramas is based on the ancient Prākrit grammarians, for the simple reason that Bhāsa’s Prākrit does not conform to the rules of any ancient Prākrit grammarian known to us. If Bhāsa’s dramas are more recent than those of Kālidāsa, why do they contain no Māhārāṣṭri, the Prākrit par excellence of Vararuci? There is a very simple explanation of the archaisms found in the Malayālam MSS. of Kālidāsa’s plays and later works. There is clear evidence of Bhāsa’s popularity with the actors of Kerala, and we need only suppose that they modified the Prākrit of the later plays in some measure to accord with the Prākrit of Bhāsa. It must be remembered that they by no means, so far as our MSS. show, carried the process to the extent of bringing the Prākrit of Kālidāsa and later works into precise harmony with Bhāsa. In the case of later southern authors imitation of Bhāsa was obviously natural, as in the works of Kulaçekharavaranman. That author’s date Messrs. Pisharoti most regrettably transfer to the sixth century A.D., apparently ignoring the express testimony of the author of the Vyaṅgyavyākhyā, who declares himself a contemporary of the author, and refers to the Daśarūpa of Dhananijaya, which proves that Kulaçekharavaranman’s date is later than A.D. 1000.¹

Nor is it possible to agree that the varying merit of the Bhāsa dramas is an argument against their ascription to that author. At most it might be used, if admitted, to prove that some of the plays were not by him, or were altered later, leaving unaffected his claim to the best of the dramas. But, in point of fact, the assertions of inferiority are in part not in accordance with the views of other critics, and in part they are subject to the criticism that authors of plays are often unequal. There was a time when the Mālavikāgnimitra was strenuously asserted not to be Kālidāsa’s, and the same fate will

¹ See T. Gaṅapati Śāstrī, Tapatsāhavaraṇa (1911), pp. 2, 4.
probably attend the effort to deny Bhāsa the authorship of the plays in dispute.

The importance of the argument from technique is misunderstood by Messrs. Pisharoti. Bhāsa’s dramas not merely commence with the entry of the Sūtradhāra after a Nāndi, not treated as part of the play, has been pronounced, but they omit the name of the author and the work, and this latter peculiarity is not followed in the other dramas played in Kerala. The obvious explanation of this peculiarity is that, probably in accordance with the Nātyaçāstra, in Bhāsa’s day the information was given in the Prarocana part of the preliminaries, which, including the Nāndi, are not preserved as not being any real part of the drama.¹ Later the name of the author and the play naturally enough became incorporated in the prologue to the play itself. This is a far more plausible view than the suggestion that the plays were anonymous because they were compilations and adaptations. Moreover, this fact entirely differentiates them from the Āccaryacudāmanī of Čaktibhadra, and places that play in its proper light, as a production of later date than Bhāsa, which was, as was only natural, strongly influenced by the greater writer. The date of Čaktibhadra, it may be added, stands very badly in need of more precise determination. To place him in the eighth century on the score that he is said to have been an immediate disciple of Čaṅkarācārya is a remarkable exercise of faith in tradition, while, in any case, the date must be put a century later, since Čaṅkara’s activity should be placed not before A.D. 800.

It seems clear, therefore, that, if the claim of Bhāsa to the dramas is to be disputed, some fresh arguments must be adduced, and these arguments must not involve greater improbabilities than the ascription to Bhāsa. In view of the efforts which have been made to discover in Bhāsa traces of later date than Kālidāsa, and of the complete failure so far to discover one which will bear scrutiny, the case for accepting Bhāsa’s authorship appears enormously strengthened.

2. The Date of the Mudrārākṣasa

An interesting effort has been made by Professor J. Charpentier² to determine the date of Viṣākhadatta’s attractive play as contemporary with Skandagupta, who is taken to be the Candragupta referred to in the closing verse. The suggestion is tempting, but the

¹ Cf. S. Konow, Das indische Drama, p. 25.
² JRAS. 1923, pp. 585 ff.
evidence must be regarded as inconclusive. The first argument adduced is that of Professor Konow,¹ who insists that Pātaliputra must have been in existence as a flourishing state when the author wrote, while by the time of Hiuan Tsang (A.D. 629–45) it was in ruins. This contention, however, appears to lack any solid foundation. There is nothing in the play which in any degree necessitates the contemporary existence of a flourishing city; the references to the town are of the type which could easily be produced by any one familiar with Pātaliputra’s greatness in the past. The second contention is based on the mention of Persians and Huns as among the allies of Malayaketu against Candragupta; the Huns cannot, it is argued, have been known to India as a real danger until after the overthrow of Firūz (A.D. 484), and the joint mention of Persians and Huns must refer to a time when the nomads had overwhelmed Persia and were menacing India. But the cogency of this suggestion disappears when we remember that the Greek princes of Gândhāra, the Çakas, the Kāmbojas, and the Bāhlikas, are also enumerated in Malayaketu’s host; the obvious explanation is that the author cheerfully crowded into that army all the distant north-western peoples he could think of.

Literary evidence, unfortunately, takes us no further. It is, however, impossible to accept the suggestion that the motif of the proposed execution of Candanadāsa at the close of the Mudrārāksasa is not borrowed from the last act of the Mycchakaṭikā. The mode in which the scenes are led up to differs undoubtlessly in the two plays, but that in no degree tells against imitation. What is significant is that not only does Viśākhadhātta follow his model in bringing in the young son of the condemned man as present at the place of execution, but he introduces at this point his only female figure, the wife of Candanadāsa, whose character is clearly based on that of Cārudatta’s noble and faithful wife.

Unfortunately we have no really satisfactory evidence of the date of the Mycchakaṭikā, except that it was known to Vāmana in the last quarter of the eighth century A.D. There is undoubtedly something to be said for the theory ² endorsed by Professor Charpentier ³ that it was unknown to Bāna in the seventh century A.D. But the evidence is far from conclusive; if, as is possible, the statements as to Çūdraka were added after Bāna’s time, the argument loses all its validity; if,

¹ Das indische Drama, p. 71.
³ JRAS. 1923, p. 600.
on the other hand, the play existed with this added matter in Bāṇa’s time, we really cannot derive any certainty from his silence; Bāṇa nowhere undertakes to give us an exhaustive account of his knowledge of literature, and, if he mentioned Bhāsa, he might well ignore what is, after all, an expansion of Bhāsa’s work. That Čūḍraka, the alleged author, was a real person, who wrote the drama, seems most implausible; to accept as throwing any light on him the late gloss on Vāmana’s Kāvyālāmākārvṛtti, which describes him as rājā komatiḥ, is too speculative to be of assistance, and the obvious conclusion is that the rewriter and reviser of the Cārudatta preferred to remain nameless, and to ascribe his work to the legendary Čūḍraka. This step would be the more natural if, as is possible, the original Cārudatta included the political intrigue which appears in the Mrochakaṭikā; on this topic, however, we have no information, for the attempt to find in the prologue an assertion that Čūḍraka was responsible for Acts VI–X only clearly does violence to the vague language of the text.

The uncertainty of the date of the Mrochakaṭikā, therefore, leaves that of the Mudrārākasas in great doubt, but there is ground to hold the drama later than Kālidāsa, in view of the similarity of v. 23 of Act V to Raghuvanṣa, vii, 43, and it is at least likely that the last verse shows trace of the influence of Māgha (Ciṣupālavadhā, i, 47), though Professor Charpentier would invert the relationship. If Māgha is used, the drama cannot date before a.d. 700. Professor Jacobi,¹ of course, has put it later, arguing from the eclipse alluded to in the prologue and the variant Avantivarman at the close, that the work was produced on 2nd December, 860, a view supported by a possible use of Ratnākara. There are, however, difficulties in the way of accepting this view; the use of Ratnākara is by no means certain,² and the variant Avantivarman, which is only one of several, can be easily explained as substituted by actors for the true Candragupta, which refers to the patron of Čaṇakya. It was a simple and natural idea for the players to compliment their own patron by using his name to close the drama. The play, it must be owned, does not give the impression of so late a date, but, on the other hand, it equally does not convey any suggestion that it was produced at an early stage in the history of the drama, and there seems no reason to regard the eighth century as too late.

¹ Voj. ii, 213 ff.
² See K. H. Dhruva, Voj. v, 25 f.
THE SINDHĪ RECURSIVES OR VOICED STOPS
PRECEDED BY GLOTTAL CLOSURE

By Professor R. L. Turner

Of the Primitive Indian stops it is true to say, as Dr. J. Bloch¹ says of their descendants in Marāṭhī, that in most of the modern Indo-Aryan languages they have in principle remained unchanged. This is certainly true of initial stops; and although single intervocalic stops have with the exception of the cerebrals disappeared, new intervocalic stops, double or single, have been introduced as the result of assimilation among consonant groups.

But in one language, Sindhī, there has occurred a singular development of the Primitive Indian unaspirated voiced stops—\(g\ j\ (d)\ d\ b\). Whereas the other Indo-Aryan languages have ordinary voiced stops corresponding to Middle Indian \(g\-gg\, j\-jj\, d\-dd\, d\-dd\, b\-bb\), Sindhī presents voiced stops accompanied by what appears to be a closing of the glottis. These are written \(گ ڑ ں ں \) in the Nāgārī, and \(ح ح ح ح \) in the Persian alphabet,² which will be here transliterated \(g\ j\ d\ b\).³ It will be noticed that there is no \(d\). At the same time Sindhī possesses the ordinary voiced stops—\(g\ j\ d\ (d)\ b\). It should be remarked that while \(g\ d\ d\ b\) are the ordinary Indian sounds, \(j\) and \(j\) are a strongly palatalized \(d\).

The importance of the distinction between these two series can be seen from the numbers of pairs of words, distinguished only by having the simple voiced stop on the one hand, and the voiced stop with glottal closure on the other. Some examples are given below:

\[
\begin{align*}
g & \rightarrow g \\
gac & \text{mortar.} & gauc & \text{much.} \\
garan & \text{to stick in mud.} & garan & \text{to melt.} \\
gam & \text{grief.} & gam & \text{a small grain.} \\
gar & \text{mange.} & gar & \text{pulp of vegetable.} \\
garō & \text{mangy.} & garō & \text{heavy.} \\
ghan & \text{to rub.} & gahan & \text{to labour.}
\end{align*}
\]

¹ La formation de la langue marathe, § 81.
² For other ways of writing these sounds see Trumpp, Grammar of the Sindhī Language, and L.S.I. viii, 1.
³ Transliterated by Trumpp \(g\ j\ d\ b\).
gāranu to cause to stick.
gāhanu to tread out grain.
giranu to snarl.
guru preceptor.
galō voice.
gahu obstinacy.
gārō mud plaster.
gāhū grass.
gurārō mouthful of water.

gōrū a fish.
gāranu to melt.
gāhanu straws.
giranu to devour.
gurū roe of fish.
galō neck of a garment.
gahū jewel.
gārō half-ground grain.
gāhū bait.
gurārō piece of cane placed between threads of warp.
gōrū search.

j—j
jaũ lac.
jaũt soft downy hair.
jaru leach.
jāmu prince.
jārō cobweb.
jārū root.

jamu Yama.
jaũ of barley.
jārū paramour.
jērō liver.

jamu birth.
jaũ son.
jārū net.
jērō fire.

d—d
dīthō seen.

b—b
bakhū embrace.
baharu outside.
bābō father's brother.
bārū child.
bālō bracelet.
bilō tom-cat.
bārō fever.
bākirī f. of goats.
bārī small window.
bārō piece of land embanked for flooding.
birū hole.
bī f. second.
bhān to stand up.  bhān seed.
būrī f. bad.  bhūrī husk of jawārī.
gubān to allow to become stale.  gubān to scatter food about.
bukī ivory arm-rings.  bhukī handful of grain.
bēl pattern on cloth.  bhēl second ploughing.

These sounds appear to belong to all the dialects of Sindhi except Kacchī on the south and Tharāli on the east. In the first specimen of the latter given by Sir George Grierson (District Thar and Parkar on the western edge of this dialect) these sounds appear sporadically, in the remaining two specimens (State Jaisalmer further to the east) they do not appear at all. To the north is Lāhndā, of which only one dialect seems to have them, the Hindī of Dera Ghazi Khan on the extreme western boundary of Lāhndā. On the west Sindhi and Hindī are bounded by the Iranian Balōcī and the Dravidian Brāhūī. Neither seems to possess voiced stops accompanied by glottal closure.

The existence of these peculiar sounds was noticed by Stack in his Sindhi–English Dictionary published in 1855, where he says that g "has ... a strange sound, formed by placing the tongue against the palate, keeping the mouth open and sounding from the throat"; that j "has a peculiar sound only to be acquired by practice"; that q "is a harsh d . . . sounded . . . from palate and throat combined"; and lastly that b "has a peculiar sound". In writing Stack does not distinguish q from d.

Trumpp was the next to describe these sounds, first in an article in the Zeitschrift der morgenländischen Gesellschaft in 1861, and later, less satisfactorily, in his Grammar of the Sindhi Language published in 1872. In the former he says: "g is a peculiar hard g, that is difficult to describe; the speaker shuts his mouth and presses up a muffled sound (drückt einen dumpfen Laut herauf); then opens his mouth and lets out the sound g. This procedure is very like the cry (mäckern) of a goat or the bleat of a sheep. Etymologically it is in most cases a gg . . . j is originally a double jj, as is shown by etymology; but now it is treated as a single sound and pronounced as dy . . . q is a very hard cerebral d, and is produced in the same

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1 LSI. viii, i, p. 185.
2 LSI. viii, i, p. 145.
3 LSI. viii, i, p. 335.
4 Op. cit. under the letters न ज ड ब.
5 Vol. xv, p. 702 ff.
6 pp. 13, 15, 16, 19.
way as $g$, by shutting the mouth, pressing out a muffled sound and then letting out $d$. Etymologically it is a double $d$ ... $b$ etymologically = $bb$; it is pronounced in the same way as $g$ and $d$ ... These four sounds, which originally were double, are now, however, considered as more or less individual, independent sounds. They are found in many words in which a double consonant cannot be shown etymologically; but the hardness of their pronunciation is to be explained for the most part from their close surroundings."

Sir George Grierson writes these sounds as $gg$, $jj$, $dd$, $bb$, and he says of them¹: "They are pronounced with a certain stress, prolonging and somewhat strengthening the contact of the closed organ, and are, in fact, sounded as double letters are pronounced in other parts of India, but occur even at the beginning of a word." He follows Trumpp in explaining their origin, but adds that "$d$ itself is often doubled, but then becomes $dd$ as in $ddian$ to give".

Finally Dr. Grahame Bailey in a note² speaks of them as "implosives" in which the breath is drawn in instead of being expelled. According to him the larynx is lowered and the glottis closed. This action sucks the air back, but no appreciable amount enters the lungs. This description agrees generally with my own observation. To me the course of events seems to be this. Immediately after the occlusion by lips or tongue and palate has been formed, the glottis also is closed. The larynx is lowered, and there is considerable general muscular tension. The glottis is not opened until the lip or tongue occlusion has been broken, so that some air is sucked back to behind the point of occlusion. Then the glottis is opened to permit the formation of voice. It is possible that the glottis is again closed before the following vowel is pronounced.

These sounds do not seem to have been described in any treatise on phonetics. But, according to one of my informants,³ an $m$ accompanied by glottal closure and distinguished from ordinary $m$, exists in Magarkurā, one of the Mongolian languages of Nepal. Prince Troubetzkoy⁴ refers to consonants in the Caucasian languages accompanied by complete closure of the glottis. These he calls "recursives", a convenient term I have anglicized as "recursives"; he indicates them by a dot above or below the letter. They are

¹ LSI. viii, i, p. 22.
³ Capt. C. J. Morris of the 2/3rd Q.A.O. Gurkha Rifles.
⁴ Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris, No. 72, p. 204.
apparently only surds: \( \hat{q} \) (ultra-velar), \( b, t, \, c \, (c = ts), \hat{s}, \lambda \) (a lateral surd spirant).

Whatever may be the origin of these recursive sounds in Sindhi, it is certain that they are not now simple doubled voiced stops. My Sindhi friends immediately detected the difference between my more or less correct pronunciation of \( b \), for example, as \( b \) accompanied by a closure of the glottis, and my pronunciation of it as \( bb \).

It is now necessary to discuss the origin of these sounds; and first to consider to what sounds in Sanskrit and Prākrit they correspond. Neither Trump nor Sir George Grierson have fully explained their correspondence when they occur initially. But a detailed examination of the words in which they occur shows that initially \( g \, j \, \hat{d} \, b \) correspond to initial \( g- , j- , (d\hat{y}-) , d- , b- , (d\hat{e}-) \) in Sanskrit, and intervocally to consonant groups in Sanskrit that in Prākrit became \( -gg- , -jj- , -dd- , -(d\hat{d}-) , -bb- , -(v\hat{e}-) \), while the simple voiced stops in Sindhi, \( g \, j \, \hat{d} \, b \), are the result of special conditions and in most cases (where not occurring in loan-words from other languages) are descendants of Primitive Indian sounds other than \( g \, j \, d \, b \). The simple voiced dental \( d \), except in the group \( nd \), is only found in loan-words. That is to say, except for certain specific exceptions, Sindhi has shifted Primitive Indian \( g \, j \, d \, b \) to \( g \, j \, \hat{d} \, b \).

Below will be shown the detail the origin of the two series of unaspirated voiced stops in Sindhi.

\[ G \]

\[ = \text{Skt. } g- : \text{ gåù lost (gatá-), gåù f. cow gåù bovine gavār}^u \text{ m. cow-herd (gô- gåva- gôpûla-), ganan}^u \text{ to count (ganayati), gan}^t \text{ f. hump of a bullock gan}^u \text{ m. handle of a tool ganö m. stalk of jawârî (gauða-), gabh}^u \text{ m. foetus gahîn}^t \text{ f. pregnant gahîrû m. youth (gârbha- garbhînî garbhârûpa-), gambhîr}^u \text{ sedate (gambhîrâ-), gaman}^u \text{ to move slowly (gamyatâ), garan}^u \text{ to melt (galati), garû heavy (Pa. garu-, cf. Skt. gurû- gariyâns-), gal}^u \text{ m. cheek (galla-), gahanö m. jewels (gahanå), gâin}^u \text{ to sing (gâpayati), gârhû red (gûdha-), gîj}^h \text{ f. vulture (cf. grâhyâ and grîdra-), gîhan}^u \text{ to buy (gryñâti), giran}^u \text{ to devour (girati gilati), guî f. anus (gûtha-), gujh}^t \text{ m. secret (gûhyas-), gur}^u \text{ m. molasses (gûla-), gun}^u \text{ m. kindness (gûnâ-), gundhan}^u \text{ to plait the hair (gumphayati-+ granthayati), gûn}^t \text{ f. sackcloth (gûna-), gûrhö dense (gûdhâ-), gêhû m. wheat (gûdhâma-), gôtr}^u \text{ m. family (gôtrâ-), gôth}^u \text{ m. village (gôsthâ-), gôh}^t \text{ f. iguana (gôdhû), gau}^u \text{ m. cow's urine (gômûtra-).} \]
Skt. gr-: gandhu m. joint gandhi f. knot gandhir knotty (grantha- granthi- granthila-) etc., gihanu to swallow (grasati: with i after giranu < girati), gahu m. bait (grasa-), githo swallowed (cf. grasta-), gahu m. pledge (graha-), gahiloh headstrong (< *grathillaka-, grathila-).

Skt. gr-: agu m. front ago m. id. ago in front aqiro superior, etc. (agra-), jaganu to awake (Pa. jaggati, cf. Skt. jagarti), paghahu m. rope to moor boat to bank (pragraha-).

Skt. gn-: bhagoh broken (bhagna-), magu filled with pride (magna-), lagoh attached (lagna-).

Skt. gy-: jogu fit jugainu be suitable (yogya-), bhagu m. fate (bhagya-), suhaghu m. husband (saubhagya-), nibhagh ill-luck (nirbhagya-), laganu to begin (lagyati).

Skt. dg-: uga to spring up (udgata-), ugaranu to chew the cud (udgara-).

Skt. rg-: mahu m. path (marga-), waghu m. herd of cattle (varga-), mehahu m. herd of buffalo (mahisavarga-).

Skt. lg-: phagunu m. name of a month (phalguna-), waghu f. bridle (valgah: the length of the a is unexplained).

In a number of words without a Sanskrit etymology g corresponds to g in other modern Indo-Aryan languages: e.g. garhu m. fort (cf. H. garhi), gali f. lane (cf. H. galih), gari f. abuse (cf. H. gali), etc.

J

Skt. j-: janghu f. leg (janghoh), jahu f. bridegroom's procession (janya-), jaru f. root (jatoh), jahau to bear, jaho m. son jahoh m. person jahau m. birth (jatoh jahoh jahoh jahnman-), jahau m. Eugenia jambolana (jambuka-), jahtro m. son-in-law (jamnati-), jahanu to know (jahnati), jarhu m. net jaho m. cobweb jhari f. net (jala jalakajalikah), jibhu f. tongue (jihvah).

Skt. jy-: jethu m. husband's elder brother (jyestha-).

Skt. jy-: bhajanu to be broken (bhajyate), bhijahu to be wet (< *abhiyayat, abhyayate), rajahu to satiate (rajyate).

Skt. jv-: jaru f. fever (jvara-).

Skt. jv-: pajaranu to flare pajaranu to light wijuranu to become bright (prajvalati prajvalayati prajvalai).

Skt. jj-: sajanu m. friend (sajjana-), bhujanu to parch (bhujjati), laju f. rope (rodji-), laju f. shame lajanu to be ashamed (laajah lajjate).

Skt. jy-: bhujanu to be parched (bhujjate).

Skt. dy-: aju to-day (adyah), khajhu m. food (kha daya-), khajanu
to be eaten (khādyate), chājō m. shed (chādyā-), chijanu to be broken (chidyate), wijō f. lightning (vidyut), upajanu to be produced upājū m. produce (utpadayat utpādaya), nipajanu to be nourished (nispadaye), sapajanu to be found (sampadaye: sap- instead of samb- is not explained), wājō m. musical instrument (vādyā-), wijā f. knowledge, wējū m. doctor (vidyā vaidyā-).

=Skt. -ṛj-: khōjī f. itch (lex. kharju-: does this represent *khārju-?).

D

The existence of Middle Indian -ḍā- is shown by the equation Sindhī ḍ = Nepāli r: MI. -d- > S. r, N. r.

= MI. ḍ- -ḍā-: ḍūmū a ḍom (domba-); gaḍū m. mug (gāḍukā-, cf. N. gavvā), laḍū m. a sweetmeat (laḍā-), vasū large (<vāḍā-, cf. N. baro), haḍū m. bone (haḍḍā-; cf. N. hār), gāḍī m. cart (<gāḍḍā-, cf. L. gāṛi, P. gaddi, H. gāṛi).

But the most frequent source of ḍ is Middle Indian d- -dd-. I have shown elsewhere that these are regularly represented by a cerebral in Sindhī.

=Skt. d-: ḍukārū m. famine (duṣkāla-), ḍakhinu m. the south ḍakhinō southern (dākṣīna- dākṣīna-), ḍādhru m. itch (dadrū-) ḍahi f. curds (dādhi-), ḍandū m. tooth (dānta-), ḍamū trained ḍandū m. ox (damya- dāntā-), ḍahū ten (dōsa), ḍahānu to excite ḍajhanu to be afflicted ḍadhō excited (dāhātī dāhātī ḍadhātī), ḍiānu to give ḍijanu to be given (dāyatē dīyatē), ḍāwanu ḍānī m. shackles for the forefoot (dāman- dāmanī), ḍāhō wise (lex. dāsā-), ḍiṇu m. festival day (dīna-), ḍīhu m. day (divasa-), ḍēhu m. demon (devā-), ḍēhu m. country (dēśā-), ḍēru m. wife’s brother (dēvarā dēvī-), ḍikhī f. initiation ceremony (dīksā), ḍīo m. lamp (dīpa-), ḍōranu to wander (dōlayate), ḍōhu m. fault (dōṣa-), ḍukhu m. pain (dukkha-), ḍuhaṇu to milk ḍudhū m. curds ḍūdhi m. milkman ḍūhō m. milker (duhātī duḥdhā- duḥdhi- duḥgha-), ḍōhitrū m. daughter’s son (duhitrā-), ḍūrī at a distance (dūrē), ḍūdhō hard (dārīhā-), ḍaranu to fear (dārati), ḍāranu to split ḍāru m. fissure ḍarī f. den, burrow (dārayati dāra- dārī), ḍōrī m. string of a kite (dōraka-), ḍū twō (duvāu), ḍūnō double (Pkt. duvūna-; cf. Skt. dvigunā-).

=Skt. -dd-: kōḍarī f. hoe kōḍāryō m. worker with a hoe (kuddāla- kauḍḍāla-), uḍāṇu to cause to fly (uḍḍāpayati, cf. diyati).

=Skt. -bā-: saṭānū m. call saḍānū to call saṭjō m. calling (sābda-).

=Skt. -rād-: paḍānū to break wind paḍā m. breaking wind (pardetē parda-), gaḍah m. donkey (gārdabhā-), cōḍāhī fourteen
(cáturdoṣa), kuṭaṇḍu to leap (kūrdaṇḍi), laṭaṇḍa to load (lārdaṇḍi), cañaṇḍa to abandon (chandaṇḍa), đed̄aṇḍa m. frog (daṇḍu-), kōḍa m. cowry (kaparda-), niḍaṇḍa fearless (*nīrdara-).

= Skt. b.: bādhō bound bājhanu to be bound bāndhaṇu to bind bāndha m. dike (baddha-badhyāte bandhati bandha-), bākaru m. goat (bākara-), bāharu m. outside bāharī adv. outside bāharī abroad (cf. bāhis bāḥikā-), bājha except (bāhya-), bāhu much (bāhū-), bōlo m. cat (H. billā, cf. Skt. bidāla-), bīrī m. hole, burrow (bīla-), bīhanu m. seed (bīja-), būṇḍa to sink (*būṇḍati, cf. Dātapu. buḍati and N. būnu), būhō understood būdhī f. sense būjanu to understand būjanu to be heard (buddhā- buddhi- budhyāte budhyāte), bundhanu to hear (*bundhāti, cf. budhyāte, pres. part. budhānā- Dātapu. bund- to perceive, Gk. πυθάωμαι), būhō m. husk of jawāri and bājhari (busa-), bōlanu to speak (bollaka-, cf. G. bōlū id.).

= Skt. br.: bāmbhanu m. Brāhmaṇa (brāhmaṇa-).

- br.: kūbhō hunch-backed (*kubhaka-, cf. kujā- kubhā-).

= Skt. -rb.: kaḥirō spotted (kaṛbara-), bahuru m. Acacia arabica (barbara-babbula-varvāra-), ḍubhō thin (durbala-).

= Skt. dv.: ḍa two ḍījō second ḍi- (deśa devitīya- devi-), Ṿaṁśa twenty-two (devāvinśati), ṛārī f. little window (dvāra-).

= Skt. -dv.: ubaṭaṇu m. perfumed flour to rub the body with (udvartana-), ubhīraṇu to save (*udvārayati, cf. vārayati to ward off).

From these examples it will be seen that Middle Indian voiced stops, single when initial or double when intervocalic, became recursives or voiced stops accompanied by glottal closure in Sindhi, namely g j d b. Nevertheless, the voiced stops without glottal closure, namely g j d b, are still found in Sindhi. It is necessary to consider their origin.

Sindhi, like Singhalese and Kāśmīrī, distinguishes Skt. j and y. The former, as we have seen, became j; the latter became j.

Skt. Sgh. K. S.
 j d z j
 y y y j

Skt. y-: jō m. jā f. who (yāh yā), jō because (yātaḥ), janyō m. sacred cord (yajñōpaavītā-), jadhō jahanu jahiṇī f. jahanaṇu jāh m. coitus (*yabdhā- yābhati yabhaṇa- yabhyāte yābha-), janoṇu m. handmill jandṛō m. lock (yantrā-), jaū m. barley jāō of barley (yāva-yaevaka-), jāṇṭa f. ligusticum ajowan (yavāṇī), jāṭra f. furrow (yāṭra-), juto employed (yuktā-), juharu m. yoke of a plough (*yugadhara-,
cf. yugamdhara-), jōtrō m. cord (yōktra-), jōg"a proper (yōgya-), jugdh f. strife jōdhō m. warrior (*yuddhi- yōddhar-), jōhan"u to injure (yōpayati), jūā jū f. louse (yūkā), jūi f. den or lay of a wild animal (*yūti-, cf. gav-yūti-).

It may be noted that all the languages which distinguish j- from y- also distinguish b- from v-. The converse, however, is not true, as, for example, in the case of Gujarāṭī and Marāṭhī, which distinguish b- from v-, but not j- from y-.

Before PI. ī, j- appears as j, not as j: jīrō m. cummin-seed (jīraka-), jīu m. living being (jīvā-), jīarō alive (jīvalā-), jīan"u to live (jīvāti).

Although in general there is agreement in development between a single initial and a double intervocalic consonant, there is a difference in the case of y. Whereas y- became j-, the group -yy- ry- became j. These groups appear in Pāli and Māgadhī Prākrit as yy, and in Singhalese as y (if the etymology aya individual < dṛya- Pa. ayya- is correct). I have discovered no instance of the development of -yy- in Kāśmirī. In Prākrit and the other modern languages its treatment coincides, as in Sindhī, with -jj-.

ry: kāj"u m. ceremony, work (kāryā-) has another form kāj"u, which, although neither Stack nor Shirt draw any distinction of meaning between the two, may be a loan (cf. H. kāj) or may have been affected by the verb kajan" to be done; pujaṇu to be filled (pūryatē), sīj"u m. sun (sūrya-).

Corresponding to Sanskrit passives in -iya- (e.g. nīyatē diyātē), Pāli had forms with -iya- or -iyya- (e.g. niyati or niyyati, diyati or diyyati).1 The former may possibly represent the eastern dialect element in Pāli, the latter the western, since in Prākrit, where this suffix has been largely extended and is regularly added to present stems to form the passive (e.g. pučchādi pučchijjāi: pučchādi), there seems to have been a somewhat similar division. Mahārāṣṭrī and Ardhamāgadhī had -iija- (e.g. dijjāi); Śaurasēnī and Māgadhī had -iia- (e.g. diadi).2 The modern distribution is for -iija-, Sindhī, Rājasthānī, Marāṭhī; for -iia-, Lahndā, the Himalayan group (e.g. Kulu, Kumāonī, Nepālī), Gujarāṭī, Paṇjābī, Hindī (e.g. Standard Hindī, Braj, Chattīsgarhī). Thus Gujarāṭī breaks the continuity of the -iija- area.

After the analogy of forms in -iça- -iyya- roots ending in ū formed their passives in Pāli in -ūya- or -uuya-.3 These appear in Sindhī

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1 Geiger, Pāli, § 175.
2 Pischel, § 535.
3 Geiger, Pāli, § 175.
with j: sujanu to be heard (śrūyātē Pa. suyyati), sujanu to be swollen (śūyatē), ujanu to be woven (ūyatē).

To Pāli -iya- -iyya-, however, Sindhi corresponds with -ij-, not *-ij-. This is due to the effect of the preceding i: cf. jī- > jī-. And since ji- became ji- (e.g. jībh < jīhā) and ijj > ij- (e.g. chijanu < chidyatē), the immediate forerunner of ij must have been -iyya- rather than -iya- (cf. Pa. -iyya-, Pkt. -ijja-), just as *kāṭthām (Skt. kāṭthā- but Pa. kattha-) was the forerunner of kāṭhū m., wood, as opposed to hathu hand (Skt. hāṣṭa-, Pa. hattha-). This reasoning is supported by the similar development of drijanu to be afraid (dīryatē).

-iya-: wikijanu to be sold (vikṛyātē), dījanu to be given (dīyatē), nijanu to be carried away (nīyatē), khijanu to be boiled away (kṣīyatē); with contraction of a preceding i, trījō third (tṛtiya-), būjō second (dvitiya-). This difference of treatment between Skt. -iya- > -ij- and Skt. -idya- > -ij- shows that the derivation of khijanu to be angry, H. khijnā, M. khijnē, G. khijvū id., N. khijāunu to irritate, from Skt. khidyatē to be depressed (as proposed by M. Bloch¹ and myself ²) is untenable, and that these words must be referred to Skt. kṣīyatē to be injured, Pa. khīyati to be angry. In the same way, since passives in Sindhi like dījanu must be referred to dīyatē, it is reasonable to refer similar passives, e.g. those in -ijja- in Prākrit, -ij- in Marāṭhi, to the same form, and not, as does M. Bloch,³ to an analogical extension of -ijja- < -idya-, seen in Pkt. chijjai < chidyatē, which became Sindhi chijanu.

kijanu to be done (cf. Skt. kriyatē, but Pkt. kijjai, H. kijmā) was formed after the analogy of passives like dīyatē > dījanu; kajanu, to be done, owes its vowel to karanu to do (karōti).

It has already been shown that MI. jē- became S. jē- (e.g. jēthu < jyēṣṭhāḥ); and it is probable that the regular treatment of -ēyya < -ēya- was similar, namely that it became S. -ēj- (cf. the treatment -dy- > -j-: vēj < vaidyāh). Thus: pēj m. drinking, pēji pējī f. rice-water, pējē pējō m. watering land after sowing (pēya-pēyā, Pa. peyya-).

But in three words -ēyya- is apparently represented by -ēj-: bhānējō m. sister’s son (bhāgineyaka-, Pa. bhāgineyya-) is perhaps influenced by the parallel form bhānijō (*bhāginiya-); mātrējō, belonging to a stepmother, although apparently from *mātrēya-

¹ La langue marathe, p. 319.
³ La langue marathe, p. 115.
Pa. matteyya is considered by both Stack and Shirt in their dictionaries to be mātrē + the possessive affix jō, and may so have been divided by popular etymology; sējā f. couch (sayyā, Pkt. sejjā) is perhaps a loan-word (cf. H. sēj f. id. and the hybrid S. sējbandu m. cord for tying down bedding to the legs of the bed = H. sējband).

The development then of y- on the one hand and -yy- on the other is not parallel, although in all the other languages it is parallel: j- and -j-, Sgh. y- and -y-. A similar inconsistency is seen in the history of the group rv.

Skt. v- became S. ṣw-: wagyu m. herd (vārga-), wārunu to prevent (vārayati), wisō thunderstruck (vismaya-), wuthō lined (vṛṣṭā-), wēthanu m. pack-cloth (vēṣṭana-), etc. But -rv- became -b-: cabanu to chew (carvati). With this treatment may be compared the difference between Pa. v- and -bb- (e.g. vijjā < vidyā, but sabba- < sārva-), although the other modern languages have parallel treatment of both: e.g. G. M. Sgh. v- and -v-, H. N. B. b- and -b-.

Sabh “all” may represent *sabh + hū (cf. H. sabhī < sab + hī).

In couēh twenty-four (caturveinās - cāturveināsati-) and niveāō calm (nirvāta-) the peculiar treatment of the group -rv- is due to the fact that the r is the last sound of a prefix. Such a group was liable to a different treatment from that of a group in the middle of a word: for example, normally PI. -sk- -sc- -ts- -dv- became MI. -khh- -cch- -cch- -bb-, but where the first consonant of the group belonged to a prefix the treatment was different, namely -kk- -cc- -ss- -vv-.

The treatment of the group vy differs from that of rv. Initially vy- became uv-: uvāghu m. tiger (vyāghrā-), uvākhāu f. praise (vyākhyanā-), uvāghāu m. seasoning with spices (cf. vyāghārayati). But between vowels -vy- became b without glottal closure; sibāu to sew (sivayati), katabu m. business (kārtavya-), present participles passive in -ibō (-itavya-). This points to an interval between the development of rv > vv > bb and the same development of vy. This is borne out by the inscriptions of Aśoka, in which Skt. rv usually appears as v while vy remains unchanged.1 In Pāli, too, whereas -rv- always appears as -bb-, vy sometimes remains unchanged.2

J then is regularly the product of Skt. y- and of Skt. j under certain conditions, and b is the product of Skt. -vy-. On the other hand, all the simple voiced stops—g j d b—can result from the disaspiration of the corresponding aspirated voiced stops—gh jh

1 Sénart, The Inscriptions of Piyadasī, p. 114.
2 Geiger, Pāli, p. 66.
dh bh. A voiced aspirate when followed by an aspirate or by h in the same word lost its aspiration and became the corresponding simple voiced stop without glottal closure. It makes no difference whether h represents a Sanskrit intervocalic sibilant or has been inserted simply to avoid hiatus.

\(g\) : \(g\text{̄h}\) m. fodder \(g\text{̄h}i\) m. grasscutter (\(g\text{̄h}\text{̄s}ā\) - contrast \(g\text{̄h}\) m. bait < \(g\text{̄r}\text{̄s}ā\)-), \(g\text{̄h}a\text{̄n}\) to rub (*\(g\text{̄h}\text{̄r}\text{̄s}a\text{̄t}i\), cf. \(g\text{̄h}r\text{̄s}a\text{̄t}i\) H. ghasnā), after which also \(g\text{̄s}a\text{̄n}\) to be rubbed for *\(g\text{̄h}\text{̄s}a\text{̄n}\) (\(g\text{̄h}\text{̄r}\text{̄s}a\text{̄t}e\) or \(g\text{̄h}r\text{̄s}a\text{̄t}e\)) ; \(g\text{̄h}\) rubbed (\(g\text{̄h}\text{̄r}\text{̄s}a\) -); \(g\text{̄h}\) m. ghee < *\(g\text{̄h}\text{̄h}\text{̄u}\) (\(g\text{̄h}\text{̄r}\text{̄t}ā\)), \(s\text{̄a}g\text{̄h}\text{̄a}\text{̄n}\) to kill < *\(s\text{̄a}g\text{̄h}\text{̄a}\text{̄n}\) (\(s\text{̄a}g\text{̄h}\text{̄t}a\text{̄yat}e\) \(s\text{̄a}g\text{̄h}\text{̄t}a\text{̄yat}e\)).

\(d\) : \(d\text{̄h}\) bold < *\(d\text{̄h}\text{̄h}\) (\(d\text{̄h}\text{̄r}\text{̄t}ā\)); \(d\text{̄h}a\text{̄n}\) to fall \(d\text{̄h}\text{̄a}\text{̄n}\) to cause to fall < *\(d\text{̄h}\text{̄r}\text{̄a}\text{̄n}\) (*\(d\text{̄h}\text{̄r}\text{̄s}ā\) -; cf. H. \(d\text{̄h}\text{̄s}a\text{̄n}\) \(d\text{̄h}\text{̄s}a\text{̄n}\) to tumble into).

\(b\) : \(b\text{̄h}\) f. quiver (\(b\text{̄h}\text{̄s}ā\) -), \(b\text{̄h}a\text{̄n}\) to bark (\(b\text{̄h}\text{̄s}a\text{̄t}i\), \(b\text{̄h}a\text{̄n}\) to shine (cf. \(b\text{̄h}\text{̄s}a\text{̄t}i\), \(b\text{̄h}\) f. alms (\(b\text{̄h}k\text{̄s}ā\), \(b\text{̄h}\) m. pot for parching grain (\(b\text{̄h}\text{̄s}a\text{̄t}r\) -), \(b\text{̄h}\) f. hunger < *\(b\text{̄h}\text{̄k}\text{̄h}\), cf. H. \(b\text{̄h}\text{̄k}\) (\(b\text{̄h}\text{̄k}\text{̄s}ā\), \(b\text{̄h}\) m. roots of a lotus for eating < *\(b\text{̄h}\text{̄h}\) (Pa. \(b\text{̄h}\text{̄s}a\) -, Skt. \(b\text{̄s}a\) -), \(b\text{̄h}\) m. chaff of wheat < *\(b\text{̄h}\) rests on \(b\text{̄h}\text{̄s}a\) - (Pa. \(b\text{̄h}\text{̄s}a\) -, H. \(b\text{̄h}\text{̄s}a\) beside \(b\text{̄h}\) f. chaff of jawārī (Skt. \(b\text{̄s}a\) -).

A surd stop preceded by a nasal becomes the corresponding voiced stop, which remains without glottal closure. Thus \(\text{n}k\ \text{̄n}c\ \text{̄n}t\ \text{̄m}\) become \(\text{n}g\ \text{̄n}j\ \text{̄n}d\ \text{̄n}\) mb. The original voiced stops preceded by a nasal are completely assimilated to the preceding nasal. Thus \(\text{n}g\ \text{̄n}j\ \text{̄n}d\ \text{̄n}\) mb become \(\text{n} \text{n}n\ (< \text{nn}) \text{̄n}\) m.

\(\text{n}k\) : \(\text{n}\text{̄g}\) m. figure (\(\text{n}\text{̄k}k\) -), \(\text{n}\text{̄g}\text{̄r}\) m. sprout (\(\text{n}\text{̄k}\text{̄r}\) -), \(\text{k}\text{̄g}\) m. crane (\(\text{k}\text{̄k}\) -), \(\text{k}\text{̄g}\) m. bracelet (\(\text{k}\text{̄k}\text{̄s}\) -), \(\text{s}\text{̄g}\) f. fear \(\text{s}\text{̄g}\) to fear (\(\text{s}\text{̄k}\text{̄k}\) \(\text{̄s}\text{̄k}\text{̄k}\) -).

\(\text{n}c\) : \(\text{k}\text{̄j}\) m. bodice (\(\text{k}\text{̄c}\text{̄l}\) -), \(\text{m}\text{̄j}\) to send (\(\text{m}\text{̄c}\text{̄l}\) -), \(\text{p}\text{̄j}\) five (\(\text{p}\text{̄c}\) -), \(\text{m}\text{̄j}\) m. low bedstead (\(\text{m}\text{̄c}\) -), \(\text{u}\text{̄j}\) f. key (\(\text{u}\text{̄c}\) -).

\(\text{n}t\) : \(\text{k}\text{̄d}\) m. thorn \(\text{k}\text{̄d}\) thorny (\(\text{k}\text{̄t}\text{̄k}\) -), \(\text{g}\text{̄d}\) m. bell (\(\text{g}\text{̄t}\) -), \(\text{w}\text{̄d}\) to divide (\(\text{v}\text{̄t}\) -).

\(\text{n}t\) : \(\text{a}\text{̄d}\) f. edge of cloth (\(\text{a}\text{̄t}\) -), \(\text{a}\text{̄d}\) m. inside (\(\text{a}\text{̄t}\) -), \(\text{k}\text{̄d}\) f. patience (\(\text{k}\text{̄s}\) -), \(\text{d}\text{̄d}\) f. thread (\(\text{d}\text{̄t}\) -), \(\text{d}\text{̄d}\) m. tooth (\(\text{d}\text{̄t}\) -), \(\text{d}\text{̄d}\) m. ox (\(\text{d}\text{̄t}\) -), \(\text{s}\text{̄d}\text{̄n}\) to vex (\(\text{s}\text{̄p}\text{̄t}\) -).

\(\text{m}p\) : \(\text{k}\text{̄m}\) to tremble (\(\text{k}\text{̄m}\) -), \(\text{m}\text{̄m}\) M. Michelia champaka (\(\text{m}\text{̄m}\) -), \(\text{l}\text{̄m}\) to plaster (\(\text{l}\text{̄m}\) -), \(\text{s}\text{̄m}\) f. preparation (\(\text{s}\text{̄m}\) -), \(\text{t}\text{̄m}\) to pierce (\(\text{t}\text{̄m}\) -).
(except in South Sindhi) remains. Even when the resultant cerebral is voiced, there is not glottal closure.

\textit{dr}: \textit{drākh}\textsuperscript{n} f. a small grape (\textit{drākśā}), \textit{drāu} m. fear (\textit{drāva}-), \textit{drōh}\textsuperscript{n} m. deceit \textit{drōhi} wily \textit{drōhan}\textsuperscript{n} to deceive (\textit{drōha}- \textit{drōhin}- \textit{drōhayati}), \textit{drōran}\textsuperscript{n} \textit{drōkan}\textsuperscript{n} \textit{drākan}\textsuperscript{n} to run (cf. \textit{dravati} \textit{drāti}), \textit{ādrōkō} damp (\textit{ādrā-}); \textit{nidr}\textsuperscript{a} f. sleep (\textit{nidrā}), \textit{mādr}\textsuperscript{a} f. seal \textit{māndri} f. signet \textit{māndran}\textsuperscript{a} to seal (\textit{mudrā} \textit{mudri} \textit{kā mudrayati}).

\textit{ntr}: \textit{āndrō} m. entrails (\textit{āntrā}-), \textit{ñēdṛō} m. inviter (\textit{nimantaraka}-), \textit{mandr}\textsuperscript{a} m. spell (\textit{māntra}-), \textit{jāndr}\textsuperscript{a} m. handmill (\textit{yantrā}-).

\textit{nḍr}: \textit{candr}\textsuperscript{a} m. moon \textit{cāndr}\textsuperscript{a} lunar (\textit{candrá- cāndra}-), \textit{candrō} perverse (*\textit{candraka}-, cf. \textit{cānda}-), \textit{indrī} f. penis (\textit{indriyā}-).

Thus where the voiced stop is preceded by a nasal or followed by \textit{r} there is no glottal closure.

What has been said does not explain all the voiced stops without glottal closure to be found in Sindhi. There are a number of such where we should expect to find recursives.

Many of these occur in what are obviously loan-words.

\textit{b}: \textit{bāq}\textsuperscript{a} m. crane (\textit{baka-}) beside \textit{bāvō} m. a waterfowl [-\textit{g} < -\textit{k}: \textit{tatsama}], \textit{bāw}\textsuperscript{a} m. Acacia farnesiana (\textit{bākula- bakula- vakula-}), \textit{būnd}\textsuperscript{a} f. drop (\textit{bindū- vindu-}) [-\textit{ūnd} < -\textit{und}-: cf. H. \textit{būd} f.], \textit{bādal}\textsuperscript{a} m. cloud (\textit{vārdala-}) [\textit{b} < \textit{v}, -\textit{l} < -\textit{l}: cf. H. \textit{bādal}], \textit{bacan}\textsuperscript{u} to be left (Pkt. \textit{vaccai}) [\textit{b} < \textit{v}: cf. H. \textit{bacnā}]; \textit{bār}\textsuperscript{a} m. load (Persian \textit{bār}), etc.

If the loan were early enough, \textit{b} became \textit{b}: \textit{budhō} old (cf. Pa. \textit{budhha-} beside \textit{vaddha- vuddha-}, H. \textit{budhā ābhā}: Skt. \textit{vṛddhā-}).

I have found no instance of \textit{d} for \textit{ḍ}.

Except after \textit{n}, \textit{d} does not occur in Sindhi proper. All words containing \textit{d} in any other position are loans. In many cases the \textit{d}- of a loan-word has been changed to \textit{ḍ}-: e.g. \textit{dān}\textsuperscript{u} m. gift, \textit{ḍūṭ}\textsuperscript{u} wicked, \textit{ḍēs}\textsuperscript{u} m. country, beside \textit{dān\textsuperscript{u} duṣṭ\textsuperscript{u} dēs\textsuperscript{u}}.

\textit{j}: in \textit{jodāl}\textsuperscript{u} m. stupid fellow (\textit{jaḍa-}), after which also \textit{jar}\textsuperscript{u} stupid, and \textit{jāgar\textsuperscript{u}} to be awake \textit{ōjāgō} m. sleeplessness (Pa. \textit{jaggati}, Skt. \textit{jāgari}), there may be dissimulation of the glottal closure before the following recursive.

In \textit{jāḷ} f. jasmine (lex. \textit{jāḷī}), \textit{ujāṛ\textsuperscript{u}} waste (*\textit{ujjata-}: \textit{jaṭā}) it is not certain that we have to do with original \textit{j}-, though the existence of Pa. \textit{jāḷī}, Sgh. \textit{dōśa}, and Pa. \textit{jaṭī} points to it. If \textit{j}- is original, these two words must be loans in Sindhi (cf. H. \textit{jaḷi ujra-}). \textit{Jāṛ\textsuperscript{u}} m. water (\textit{jala-}) is perhaps a \textit{tatsama}.

There are numerous instances of \textit{j} in words, many of which are obvious loans: \textit{janō} f. breast-strap (\textit{yajñāpavītā-}) beside \textit{janyō}, \textit{jala\textsuperscript{u}}
to burn (jvélatí) and kajal" m. collyrium (kaJJala-) [-l- < -l-: cf. H. jalná kajjal], jas" m. fame (ýás-as-) [-s- < -s-: cf. H. jas], júthó defiled (júta-) [ú < u: cf. H. júthá jhúthá]. Tatsamas: jananí f. mother, janna m. birth, japanu to mutter prayers, etc. Loans from Persian and Arabic: jabáín f. tongue, jahár m. poison, jaró a little, etc.

The most numerous exceptions are those words in which MI. g-—gg- appear as g, not g.

Gádah" m. donkey (gardabhá-), gádlú mug (gaJJuKa-), gádló cart (*gaJJda-) are, explained by dissimilation. The following pairs, though without etymologies, are instructive: garañu to drip, but gadánu to meet; garí f. "lump", but gádlí f. bunch; garó m. hail, but gádló m. bundle. There is no instance of initial g- followed by another recursive in the next syllable.

In guguru m. bdellium (gúJgulu-), gajanu to thunder (garjati), gajaru m. an edible root (lex. garjara-) there appears to have been a simultaneous dissimilation. It is at least noteworthy that the sequences represented by the types gág gaj do not occur in any words.

A number of words are obvious loans: gágó m. hemp (gañja- would become in Sindi *gañó: cf. H. gójá), gándí f. anus (gánda-) gendó m. rhinoceros (gándaka-) [-nd- remains: cf. H. gár gáindá], gángáti f. Ganges earth (gángá-mrItiKa) [ng remains], gólo round (góla-) [-l- < -d- or -l-: cf. H. góla], ágí f. fire (agní-) [á < a: cf. H. ág f.]. Tatsamas: gátí f. salvation, günu m. song, guptu hidden, etc. Loans through Persian: garmu hot, gándó stinking, gajaru m. livelihood, etc.

There remain, however, a number of words, which show g for MI. g—gg- and yet show no other distinctive non-Sindi sound-change.

gá f. gáí f. cow (gó-) beside gáí gawár "gáó gaútr; gáwín to lose, waste (gamayáti) beside gáí lost; garó m. neck (gala-) beside garó m. id. garó laqanu to embrace [galó m. throat is an obvious loan: cf. H. galá]; gúnu m. excrement (gútha-) beside guñí f. anus; góró fair-complexioned (gaura-) beside górínu to become white.

In all the above instances there is a related form in Sindi with g. The following seem isolated: gusáí m. ascetic (gósámin-: it is not certain whether u here is the regular treatment of o), gárí f. abuse (gáí: cf. H. gáí), gáú m. village (gráma-: cf. H. gáu: Sindi has another word, góthu).

All these we may legitimately assume to be loan-words either from without or within the Sindi area. But we have had cases of apparent dissimilation of g- and j- before other recursives, whereas
b and ḍ remain in a similar position; e.g. baburā ḍaburō ḍudanā ḍādarā, etc. Further, the sequence jag is tolerated, while gag and gaj are not. The reason is that the further back in the mouth the stop is made, the greater is the difficulty of accompanying it with a glottal stop. This is a fact which a learner of Sindhi at once appreciates. Hence q is less stable than j, and j less stable than ḍ and b.

The following comparative dates for the change of the simple voiced stops to recursives can be established.

The glottal closure was introduced—

A. After—
(1) -rv- > -bb- ; for this > S. b.
(2) -yy- -ry- > -jj- ; for these > S. j.
(3) ud-v- > ubb- (through wvw-) ; for this > S. b.
   Probably after—
(4) dv- > b- ; for this > S. b.
   -dy- > -jj- ; for this S. > j.

B. Before—
(1) -vy- > -bb- ; for this > S. b.
(2) y- > j- ; for this > S. j.
(3) The dissimilation of voiced aspirates before another aspirate or h ; for in this position gh jh dh bh > S. g j d b.

In the inscriptions of Aśoka dv- remains, -rv- and -ry- are represented only by v and y (= ve and yy).

Initial y- became j- after the first century A.D.¹ But it must not be forgotten that y- is still preserved in Singhalese and Kāśmirī. But it will probably not be far wrong to place the development of the glottal stop between the time of Aśoka (but probably much later ; since in Lüders’ Bruchstücke ² -yy- from -ry- was still preserved) and the first century A.D. The narrowest limits are between the changes of -yy- to -jj- on the one hand and y- to j- on the other.

¹ Bloch, p. 19. ² p. 60.
A TREATISE ON HINDU COSMOGRAPHY FROM THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY (Brit. Mus. MS. Sloane 2748 A)

By Professor JARL CHARPENTIER

HINDU cosmography—a vast science of rather complicated nature—has quite recently been made accessible to European scholars by the meritorious efforts of Professor Kirfel, who, in his excellent work Die Kosmographie der Inder nach den Quellen dargestellt (Bonn and Leipzig, 1920), has first of all given us a systematic treatise on this subject, based upon all available sources belonging to Brahmin, Buddhist, and Jain lore. At the beginning of each of the three chief sections of his work Professor Kirfel has mentioned his European predecessors; from these summaries we gather that, while Buddhist cosmography has often been dealt with, though never hitherto in a thoroughly systematic way, and Jain cosmography has scarcely ever been made the subject of profound research, no author except Wilford and Pullé has ever tried to deal exhaustively with the entire domain of Brahmin conceptions of the universe. It seems, indeed, remarkable that this large and interesting subject, which is, besides, of great importance for the study of Hindu religion, literature, etc., should have attracted the attention of so very few scholars; and although the present writer does not, in the main, venture or wish to dissent from the highest living authority on the subject, he would like to draw attention, in brief, to some earlier notices on Hindu cosmography occurring in European literature of centuries preceding the date when the literature of India began to be a subject of truly scientific research in the Western world.

Amongst the Sloane MSS. of the British Museum, the one carrying the number 2748 A consists of two wholly different parts; the first one is entitled "Traité de l'antiquité du Christianisme dans les Indes Orientales en portugais"; it runs from fol. 2r to fol. 39r, and consists, in reality, as the Portuguese superscription tells us, of a "short relation of the very old Christianity in the mountains of Mallauár in the East Indies; and in order to give a distinct description thereof one will deal with, first, the heathen princes of these countries; second, much will be said of whether this Christianity originates and how our Holy Faith spread in these parts, and also of the life of St. Thomas as afterwards of his martyrdom and death. And it will be told how those old Christians again became pagans after his death; and of the idols of every kingdom; and also in which way they converted them-
selves again until this day; and how many are the churches that are found in all this Mallauár; and the number of villages and towns and markets belonging to each church". Undoubtedly this manuscript contains materials of no small importance for the history of the Christians of St. Thomas, and I shall hope to deal with it in another connexion. It seems originally to have been bound up together with the *Livro da Seita dos Índios Orientaes* of Father Fenicio (Sloane MS. 1820),¹ as that manuscript was formerly marked 2747, and ends with p. 339,² while in this one there are traces of an older pagination beginning with 340. The handwriting undoubtedly belongs to the seventeenth century, and as the anonymous author does in one passage mention events that took place on certain days in the years 1675 and 1676 there can be little doubt that he was at that time in Malabar, and wrote his relation just about that selfsame date.

The second part of 2748 A is in a wholly different hand, that does also, no doubt, belong to the seventeenth century. The pagination runs from fol. 41r-fol. 45r; but, as there are traces of an older pagination beginning with fol. 181r, there can be little doubt that this is a fragment that did originally belong to another manuscript. It contains a short treatise in Portuguese on Hindu cosmography, and seems interesting enough to be given in full in English translation below. It carries no date, nor the name of an author; but there is little, if any, room open for doubt that the author was a Jesuit missionary in India in the seventeenth century, and that the manuscript belonged to a set of Portuguese papers, the most remarkable of which was the above-mentioned work of Father Fenicio, and which were, in a way not now known, transferred to Europe and came into the collection of Sir Hans Sloane during the earlier part of the eighteenth century.

This manuscript is the one seventeenth century source at present known to me that deals exclusively with Hindu cosmography and tries to give a complete, if very short, survey of its leading tenets. But undoubtedly there exist, in literature of a date somewhat older than this short treatise, passages dealing with the cosmography of the Hindus that have—mostly in common with the works in which they are found—for a long time escaped the notice of European scholars. Without the slightest aim at completeness—an impossible task while so many sources are certainly still only preserved in manuscript in

¹ Cf. this *Bulletin*, II, 731 sqq.
² Cf. loc. cit., p. 737.
Portuguese, Indian, and other libraries and archives—I shall here draw attention to some of these passages, occurring in works that seem, with a fair claim to certainty, to be of a somewhat older date than the second part of the Sloane MS. 2748 A.

Antique and mediaeval Europe never had, as far as we are able to ascertain, the slightest acquaintance with the literature and śāstras of the Hindus; nor do we know of any European from the most remote times up to the sixteenth century who possessed even the scantiest knowledge of either Sanskrit or any other Indian language. And though such individuals may, no doubt, have existed at times, they have, so far, left no traces behind in the literature of those epochs. The conditions were otherwise in the Moslem world; and we need only remember that very great scholar, Abū-l Raihān Muhammad ibn Aḥmad Albīrūnī from Khiwa (973–1048), who in 1030 finished his wonderful work on India, in which country he had made himself possessed of a thorough knowledge of Sanskrit and an extensive acquaintance with the Purāṇas and Śāstras. In this book, which is chiefly of astronomical and chronological contents, the chapters xix—xxx¹ in particular give a summary of the traditional cosmography of the Hindus. But as Albīrūnī’s work did never influence early European knowledge of India, we need not further dwell upon it here.

The Portuguese conquistadores in India from the beginning brought with them missionaries for the conversion of the heathen; but we have little reason to believe that those early preachers of the Faith did interest themselves very much in Hindu language and lore until the arrival of the members of the Society of Jesus in the 1540’s. Proofs may be gathered from the reports and letters of the Fathers then in India that already during the sixteenth century several Jesuits had gone quite far in their acquaintance with Hindu languages and had also acquired no slight amount of knowledge of Hindu religion and mythology.² That some Fathers had perhaps already at this time written tracts on Indian mythology—in which short abstracts on cosmography would also find place—may be surmised with a fair amount of verisimility, but so far none of these works has been found, though they may very well be stowed away in some archives. The first complete work on Hindu mythology still is that of Father Fenicio, which belongs to the first decade of the seventeenth century.³ Before

¹ Albīrūnī’s India, translated by Sachau, 1888, i, 213 seq.
² Extracts from Jesuit letters concerning these topics have been collected by Dr. De Jong in his edition of Baldeus, pp. vii–xvii.
³ Cf. this Bulletin, II, 741, 745.
we turn to him, however, a few of the sources slightly older than his work must be mentioned.

Of the already celebrated Commentarius Mongolicae Legationis of Father Antonio Monserrate,¹ that was finished in 1591, the second part, dealing with geographical subjects, is unfortunately still missing. But the whole tenor of the still existing part of the work makes it quite improbable that there should have been in the lost volume anything concerning Hindu cosmography; for, as remarkable as is the Father’s accuracy and sound judgment in what concerns the history of his time and the topography of countries visited by himself, even so peculiar is his lack of interest in and acquaintance with Hindu religious and literary ideas. Still, it must be taken into consideration that he spent most of his time in surroundings wholly Mohammedan, and was probably only very slightly acquainted with the native languages of Northern India.

There is, however, a short notice of some tenets belonging to Hindu cosmography in a Jesuit letter from the exit of the sixteenth century. Father Emanuel de Veiga (1549–1605), writing from Chandagiri on 18th September, 1599,² tells of several dealings he had with the natives at that place, and of their strange and foolish talk on matters of religion; thereupon he continues: “alii de Diis suis, & mundi constructione, & fabrica inaudita quadam prodigia somniabant. Septem dicebant esse maria, unum aquæ salæ, aliud aquæ dulcis, aliud mellis, aliud lactis, aliud lactis in acorem iucundum & pinguem spumam condensati, quod Tairum vocant, aliud sacchari, aliud butyri. Alii dicebant terram novem constare angulis, quibus velo inimitur. Alius ab his dissentiens volebat terram septem elephantis fulciri, elephantes vero ne subsiderent, super testudine pedes fixos habere. Quaerenti quis testudinis corpus firmaret, ne dilabetur, respondere nesciuit.”³

¹ Published by Father Hosten in the Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, iii, 513–704; a translation of the text by Messrs. Hoyland and Banerjee (Oxford University Press, 1923) is far behind what might have been expected of it (cf. this Bulletin, III, 191 seq.).

² The letter is edited, together with several other ones, in a well-known letter of Father Nicolas Pimenta of 1600 that was translated into various languages (cf. de Backer-Sommervogel, Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus, vi, 757 seq.); it is, perhaps, most easily accessible in the collection of Hayus (John Hay of Dalgetty), De rebus Japonicis, Indicis, and Peruanis epistulae recentiores (Antwerp, 1605), p. 803 seq.

³ The number and consistence of the oceans is correct, though they do not follow in the Purānic order. Mei is meant for Skt. sura “liqueur”; Tairum, of course, is Tamil tayir “curds”. The world-elephants ought to be eight or four, not seven. What is meant by the words “terram novem constare angulis”, etc., is not clear to me.
What de Veiga has to say is consequently very little, but may be mentioned as being a quite old notice on Hindu cosmography. His letter was used by Purchas, *His Pilgrimage* (1626), p. 561 (who, by the way, calls his authority Viega), where he tells us about the "vaine Discourses of the Creation" held by the Hindus: "as that there were seven Seas; one of Salt-water, the second of fresh, the third of Honey, the fourth of Milke, the fifth of *Taïr* (which is Cream beginning to sowre), the sixth of Sugar, the seventh of Butter, that the Earth had nine corners, whereby it was borne up by the Heaven. Others dissented, and said, that the Earth was borne up by seven Elephants; the Elephants feet stood on Tortoises, and they were borne by they know not what." With the exception of this single passage there is little or nothing in Purchas that can be referred to Hindu cosmography. Extremely well-read as he was in all sorts of literature dealing with his subject, this, seems to show that scarcely any sources touching upon this topic were ever at his disposal.

Let us now turn to the manuscript of Father Fenicio, the general contents of which have been given in this *Bulletin*, II, 737 seq. Already from that abstract it could be gathered that several chapters in the first book deal with cosmography, and of these it is chiefly the chapters v, vi, and x that are of interest to us in this connexion. They will consequently be given here in translation.¹

"Concerning the Form and Position of the World. Chapter the Fifth"

"As the Brahmins falsely contend that this world originated from an egg that split up into two parts, of which the upper one became the heaven and the lower one the earth,"² it is no wonder that they tell all sorts of nonsense concerning its form and position. For, on behalf of this, they do not understand that the earth is in the middle, surrounded by heaven, but they say that heaven has its limit at the horizon and ends there, as it is nothing but the upper half of the egg-shell, and the earth is the lower half; and in consequence of this they say that heaven is immovable, and that it is not heaven

¹ A short cosmogonical passage from one of the letters of Father Fenicio and repeated from there by Purchas, *His Pilgrimage*, p. 549, has been quoted in *Bulletin*, II, 748 seq. Concerning Fenicio it should be mentioned here that in the work of J. P. A. da Camara Manoeil, *Missões dos Jesuítas no Oriente* (Lisbon, 1894), is mentioned, amongst the missionaries going to India in 1583, "Ir. Joam fenicio italiano"; I was not aware of this when writing my former article.

² Of this Fenicio has told us in Book i, ch. 1; he calls the cosmic egg *anderamotta*, which is not quite clear to me; it seems to contain Skt. *anda* "an egg, the universe", as well as Tamil *mulāṭi* "an egg".
that moves but sun, moon, and stars, which, being animated, move through the heavens like fishes through the water; in daytime from the East to the West, and from the West they make a turn along the line of the horizon towards the North and then towards the East; all the time they move along the horizon, and when they arrive at the East they turn towards zenith accomplishing their diurnal course from East to West. And if you tell them that, if this were so, one ought to see the sunlight at the horizon the whole night through they will answer you that in the North there is an enormous mountain called Maga Merù [Mahāmeru], and that sun, moon, and stars pass behind it while turning eastwards; and that is the reason why one cannot discern the light of those luminaries. They will also tell you that if anybody journeys northwards he will find no exit there on behalf of that mountain-range; there is nothing like that in the South.

"Owing to this false supposition they infer also that the earth is not round but flat, as it appears to the eye. And they are most firmly convinced that the earth is supported on the top of a bull’s horn, and when he grows tired he moves the earth from one horn to another, and from that movement and change arise the earthquakes. O, what a lot of errors on reason of a false first principle!"

[After this passage there follows an extensive refutation of the cosmological and astronomical tenets of the Brahmins founded on the principles of European astronomy as well as some ridicule on the fable of the bull supporting the earth, in which connexion the Father continues thus:—]

"While discussing that bull in the palace of the Samorim a certain Brahmin told me that on that point there existed different opinions: some say that the earth rests upon the horn of a bull, while others (whose opinion is looked upon as a more probable one) say on the back of the cobra Ananta; and when I asked him: ‘Well, and upon what does that cobra Ananta support itself?’ he answered me: ‘On the back of a tortoise.’ ‘And, pray, upon what does that tortoise rest?’ He answered: ‘On the top of eight elephants.’ ‘Well, and those eight elephants?’ But then he smiled and told me not to ask him any more, as he did not know how to answer."

"Of the Earth, and of its Form; and of the Oceans. Chapter the Sixth"

"In the preceding chapter we have dealt with the form and position
of the earth in general; now coming to details we must know that there are in the heavens seven localities, viz. the first one Purlongam [Bhūrloka], the second Puerlogam [Bhuvareloka], the third Suorlogam [Svarloka], also called Sorgalogam [Svargaloka], the fourth Maharlogam [Maharloka], the fifth Genalogam [Janarloka], the inhabitants of which are leading a delicious and carnal life; in the Sorgalogam dwell the heavenly spirits called devagal, and because of that this place is also called Devalogam [Devaloka], the home of the devagal; in the highest, or seventh, locality dwells Brahma [Brahmā], and that is why it is called Bramalogam [Brahmaloka], home of Bramā. The Brahmins also imagine, according to their cosmography, that there are seven continents which they believe to be surrounded by seven oceans, every one being an island; the first of these continents they call by name Gembudiuva [Jambūdvīpa], which is the one in which we live, situated in the midst of all the other ones surrounded by the salt sea; it has an extension, from the north to the south, of one hundred thousand iozenas [yojana], and the same measure from the east to the west. This continent of ours consists of nine parts divided from each other by mountains called parvaudas [parvata] situated between them; the nine parts of the earth are Parida [Bharata], Quinprua [Kimpruṣa], Arivariia [Harivarṣa], Padraçxua [Bhadrāśva], Eleembrada [Ilāvyta], Quedumala [Ketumāla], Remmia [Ramya], Irulmaia [Hirṇmaya], and Uttaracureal [Uttarrakuravah]. . . . each of which are nine thousand iozenas in breadth, except Padraçxua and Quedumala, which are thirty-three thousand, and Eleembrada thirty-four thousand; and every one of the mountain ranges is a thousand iozenas broad.”

[After this passage there is a blank space at the bottom of the page, which was apparently meant to contain a map of the universe; this map is missing, but its main outlines may be reconstructed from the passage immediately following:—]

“M. In the centre of this our earth, in the circle M is the very famous mountain Magā Meru, which is of gold and resembles those roses that grow in the lakes, and which are called tamarapua; for it is slender at the bottom and large at the top; the base occupies 16,000 iozenas [yojana], and at the top it is 30,000. Its height is a 100,000 iozenas, of which 16,000 are below the earth, and 84,000 from the surface of the earth to the top; and they say that it is

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1 Cf. Kirfel, Die Kosmographie der Inder, p. 58.
2 This is Tamil tāmarūti “lotus” + pā “a flower”.
3 The usual figure is 32,000, cf. Kirfel, loc. cit., p. 93.
the supporting pillar of the earth which prevents her from wobbling from one side to the other or to get into disorder, the subterrestrial part of it being bulkier at the bottom. On the top of this mountain, so they say, is the paradise. Magâ Meru has 1,008 mountains branching off from it, and in every one of them some of their saints are living. They say that the cobra Basugui [Vâsuki] had wound itself round it; and that cobra, fighting at a certain time with the wind, expanded its hood and did not let the wind pass towards the south. As then the living beings, for want of air, had to suffer many ailments, Izora [Īśvara] commanded the cobra to lower its hood; and the wind, blowing very fast, lifted that part of the mountain where Baesserennia [Vaishravana] lived and flung it into the Salt Ocean towards the south, and out of it arose the island of Ceylon.  

"P. means the island of Ceylon which is situated to the south of our continent in the Salt Ocean; formerly it was 700 iozenas in length, but it is now much less, as the ocean has eaten a great part of it away."

"R. is a wall of earth running from this our continent towards Ceylon; Siri Rama [Śrī Rāma] had it made as will be told below."  

"This our continent, called Gembudiua, consists (as we have already remarked) of nine parts, and has a length and breadth of a 100,000 iozenas; it is wholly surrounded by the Salt Ocean which they call Leuana [Lavana], which is of double breadth, viz. 200,000 iozenas.

"Outside this ocean is the continent called Placzza [Plakṣa], which is of double breadth and is surrounded by the Sugar Ocean called Jecz [Ikṣu], which is again the double or 800,000 iozenas, the breadth always increasing with the double as well in continents as in oceans. Outside the Sugar Ocean is the continent called Xaqua [Śāka], which is surrounded by the ocean of Sura [Surā], i.e. palm-wine; then follows the continent called Cûza [Kuṣa], surrounded by the ocean of butter called Sarpi [Sarpis]; after this comes the continent called Croncha [Kraunica], surrounded by Dedi [Dadhi], the Ocean of Curds (which they call tairo). Then follows the

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1 This story is known also from other South Indian sources, cf. e.g. Wilson, Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection, ii, p. 254, etc. It is quoted from Ildephonseus (cf. Bulletin, II, 731 seq.) by Paulinus a S. Bartholomeo, Codices Musarì Borgiani, p. 108.

2 In Book V, chap. ii.

3 The author gives the continents and oceans in the usual order, except that he has exchanged the Śāka and Śāmalidvipa (cf. Kirfel, loc. cit., p. 57).

4 Tamil tayir.
continent Xameli [Śālmali], which is surrounded by Crira [Kṣīra], the Milk Ocean; and at the end of them all is the continent Puṣkara [Puṣkara], round which flows the Sweet-water Ocean called Suddudega [Svādūḍaka]."

[After this there are some lines pointing to a map and then a blank space at the bottom of the page.]

"Of the Padalas [Pātāla] and their number. Chapter the Tenth"

"The Brahmins, with that same levity with which they imagine the continents and oceans to be seven in number, also tell us that there are seven Padalas, which are certain localities below the surface of the earth, just as we speak of the limbo and other subterranean places and caverns. These seven are Adelā [Atala], Videlā [Vitāla], Sudelā [Sutala], Taladelām [Talātala], and Sadelam [Satala], Mahadalā [Māhātala], and Padalam [Pātāla]. In these Pātālas they say that there live beings just as on earth. And as they are corporeal it seems necessary that they should want, above all other things, light and brightness to be able to see. As, consequently, I asked a certain Brahmin about this he answered me that there are in the Pātālas many cobras, which carry on their heads some very radiant precious stones that illumine the place."

So far the passages of Fenicio's manuscript that are necessary for our present purpose: they are by far the clearest and best remarks on Hindu cosmography that are known to me from these old sources, just as the whole of his work is much superior to all other early descriptions of Hindu mythology. From his cosmological chapters are derived the notices on that same subject that are found in Faria y Sousa, Asia Portugueza, II, 4, 1, § 5 seq., and in Baldaeus, Afgoderye der Oost-Indische Heydenen (ed. de Jong), p. 180 seq.: the passage on the continents and oceans is, however, missing in the work of the last-named author.

The treatise on Hindu mythology in Do Couto, Asia, dec. v, liv. vi, cap. iii seq., 2 contains next to nothing of importance for the knowledge

1 This enumeration does not tally with any one of those given by Kirfel, loc. cit., p. 144 seq., from Purānic and other sources. Though Sadelam could scarcely mean anything but Satala, it is probably a corruption of Rasītala.

2 This treatise has been translated into Dutch by Professor Caland in Verslagen en Mededelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeeling Letterkunde, 5 Reeks, 3 Deel, 1918, p. 308 seq. Some remarks and corrections to this translation were given by Professor Zacharias in his very important review of Caland's work in Goettingische gelehrte Anzeigen, 1921, p. 160 seq. (this review has been translated into English with some additional remarks by the Rev. Father Hosten in the Journal of Indian History, ii, 1923, 127 seq.).

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of the Indian cosmography. There are only the passages on p. 28 seq. and p. 43 seq. of the edition of 1780: in the first one Do Couto simply mentions "a place in the second heaven, which they call Xoreagó [Svarga, Tamil Čuvarkkam, Čörkkam], where those who have led a good life are going to rest; and that in the centre of the earth there is another one, which they call Naranca [Naraka], which is all through only fire and tortures, whither the sinners have to expiate their sins"; in the second passage Do Couto speaks of the seven heavens and their distances from each other. He then mentions the names of the second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth heaven, viz. Malougão,¹ Manalougão,¹ Genalougão [Yanarloka], Tapalougão [Tapoloka], and Jatalougão [Satyaloka], together with some scanty notices on their respective inhabitants. The continuation is, unfortunately, not quite intelligible; here Do Couto tells us that, according to Hindu tradition, the whole universe rests on the shoulders of a woman called "Adarasati,"² which means truth (verdade)". This is about all; but we must remember that Do Couto does not seem to have known any native language and could not get at the texts himself.

Still less material touching upon Hindu cosmography is to be found in the interesting little work of Henry Lord, the English Chaplain at Surat between 1624–29, called "A Discoverie of the Sect of the Banians. Containing their History, Law, Liturgie, Casts, Customs, and Ceremonies. Gathered from their Brams, Teachers of that Sect: As the particulars were comprised in the Booke of their Law called the Shaster," etc., and published for the first time in 1630. The work is worthy of attention, and I hope to deal further with it in another connexion; but of cosmographical details it contains nothing except the myth of the mundane egg (Chapter I) and some very scanty names from Hindu geography which it would scarcely be worth the while to repeat here.

Also the famous work of Abraham Roger, De Open-Deure tot het verborgen Heyendom, first edited in 1651,³ does not contain very much that touches upon Hindu cosmography. As far as I can see, only the first and fifth chapters of the second book ⁴ deal with such things:

¹ These two names make difficulties; the first one ought to be rendered Maloka = Mahaloka, but there is no such name known to me. According to its position in the series, Manalougão ought to be read Maha' = Maharloka.
² This name has been left uninterpreted by Caland and Zacharias; as far as I understand, it must be something like Adhāraṣakti (or possibly 'sāti).
³ New edition with notes by Professor Caland in 1915; it must be read together with the extremely important review by Professor Zacharias in Goettingische gelehrte Anzeigen, 1916, pp. 561–615.
⁴ Ed. Caland, pp. 88 seq. and 106 seq.
in the first of these passages Roger mentions that the earth is called Bou-locon [Bhūloka] and the heaven Bramma-locon [Brahmaloka]; between these two, he says, are situated the eight worlds of the lokapālas, viz. Indraloka, Agni-loka, Yamaloka, Nirṛtīloka, Varuna-loka, Kuberaloka, Vāyu-loka,1 and Iśānalo ka. In the second passage Roger tells us that the Pātala is situated under the earth; above it is the Surgam [Śvarga], and still higher up the Brahmaloka, the Kailāsa, and the Vaikuntha.2 In the middle of the Bhūloka is Mount Meru, which is described in the usual way; then follows an enumeration of the seven continents and oceans, but without the Sanskrit names. The order is the usual one, except that the author has changed the position of the Ocean of Butter (Ghṛta) and that of Curds (Dadhī).

The famous Jesuit Father Athanasius Kircher (1602–80) in 1667 issued his China Illustrata, one of the numerous works in which this very learned man tried to compile the knowledge of his age on exotic and other subjects. In this book Kircher also published some remarks on Hindu mythology and Brahmin learning, which he had obtained from one of his brethren, Father Heinrich Roth, a missionary at Agra, where he died in 1668,3 together with drawings of nine of the avatāras and five pages of devanāgarī types, which he calls "Elementa Linguae Hanscret."4 One of the chapters dealing with things Indian (ed. 1667, p. 154 seq.) bears the superscription: "De ridicula Brachmanum Religione circa hominum originem," and in this Kircher also comes to mention some words on Hindu cosmography; unfortunately, it is by no means sure that Kircher did always correctly understand his authorities, and this may to some degree account for his many peculiarities. What he has to tell is simply this: After having mentioned, as an explanation of a drawing facing p. 154, the origin of fourteen worlds and fourteen different tribes of men out of the body of Brahmā, he proceeds in the following way (p. 155): "in Mundo ponunt septem maria; Primum Aqueum; Secundum Lacteum; Tertium Ex coagulo lactis; Quartum Butyraecum; Quintum Salinum;

1 In a correct enumeration Vāyu-loka (North-West) should come before Kuberaloka (North), cf. Caland, loc. cit., p. 89, n. 1.
2 The chief authority of Roger, the Brahmin Padmanābha, was a Vaiṣṇava, and, accordingly, considered the heaven of Viṣṇu to be the highest one.
3 Cf. Father J. Dahlmann, Die Sprachkunde und die Missionen, p. 18; Indische Fahrten, ii, 246; Father H. Hosten, Jesuit Missionaries in Northern India, p. 6; and, above all, Professor Zacharias, VOJ. xxii, 86 seq. (reprinted in Kleine Schriften, 1920, p. 17 seq.); Gottingische gelehrte Anzeigen, 1919, p. 52 seq.
4 Cf. Zacharias, VOJ. xv, 313 seq. (reprinted in Kleine Schriften, p. 1 seq.).
Sextum Saccareum; Septimum Vinosum.1 In Aqueo ponunt quinque Paradisos; In Lacteo Religiosos et Sacrificulos, quos Iogues vocant, qua gloria Siven dicitur. In tertio, quam gloriaram Divenderen vocunt, vuluptatibus corporeis dedicatos; In quarto qua est gloria Brumæ felicis fortis; In quinto qua est gloria Visnu misericordes; In sexto, qua gloria Cailasan dicitur, Eleemosynarios; In septimo, qua gloria Vajacandam dicitur, omni bono affineus.

The latter half of this passage is scarcely intelligible from the point of view of Hindu cosmography; but it seems clear that Kircher must in some curious way have mixed up the oceans and heavens with each other.

Follows a passage dealing with the substructure of the universe:

"Praeterea quod Cabala Saracenorum de globo Terræ in cornu bovis firmata,2 Brachmanes de serpente χιλιακεφαλο. id est, mille Capitibus monstruoso dicunt; & quoniam Serpente seu hydram hanc phantasticam sustinendo globo Terræ insufficientem videbant, octo illi Elephantes, quorum robere sustineatur, supposuerunt; quia vero nec hi sine susten-tamento, & substerniculo subsistere poterant, illis immensae aquatice testudinis dorsum, supra quod firmarentur, substituerunt, qua in infinito mari natans totam hanc monstrorum congeriem sustineat." Finally Kircher also mentions the myth according to which the universe originated out of the web of a giant primeval spider.3

The French physician François Bernier (1620–88), who in 1670 issued the first edition of his well-known work Histoire de la dernière Révolution des Etats du Grand Mogol, has given in a supplementary letter to Jean Chapelain (1594–1674), despatched from Shiráz on 4th October, 1667, a series of valuable observations on Hindu religion and philosophy. He had access, in India, to the same authority as Kircher, viz. Father Roth (whom, curiously enough, he styles Roa), and repeatedly extols his learning and acquaintance with the lore of the Brahmins. But his remarks on Hindu cosmography are still poorer than those of Kircher; they may be conveniently looked up in the English edition by Constable and V. A. Smith (Oxford, 1916), p. 339 seq., and need not here be gone into in detail.4

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1 This would correspond to Sanskrit Śvādu, Kṣīra, Dūdhi, Sarpis, Larava, Ikṣu, Surā; even if, as seems most probable, Kircher began his enumeration from the periphery of the cosmos, the order is, of course, an impossible one.

2 This seems also to be a Hindu conception, cf. Bulletin, II, 743, 748 seq.; Caland, Ontdekkingegeschiedenis van den Veda, p. 265, n. 1, and above, p. 322.

3 A similar notion already seems to underlie the words in Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, ii, 1, 20 (cf. JAOS, xlili, 8); I hope to deal with this myth in another connexion.

4 The one thing of some interest is the mention of the name Someire, which shows that Bernier’s authority was conversant with the form Sumeru.
Of sources that may possibly be somewhat older than the manuscript dealt with here we have finally to take into consideration some of the Portuguese and French texts that have recently been edited by Professor Caland, the Portuguese ones unfortunately in a Dutch translation, Portuguese being almost certainly easier to read than Dutch. Of these the first treatise in Portuguese must date from the year 1671, as, in chapter lix, it alludes to sixteen years having passed by since Sivājī conquered the land of the Rājah of Jāoli, an incident that took place in 1655 according to Grant-Duff, History of the Mahrattas, i, 147 (1826); Smith, Oxford History of India, p. 426, etc. We learn, however, next to nothing about Hindu cosmography from this treatise, and it is wholly sufficient simply to point at chapters xxii (presenting a very confused tradition concerning the brahmāṇḍa) and xlvii seq., that give some scanty notices on the planets, heavens, etc., said to be fetched from the Jyantiṣaśāstra.

The second Portuguese treatise, which was edited, as well as the first one, already in 1812 in the Noticias para a Historia e Geografia das Nações ultramarinas, i, 1–2, is certainly later than our manuscript and is mentioned in this connexion simply because I want to add here a short remark on its date. Professor Caland thought that the mention (in chapter xxxiv) of 4,876 years of the Kaliyuga having passed would fix the date, without any possible objection, at the year 1774; but this is by no means sure, seeing that in chapter xciv of the same work the same number of years is given as 2,176, which, assuming the Kaliyuga to have commenced in B.C. 3102, would fix the date of its composition at B.C. 926 (!). Burnell, Tentative List, p. 24, suggested that this treatise was “from the eighteenth century, v. p. 113, where Nāna Bāḷāji Rao is mentioned”; this refers to chapter lxxxv, where is spoken of “Nana, who is Balaji Bagi Rao Pradando, King of the Maratas and supreme ruler of Asia”; this apparently refers to the third Peshwā, Bāḷāji Bājī Rāo, and, he being spoken of in the continuation

1 Cf. Drie oude Portugeesche Verhandelingen over het Hindoeisme (Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afdeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel xvi, No. 2), Amsterdam, 1915 (to be read with the review of Professor Zacharie in Goett. gel. Anzeigen, 1916, p. 561 seq.), and Twee oude Franse Verhandelingen over het Hindoeisme (ibid., Deel xxiii, No. 3), Amsterdam, 1923.

2 This date was ascertained by Professor Zacharie, VOJ. xxiv, 340, n. (reprinted in Kleine Schriften, p. 44, n. 1); cf. also Goett. gel. Anzeigen, 1916, p. 581 seq. Professor Caland in his Inleiding, p. vi, had overlooked this and dates the book in 1670, having got from Elphinston’s History of India, 5th ed., p. 621, the year 1654 for the conquest of Jāoli by Sivājī. It should be added that Burnell, Tentative List, p. 27, describes this text as being “perhaps from the seventeenth century”.

3 Apparently pradhān “minister”.
of this passage as having already died, the date must be later than 1761. The same conclusion is to be drawn from chapter lxxvii, where the author mentions the Kurukṣetra, describing it as “the place where the camp of Sodobah was totally annihilated in the wars which the Mogol carried on in the years passed by”. For with Sodobah (= Sadōbā) the author does not, of course, mean the Kanōji Brahmin of that name, who in 1776 conquered part of the Konkan,¹ but simply Sadāsheo Rāo, the actual leader of the Marāṭhās in the warfare of 1761, and the event alluded to is the third battle of Pānīpat (13th January, 1761), the battlefield being, according to tradition, the same one as that where once Arjuna “sprinkled the heads of the noble warriors with hundreds of piercing arrows”.² What we can say is, consequently, that this second treatise was written after the year 1761, and that Professor Caland’s date (1774), even if not wholly ascertained, cannot be far from correct. There is in this treatise next to nothing dealing with cosmography.³

In the second work that I have just quoted Professor Caland has edited two manuscripts that were hitherto known only by some extracts and quotations found in authors of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The first one has the title: “Relation des erreurs qui se trouvent dans la religion des Gentils Malabars de la coste de Coromandel dans l’Inde” (pp. 1–92), the second one is called “La Gentilité du Bengala” (pp. 93–165). Only the first one need trouble us here, the second one dating almost certainly from the eighteenth century. The Relation des erreurs—as it may well be styled—was suggested by Professor Zachariæ (ere the complete text was published) in the Goettingische gelehrte Anzeigen, 1916, p. 592 seq., and in an article in the Nachrichten der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Goettingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1919, pp. 1–34—an article which is a very storehouse of learning—to be a translation of an older Portuguese book, called “Breve Noticia dos erros que tem os Gentios do Concão da India”, the original text of which is lost, or has not, at any rate, as yet been

¹ Cf. Imperial Gazetteer, xxi, 76; Caland, loc. cit., p. 126, n. 1.
² Kālidāsa, Meghadūta, 48.
³ According to the Preface of the Portuguese edition (1812) this and the preceding treatise were accompanied by some twenty-eight coloured drawings, amongst which were pictures of the ten avatāras of Viṣṇu. Eleven of these are still in the Public Library of Evora, bound up with a manuscript of the second treatise, cf. the Catalogo dos Manuscritos da Bibliotheca publica Evorense, i, 346 (Lisbon, 1850): “O nosso M. S. traz no fim onze desenhos, representando as oito [sic] incarnações, que no impresso faltam.” Through the kindness of Dr. F. W. Thomas I tried to get them lent to the India Office Library in 1921, but this was refused by the Director of the Evorã Library.
recovered. However, Professor Caland would now rather assume that the French text is the original—from which the *Breve Noticia* may possibly have been a translation—and that its real author was the famous Jesuit Father Roberto de' Nobili, the founder of the Madura mission (d. 1656), who is quoted in some passages of the text as the author; the text actually edited by Caland would then be a French translation of a work by de' Nobili, written probably in 1644 in another language, perhaps Latin.

I cannot enter here upon a discussion of this rather intricate problem, the much less as I hope soon to be able to return to the very interesting book of Professor Caland. Only so much may be said here that I do not at the present moment see any cogent reason for assuming with its learned editor either that the *Relation des erreurs* is the source of the *Breve Noticia*, or that its original author was Father de' Nobili. In its present form the *Relation* seems to me almost certainly to be a work of the early eighteenth century; notwithstanding, its main materials may very well date from an earlier period of time.

In the *Relation des erreurs* the fourth chapter, called *Des erreurs touchant le monde*, deals with some of the main tenets of Hindu cosmography, viz. the enumeration of the seven *pātālas*, of which the first one gets no name in the text, while the other ones are given as *Magadalam* [Mahātāla], *Saladalam* [Talātala], *Bachadalam* [i.e. *Racha*], *Rasātala*, *Soudalam*, *Vidalam*, and *Adalam*, the enumeration of the seven oceans—without Sanskrit names—in the following order: Salt Ocean, Sugar Ocean, Liquor Ocean, Butter Ocean, Ocean of Curds, Milk Ocean ("ou ils disent que leur Dieu Vichnou couche sur la belle couleuvre qui a cinq testes, qui luy servent d'ombre"), and Sweetwater Ocean, and the enumeration of the heavens, called *Choarcam* [Svarga], *Magalogam* [Mahāloka], *Genalogam* [Janarloka], *Tabalogam* [Tapaloka], and *Satialogam* [Satyaloka]. Then follows a description of the *Magamerou paravadam* [Mahāmeruparvata] and some other details that are of little interest for the student of Hindu cosmography. On the whole, there is not much material of that sort to be drawn from sources like the *Relation des erreurs*.

2 Latin would certainly have been the language if the original were to be found in the work of de' Nobili quoted by Kircher, *China Illustrata*, 1667, p. 152, under the title "De Brachmanum Theologia" (cf. Zacharias, *Goett. gel. Anzeigen*, 1921, p. 164, n. 1); but this need not be the case.
3 Ed. Caland, p. 37 seq.
4 "La seconde (mer) de sucre candy" (Skt. *ikyurasu*).
These are the main things that I should wish to point out by way of an introduction to the manuscript which forms the chief subject of this little paper. I have already drawn attention to the fact that I can, unfortunately, lay no claim whatsoever to completeness; notwithstanding, I may hope that even the preceding scantly remarks may be of some importance to scholars interested in the complex and bewildering structure of Hindu cosmography.

I now let the text itself follow, presenting it in an English translation, the monotony of which may testify to its being fairly coincident with the original; it does not seem necessary, under such circumstances, to print also the Portuguese text, which would perhaps be of little use to at least some of my readers.

[41r] "The mountain which is in the centre between the eight ranges and is called Meru has five ramifications: that one in the Eastern parts is called sueda saiga [śvetasaṅkhā] which means 'the white branch'; that one towards the South is called cristna saiga [krṣṇasaṅkhā] meaning 'the black branch'; that one towards the West is called retta saiga [raktaśāṅkhā] meaning 'the red branch'; that one towards the North is called siama saiga [śyāmaśāṅkhā], meaning 'the green branch', and that one in the middle is called suvarna saiga [śuvaraśāṅkhā] which means 'the golden-coloured branch'. This mountain is four million yogenas [yoganas] high and beneath the earth four thousand (and every yogena counts four leagues); the eight other mountain-ranges are of the same height.

"On the range called Maliauan [Mālyavān] stands a tree called tanpao, and because of that (the land) towards the East is called tanpadiu; the said tree is a hundred thousand yogenas high.

"On the range called Nipadao there is a tree called Jembu [jambu]

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1 According to Brahminical tradition the Meru has different colours on different sides (east white, south yellow, west black, north red) and is itself of pure gold. But the colours given in our text tally better with those found in the tradition of the Buddhists (cf. Kierf, Die Kosmographie der Inler, p. 187). Brahmins, Buddhists, and Jains all alike seem to ascribe to Mount Meru the height of 100,000 yoganas.

2 In Brahmin tradition Mālyavān does not belong to the four ranges surrounding Mount Meru; but, according to the Jains, one of the four vākṣūra-mountains is called Mālyavān (cf. Kierf, loc. cit., p. 233). The Brahmins call the mountain range dividing Iāvrita from Ketumāla by this name.

3 Tanpao stands for Skt. campaka "Michelia champaka", tanpadinu for campa(ka)dvi, a name that does scarcely occur in Brahmin tradition (cf., however, Kierf, loc. cit., p. 58).

4 Read Vipadao, probably = Vipula. The author has mixed up this mountain and the Gandhamadana, as, according to Purānic tradition, the asvatha-tree should grow on Vipula and the jambā-tree on Gandhamadana (Kierf, loc. cit., p. 93).
and because of that (the land) towards the South is called Jambūdiu [Jambūdvīpa]; that tree is a hundred thousand yogenas high.

"A tree of that same name and species stands on the middlemost mountain that is called Meru.

"On the range called Guendamūdenam [Gandhamādana] there stands a tree called axuestāo [āsvattha], and because of that (the land) towards the west is called axuestāodiu [Āsvatthadvīpa]; (the tree) is a hundred thousand yogenas high.

"On the range called Sirungui [śṛṇgī]? there stands a tree called Xaitrāo, and because of that (the land) towards the North is called Xaitradiu; (the tree) is of the same height as the other ones.

"The people inhabiting the part called Paturassuuo canddāo [Bhadṛśvakhāṇḍa] is liberal and cultivated, support themselves by three kinds of fruits, and is a good-looking people that lives ten thousand years; from there towards the East are eight rivers in which they bathe to obtain forgiveness of sins, and they are called rivers of tīrtha [tīrtha]. The first river is called Samartij, the second Uituhana, the third varī [vārī], the fourth caqini or caqini or caqi [Kāncī], the fifth manddalam [mandala], the sixth manipara, the seventh Sarasuadi [Sarasvatī] or vanni [vānī], the eighth Prachiodi [Prācyodā]. From there towards the East it holds nine countries, the first one is called Vigeam [Vijaya], the second samartāo, the third sacattāo, the fourth Manosiringāo [Manah Śṛṅga ?], the fifth Varanao [Vārāna ?], the sixth Colpassāo, the seventh Samartiqāo, the eighth Samuresāo, the ninth Pradiuizeāo [Pratīviṣaya]. From there towards the East is a mountain-range called Allagauizeāo [Ālakaviṣaya ?]; there is also a river which is called Callodegāo [Kālodaka] in which live the supernatural beings called asuragel [Asuragel], who take hold of the shadows

1 śṛṅgī, according to the common tradition, is a varaṣaparvata in the Jambūdvīpa (Kirfel, loc. cit., p. 57).
2 Though Xaitrāo and Xaitradiu should apparently render a Skt. caitra and caitradvīpa, probably caitya is meant. There are several caityavṛkṣa's in Jain cosmography.
3 This tallies with Purāṇic tradition (Kirfel, loc. cit., p. 166).
4 The names of these rivers do not correspond with those given by Kirfel, pp. 105–6, from Purāṇic tradition. There can be little doubt concerning the correctness of the identifications given in brackets above, but no rivers with those selfsame names are known to me (with the exception of Kāncī and Sarasvatī). Manipara may mean something like Manicapra (Kirfel, p. 106), while nothing can be got from the words Samartij and Uituhana.
5 Most of these names I am, unfortunately, unable to identify. The whole of this and of the passage that now follows is extremely uncertain to me.
6 Kālodaka) seems only to be known from the tradition of the Jains (cf. Kirfel, loc. cit., p. 249 seq.).
of people who pass by, and with this the people become enchanted, and they kill them and use them for food. From there towards the East is a red river called Retaomodi [Rakāṁbhodhi] which means 'river of blood', and to the East of that river is a cotton-tree, and on the eastern side of this tree is the dwelling of gueruda [Garuḍa], who is a bird, and this place is called gueruddapauenāo [Garuḍabhenavan] or guerulmapauenāo [Garuḍmahbhavanam], or stūcheralem, or vainateapauenāo [Vainateyabhavanam], or caguesurasermāo [Khageśirāsarma ?] or nagadagapauenāo [Nāgūḍakabhavanam], or Cristnavedapauenāo, or suparnapauenāo [Suparṇabhavanam], or panegusenāopauenāo [Pannagāśanabhavanam]. From there towards the East is a place where dwell the Azurequel [Asuragāl], who are sorcerers, and that is why Arumugaperimal [Arumukuperimāl] slays them. From there towards the East is a (tree) called sahasrauedavurchāo [Sahasravedavrksa ?] and from there further towards the East is an ocean called Xīra [Kṣīra] which means 'ocean of milk', or Xirudodi [Kṣīrāmbodhi], or Xirārnavom [Kṣīrārṇava], or Xirāsūgeram [Kṣīrasūgara], or paijadi [Payodhi]. In this same ocean is a mountain-range called Amalamahāguri iddenāo [Amalamahāgiri] on which range dwell holy maidens, I mean in the ocean. In that ocean is a cobra with a thousand heads that is called Anāden [Ananta] on which cobra sleeps Narāenna sūtīni [Nārāṇaśvasvāmi], that is God. From there towards the East on the left hand is a mountain-range called canagamali [Kanakamālā] which means the 'golden range', and the above-mentioned cobra with a thousand heads sometimes takes its resort there. Further towards the East are two countries, the one is called Xūeda [Sveta], and the other one Hastī [Hasti ?], and further towards the East is a river called callodagāo [Kālodaka]; from there towards the

1 In Jain tradition there is a river called Rakā or Raktoḍā (cf. Kirfel, loc. cit., p. 222, etc.).
2 According to the Purāṇas Garuḍa dwells in a silk-cotton tree (Skt. sālmali, Salmacis nolabarica) that grows in the Śālmalidevi (cf. Kirfel, loc. cit., p. 115) for similar traditions cf. Charpentier, Die Suparṇasage, p. 350 sqq.
3 This word is not clear; it seems to contain something like 'carulaya, but I cannot identify the first syllable.
4 Although this word seems to correspond to a Sanskrit form Kṛṣṇavedabhavana it very probably means Kṛṣṇavakabhavana 'the dwelling-place of Kṛṣṇa's vehicle (= Garuḍa)'.
5 "The Lord with six faces" = Skanda.
6 Although the formal identification seems fairly incontestable, no such tree is known in Hindu tradition:
7 What is meant by iddenāo (dd probably means d) wholly escapes me.
8 No such country seems to be known in Hindu tradition.
East is a range called *Udeamalī* [Udayamālā] which means ‘the range where the sun rises’; on which they believe that there are dwelling a thousand *Azuraguel* [Asuragal], who are sorcerers, in order to make war upon the sun when it rises. In this range is one part with the colour of gold upon which part *Bistnū* [Viṣṇu] put one foot and the other one on the above-mentioned Mount *Meru*, when he asked King *Maueille* [Tamil *Māvali = Mahābali*] to give him three paces of earth of which there is no more towards the East.

"Towards the South from Mount *Meru* in the country called *Ilābruda canddāo* [Ilābṛṭakhaṇḍa] lives a white people that feeds upon the juice of sugar-canes, and lives for ten thousand years.  

"To the South of that (country) is a range called *Nizadāo* [Nīṣadha], and to the South of that range is the part called *Hary canddāo* [Hari-khaṇḍa]. From there towards the South is a range called *Hemacuddāo* [Hemakūṭa]; and to the South of that is a country called *Quimpuruza canddāo* [Kimpuruṣakhaṇḍa]. Thence towards the South is the mountain called *Imauān* [Himavān], on which mountain is a pagoda called sravanā [Śravāna] in which dwells *Nārāyana svāmi* [Nārāyaṇa svāmī] in the shape of a lion. From there towards the South is the country called *Pārada cauddāo* [Bhāratakhaṇḍa] in which is the river called *sripādāo* [sṛīpāda] to which river people go to bathe in order to get their sins forgiven. Further towards the South is a pagoda called *Guengāduōrō* [Gaṅgādvāra] in which dwells *Bistnū* [Viṣṇu]. Still further towards the South are two countries, the first one called *Calingā* [Kaliṅga], the second *tānddauān* [Dānḍaka], and thence towards the South is a wilderness called *Arunniāo* [Araṇya] in which the hermits live; some of them feed on wind, other ones on water, other ones on tender leaves, other ones on fruits, and still other ones on dry leaves. In that same wilderness is a river called *Godavari* [Godāvarī] in which people bathe to obtain forgiveness of sins, which river is surrounded by the wilderness. To the South of that river there is another one called *Samastapapaharaō* [Samastapāpahara] in which sinners do also bathe. Further towards the South there are two

1 *Ilābṛṭa* is the part of *Jambūdevīpa* that forms the nearest surroundings of Mount *Meru*; the description of its inhabitants does not quite tally with Purāṇic tradition (cf. Kirfel, loc. cit., p. 105).
2 Generally called *Harivarṣa*; but this text always uses *khaṇḍa* instead of *varṣa*.
3 Viz. Viṣṇu as man-lion (*narasimha*); exactly what holy place is meant here escapes me.
4 India. The following description, which is partly traditional and partly geographical, is extremely confused; nothing at all is said about the North of India and Hindūstān proper.
countries, one called Panddeão [Pândya], the other one Chollão [Cōla]. Further towards the South is a mountain called Siahillao,\(^1\) which is
550 yojanas high, and further southwards another mountain, a thousand yojanas high, which contains ten peaks from which it is
called dezâparuadão [Dašaparvata]. Further southwards there is
another mountain called Tiruvencöddu parvadão [Tiruvēnkataparvata]
which is eighty-eight yojenas high. Thence towards the South is a
country by name Tonddagão [Tondaka] in which is a market-place
called Canjipurão [Kańciypura]; in that place are many pagodas and
holy bathing-places. Further southwards there is a country called
Cholagaeixeao [Cōkakariśaya], and to the South of that is a holy river
called Srîrengão [Śrîraṃgam]. One yojena further to the South is another
holy river called Tiruvanacöddu [Tiruvēnkkōdu = Travancore]; to
the South of that is a mountain called Sripadi [Śrīpādi], or Patmūlic
-padi or Camelasripadi [Kamalāśripādi], or Indirāpadi [Indirāvati], or
Logamadapadi [Lokamadhyapadi ?], or vemāpadi or temāpadi, or
mēpadi [Mahāpādi], or mangalasripadi [Maṅgalaśripādi].\(^2\) Further
southwards is a river called Caueri [Kāverī] on the southern bank of
which lives a holy man by name Agastienmuni [Agastyamuni] together
with a lot of other saints. Still further to the South is another river
called Nixārari [Niśācarī] in which lives a woman of the caste of
Asuras by name Chayāgraheni [Chāyāgrāhini].\(^3\) Further southwards
there is a pagoda called Siadēnandapurão [Sadānandapura], and to
the South of that a holy bathing-place called Caniitirtão [Kanyāśirtha].\(^4\)
To the South of those places are two countries, the one called Chingalão
[Sinhala = Ceylon], the other one Chonaqão (?),\(^5\) in which countries
live the Siganos [Sinhalese]. Further southwards is a mountain called
Sriguddão [Śrīkūta] in which is a town called Yllangō [Laṅkā], the which
town used to belong to a king by name Vaixiervanne [Vaisravana] but
now it belongs to Vibizanen [Vibhiṣāna], the king of the Azurequel
[Asuraqal], that is the demons. Further to the South is a river called
Sravanão [Śravana ?], and to the South of that a country by name
Andegapuri [Antakapuri] where there are twenty-eight crores [coddý] of

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\(^1\) This name I am not able to identify; the reading is not quite clear.

\(^2\) Some of these names cannot be identified; it is not clear what mountain is
meant by the author.

\(^3\) With this name cf. the story told above on p. 333 sqq. about the Asuras preying
upon the shadows of human beings.

\(^4\) This, of course, means Cape Comorin.

\(^5\) This word could scarcely represent anything but a Tamil word Čoṇakam; but
I know of no country of that name.
towns (and each crore is a hundred thousand). To the South of that are three countries, the first one called Anendão [Ananta], the second one Disápão (?), and the third one Saindavão [Saindhava ?] or Sindürtao (?).

[42r] "Still further southwards is a darkness called Mahaciláo [Mahākāla], and then there is nothing more in the South.

"From Mount Meru towards the West is a mountain range called Guendamādenam [Gandhamādana]. From there westwards is the part called Quedamīla canddāo [Ketumālakhaṇḍa] where live the munis who are the saints. Further towards the West is a country called Sornadīpa [Suvarṇadvīpa], and still further westwards is a range by name Sornaparuadāo [Suvarṇaparvata]. Still more towards the West are two countries, the one called Cuzollaparamāo [Kuśalaparama ?], the other one Dāmōo [Dāma ?]. Further westwards there is a desert called Arunniāo [Araṇya], in which is a purifying river by name Samastāpūpaharāo [Samastapūpahāra]. To the West of that place stands a magnificent palm-tree with a hundred clusters, the which cannot keep alive because of the rays of the sun. Still further westwards is a mountain-range called Astamanaparuadāo [Astamanaparvata] on which the sun goes to spend the night; and on that mountain are living a hundred thousand Asuras who want to fight the sun. Then there is nothing more in the West.

"From Mount Meru towards the North there is a country that holds seventy yojanas in breadth, and at the northern frontier of that country is a desert called punddarigāo [Pundarīka] in which live ten thousand sons of Pīramen [Brahmā], rejoicing in the same privileges as their father. Further northwards is another vast desert called Adicangenāo [Atīkāncana ?], to the North of which is a lake called tamarapoiga, in which grow tāmara-roses that are called mirasol, and in that place lives Arumugaperimal [Arumukaperimā] for which reason it is just as well called Saravanāndāi [Śaravaṅāndī]; on the north bank of this lake stands a tea-tree of a hundred thousand yojanas height. Further northward is another lake, which in its southern part is of the green colour called maragadāo [marakata ‘emerald ’] and in its northern part is of that same colour, though a shade darker, which is called vaydurāo [vaidūrya ‘ beryl ’]; in its eastern part it is of golden and in its western

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1 This does not seem to tally with Purānic tradition (cf. Kirfel, loc. cit., p. 108).
2 These names are not familiar in Brahmanical lore; Suvarṇaparvata “the golden mountain” is generally a name of Mount Meru. The two following names are quite uncertain.
3 It is by no means clear what is meant by the “ten thousand sons of Brahmā”.
4 This word, as well as tamarapoiga, cannot be identified.
part of silvery colour. In that lake dwell Piramen [Brahmā] and
Bistnū [Viṣṇu]. And to the North of it is a country called Cungerāo-
racheō [Kuṇjarājya ?]; further northwards grow some trees from
which, at sunrise, proceed some ladies who, at sunset, return and die.
And still more northwards are other trees that grant every wish.¹
To the North of (those trees) is a mountain-range called Guendamādenāo
[Gandhamādana] on which lives the ape Anumān [Hanumān], who is
a son of the wind. Further northwards are two mountain-ranges, the
first one is called Mallī [Māli], and the second one Sumālī [Sumālī].
And still further northwards is a fire called uaddanāmučcāgni
[Vādavāmyukhāgni].² Then there is nothing more in the North.

"Note ³

"To the North of Mount Meru is a mountain-range called Sirungui
[Sṛṇgī] and then follows a country, etc., up to Adicāngenāo and then
a mountain-range called Suheta [Śveta]. Above that range is the lake
called tāmaraipoā or Sarauananādi and all the other places up to the
mountain Guendamādenāo and then the range Nilla [Nīla].

"On the other side of Nilla is the mountain-range called Mallī,
and then Sumallī and further on the fire uaddauāmučcāgni, and then
there is nothing more in the North.

[42v] "In this Gembudiui [Jambudvīpa] in the easternmost parts
resides a king called Indiren [Indra], his kingdom is called Amerāpadi
[Amarāvati]; the people who live in that country are masters of all
things, and besides there are two races, viz. guendaruā [Gandharvā]
and Quimpuruxā [Kimpuruṣa]. And that king has a thousand eyes.⁴

"In the southernmost parts resides a king called Yemarāgen
[Yamarāja], he is black and like a buffalo; ⁵ his country is called
Baiuassudā [Vaivasvata], in it live demons and Azureguel [Asuragad].

"In the westernmost parts resides a king called Varunnē [Varuṇa],
dressed in a white suit and carrying a rope ⁶ in his hand; the country
is called sutapadi [suddhavati], in which are living snakes and musicians
called quinarāo [kinnara].

¹ Apparently the kalparāja.
² The vādavāmyukha, the submarine fire, is, according to Brahmin cosmography,
situated at the South Pole.
³ This note contains a slightly deviating version of the description of the
Northern regions.
⁴ Indra Sahasrākṣa.
⁵ This is apparently a slip, as Yama is not himself like a buffalo, but has a buffalo
for his vehicle.
⁶ Or rather a noose (Skt. pāśu).
“In the northernmost parts resides a king called Vaysrauanen [Vaiśravanay], a lord of much jewelry and gold, the country is called Mahāpuri [Mahāputri], and its inhabitants are the Ecemāri.¹

“Between North and East, in the utmost parts, resides a king called Isanden [Īśāna], that country is called Axopadi [Yasovati], in it live many different peoples, chiefly deuquegl [devagal] who are the pious ones.

“In the utmost parts between East and South resides a king called Aquinideuen [Agnideva], his country is called texopadi [Tejovati], the inhabitants of which are deuquegel.

“In the utmost parts between South and West resides a king called Nirudipagauan [Nirūṭibhadagaven], that country is called Cristnupadi [Krṣṇavati], and the inhabitants are Azurequegl and demons and witches.

“In the utmost parts between West and North resides a king called Vayupagauan [Vāyuḥbhagaven], who is copper-coloured, and lives in company with the Eregis [ṛṣi], i.e. the saints and lords of the Universe; that country is called Guendapadi [Gandhavati].

“The above-mentioned king called Nirudipagauan, who resides between South and West, has a round face, round and carmine-coloured eyes, teeth curved at the top like those of a hog,² and is jet black.

“This Gembudiyu has a length of a hundred thousand yojanas from West to East, and its circumference is three hundred thousand.³

“The ocean called Leuanā [Lavanā] is 200,000 yojanas broad and has a circumference of 1,500,000 yojanas.

“On the other side of this ocean is the continent called Placzao [Plakṣa]; after it follows the ocean called Hiczu [Ikṣu]. On the other side of that ocean is the continent called Xaga [Śāka], and then comes the ocean called Surā [Surā]. Follows then the continent by name Cuxa [Kuṣa], beyond which is the ocean called Sarpi [Sarpī]. Further on is found the continent called Craunjao [Kraunīca], and then the ocean called Dedi [Dadhī]. Beyond that ocean is the continent called Xamali [Śālmai], and then the ocean called Ichirao [Kṣira]. Follows a continent by name Puxcaro [Puṣkara], and finally an ocean called Suariupinio [Śvādūpāṇīya ?].⁴

¹ This apparently corresponds to a Tamil pl. iyakkammār.
² This is one of the general characteristics of demoniac beings in Hindu mythology.
³ This corresponds to the general tenets of Hindu cosmography (cf. Kirfel, loc. cit., p. 57); the following figures are, however, not quite coincident with those usually quoted.
⁴ This identification is not incontestable.
"And just as the breadth and the circumference of the ocean Leuanão is the double of that of Gembudiui, in that same way the other continents and oceans go on doubling their measures according to that selfsame rule.

[43r] "Outside all these seven continents and oceans that have now been mentioned there is a circumjacent mountain-range called Manderà paruadão [Mandaraparvata], which is, in its turn, surrounded by another range, viz. the Chaeravånaparuadão [Cakravålaparvata]. Another range, the Sornaparuadão [Suvarnaparvata], surrounds this one, and is surrounded by still another one called Logåloga paruadão [Lokålokaparvata]. The Anddagapülam [Andãkapüla] surrounds this one; this means 'the half of an egg-shell', as they think that the lower part of the Universe is encased in the half of it while the other half is on the top of it. This Anddagapülam is surrounded by fire, the fire by wind, and the wind by ether.

"Centre of Jambudvîpa"

"The first concavity, which is called Qvidiaalao [Kṣititala], is 640,000 yojanas broad and has a circumference of 7,590,000 yojanas; the king who governs this part is called Mahèu, the inhabitants are Azurequl and the king as well.

"The second concavity, which is called Videlao [Vitala], is 320,000 yojanas broad and has a circumference of 3,750,000 yojanas. This country is quite black, its king is called Changucarnen [Śaṅkukarnan], the inhabitants are Azurequl and the king as well.

"The third concavity, which is called Nidelao [Nitala], is 160,000 yojanas broad and has a circumference of 1,830,000 yojanas. The ruler of this concavity is a snake called Taczaguen [Taksaka], who is a younger brother of the snake Anùden [Ananta]; this snake has 500 heads. The inhabitants of this place are Azurequl.

"The fourth concavity, which is called Sudelao [Sutala], is 80,000 yojanas broad and has a circumference of 770,000 yojanas. The earth is of a golden colour, of the inhabitants some have only one leg, others have the faces of horses, and still others have very different faces; they live without a king.

1 This passage contains a curious jumble, as the cakravåla belongs to Buddhist, the lokålokas again to Brahmìn tradition. That the mountains Mandara and Swarna surround the universe does not, as far as I know, occur in Brahmìn or other sources.

2 What is here called Kṣititala as a rule goes under the name Tola or Atlal (cf. Kirfel, loc. cit., p. 144 sq.). I cannot identify the name of its king, Mahèu.

3 Śaṅkukarna, according to the common tradition, resides in the first of the pâtásas, and Taksaka, as a rule, has his place in the second one (cf. Kirfel, loc. cit., p. 145).
The fifth concavity, which is called *Talādelāo [Talātala]*, is 40,000 *yojanas* broad and has a circumference of 390,000 *yojanas*. The earth is saffron-coloured; the king is a devil with a stick in his hand, the inhabitants are *Azureguel*.

The sixth concavity, which is called *Resādelāo*, is 20,000 *yojanas* broad and has a circumference of 150,000 *yojanas*. The king is called *Virocana hiremiaczen [Virocana Hiranyākṣa]*, and is of the race of *Asuras*; the inhabitants are *Azureguel*.

The seventh and last concavity, which is called *Mahādelāo*, is the centre of the earth, is 10,000 *yojanas* broad and has a circumference of 30,000 *yojanas*. The king is called *Naguragen [Nāgarāja]*; he is green-coloured, has four hands, is king of the cobras, and dresses and feeds as well as possible. Besides, there are still two other kings, the one called *Muchukunden [Mucukunda]*, the other one *Māulli [Mahābali, Tamil Mābalī]*, both of the *Asura* race; the inhabitants are *Azureguel*.

[43v] "The Heavens"

"From the earth to the first heaven, called *Megamanddelāo [Meghamandalala]*, it is a distance of 100,000 *yojanas*.

"From the first heaven to the second, called *Aditamanddelāo [Ādityamandalala]*, it is 200,000 *yojanas*.

"From the second heaven to the third, called *Chandramanddelāo [Candramandalala]*, it is 2,800,000 (!) *yojanas*.

"From the third heaven to the fourth, called *Pudaxetrāo [Budhakestra]*, it is 800,000 *yojanas*.

"From the fourth heaven to the fifth, called *Nazatramanddelāo [Nakṣatramandalala]*, it is 1,600,600 *yojanas*.

"From the fifth heaven to the sixth, called *Agaxaqungā [Ākāśaqaṅgā]*, it is 8,400,000 *yojanas*.

"From the sixth heaven to the seventh, called *Derualogāo [Devaloka]*, it is 12,800,000 *yojanas*.

"From the seventh heaven to the eighth, called *Piramalogāo [Brahmaloka]*, it is 25,600,000 *yojanas*.

"From the eighth heaven to the ninth, called *Bistunalogāo [Viṣṇuloka]*, it is 1,000,000,000 *yojanas*.

1 *Virocana and Hiranyākṣa* are, of course, two different individuals; according to the Kūrmapurāṇa (Kirfel, p. 146) they reside in this same *pāṭala*.

2 What individual is meant by this description is not quite clear; that *Bali* and *Mucukunda* reside in this deepest *pāṭala* is the general tradition of the Brahmins.

3 The names of the heavens, as given in the following passage, do not tally with those familiar to the current Brahmanical tradition as quoted by Kirfel, loc. cit., p. 128 sqq.
"From the ninth heaven to the tenth, called Cívalogão [Śivaloka], it is 3,200,000 yojanas.

"The first heaven, Meghamandala, is the 'heaven of clouds'.
"The second heaven, Ādityamandala, is the 'heaven of sun'.
"The third heaven, Candramandala, is the 'heaven of moon'.
"The fourth heaven, Budhakṣetra, is the 'heaven of a planet called Mercury'.
"The fifth heaven, Nakṣatramandala, is the 'heaven of stars'.
"The sixth heaven, Ākāśagāṇa, is the 'heaven of ocean'.¹
"The seventh heaven, Devaloka, is the 'heaven of planets except the three highest ones'.
"The eighth heaven, Brahma-loka, is the 'heaven of certain gods called Brahma'.
"The ninth heaven, Viṣṇuloka, is the 'heaven of another god called Viṣṇu'.
"The tenth heaven, Śivaloka, is the 'heaven of another god called Isuaraṇ [Īsvara]'.

"Just as in Jambudvīpa there are seven continents, seven oceans, and seven concavities, there are also seven principal heavens, viz. the second, third, fourth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth. The other ones, viz. the first, fourth, and sixth, are not equal to those ones."

After the text there follow on fols. 44v–45r and 46v–47r two drawings, the first of which represents by seven concentric circles the seven pāṭālas with the names inscribed, while the other one consists of ten concentric circles representing the ten above-mentioned heavens.

As the remarks that I am able to offer upon our text have already been put forth by way of introduction and notes, nothing need be added here. Short and incomplete as this document is, it still remains the oldest known document in a European language dealing exclusively with Hindu cosmography, and I can only hope that someone better acquainted with its tenets than myself will be able to correct and complete my identifications of the names occurring in it, a far too considerable part of which does still, unfortunately, remain unidentified.

¹ Port. o ceo do mar, a curious translation of the Sanskrit word.
REVIEWS OF BOOKS

ERGEBNISSE DER KÖNIGLICHEN PREUSSISCHEN TURFAN-EXPEDITIONEN.
Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien von A. von Le Coq.

Between 1902 and 1914 the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde sent out four successive Turfan expeditions. The results of these expeditions are being gradually published. In 1912 appeared Grünwedel's *Alt-buddhistische Kultstätten*; in 1913 Le Coq’s *Chotscho*; in 1920 Grünwedel’s *Alt-Kutscha*, which contains, in spite of its disadvantages, many valuable plates.

The first volume of the present work consists of a short introduction, followed by forty-five plates, of which seventeen represent not finds of the Turfan expeditions but typical specimens of Gandharan art. The whole thesis of the book is that Gandharan art is the parent of the Buddhist arts in Turkestan, China, Korea, and Japan. The author speaks of a Gandharan style which stretches from Samarkand to Peshawur, and by Gandharan art he seems to mean any art in the Far East which shows traces of Hellenistic influence. Personally I cannot see any reason to use the term Gandharan in this huge acceptation. The Buddhist arts of Gandhara and Turkestan seem to me to stand in the relation of sister to sister (or even cousin to cousin!) rather than parent to child. Both show Hellenistic influences. But in the first centuries of the Christian era there was little art in the world which did not show such influences. The Buddhist art of Turkestan was Hellenized East-Iranian; the art of Gandhara, Hellenized Hindu. It is true that Gandharan art was (historically, not artistically) an extremely important manifestation. In this district were produced many iconographically influential images, copies of which permeated to Central Asia and even to China. The caves at Yün-kang show some work which is closely akin to Gandhara. But much of the sculpture there shows no influence of India nor of Hellenism at all, as for example the Life of Buddha reliefs.¹

¹ Of which some are published by Mr. Ashton in his recent work, *The Study of Chinese Sculpture*. 
Nor have we at present any historical grounds for thinking that Hellenized Buddhist art spread from Gandhara to Central Asia. It may, on the contrary, have been brought from Central Asia to India by the Kushans.

A further tendency to derive everything from his favourite district is shown on p. 25, where the author mentions Gandhara as the original home of metal body-armour (Panzer). It would be interesting if he could prove this, for the invention of such armour is generally attributed to the Egyptians and it is depicted on Egyptian monuments of the thirteenth century B.C.\(^1\)

One small point is worth noticing. In the chronological table (p. 17) the entry under the year A.D. 67 runs: "Der Han-Kaiser Ming-ti von China empfängt buddhistische Missionäre; Beginn der Einführung des Buddhismus in China." That the story of the introduction of Buddhism by Ming-ti is purely apocryphal was shown by Maspéro as long ago as 1910, and Maspéro's contentions have since been accepted by all scholars.

The illustrations are technically admirable. One of the most interesting (to my mind certainly the most beautiful) objects in the book is the fourth century Meditating Buddha (in wood), pl. xlii.\(c\). It would be interesting to know whether this date is given on stylistic grounds or because of the place (north side of the Great Stupa, Tumschuk) where it was found. The author speaks of it as "Vorbild der in Hinterindien üblichen Buddhatypen". Is it not possible that the figure is actually Tibetan, and of a considerably later date?

The second part of the work, which deals with Manichean miniatures, is a completely satisfactory volume. The general account of Manicheism and of Mani's influence upon the arts is admirable in every way. The coloured reproductions are masterly and the miniatures themselves in many cases show exquisite delicacy of handling.

I cannot agree with the view that the headdress of the officials on pl. \(v\) a is a misunderstood rendering of the Sassanian "mit Adlerfittichien verzierten Kappe". It seems to me to be a typically Chinese headdress, the "pien", which occurs so often in connexion

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\(^1\)See Laufer, *Prolegomena on the History of Defensive Armor*, p. 273. The particular type of armour upon which Herr von Le Coq is here commenting seems to be "scale" armour (using the word in Laufer's sense). This was, according to Herodotus, vii, 61, in use among the ancient Persians. The other variety of metal armour, chain-mail; was known in Iranian lands centuries before the Gandharan period. Cf. Laufer, loc. cit.
THE CENTRAL CONCEPTION OF BUDDHISM

with the "kuei"-sceptre (which the figures here represented are carrying). This headdress was part of the official costume of the Chou dynasty.

These two volumes are of the highest importance, and all students of Eastern art will be deeply grateful to Dr. von Le Coq and to those who made it possible for them to appear at a time when publication of such works is of immense difficulty in Germany. The above criticisms are for the most part stray remarks suggested by the perusal of the volumes. To undertake serious and systematic criticisms of such a work would require a dozen qualifications which I wholly lack.

ARTHUR WALEY.


It was a wise decision of the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society to transfer the publication of this work from the narrower limitations of space necessary to their Journal to the wider field of their series of monographs. Even in its present form, it is a little congested with all that it has to tell us. This egg is very full of meat. In a way, it is a throw-off or by-product of the distinguished author's fuller works on (not early, but) early-mediaeval Buddhist metaphysics, as it exists in Sanskrit and Tibetan documents. And, in some degree at least, the stimulus to the making of the by-product would appear to have been Professor and Mrs. Geiger's essay on the word dhamma, as it is found, not in those Sanskrit and Tibetan documents, but in Pali literature. The authors, namely, describe the excellent thesaurus of contexts and meanings they have assorted about the term Dhamma as having a "purely philological", or, rather, lexicographical object. They wish to give an exhaustive presentation of this "so-called central concept of Buddhist teaching" in its many different meanings. To Professor Stcherbatzky the one meaning it holds as a "central conception" is that which he has found it bear in the series of works containing the Abhidharma, or analytic and metaphysical categories and discussions of the Sarvastivādins, notably the Abhidharmakosā of Vasubandhu. All other meanings of dhamma he waves aside, as "not presenting any serious difficulty".

1 In Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, xxxi, 1921, 1.
This remark will make Pali translators feel small. For they will be mindful of many laborious hours spent in coping with just this difficulty: how rightly or least wrongly to render the word in their own language. They know that there is no way of pinning down dhamma by any one word, whether it be dhamma in the singular (with or without a capital Dh), or whether it be dhammā in the plural. But there is a way of reconciling the various Pali meanings with Vasubandhu’s Sanskrit meaning. And that is by considering the notions covered by dhamma in their historical perspective.

The subject will still bristle with difficulties. But we shall, by that perspective, be prepared to concede that, in the long history of a church plus the culture it dominates, there may well have been a shifting, once or oftener, of the so-called “central conception”. A shifting, too, without any change in the ’ism—Buddhism, Christism (or Christianity), Muhammedanism—which serves to denote both church-influence and culture. Can this not be shown to have been true of Buddhism? And, anyway, we see that the monograph appears to have shifted at least its title in a very much briefer time-perspective, and to have been listed in the Royal Asiatic Society’s publications as Vasubandhu on the Fundamental Principles of the Sarvāstivādin School of Buddhism and the meaning of the word Dharma.

This title makes us ever so much happier. Dharmā may well have come to be all, for his early-mediaeval school, that Vasubandhu said it was. But for anyone, who has spent much time groping after the true historical perspective in the teaching of the Pali Pitakas, to see in dhammā, as “metaphysically conceived elements”, a “central conception” is impossible. He will know, it is true, that in so saying, he does not find it easy to lay his finger on any other term or shibboleth and say, “this is, this was, always the central concept.” The Founder’s chief aim is fairly clear; so is his charge to his first missionaries; so are his last injunctions; so is his very marked silence, his impatience, his switching off, where metaphysical speculations were brought forward. He was a gentleman admittedly of no philosophical education, very earnest to help his fellow-men by substituting, as the best way to heal sorrow, the good life, the being one’s “best” (sammā) for decadent, moribund cults, cults so moribund that in his addresses they are a negligible quantity, and not they, but the carnal life and the ascetic life are the only alternatives to the good life of the middle way he takes into account. But his church became overwhelmingly monkish, developing the ascetic outlook and aspiration; his
church developed a Buddhology, placing in his own mouth preposterous assumptions. His church developed analyses and a meticulous system of numbered categories for nearly every term that had been gathered into the stock of its knowledge. So that, as Professor Stcherbatzky reminds us, even in the anthologies we see these last pre-occupations creeping up. And we get three sisters each grateful, poor souls! to a Mother Superior for teaching them about

the factors, organs of sense, elements\(^1\)

of their little selves—just like that, as if they had been taught so many sections of a Vasubandhu manual. And the number-obsession, the stochomania of the church-editors, we know, is everywhere, from the very first sermon down to the total number of texts (dhammā), 84,000 in number, burdening the memory of faithful Ānanda.\(^2\)

All this should be fairly evident to one who reads translations of Vinaya and Dhamma, and early Abhidhamma, and who also reads between the lines thereof. Much more fully does he realize it who, from the platform of historical perspective, has plunged many times into the work of Pali translation. He knows, he sees that with Vasubandhu’s pages before him, he is in a different world from that of the beginnings of the Sakyaputta’s mission, from that of the Sāsana patronized by Asoka. Both of these “worlds” are blended in the Vinaya and Sutta Piṭaka records. And the world of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka indicates a further development. Yet none of these worlds is that in which Vasubandhu moved, any more than his corner is the corner in which Buddhaghosa moved.

Is it likely, then, that we should find dhamma bearing the identical meaning and position in all this long and branching perspective? To look for this were to resemble an ancient worker in bas-relief putting a series of episodes into one foreground. Is it likely that in it we shall find any much-meaning word, such as is dhamma, always the central concept, if, indeed, it ever was such? Was it not rather a name for more than one concept? This is really all that our two learned friends’ expression Zentral-Begriff comes to, for very rightly they group their material under four heads with sub-groups. No other Pali word (except perhaps sankhārā) is so untranslatable by one, sometimes even by any, European word. It is hard to find even an analogous word in European languages. When we read “to be in the world, but not of the world”, and “God hath . . . spoken unto us by

\(^1\) Theragāthā, ver. 43, 69, 103.

\(^2\) Theragāthā, ver. 1024.
his son, by whom he made the worlds””, we lightly adjust two or three meanings successively to one word. But dhamma-adjusting is harder work.

Nor is this the right occasion for saying much about it. But we are coming back to the monograph on Vasubandhu’s dhammā (concerning which we, ignorant, sit at our author’s feet) by way of a brief flight over the older world in which Professor and Mrs. Geiger have been making adjustments. And we will dismiss that world with this one word more: When we are considering the birth and the first church of Buddhism, the one word that matters, as between dhamma and dhammā, is dhamma. This is the word put by the recorders into Gotama’s thought when he was seeking his first listeners. This is the word put into his mouth when making some decisive utterance: “Enough of all that! I will teach you dhamma.” This is the word used by questioners: “Whose dhamma have you studied?” “What is this dhamma by which you train your disciples?”

The plural form does occur from the first. But just as clearly as dhamma means teaching, doctrine, gospel, so clearly do dhammā mean either doctrines, or “things”, and not the metaphysical irreducibles of Vasubandhu. And here I am fain (be the occasion fit or not) to break up my one word more into three remarks:—

(1) À propos of this occurrence of dhammā from the first, Professor Stcherbatzky writes: “The formula of the Buddhist Credo (ye dhammā, etc.)—which professedly contains the shortest statement of the essence and spirit of Buddhism—declares that Buddha discovered the elements (dhammā) of existence, their causal connexion, and a method to suppress their efficiency for ever (niruddho). Vasubandhu makes a similar statement about the essence of the doctrine . . .”¹

Concerning these lines, we take it from the writer as conclusive that Vasubandhu makes such a statement. And therein this statement is similar to that by Professor Stcherbatzky, but it is not similar to any statement in the Buddhist (Pali) Canon. What is this alleged “Credo”? “Whatsoever things (dhammā) have become from a cause, of these the Tathāgata has said the uprising, and of these what is the ceasing: such-a-speaker (is this) great recluse.”²

It is a clumsily worded stanza, and found, so I have read, on many

¹ p. 3. We have not yet seen the De La Vallée Poussin translation (I).
² Ye dhammā hetuppabhavā telaḥ hetuṁ tathāgato āha,
    telaṁ ca yo nirodho evaṁvādi mahāsamanu. Vinaya, i, 40, 41.
monuments. But I have been unable to trace it in any single book of the Pitakas save in this one episode of the Vinaya narrative. A really competent tipetaki may correct me, but not of gross mis-statement. How is it that a church so insistent on formulas, in verse and prose, as the Sangha should have so neglected to reiterate a verse, the later use of which has justified some writers in calling it "the Buddhist confession of faith briefly comprised?" 1

Surely because it is an interpolation of a later date than the prose narrative. The very contents of it support this idea. The verse claims that it says what the great recluse taught. But the prose narrative phrases that part of his teaching otherwise. For, surely, this is so—listen! The verse says, this teacher assigns its arising and its ceasing to every thing that is caused. The prose equivalent says that when the verse is pronounced to the inquirer (Sāriputta), he sees by a flash of insight that what thing soever is an uprising thing is also a ceasing thing (yam khići samudayadhamman, sabbañ tam nirodhadhamman). This is not what the verse said. The prose only says everything that happens, ceases, i.e. everything is impermanent (anicca). Or, at most, it says, all caused things can be stopped (if only you stop the cause). But the verse says, this teacher tells us what is the cause and the ceasing of all caused things.

Here the word hetu (cause) is only in the verse. The verse claims for the teacher omniscience (implicitly). The verse occurs only here. The prose occurs very often and in several books.

No help do we get from the two men said to have uttered the verse. Assaji is a mere name. Sāriputta is anything but that. He may well have chafed at his teacher's scepticism (if this teacher, Sañjaya, were the sceptic of the Digha's first sutta), and have welcomed a "This is so" and "That is so", after "If it be so, I know not". But Sāriputta's mind was not at all philosophical. A study of the discoveries and verses ascribed to him shows a quite lovely picture of the thoroughly good, lovable man (the sappurisa), so simple as to seem slow of wit:—

_Ajalo jālasamāno._2

I cannot see him attracted by a teaching of this nature. I do not believe that Sāriputta had any part in the stock prose refrain, or in the inserted verse. He passed away before the "editing" began.

(2) Does the reader feel baffled at this confusion in the old books, at these varied judgments in the new? Let him spend a few years

1 e.g. Oldenberg, _Buddha_, 6th ed., 154, n.
2 _Theragathă_, ver. 981–1017, esp. 1012, 1015.
translating from the Pali canon. There is evidence of much devotion, of much labour, of good will, of some care. There is much wisdom and goodness shown. There is, in parts, literary beauty, there is in parts logical sequence. For all that, it is one of the greatest pieces of literary botchwork in the world, if measured by our present estimate of good editing. It was not the work of men we should now class as competent scholars. And this is my second point. The men of the Order who handed on the half-forgotten teachings of the founders, the men who later threw them into a semi-mnemononic form, the men who later still in quite another environment wrote them down—none of these transmitters and editors were capable, as academic thinkers, of theorizing about irreducible ultimate dhāmmas and dhātus as Vasubandhu’s little world had come to do. Down to the beginning of the Christian era, in the written canon, we have the work of men largely drawn from village and countryside. We gladly concede that they were good, worthy men; some of them more psychically gifted than bookish men would be; some of them earnest preachers. But their very poor editing, their evasion of philosophical issues, of intellectual exposition, their subsidence in a formula just when a vital, a pioneer, word has been led up to, all such shows that they were unquestionably no more.

(3) And, lastly, if for such men dharmā, discounting its meaning of “doctrines”, meant just “things”, and not noūmena, this does not rule out the importance they may have attached to the term. Indeed, there is in our own word “things” an etymological kinship with that elusive import in the Pali word so hard to reproduce. Namely, the import of something that is right, fit, that ought to be, is norm. This, if we are to believe Skeat’s sagacious guesses, lies at the root of both “thing” and dhamma. Not only was a “thing” the place, the occasion, the object of old European folk-motes, to settle laws and right measures. It appears also in Lithuanian (tik-ti) as “what is fit” or “right”. And its Aryan root is tak, which we get both as hand-fitting in texo, Pali taccheti, and as mind-fitting in takka, tarka. These root-romances may be myths, but the quondam ethical importance of “thing” is fact, is history.

But, Pali readers will say, can you maintain dharmā mean “things” when they are used for the objects of mind ( mano), just as “sounds” are for objects of hearing? I do, and I now think “things” a better rendering here than “ideas” or “states of mind”. To use these terms is the mistake of putting modern ideas into old-world minds. The old-world mind is herein more like a child’s. Sometimes
it sees more truly because it sees more simply, with less wording intervening. When we smell, or feel, or see, we get a smell, touch, shape and colour. When we perceive—using our whole available apparatus of sense and recognizing—we have got "a thing". Similarly, when we recollect, or imagine, say, an "orange" and the like. And the function of mano was stated in the Suttas to be one of collocating or co-ordinating the five streams of sense-impressions. Mind was their "resort", "enjoying" all they brought. Mind gives us "things". Similarly -dhammo, as "quality of", literally means "-thing". Thus, to say a pot is khayadhammo, bhedanadhammo, decayable, breakable, is only to say it is a decay-thing, a breaking-thing.

We now come to Professor Stcherbatzky and Vasubandhu. Had the genial author only omitted the book-title of his monograph and the first three pages, not a word of the foregoing need have been said. But there are "visions about", that A, B, C, or D is the "central conception" of Buddhism. And seeing that, under Buddhism, we include many centuries of time, many corners of the world, and an old literature of very botched editing, I have so far tried to show that much greater historical timidity is advisable before we can make any such sweeping generalizations.

I do not myself hold that either the dhammā of Vasubandhu, or the yaṁ kīṇci dhamman, that is Impermanence, of the Geigers is the quintessence of Buddhism, if by that word we mean the inspired message of the man Gotama. I have said elsewhere what that message was, for me. But his church, as happened later in another great church, while it taught the message, put forward ascetic and other ideals as "central".

It is difficult to realize that the literary idiom, the lucidity, the verve of this little book, are not the work of an Englishman using his native diction. Only in two or three minute slips do we find it out. A subject that many would have presented in a method half unreadable, half incompressible, wholly unenjoyable, is here made little less than really fascinating. The expositions are so much more

2 Those on p. 29, ll. 8, 9, and on p. 33, ll. 17, 21 ("course" for "cause") are mere printer's errors. On p. 29, l. 21, "intentionally," I suggest, should be "according to disposition", or as we should say ad hominem: a usual term in Pali Commentaries for Sātra-method as opposed to that of Abhidharma. For "trans.", p. 105, l. 17, we should of course read "distinguishes between ", or the like.
attractive, to even the uninitiated reader, than the titles threatened they would be: Skandhas, Āyatanas, Dhātus, Matter, Elements of Mind, Forces, and so on. In the Sanskrit and Tibetan survivals of the writings of a mind infinitely more habile than the canonical writers in dealing with concepts as ultimates, and in realizing to some extent that it was dealing with such—that it was postulating, was using hypotheses—we are in a different world from the more archaic, more childlike Piṭaka editors. We are in an academic world, not in a world of teachers of a gospel, or even of monastic doctrines. We are in a world of penmen, not of editors of oral tradition. The culture of this world has annexed all it could of its day and its world-corner, and it has grown by all such.

And Professor Stcherbatzky is at home here, none more expert than he. The work he expounds is a classic and a vade-mecum of even longer standing than the more concise Pali digest Abhidhammattha-sangaha, translated as A Compendium of Philosophy.\(^1\)

Every Japanese candidate for ordination, Sir Charles Eliot informs me, must be proficient in it. It is an exposition, our author reminds us, of the earlier Abhidhamavibhāṣā-sūtra, and that is a commentary on the yet earlier Abhidharma of the Buddhist school of the Sarvāstivādins. For a digest of this collection we are indebted to Professor Takakusu's essay in the JPTS. 1905, "The Abhidharma Literature of the Sarvāstivādins." This school is believed to have been one of the older dissentive branches in the Buddhist church. Yet our testimony to this, in Pali literature, is scarcely older than Vasubandhu himself is believed to be. We read of it first in the commentary on the Kathā Vatthu,\(^2\) the text giving us controversies with the school, but not alluding to it by name.

It is good that the great lacunae in our histories of philosophy of the intellectual progress made in early mediaeval Buddhism should be to some extent bridged by this slender manual. We need less theorizing about problems; we need expositions—such as it gives—and translations—such as that in Appendix I. Our own problems are more pressing than those of this little dead world—yes, the problems may be ours, too, but we confront them as new-world citizens.

And just as we should be wary in reading mediaeval ideas into a more ancient world, so we need to be wary in reading late-mediaeval or

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1 By S. Z. Aung and Mrs. Rhys Davids, PTS. 1910.

2 Cf. The trs. Points of Controversy by S. Z. Aung and Mrs. Rhys Davids, P.T.S. 1915, p. 84.
modern ideas into that early-mediaeval world. For instance, I venture, though ignorant of those Abhidharma works, to question whether saṃskārā can justly be rendered "forces". Sankhārā did not satisfy Pali writers when, long after Vasubandhu's time, they began to feel the need of a term for force, e.g. in cause producing effect. For they were using in Burma in the fifteenth century the word satti (sakti) in that particular connexion. Hence saṃskārā could not have included a sense of force, else the new word had not been needed. Aristotle hints at βιον, "by force," in groping after world-movement and will. But not till Archimedes advanced physical science did the Stoics bring "forces" really into philosophy. If their thought had gone eastward it might have lent a new, more dynamic meaning to saṃskārā than this word had for Pali writers. But there is little to show that saṃskārā called up for Vasubandhu's school the ideas "force" calls up in a modern reader of Western culture.

True, cetanā is the first in the list of saṃskārās, and is translated by "will". But cetanā is a poor makeshift name for will (viriya, pradhāna, etc.), so poor that it is literally "thinking", and is more "intention", or thought concerned with action, than the working of the self expressed in the splendid word "will". So that even cetanā does not raise the saṃskārās into forces; and the rest of the saṃskārās do so far less, save viriya and prīti, rapture—a small proportion of fifty or more items.

True, to use "heredity" with Western readers for a stream of individual rebirths, in which parents are merely birth-vehicles of earthly, is misleading (p. 34).

And with regard to that "stream", the author seems unaware that the name for it of santāna is long post-canonical. I have only found in one sutta an approach to it: kacci (te) santānakā natthi: hast thou no little-stretching-out-things? meaning children as descendants (Samy. i, 8).

Again, in presuming for all Buddhism, that the "heart-base" was not the flesh-organ, but a subtle "stuff", he goes too far. In the Nidāna (of the Jātaka Commentary) we have the phrase: mayhānu . . . hadayaṃsaṃsantare patīṭhitā, "(the Ten Perfections) are established within the flesh of my heart."

Finally, one would venture to think that adhevan is rather transience than transition (p. 45), that sūnya is scarcely "contingent" (p. 67), and that it is a trifle forced to render duḥkha, a word which has already

1 Cf. the present work, p. 45, on Vyāsa's use of the term.
so much to express, by "unrest". The writer's supposition is that philosophy saw in the term what popular teaching did not. Now there is in the whole of ancient and early-mediaeval Pali literature a curious absence of "rest", both as an explicit ideal and even as a term. Where, in one Sutta, fortunate rebirth as man or deva, and also the *summum bonum* itself are figured as happiness after a perilous journey, the word "rest", "repose", strange as it seems, is not introduced (Majjh. i, 75 f.). Nor have I met the word in Abhidhamma. I submit therefore that it is regrettable to have imposed the negation of rest as the *salient feature* of *duḥkha*. I submit it is not a Buddhist tradition.

For those whose work has not lain within that tradition may this little pioneer book be not only as little misleading, but, on the other hand, as singularly stimulating and instructive as it has been for the reviewer! And the solution he finds and gives—simple, when given, as Columbus's egg-balancing—of the threefold world division into two: (1) Rūpadhātu = (a) kāma loka, (b) niṣkāma loka; (2) Arūpadhātu—a solution which no Pali student, European or Oriental, has ever given us—is one for which such students owe him much gratitude.

C. A. F. Rhys Davids.

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**The Administrative System of the Marathas.** By Dr. S. Sen, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in Maratha History and Literature in Calcutta University. Printed at the Calcutta University Press.

This book is the result of a wide and careful study of original documents, chiefly Maratha and English, and only needs a more comprehensive glossary.

It describes the administrative system of a people of Western India which overran in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the greater part of Hindustan as far as Calcutta—*testa* the Calcutta Ditch outside the city.

The reputation of the Marathas has suffered because their methods have been compared with those of modern times, but Dr. Sen has rehabilitated it by instituting a fairer standard of comparison—that of their English contemporaries. He shows that this reputed horde of robbers had in reality an excellent system of administration developed from the principles of ancient Hindu lawgivers modified by the influence of Mussulman rulers.
He explains the causes of the system's decay and points out certain of its features copied by the British Indian Government.

Beginning with the great founder of the Maratha Empire, Sivaji Raja (1627–80)—the Robert Bruce of Western India, who freed it from the Mussulman yoke—Dr. Sen at once touches on a vital point by his remark that "He" (Sivaji) "knew that the great defect of the Maratha character was its selfish individualism". The Raja knew his countrymen too well to trust them.

This was the reason that caused him to put his forts each under the command of a committee of three officers of equal powers but different castes—that made him take security for good behaviour from every recruit who entered his army, and induced him to establish a system of spies on his revenue officers.

But if lack of patriotism in its subordinates weakened the Maratha Government, its power was rendered precarious by the fact that its head was an autocrat.

In it everything depended on the personal character of the ruler.

While Sivaji was alive it grew and flourished, it survived under those Peshvas who were able men, but finally collapsed under the miserable Baji Rao II, who was overwhelmed by British arms at Kirkee in 1818. Dr. Sen remarks that—

"The revenue policy of the Peshvas was based on the principle of securing the prosperity of the taxpayer."

This they did by remission of rent in times of drought and disturbance, by advances of cattle and seed to needy cultivators under the name of "tagai" (both measures adopted by the British Indian Government), and by total remission or partial reduction of taxation during a period of years to persons who took up waste land for cultivation or established new industries.

Moreover, they prohibited the sale or mortgage of their permanent leases by tenants of Government land.

This check on the rapacity of moneylenders has been adopted only of late years by the British Indian Government in the Punjab. Again, they frequently intervened between the cultivator and the usurer by forcing the latter to accept reasonable interest on money borrowed on the security of crops.

Finally they regulated the prices that retail traders were allowed to ask for their goods. O! si sic omnes!

Besides income derived from the rent of land collected by the village headmen (patels) under the supervision of the district revenue
officials—according to the Indian theory all land is the property of Government—the Maratha ruler had other sources of revenue. The chief of these were Customs, octroi, "chaught," and loot.

Octroi (zakat) was a Mussulman device adopted by the Hindus.

It was originally intended by the Prophet of Mecca to be a cess for the relief of the indigent, but as time went on was appropriated by the ruling powers for their own benefit.

"Chaught" was 25 per cent of the revenue of foreign territories overrun by the Maratha forces and was a tribute (like the Danegeld) paid to obtain immunity from future attack.

Loot was a regular source of revenue to Sivaji.

He ordained that for eight months in every year his forces (chiefly cavalry) should invade foreign territory, live on the invaded land, and loot (rob) its inhabitants at will.

But on their return home at the end of the annual campaign the soldiers were searched at the frontier and all the loot they could not conceal was appropriated by Government. In compensation they were paid their wages regularly and the widows and orphans of soldiers killed in action or the soldiers themselves, if disabled, were cared for by the State.

Sivaji arranged that his army should be recruited by himself and paid by civil officer (Karkuns).

The Peshvas, however, permitted Sardars (Chiefs) to raise their own forces and to pay them from the revenue of grants of land (Saranjams) given by the State for military service. The inevitable result was the aggrandisement of feudal barons which finally brought low the Maratha empire, a parallel case to that of France in the fifteenth century.

Sivaji also established a small navy chiefly to protect from pirates his merchant fleet which traded with the Malabar coast and Arabia.

The legal administration of the Marathas was simple. There was practically no law.

Guidance was obtained from the dicta of ancient Hindu writers such as Manu and Yajnavalkya (which were at times contradictory) and from custom.

Justice was administered in the first instance by the village headman (patel), assisted by a committee of villagers (panchayet), and appeals lay to the Brahman judge (nyayadish) appointed by Government for the district. Amicable settlements were aimed at.

There were no Court or lawyers' fees, but the successful suitor in
a civil case had to pay to Government 25 per cent of the amount
recovered by him (*harki*).

Under Sivaji murderers were punished by fine, though capital
punishment was introduced by the Peshvas.

But thieves were liable to mutilation.

This was barbarous, but it must be remembered that in England
Prynne’s ears were cropped because he libelled Henrietta Maria, wife
of Sivaji’s contemporary Charles I, and up to the beginning of the
nineteenth century thefts were punishable by death.

Accused persons could claim trial by ordeal—generally by the
grasping of heated metal—and witchcraft was punishable under the
Peshvas by fine and imprisonment.

*Per contra* it must not be forgotten that thousands of English
men and women were condemned to death for witchcraft under the
Tudors and Stuarts, and that in the early part of the nineteenth century
in England a certain person charged with murder was acquitted because
the nearest male relative of the deceased refused to accept the accused’s
challenge to ordeal by battle.

The Marathas punished adultery by penal servitude or slavery
for the female offender, and fine for the male.

They had no idea of equal marriage laws.

The Maratha ruler, like the king of England, was head not only of
the State but the Church. He not only reigned but ruled.

Thus he frequently inflicted on a convict both punishment for
a crime and penance (*prayaschitta*) for the sin involved in the crime.
The case would be parallel if English forgers and embezzlers had not
only to suffer imprisonment but to stand in white sheets outside the

Religious tolerance, however, was a feature of the Maratha
administration.

Mussulmans were often promoted to posts of honour, and
Mussulman shrines were supported by endowments just as those of
the Hindus. Compare with this the contemporary maltreatment of
heretics by the Spanish Inquisition and the harrying of Roman
Catholic priests in Ireland by the English Government.

But the great blot on Maratha justice was the fact that the
treatment of convicted prisoners depended entirely on the wealth of
the individual or the influence of his friends.

Moreover, the wives and children of absconding offenders were
liable to imprisonment.
In the chief towns the police were maintained by the Government, but in the villages police duties were performed under the orders of the patel by low-caste men (Mahars and Jaglias) and by members of criminal tribes (Ramosis), who were remunerated by the villagers.

The Marathas had no State departments of education and medicine.

They, however, made some provision for both by endowing scholars and physicians with State grants on the understanding that they were to teach and heal—in the case of the indigent free of charge.

Slavery was permitted, but slaves were treated as domestic servants, and a slave girl who bore a child in marriage, even to a fellow slave, was manumitted.

Currency was provided by licensed private mints, the licensees of which were under contract with Government to maintain “the standard proportion in the alloy and the purity of the metal”.

Dr. Sen sums up the administration of the Marathas under Sivaji and the Peshvas as follows:

“The villages of Maharashtra were so many States within the State, self-contained and isolated. The head of the State was a despot helped, but by no means controlled, by a council. The villages at the base were linked by a chain of royal officers with the supreme Government. Such also has been the case in the past” (i.e. in Ancient India).

It may be remarked that the above-mentioned council consisted of eight ministers (Ashta Pradhan), and was based on the writings of ancient Hindu sages (such as the Shukraniti).

The ministers performed much the same duties as those of the members of the Viceroy’s Council of to-day—the chief difference being that the present Public Works Minister fills a vacancy caused by the omission of the head of the ecclesiastical department (Panditrao).

Here it may be noted that when the Peshvas, who were originally the chief ministers among the Ashta Pradhan, established an hereditary dynasty of their own, after ousting Sivaji’s degenerate heirs, the latter were still maintained as Rajas of Satara, and though without real power were acknowledged as the heads of the State and the fountain of honour like the Mikados of Japan in the days of the Shoguns.

In conclusion, reference may be made to Dr. Sen’s statement that there is a statue of Sivaji at Malwan, a port of Western India.
This "statue" (as seen by the present reviewer) is placed in a Hindu temple and is worshipped as the image of a god. Sivaji has, in fact, been deified by his countrymen. Has not Joan of Arc been canonized by a great Christian Church?

R. A. Leslie Moore,
Marathi Lecturer under the I.C.S. Board in the University of Cambridge.


The modest size of this volume does not give any measure of the work involved or the results attained in it; and, since long-windedness is a standing temptation to scholars, Mr. Gibb's successful compression adds to the merit of his book. His subject is that century of Central Asian history which opens with the arrival of the Arab conquerors at the N.E. frontier of the former empire of the Sasanids, and which closes with the definite incorporation of the Oxus and Jaxartes basins in the Arab Empire in A.D. 741—an event which thus only just anticipated that movement in the adjoining country of Khurasan, which overthrew the Umayyads and raised up the 'Abbasids to reign in their stead.

Mr. Gibb's careful and detailed reconstruction of events is based, in the first place, upon a critical study of the scattered, fragmentary, and often contradictory Arabic sources. In this study he has mastered the work of previous scholars, but has not taken their results for granted. He has always tested them by his own researches among the original authorities, and has thus succeeded in throwing new light upon a group of obscure and confused but historically important transactions. In addition to this, he has made full use of such work as has yet been done by Western scholars upon the Chinese material. During the whole of that century the Chinese and the Arabs were manœuvring against one another in order to win the political and commercial ascendancy over Central Asia, and either body of tradition ought therefore to supplement and illustrate the other. Mr. Gibb shows skill and judgment in the difficult task of bringing these independent sources into relation. A good example of this is his analysis (p. 60) of the embassies noted in the Chinese records as having been sent to the capital of the T'ang by the local powers of the Oxus and Jaxartes basin, by the Arabs on their own account, or by the Arabs acting in
concert with one or more of their Central Asian protégés. He shows how the fluctuations in the frequency of these embassies correspond with what we can learn from the Arabic sources regarding the fluctuating fortunes of the Arabs in their long-drawn-out wars of conquest in the area concerned.

The writer opens with an illuminating picture of Central Asian society as it was at the beginning of his period: a highly civilized Iranian sub-stratum of population, which for centuries past had known how to assimilate the successive waves of ruder and numerically weaker conquerors from the Eurasian steppe; a high degree of political decentralization (due to the concentration of population in oases separated by stretches of steppe, desert, or mountain); a foreign commerce with wide ramifications (due to the potentialities of Central Asia as a kind of switch-board between such economically powerful importing and exporting regions as the Far East, India, the Middle East, and the Eurasian Steppe); and a mixture of religions (Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism, Buddhism, and Nestorianism being already established in the land before the advent of Islam). Religions spread with trade, and this commercial and eclectic Central Asian society was not fanatical. Mr. Gibb argues convincingly that it was not religious hostility towards Islam, but national self-consciousness and commercial interest that inspired the Central Asian resistance to the Arabs; and, at the close of the book, he shows how that resistance abated in proportion as the Arabs began to concern themselves for the welfare of Central Asian trade and to offer tolerable social and political conditions to the conquered peoples.

This picture brings out a striking contrast between the Central Asian city-states and the Sasanid Empire at the time of the Arab conquest. The racial kinship between the principal elements in the population of the two regions was outweighed by the social and political differences. Persia—a comparatively centralized empire with a great king, an established church, and a feudal aristocracy—collapsed with the destruction of the Sasanian armies and submitted to the invader. The Central Asian principalities, though relatively weak individually and usually divided against each other, held out for a century and extorted substantial concessions from the Arabs as the price of their ultimate submission.

1 Mr. Gibb aptly compares the political life of these states to that of the city-states of Ancient Greece, whose particularism was also largely the result of the local geographical environment.
Mr. Gibb brings out the fact that the resistance to the Arabs was mainly the work of the local sedentary population (Iranian or Iranized) in the Central Asian oases. The loose usage of the name "Turk" in the Arabic sources has obscured the fact that the Arabs had no serious encounter with a genuine nomadic Turkish power from the steppes until the year 720. On the other hand, during the following seventeen years, during which this Türgesh tribal confederacy was actively supporting the Central Asian Nationalists, the Arabs found themselves in greater difficulties on their N.E. frontier than at any other time during the century under consideration. The Nomads, when they did intervene, proved more formidable than the great civilized power of the Far East, which supported the exiled House of Sasan unto the second and third generation and (as the political heir of the Western Tou-Kiue) claimed suzerainty over the Oxus and Jaxartes basins from A.D. 658 until more than halfway through the eighth century after Christ. The only serious direct encounter between Arab and Chinese military forces was the celebrated but in itself inconclusive battle fought at Talas, beyond the N.E. extremity of Farghana, in A.D. 751. From beginning to end, the Chinese proved (in this remote western hinterland of their sphere of influence) a broken reed; and the letters from their despairing Central Asian vassals, which Mr. Gibb quotes from the Chinese records, read curiously like the letters from Syria which had come to King Akhen Aten at Tell-el-Amarna about 2,000 years before, when certain Amorite kinsmen of the Arabs were pressing upon the outlying protectorates of an earlier Oriental empire.

One of the most interesting points in Mr. Gibb’s work is his valuation of Qutayba bn Muslim. Without unduly depreciating the great soldier with whose name the Arab conquest of Central Asia is traditionally associated, he brings evidence to show that his conquests were superficial and inconclusive. The real test of Arab military power in Central Asia occurred between the years 724 and 737, and the writer shows in how large a measure the eventual consolidation was due to Asad bn ‘Abdullah and Nasr bn Sayyar. In A.D. 732 the outlook for the Arab Empire in the Central Asian hinterland of Khurasan was hardly more promising than it was in the Trans-Pyrennaean hinterland of Spain after the Battle of Tours. In the course of the next few years, however, the fortunes of the empire (and of Islam) took a very different turn—with momentous historical consequences—in Central Asia and in N.W. Europe respectively. Evidently the happier issue on the N.E. frontier was partly due to the statesmanship of Asad and
Nasr, and Mr. Gibb makes it clear that they won Central Asia by a policy of conciliation as much as by force of arms.

By the date at which the Arab conquest of the Oxus and Jaxartes basins at length brought that region under the same Arab government as the Iranian plateau, the two areas had followed independent lines of political and social development for something like a thousand years; and it was therefore not surprising that, a few years later, they should react differently towards the internal crisis which overtook the incorporating empire. The newly conquered Central Asian Iranians were not with Abu Muslim when he raised his standard in Khurasan. Like the Sikhs in the Indian Mutiny, they remained loyal to their recent conquerors during the years when the Arab Empire was shaken by internal convulsions at its core; and they even remained loyal to the Umayyad Dynasty until Abu Muslim’s victory was beyond all doubt. Incidentally, Mr. Gibb questions how far, even in Khurasan, Abu Muslim was supported by anything like a mass movement of the Iranian population. That question stretches beyond the limits of the book, but Mr. Gibb has at least made it clear that the Central Asian Iranians were not a factor in Abu Muslim’s success—except, possibly, in the very indirect sense that a century of arduous border warfare with the independent states across the Oxus had led the Arab authorities in Khurasan to recruit, arm, and train local military forces among the Iranian population of the Khurasan border, which Abu Muslim afterwards enlisted in his cause.

Arnold J. Toynbee.


Dr. Karlgren has been unfortunate in his reviewers. A writer in the Journal of the North China Branch (1920, p. 201) announced in a review of La Phonologie Chinoise that he was distrustful of “all this phoneticism”. “There are,” the critic continued, “very few phonetic languages really ... Chinese is far from being so.” But since phonetics is the science that analyses the sounds of a language, and since all languages are composed of sounds, it is hard to see how one language can be more “phonetic” than another. At least two other reviewers betrayed by their petulance the dread of having to learn something new. In the hostility of such people Dr. Karlgren may take comfort, for it is a testimonial to the originality of his work.
The long introduction to the "Dictionary" is to some extent a summary of, but also an appendix to, the *Phonologie*. The dictionary itself gives Mandarin, Cantonese, ancient and Sino-Japanese pronunciations, with etymological commentary. Henceforward those who are studying foreign sidelights on Chinese history or Chinese information about foreign countries will be able in a moment to discover the approximate early T'ang pronunciation of any Chinese character that occurs in the transcription of names, etc.

That, merely from this point of view, the *Analytical Dictionary* was badly needed has sometimes been illustrated even by articles in this *Bulletin*; and from how many fantastic comparisons would it, for example, have saved Dr. C. J. Ball in his *Chinese and Sumerian*! It has put an end to the days when each scholar constructed an Ancient Chinese *de fantaisie* out of the southern dialect which he happened to know best, an attitude of which De Groot in his *Hunnen der vorchristlichen Zeit* gave an example as recently as 1921. It will, one hopes, also put an end to etymologies such as Fulin 粔林: πόλυ, to which Herr Albert Hermann still clings, though he is, on the whole, an enlightened and able supporter of Dr. Karlgren's system.

The dictionary itself is arranged in phonetic groups and is followed by admirable indices which make the finding of any desired character a very easy task. The arrangement of the dictionary makes it serve to some extent (in addition to its lexicographical functions) as a treatise upon the phonetic groups. Chinese characters usually consist (a) of an element which gives the sound, called the phonetic; (b) of an element which gives the sense, often called the "radical", but by Dr. Karlgren more wisely called the "significative". Now these series of phonetics show some very curious irregularities. Some of them are obviously due merely to typographical or clerical confusions.

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1 A painstaking book, which, however much one may disagree with its conclusions, is deserving of all respect.

2 Sven Hedin, *Southern Tibet*, vol. viii, 239. One of the difficulties of this identification is that the various characters by which the second syllable is transcribed all had an original final *m*, not *n*. Concerning the transcription used by Hsüan-tsong (Hsi Yü Chi, xi, 37, 38) Herrmann says that 稲 had an original final *n*, and refers the reader to the index of transcriptions at the end of the volume. But, in the index (p. 441), the "alte Umschreibung nach Karlgren" appears with final *m*. There has here obviously been some negligence. I do not know whether Dr. Karlgren would accept the transcription of 稲 as *pjin*.*, which occurs in the next line and is also labelled "nach Karlgren". It certainly needs some comment.

3 Actually, he calls it the "signific", which does not make a very good English word.
When, for example (Wieger, *Triple Lexique*, No. 205), we find the character 觀, turning up in the series 觀 k'iang, but pronounced p'ang, we guess at once that in 觀 the right-hand portion is simply a graphic variant for 鏡 feng. Other irregularities are due to the fact that sounds which were originally very closely akin have developed in different directions. But it is worth noticing that in some cases the reverse has happened and that the modern discarding of final consonants has reduced to regularity series which in earlier times were irregular. Certain very interesting series of phonetics are examined by Dr. Karlgren in his introduction (pp. 16–33). The characteristic of these series is that whereas one member (sometimes more) lacks an initial consonant, the others possess one. In these cases Dr. Karlgren postulates the loss of initial ordinary b, d, g, etc., consonants which were unknown to T'ang dynasty Chinese. It is, however, very remarkable that (at any rate, in all the most typical series) it is the phonetic itself (i.e. the simple, uncompounded form) which lacks the initial consonant and therefore originally had an initial unaspirated sonant (b, d, g, etc.). I do not think that Dr. Karlgren's theory fully explains this phenomenon.

There is a slight tendency throughout the work to exaggerate the unity of the phonetic series, and in numerous cases irregular members have been omitted; for example, 鈺 and 鈦 in the 銳 series, 河 in the 介 series, 稵, 鴻, etc., in the 弁 series; 姬 in the 至 series; 聲 ch'eng in the 俊 p'in series.

In the case of the 楨 group the tiehs (髦, etc.) are quoted, but not the hsiehs (髦, etc.), which makes the treatment of this group rather unsatisfactory. The character 楨, the commonest member of the group, had indeed all three pronunciations. In the sense “leaf of a tree” it was pronounced jāp; in the sense “writing-leaf, tablet” it was pronounced d'iep; finally, the surname (and place-name) 楨 was pronounced shāp; “the old pronunciation of the family-name 楨 was shāp,” says Chêng Ch'iao writing in the T'ung Chih (c. a.d. 1150), “but in later times it came to be pronounced like 楨 ‘a tree-leaf’.” The pronunciation shāp is reflected in the use of this character to transcribe Sanskrit -şyap-, as in Kâśyapa; also in the fact that the Japanese still transcribe the surname 楨 sefu (for earlier sepu).

Dr. Karlgren hypothecates an original džāp, but this does not explain the shāp variants. Are we to regard shāp as a halfway-house between džāp and jāp, with possibly a thāp as stepping-stone between the d and s forms? The variant pronunciations of individual characters
are often omitted in this dictionary, which is a pity, for they constitute a problem which cannot be properly studied apart from the question of the phonetic groups, and their presence would not have materially increased the size of the book. To give an example of what I mean—under 當 (No. 52) we find ぴょう, but not the interesting variant ぴょつ which is indicated by K'ang Hsi.

The above remarks are, as Dr. Karlgren will easily recognize, the casual observations of an amateur. They do not constitute serious criticism of a work which has rendered an immense service, not only to sinology, but also to Orientalism in general.

Arthur Waley.


The casual reader can form but an inadequate idea of the long training and the sheer hard work that must have gone to the making of this book. He will enjoy its copious extracts from Chinese literature without suspecting that a few minutes’ easy reading may have cost the author as many weeks or even months of the most exacting toil. Mr. Waley has resisted the temptation to pad his work, he indulges in few rhapsodies, but tells us a great deal of what Chinese critics have said and thought—a much more important contribution to the history of Chinese art. He is rather long, it is true, in getting to grips with his subject, the first four chapters being devoted to a survey of early Chinese poetry and philosophy. Incidentally we get some charmingly rendered specimens of the Odes, exhibiting just that magic touch which transmutes the leaden literalness of prose into the gold of true poetry. Take this stanza from Legge:—

My mind is not a stone;—
It cannot be rolled about.
My mind is not a mat;—
It cannot be rolled up.
My deportment has been dignified and good,
With nothing wrong which can be pointed out.

And compare it with Mr. Waley’s:—

My heart is not a stone
To be rolled aside;
My heart is not a mat
To be folded away.
What have I done? If I a jot have erred,
Show me my fault!
These and other snatches of poetry which appear throughout the book are not really out of place; for they shed a light on the thoughts and feelings of the Chinese without which the study of their art is apt to become a profitless groping in the dark.

A long and interesting chapter is allotted to Kn K’ai-chih, who is well known as the reputed painter of “The Admonitions of the Instructress to the Court Ladies” in the British Museum. As to the genuineness of this scroll Mr. Waley comes to no positive conclusion. In his opinion it must be the one which the Emperor Ch’ien Lung possessed and which the great connoisseur Tung Ch’i-ch’ang admired; but that takes us back no further than the Ming dynasty, and is quite consistent with its being a T’ang copy. Even if it be not from the actual hand of Kn K’ai-chih, it preserves one of his designs, and is probably the earliest of all extant Chinese paintings on silk. There is less doubt about the “Thirteen Emperors” of Yen Li-pén (seventh century), part of which is here reproduced. Of Wu Tao-tzû, alas! nothing now remains, but we are glad to see a photograph of the magnificent “Snake and Tortoise”, now in the British Museum. This is only a rubbing from an incised stone. The design may be Wu Tao-tzû’s, but as the pose of the two creatures was probably standardized long before his time, it tells us little about the master’s individual style. Several of the Tun-huang paintings have been selected for reproduction, notably the beautiful Avalokitesvara on pl. xxii. We learn, however, that they belong to a comparatively late and decadent period, the earliest dated picture being of A.D. 864. If this was T’ang art in its decay, what must not have been its glory in the “grand siècle” preceding! On the whole, after hearing so much about the great painters of the past, we are naturally disappointed to find that so little of their work is extant or available for illustration. Pining for Wu Tao-tzû and Wang Wei, one almost resents being fobbed off with small fry like Mao I, Liang K’ai, and Lin Liang, about whom little or nothing is said in the text. Still, there is much to be grateful for. The “Persimmons” of Mu Ch’i, for instance, is a masterpiece of superb simplicity, though it needs the eye of an artist to see in it “passion congealed into a stupendous calm.”

In no carping spirit, but with a view to the second edition which we all hope may be forthcoming, I will now set down a list of corrigenda (some of them debatable, perhaps) that I have noted during my perusal of the book.
p. ix and pl. vii. For "Piao-lan" read "Piao-luan".
p. 27. For "Tung Chung-cho" read "Tung Chung-shu", if 董仲舒 is meant.
p. 29, note 3. The Lun heng was not composed in the second century, but between A.D. 76 and 84.
p. 38 et pass. For "Eumorphopoulos" read "Eumorfoopoulos".
p. 45. For "Chi K'ang" read "Hsi K'ang".
p. 45, note 4, and p. 49. For "Idlers" read "Sages". The Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove 竹林七 贤 (third century) have been confused with the Six Idlers of the Bamboo Brook 竹溪六逸 (eighth century).
p. 61, note 1. It was not Chiao-fu who gave his girdle-gem to the two river-sprites, but vice versa. See Liu Hsiang's Lien hsien chuan.

p. 114. It is stated that "Mi Fei" 米芾 should be read "Mi Fu". On what authority? K'ang Hsi gives both pronunciations.
p. 125. For "Wei-chih" read "Wei-chih".
p. 132. The stanza from a Stein MS. on the transience of human life is too loosely translated:—

"His days, like the swift top that seems asleep,
Their secret motions keep."

Apposite though the simile may be, it is not in the Chinese: 人生日月催將轉忙忙 "Unnoted, the days and moons of man's life press on, revolving busily". And the following is even further from the idea of the original:—

"Who [i.e. man] while with Magic Wheel he holds
the world in sway
Doth still decay."

直饒便是轉輪王
不免也无常

The meaning is that even Chakravartti-rama himself (the king who turns the wheel of ceaseless transmigration) is not exempt from the process of decay.

p. 139. Ku K'ai-chih's landscape is described as "hieratic". This does not seem a good word to use in the domain of Chinese art, however applicable it may be to that of the Egyptians.

p. 141. "At the Inn side green green—the new willows' tint" is a sentence that requires some sort of verb. A mere mot-à-mot like this is an easy, but hardly a scholarly, way of translating 客舍青青柳色新.
"Western Pass." 阳 關 Yang Kuan is, literally, the Southern Pass (as opposed to the Jade Gate Pass which stood north of it).

従 建 王 过 楊 氏 does not mean, "With a concourse of attendants Prince Chi picnic at Master Yang's cottage," but simply, "Attending Prince Ch'i on a visit to Master Yang."

玉 珞 are not "bells of jade", but small white shells used for ornamenting horses' bridles.

p. 142. "The guests are seated, the incense-beasts are full," is a bad mistranslation of 廳 客 香 辟 流. Apparently Mr. Waley was thinking of jade incense-burners carved in animal shapes. But this poem of Wang Wei's is describing a joyous revel, not a sacrificial ceremony, and the line is intended to bring a scene of luxurious comfort before our eyes, contrasted with the chilly bleakness of the mountains outside:—

"The party is assembled, with perfume and sables in profusion."

飛 泉 is a cascade, not "the fountain's spray". I do not like "Frozen Pearl Lake" as a rendering of 結 碧 池, where pi emphasizes the colour as that of blue-green jade. This lake, by the way, was not at Ch'ang-an, but in the Imperial Park at Lo-yang.

"With fallen leaves of the autumn kuei the Palace paths are blocked."

Kuei is a misreading for 桂 huai (the sophora-tree). And "blocked" is too strong a term: Wang Wei simply says that the leaves "fall inside the empty Palace".

p. 156. To remark that Han Huang's "duties as Special Commissioner of the Fleet were perhaps not more arduous than Pepys's duties at the Admiralty" is to cast a wholly unmerited sneer at one who has been justly termed the Father of the British Navy.

"For Pepys's industry and capacity," says R. L. Stevenson (who was by no means too well disposed towards the diarist), "no praise can be too high."

p. 159 et al. The use of the word "plastic" in reference to painting smacks of journalesse.

p. 168. It is not fair to say that "Kuan T'ung set himself to imitate with passionate assiduity the works of Ching Hao". 師 施 代 悟 merely means that he studied under him.

Mr. Waley is too inclined to put down a word because it sounds well, without much attention to the meaning. Thus, he translates 其 植 扰 之 状 "all such strange cloven or tapering forms".
Not one of these three adjectives is to be found in the Chinese, which means "these towering shapes reared on high".

蒲黄 surely means "verdure", not "blue mists", and 橋 are not "bridges or stilts". The latter character denotes a plank bridge thrown across a stream.

p. 169. Painters are divided into four classes, 聖, 妙, 奇, which are here translated as the Divine, the Mysterious, the Marvellous, and the Skillful. I would indicate the gradation rather by "Divine, marvellous, clever, and dexterous". The whole passage is a difficult one, and I do not think that Mr. Waley has grasped the meaning of the paragraph relating to the 奇 class.

p. 173. Mr. Waley says of Confucius that "Europeans... are astonished to find in his sayings no inquiry into the nature of knowledge, or truth, or of good, but only dogmatic assertions about the right sort of bonnet to wear or the most genteel way to lie in bed". Such shallow flippancy, though it may amuse the million, cannot but make the judicious grieve. If the utterance is to be taken seriously, it only seems to show that Mr. Waley's reading of the Analects has been confined to the tenth book, which, as he knows well enough, was penned not by the Sage himself, but by some of his over-zealous disciples. Let me refer him to Tzǔ Kung's famous retort to some one who was disparaging his Master: "It is no good. Confucius is proof against detraction. ... A man may choose to cut himself off from the light of the sun and moon, but what harm will that do to them? It only shows that he has no sense of proportion."

At other times, it must be admitted that Mr. Waley's turn for humorous epigram serves him well. For instance: "The Mongols were merely policemen. They did not influence the development of Chinese civilization any more than the officials at the gate of the British Museum influence the studies of the gentlemen who work inside."

Or, in discussing the much-quoted statement that Wang Wei's pictures were poems; his poems, pictures: "This is, of course, quoted in approbation of his work, for to many people the arts are unpalatable except when jumbled up together: hence the popularity of opera." He then proceeds to show that the dictum is based on a misunderstanding of a passage in one of Su Tung-p'o's critiques.

Again, à propos of a family called Ch'in, all the members of which (at the beginning of the Manchu dynasty) were expert in picture-
forging: "European collections of Chinese painting must be very rich in examples of the Ch’in family’s art—one which is indeed deserving of every encouragement, since it not only provides its exponents with an easy affluence, but also gives much harmless pleasure to its patrons." With this delightful piece of cynicism we may fitly take our leave of a most entertaining and instructive work. LIONEL GILES.

CHINA. By ÉMILE HOVELAQUE; translated by Mrs. LAURENCE BINYON.

Mrs. Binyon has achieved a happy as well as accurate translation of M. Émile Hovelaque’s La Chine.

Although there are passages in which the English style has been made subordinate to a literal translation, so that one is conscious that one is reading "from the French", yet these are more than counterbalanced by other passages in which, while losing nothing of the author’s meaning, the translation has a vividness which catches exactly the spirit of the original:—

"Each man must find in himself his own truth, his own beauty, his own virtue; the salvation of the soul, like genius, can neither be bought nor taught. Everything is unique, though the essence of all things is one . . . In very truth the essence of everything is ineffable and incommunicable; life cannot be defined, genius cannot be bestowed: ‘Those who know do not speak; those who speak do not know.’"

For inaccuracies in the original the translator is not, of course, accountable, but one wonders where in all China "the lowest coolie cannot only read and write, but can paint and write poems, can enjoy a delicate work of art, show a cultivated appreciation for fine speech and polished manners, and is profoundly and completely saturated with the essence of his civilization which is the patrimony, not of a chosen few, but of all". E. D. EDWARDS.


The University of Cambridge has assuredly merited well of letters in undertaking the great task of producing collaborative histories that will when terminated comprise summaries of the fullest knowledge available of the history of almost the whole world. The system has
necessarily the defects of its qualities. Collaborative histories cannot possess the unity of outlook and conception that may be impressed on a work by a master-mind; and different scholars will take different and conflicting views of the same episode. But these disadvantages are far outweighed by the benefits of bringing together the views and especially the knowledge of specialists. The Cambridge Medieval History is amply fulfilling the promise of its predecessors in these respects; and its editors deserve all the congratulations they will receive for their achievement of an exceedingly difficult and delicate task.

The present volume is of more than usual interest to students of the East, for it continues that story of the interplay of East and West which formed so interesting and valuable a part of vol. ii of the same series. The chapters of the earlier volume dealing with Eastern affairs were peculiarly welcome, because they summarized and rendered accessible to English readers the fruits of the last half-century of European research into Muslim origins—a period singularly active in research and fruitful in results, but almost wholly unrepresented in English writings. Vol. iv does a similar service for a later period. It provides the student with well-informed narratives of the struggle which the Eastern Empire had to wage first against the Saracens and then against the Turks; Sir Thomas Arnold adds a most valuable chapter on the civilization of the ‘Abbāsids, full of matter which one might seek in vain in other English writings; and there are separate accounts of the Seljuks and the Mongols. All these chapters are provided with the usual excellent bibliographies, though we must note the improper omission of Professor Barthold’s name from the last, where he figures merely as an unnamed contributor to the Encyclopaedia of Islam, so that his voluminous and authoritative work elsewhere is wholly ignored. This is scarcely proper treatment of a scholar of the widest European reputation on his particular subject. We are gratified to note that Oriental names are at last spelt with a technical accuracy hitherto unknown in works of general history.

These specifically Eastern chapters will attract the attention of all who are interested in Oriental studies, but other chapters too have great bearing, though perhaps indirectly, on the history of the East, and especially on the relations between the Eastern and the Western worlds. The Eastern Empire itself, the central theme of this volume, merits more study than it usually receives from Orientalists, who perhaps should oftener remember what a remarkable position was held by Rûm between the two rival worlds, alike morally and geographically.
Byzantium in the middle ages, like Russia of our own day, was a political and moral hybrid. It was based on the strong traditions of the Roman law, but Roman law working in the atmosphere of an Oriental despotism. The empire derived at once from Rome and far-away Eastern capitals, combining with these disparate elements touches of the alert Greek mentality. It was, as Professor Bury rightly claims, the only civilized state in early mediaeval Europe; but for the Byzantine love of reading, the treasures of Greek literature could never have been carried to Italy on the fall of Constantinople; and while the lay aristocracy in every other European capital was illiterate, in Byzantium it was composed of educated men. But while this is so, perhaps Professor Bury and those who follow him are inclined to cast away somewhat too much of the formerly received opinion regarding the Byzantines. We read, for instance, of their "intellectuality" in the conduct of war as compared with "the rude dullness" of Western tactics. We would not dispute the difference; but no inference can thence be drawn favourable to the Byzantines. The proof of the military pudding is in the eating. For all their tactical ingenuity the Byzantines failed to defend Syria, they failed to defend their European provinces, they lost Constantinople first to the rude dullness of a Crusading attack, and then to the equally rude dullness of a Turkish siege. In short, the old judgment of their degenerate cleverness must stand. But, in spite of that, modern researches into the progress of their fall was well worthy of the elaborate abstract now provided.

Venice, too, offers a subject of great interest to the students of the East. In the short compass of 30 pages Dr. H. F. Brown has given an admirable résumé of a subject which he has made peculiarly his own; and the part which the famous city took in the Fourth Crusade is related in the following chapter by Dr. Diehl. Like Byzantium, Venice was largely Orientalized; like Great Britain her power was that of commerce and the sea; and until the doubling of the Cape of Good Hope she and Genoa divided between them the Eastern trade and held distant Eastern factories in the Black Sea. For these, if for no other reasons, her story merits study here. Indeed, we think that the story of these Venetian and Genoese stations on the Black Sea might with advantage have received a fuller treatment in this volume. For instance, Kaffa is barely mentioned twice, and its interest in connexion with the Eastern trade seems to have been entirely overlooked.

H. H. DODWELL.
THE EAST INDIA TRADE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. BY SHAFAAAT AHMAD KHAN. Milford, 12s. 6d. net.

This interesting work was produced, we believe, as a thesis for the Litt.D. at Dublin, and it gives evidence of a most praiseworthy acquaintance with the voluminous pamphlet-literature arising out of the controversies to which the early Eastern trade gave occasion. The century was one in which even theologians deviated into humour; but even in that age of vigorous English the economic pamphleteer remained dull and pedestrian, however much he deserves study. Dr. Khan has therefore performed a useful task in reviewing the numerous pamphlets on trade policy which he found at the British Museum, the India Office, and the Bodleian; and his numerous quotations will prove very useful to the student who wishes to form an idea of the general attitude of Englishmen towards the Indian trade without the labour of examining numerous wearisome volumes.

Besides these sources, Dr. Khan has also examined a number of unpublished documents, particularly for the second half of the seventeenth century, where the existing calendars give little aid.

The most interesting part of his story is undoubtedly that which deals with the great struggle between Sir Josiah Child and his opponents; and of the old Company’s policy and of its great defender he gives a full and judicious account. He very rightly defends the view that an open trade would have been unprofitable and short-lived; and ascribes with great probability to Child as the principal motive of his policy of fortifications the jealousy and suspicion with which he regarded the Dutch. Many of the quotations from this period have a curiously modern ring. A Parliamentary enemy in 1677 complains that the India trade encourages “the heathens who work for a penny a day.” Later controversialists declare the Company’s forts useless, propose a League of Commerce with the Indian princes, and declare that Englishmen traded as securely in India as foreigners in London. The Company should rely on ambassadors instead of musqueteers.

The principal omission from the volume seems to be the neglect of the Dutch records. Dr. Khan observes that he found the most authoritative information regarding the Dutch in the English Company’s records; but he will agree that this was relying upon strongly prejudiced witnesses; and we should have thought that where so much labour had evidently been spent on a volume, a little more to complete the research would have been well worth while. Although Dr. Khan’s subject is the English trade, yet he is concerned with its effects upon
foreign policy; and so the matter is not unimportant. For instance, the account of Downing's negotiations at the Hague of 1661, etc., merely deals with the English point of view, and so is necessarily far from conclusive. Indeed, English scholars have neglected Dutch sources far too much; and in this respect Dr. Khan has erred in regrettably good company.

H. H. Dodwell.


The lives of the Prophets assumed a special importance in Muslim historical literature, because of the frequent references to them in the Qurʾān, and from the first century of the Hijrah such biographies began to appear as a separate branch of Arabic literature. The oldest work of the kind that has survived is that by Wahb b. Munabbih, who died at an advanced age early in the second century of the Hijrah; manuscripts of it are rare, though later writers, such as Ṭabarî and Ibn al-Athîr, made abundant use of it. So far, the earliest contribution to this class of literature that has been published is found in the first part of Ṭabarî's monumental History of Prophets and Kings. Tha'libi's Qīṣāṣ al-Anbiyāʾ, written about a century later, has been printed in the East more than once; but Kisāʾi, his contemporary (at the beginning of the fifth century H.), has had to wait until now to find an editor, though much of the subject-matter of his book was made known to European writers by Weil in his Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner so long ago as 1845. The Arabic text has been admirably printed in the clear type which makes the publications of Messrs. Brill, of Leiden, so attractive to students of Arabic, and the work of the editor has been carefully executed. This edition will be found very suitable as a reading-book for young scholars, the language is easy, and the matter interesting and often entertaining.

T. W. Arnold.


Since the publication of Orientalische Bibliographie has been discontinued, Orientalists have felt the lack of this valuable adjunct to their studies, and to none has it been a greater loss than to the
students of Islam, for recent years have witnessed an enormous output of literature, in most of the languages of Europe, on the religion of Islam and the political life and institutions of Muhammadan countries. These are subjects that are of interest not only to professed Orientalists, but also to a much larger circle of readers—publicists, students of religion, and many others. To such students Professor Pfannmüller's bibliographical handbook will prove very welcome, and it may well be expected to give a fresh impulse to Islamic studies. One special feature of his work is that it is not primarily addressed to Orientalists, but is intended for the use of all persons interested in the religion of Islam and Muhammadan civilization generally, and thus supplies a need that no existing book attempts to meet. The author has divided his material under the following seven headings—the bibliography of Islam in general, Muslim countries, the political history and culture of Islam, religion (in twelve chapters), philosophy, art, and literature. The section on religion takes up considerably more than half the book, and the account of the biographers of the Prophet and the varying estimates of Muhammad's life and character from St. John of Damascus, through the Middle Ages, down to modern times are of especial interest. The work consists of no mere list of books, but gives an account of the growth of each separate branch of Islamic studies, accompanied by a critical and discriminating valuation of the available sources of information. Such a useful guide to a widely scattered literature is sure of a welcome from all students of the Muhammadan world.

T. W. ARNOLD.

LA MÚSICA DE LAS CANTIGAS: estudio sobre su origen y naturaleza por JULIÁN RIBERA. Madrid, 1922.

Professor Ribera's name is well known to all students of Arabic, and especially to those interested in the history of the civilization of the Arabs in Spain. His latest investigations have been devoted to Arabic music, and he has published in a stately volume a photographic reproduction of 295 songs (together with transcriptions in modern notation), forming a collection of songs made by Alfonso the Wise, king of Castile, in the thirteenth century, and contained in two MSS., one in the National Library, Madrid, and the other in the Escurial, both of them written during the life-time of this king. As is well
known, King Alfonso was an enthusiastic admirer of Muhammadan culture; his court was full of Muslim men of letters, whom he employed to translate from Arabic works of science, history, and religion. A similar patronage he extended to Muhammadan musicians, and it is Professor Ribera’s contention that in these songs are preserved the Arab music that was introduced into Spain by the Umayyads and cultivated there by succeeding generations both of Muslims and Christians. The interpretation of this notation has hitherto baffled the skill of experts in musical science, but Professor Ribera has found the clue in the musical system of the Arabs, and has recognized in the metre of these songs such familiar Arabic metrical forms as "hazaj, ramal, and "tavvil." The detailed elaboration of these identifications is of primary interest to the student of music; but if Professor Ribera’s contention is true, that from this music is derived the music of mediaeval Provence, we have an important contribution to the solution of the long-debated question of the origin of Provencal poetry and its relation to the Arabic poetry of Spain. It is not, however, only to students of music that Professor Ribera’s work appeals; his introduction contains the fullest account that has yet appeared in any European language of the cultivation of music in the courts of Baghdad and Cordova, and may thus be commended to students as a valuable chapter in the history of Muhammadan culture.

T. W. ARNOLD.


Professor Keith’s wide and accurate learning and his vigorous and independent judgment are well manifested in this little book. The title is, indeed, somewhat ambiguous, for the subjects treated in the volume are limited to poetry, the prose romance and campû, folk-tale, didactic fable, and lyric and gnomic verse, with an introductory chapter on the nature and use of the classical Sanskrit language and a final account of the theories of poetry, so that it excludes from its purview not only the gigantic literatures of philosophy, theology, art, science, and law, but even the drama, to which a separate volume in the series has been assigned. It would, perhaps, have been well to make plain this limitation by an expansion of the title. But the book, though thus restricted in scope, is very welcome. It contains
in little an enormous amount of carefully collected and digested information—

Μοίσει σποράδες ποικί, νῦν δ' ἄμα πᾶσαι
ἐνί Μᾶς μᾶνδρας, ἐνί Μᾶς ἀγέλας—

and it will be exceedingly useful to all students.

The author’s knowledge and judgment are as a rule so sound that one rarely feels disposed to question his conclusions. There are, however, a few points of minor importance on which we venture with all due humility to raise our voice in modest dissent. On p. 17, n., in denying (rightly, in our opinion) the identity of the grammarian Pāṇini and the poet of that name, he remarks that “the forms grhya and aprasyati of the poet Pāṇini disprove his identity with the grammarian”; but on p. 71 (cf. p. 126) he refuses to admit the cogency of a somewhat similar argument to disprove Daṇḍin’s authorship of the Daśa-kumāra-carita, because, he says, “it is much easier to preach than to practice [sic!]”. He is characteristically positive as to the authorship of the now famous plays discovered by Pandit Gaṇapati Śāstri: “Bhāsa certainly,” he says (p. 31). Chacun à son goût; but perhaps the evidence recently published in this Bulletin may shake his certainty, which is not shared by many Sanskritists in the West. With equal positiveness he writes, on the subject of Kālidāsa’s date, that “the allusion to the horse sacrifice in the Mālavikāgnimitra is almost inevitably to be explained as a reminiscence of the performance of that rite by Samudragupta” (p. 31). Why “almost inevitably”? Samudragupta was not the only Gupta who performed a horse-sacrifice; Kumāragupta I did the same. While mentioning with just reserve the ascription of the Sūtu-bandha to Pravarasēna of Kashmir (p. 61), he ignores the possibility that the author (or patron) may have been the Vākāṭaka Pravarasēna II. On pp. 66, 67, and 147 we find the mis-spelling Heketaimos for Hekataios. The discussion of the origin of the Campū on p. 88 is hardly adequate, and slightly misleading; but lack of space forbids us to consider the point here. On p. 89 Professor Keith ascribes to the author of the Pañca-tantra or Tantrākhyāyika “the creation of a new literary genre”. This is surely too bold: all that we can safely say is that this work is the earliest known specimen of its genre. There may have been, and probably were, others of the same kind before it—vixere fortis ante Agamemnona—but it so utterly eclipsed them that they fell into desuetude and disappeared. The author is on the whole right in his insistence upon the dominance of fatalism in Sanskrit
poetry (p. 128); but he neglects to make the necessary limitations. Again and again in literature, from epic times downwards, there rings out from time to time another note, that asserts the freedom of the moral will and calls for puruṣakāra.

An occasional tendency to lapse into obscurity and tortuousness of style suggests that the book was written in some haste. Thus we read that the Rtu-samhāra 

"has paid the penalty of juvenility by condemnation by modern, though not ancient, opinion as the product of some other hand" (p. 32); that Candrāpiḍa in the Kādambari 

"goes back to Ujjayini without, through excess of reticence on either side, assuring himself directly of their mutual passion" (p. 80). On p. 90, l. 4, "the latter" is wrong. On p. 92, ll. 9–11, the words 

"before the growing disuse among other causes of Paśāci induced the translations into Sanskrit" are ambiguous and of dubious correctness; and so are ll. 1–2 of p. 138. There are also a few misprints, which the reader can correct for himself; not being γωνιοβόμβουκες, we will not dwell upon them.

L. D. BARNETT.


So much has been published in the Bulletin on the subject of "Bhāsa" that we refrain from discussing that theme here. No exception can possibly be taken to Dr. Sukthankar’s title-page and to his statement concerning the Trivandrum Series plays that "several well-known critics, men whose researches in Sanskrit literature entitle them to speak with authority, agree in attributing them to ... Bhāsa", while he himself assures us that he has "only tentatively accepted the theory of his authorship". It is therefore with sincere pleasure that we greet the appearance of a work by a competent scholar who has the candour and courage to admit this much; it is a welcome sign that the tide has turned.

As to the merits of the play itself, "East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet" in a verdict. Dr. Sukthankar calls it "the glorious heritage of the whole civilized world". Undoubtedly the figures of Vāsavadattā, the loving wife restored after tragic separation, and Yāugandharāyaṇa, the loyal and resourceful minister, are well drawn with simple and firm lines. But as to the handling
of the plot and the other characters there must be a difference of opinion. The outline of the story was fixed by ancient legend, and left no option to the dramatist; but it was not necessary for him to make Padmāvatī accept so complacently a second place—indeed, no place at all—in her lord's affections, and voluntarily restore her rival to the rank of chief queen with unruffled cheerfulness. Even in India the *pāti-dēvatā*, the perfect woman whose husband is her god, does not do these things without a wriggle. As to Udayana, he is a hero in whom the West can see nothing heroic—a flabby sensualist who has been unfaithful to Vāsavadattā in the old days, and after her supposed death allows himself for political reasons to be affianced to another lady for whom he cares little or nothing, while he sheds at intervals maudlin tears over his first love. Granted that the legend presented him as a rather poor creature in *affaires de cœur*, was it necessary to show him up on the boards as such an utter worm?

Dr. Sukthankar has, on the whole, discharged his task very well. He has added to the translation only a preface of four pages and two pages of brief notes, with an abridgment of the story in the version of the Kathā-sarit-sāgara. The translation is generally correct; but in a few places it is rather loose. For example, on p. 5, l. 4, the words “which are the riches of the hermits” are wrong; they mean “of the hermits”, and should follow “the forest” in l. 3. On p. 6, for “I feel reassured” read “be reassured” (*vissasihi*); and Padmāvatī’s words “Invite here . . . want anything?” (p. 7) are not in the text of the edition of 1912. On p. 10, l. 7 from the bottom, the words “Yes, I know” are also not in the text; and on l. 4 from the bottom “feeling sure of their ground” is not quite correct, for *dēsāgata-pratyayā* rather means “feeling confidence inspired by [the influence of] the place”. On p. 54 we read with some surprise of a “lotus creeper”, which is a compound somewhat resembling the “hare’s horn” dear to the scholastics, since a lotus cannot be a creeping plant under any circumstances: *padmini* means a bed of lotuses, and should be so translated. On p. 64 “faithful to thee” is hardly adequate as a rendering of *bhavad-guṇa-ratāḥ*. On p. 70 *bhāgyāśi calāir mahad avāpta-gunopagdātāḥ* is rendered “fickle fortune has brought about the obliteration of the merit I had acquired”; but it rather means “having through fickle fortune suffered an injury to morals” (*mahad* being joined as adverb to *bhūtah*). On p. 72 again *prabhāvah* is not “prowess”. And do ladies in English literature and life use the interjection “humph”? L. D. BARNETT.
AYAN. Edited by Birešvar Sen. Indian Society of Oriental Art, 12, Samavāya Mansions, Calcutta. Price of each number, 12 annas.

This is a new Bengali magazine devoted mainly to art. The first three places in the letterpress of the Baisākh number are given to members of the Tagore family. Rabindranāth contributes a new song which is set to music by Dinendranāth, while Abanindranāth defends the thesis that the artistic level of any production is determined by the degree in which it succeeds in transcending racial, climatic, and temporal limitations. Pramatha Chaudhuri discusses the true nature of art. Nandalāl Basu contributes an article on the use of natural objects in decorative design, and Yāminikānta Sen writes on the “Liberation of Beauty”, claiming that beauty does not depend upon truth or usefulness, but makes an independent appeal of its own.

Besides the song by Rabindranāth the number contains two longer poems, and also two stories.

There are two coloured pictures, one by Abanindranāth Thākur, taken from his new book Śilpakalā, and the other, Sandhyā by Nandalāl Basu, a remarkable study of a white-robed woman passing at sunset between huge forest trees. These two modern pictures are in striking contrast with the photographic reproductions of four paintings in the style of the Mogul period.

It is a pity that the magazine should be disfigured by an advertisement exhorting readers to “try their picture frames to” a certain firm. This advertisement unfortunately faces a striking black and white sketch by Nandalāl Basu called “Ālpanā”.

The magazine is a proof of the reality of the artistic revival in Bengal under Abanindranāth Thākur—a revival from which great things may be expected, if only those who represent it can escape from the fallacy that the bizarre is necessarily beautiful.

W. SUTTON PAGE.


This volume appeals to both linguists and folklorists. Dr. W. Crooke, the well-known authority on folk tales, supplies an introduc-
tion of 17 pp., in which he deals specially with the tales in their inter-
national aspect, drawing attention to many parallels in other countries. 
The chief appeal, however, is to students of Kashmiri, and they will be 
grateful to the authors for this elaborate treatment of the stories from 
the linguistic point of view. There are twelve stories in all, averaging 
800 words each. Printed in the style of the introduction they would 
take about 25 pp. We might almost say that they have been told 
four times over. First we have Sir Aurel Stein's record accompanied 
by a free translation; they are told again in a different spelling by 
Pandit Govind Kaul, and with his narrative there is an interlinear 
translation. Thus we have the Kashmiri version twice over and 
two English translations. Originally the Kashmiri versions were 
sent home with a Sanskrit rendering and certain notes by Sir Aurel 
Stein. Sir George Grierson has prepared the two English translations 
and furnished us, as he did in the Kashmiri Manual, with a 
detailed analysis of all the words, explaining their grammatical 
features. There are two indexes. It will be seen that we have 
a very full account of old Hatim's vocabulary. It must be left 
to readers to decide whether he was born great or achieved greatness 
or had greatness thrust upon him. In any case, he and his are now 
probably the proud possessors of a copy of this work with his photo-
graph for frontispiece showing him as he appeared in the Sahib's camp.

Kashmiri is a language which lends itself to this kind of treatment 
more than most north Indian languages. It is rich in inflexions; changes, 
both consonantal and vocalic, abound. To discover the rules which 
underlie them is a task of no ordinary difficulty; it is the task which 
Sir George Grierson has imposed upon himself both here and in the 
Kashmiri Manual. With great pains and great success he has sought 
out and tabulated and explained every form. This the beginner could 
not have undertaken. Even with the aid of Kashmiri teachers he 
would have found it beyond him: bewildered with wandering in a maze 
from which the Pandits could not have shown him the way out, he 
would have hopelessly given up his labour, and contented himself 
with blundering along, satisfied if he could make himself understood; 
but here he has been given the key to the labyrinth and he will be 
grateful.

The phonetic interest of the volume is very great. Sir Aurel Stein 
modestly warns us against expecting too great accuracy in his record of 
the sounds. He has in mind, of course, the distinction between 
cerebrals and non-cerebrals on the one hand, and between aspirated and
unaspirated sounds on the other, distinctions practically impossible to European scholars unless they have been accustomed to make them in childhood. Kashmiri in both cases makes the distinction very clear, as clear as it is in north India. It has $t$, $d$, $r$, as well as $t$, $d$, $r$. $l$ and $n$ are not found as independent sounds. In this it differs from the Dard languages further north and west. Thus Shina, in addition to the cerebrals just mentioned, possesses $n$ and in one dialect $l$. It has further a series of four cerebrals not heard in Kashmir or north India. Kashmiri pandits do not use cerebral $r$ and are unable to recognize it when they hear it. They, however, form a very small proportion of the population. When the Muhammadans in the villages pronounce cerebral $r$, as they regularly do, the Pandits record it as either $d$ or dental $r$. This will be found exemplified over and over again in Govind Kaul’s transcription of Hatim’s stories. His record alters words in which Hatim, like all village Kashmiris of his religion, used $r$, and represents the sound in one of the two ways just alluded to, viz., cerebral $d$ or dental $r$.

It is important to note that there is no confusion at all in the villager’s pronunciation. I have travelled extensively in Kashmir and visited countless villages; cerebral $r$ and the other cerebrals are just as distinct as in Urdu or Panjabi. It was always with great satisfaction that I turned from the city pronunciation of the pandits to the strong virile village speech. The same clear-cut distinction is observed between aspirates and non-aspirates.

From what has been said it will be seen how wide is the appeal of this book. The student of folklore will follow his pet subject in these stories, which may be hundreds of years old. The Indo-Aryan philologist will find material for the examination of sound changes and for the deduction of their laws. The beginner in Kashmiri will go over each word and grammatical form in order to obtain a practical knowledge of the language, while the scholar who has had many opportunities of speaking it will rejoice in the reminders of things he has heard and said, and will note many words and forms which he should have employed but never remembered in time.

It is with great regret that we have to mention the death of two of the collaborators in this volume. Pandit Govind Kaul’s death is referred to in the introduction, but Dr. Crooke died only a very short time ago. His place among the students of Indian folklore and anthropology will be hard to fill.

To Sir Aurel Stein and Sir George Grierson, who amid many other
labours brought this work to so successful a conclusion, must be
tendered the grateful thanks of all who are interested in Kashmir and
its people.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

THE BALOCHI LANGUAGE: A GRAMMAR AND MANUAL. By Major
G. W. GILBERTSON, assisted by GHANO KHAN HADDIANI.
Published by the author. pp. xvi + 312. 1923.

This grammar, by its good humour and cheeriness, ought to be
welcome to those who wish to have the task of language learning made
easy; for a merry heart is a good medicine, and helps the student as
well as the breadwinner. There are several features which distinguish
Major Gilbertson's work. Every chapter ends with one or two lists
of words "to be remembered", a series of sentences, and a question-
naire. Still more notable is the device of marking the most important
portions of the grammar in order that they may be studied first and
a general idea of the language obtained. There is a special section of
17 pp. on idioms. Seven pages of idioms which should have been
included in this chapter appear to have lost their way; they turn up
along with conjunctions and interjections under the heading "Words
and their ways". The principles of the syntax are conveniently
summarized in a set of thirty-two rules (chap. xix). The last 90 pp.
of the book are given up to examination papers. Parts II and III
contain conversational sentences and longer passages respectively
which have been set in recent examinations. They are accompanied
by translation and notes. They will afford admirable practice for
students who will be able to compare their own hesitating efforts with
the easy flight of the model translations.

As we may hope that a second edition will soon be called for,
perhaps the author will allow me to make two suggestions. Among
the words which we are told to remember are many which, com-
paratively speaking, are of little use. If the author were to make
a careful selection of the thousand most useful words in the language,
he would, I dare to expect, find that a number of those in the present
lists had to be omitted, and that a number more, not found now, had
to be included. The questionnaires are thoroughly relevant, but the
sentences do not bear upon the chapters which precede them. It might
be possible to alter or distribute them in such a manner as to secure
that each chapter should be followed by sentences illustrating the
subject which had just been expounded. It would be a pity to omit them, for they are well chosen and most useful. They might be re-arranged. This would render them still more helpful. To a certain extent the numerous examples scattered here and there may serve as translation exercises and increase accuracy in composition. Gratitude is cynically said to be a sense of favours to come. In expressing our gratitude to the author for a valuable and interesting book, we look forward to the other volumes which he promises to bring out at no distant date.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.


In all three parts Dr. Sampson continues his Welsh Tales with translation. In Part ii Bernard Gilliat Smith writes on the language of the Russian Gypsy Singers, an illuminating contribution. In Part iii Principal Sir Donald MacAlister has a Romani translation of a song by John Buchan. It is not generally known that the distinguished head of Glasgow University is an accomplished Romani scholar. In Part iii Dr. Sampson has an unusually interesting article on the origin of the Gipsies, in which, like nearly all scholars who are first and foremost Gypsy scholars, he rejects the Dard theory. I must correct his statement that Dard and Kafir languages make no distinction between cerebrals and dentals. The distinction is perfectly clear.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.


In the fatal year 1192, Prithiraj, king of Delhi and Ajmir, was vanquished by Muhammad Ghori in the great battle fought near Thanesar. The Chauhan king was captured and slain. Delhi was taken in 1193 by the Turki invaders. In the following year the kingdom of Kanauj, then ruled by King Jaychand, who had refused to assist Prithiraj in his struggle against the Mohammadans, was
conquered. Jaychand was killed, and a few years later the whole of Northern India was in the power of the foreign rulers.

This success of the invaders had been greatly facilitated by the bloody feuds which were continually fought between the chiefs of the Rājpūt dynasties; who, in the twelfth century, were the lords of Northern India, viz., Prithiräj the Chauhan, king of Delhi; Jaychand the Gaharwār, king of Kanauj; and Parmāl the Chandēl, king of Mahōbā.

The name of Prithiräj, the first and last Chauhan ruler of Delhi, is still famous among the modern population of Hindostān. His court poet Chand Bardāi, who was finally killed at the side of his master, composed a verse chronicle consisting of 100,000 stanzas, the Prithiräj Rāsau, which, in substance, is a universal history of his time. Like other court chroniclers in the service of Rājpūt rulers, Chand was a scholar, well versed in the rules of alamkāra and of other śāstras, and the facts narrated in his work are naturally represented from the Delhi point of view.

Every Rājpūt ruler kept such a chronicler at his court, and the works of these poets still exist in manuscripts. But in the case of the bloody wars fought between Prithiräj and his opponents there is a quite independent tradition besides, a tradition not supported by manuscripts, but by illiterate minstrels, called “Ālā Gānēwāla”, or “singers of (the exploits of) Ālā”. Up to this day these minstrels are found in Northern India from Delhi to Bihār, and like the old Kuśilavas, or the “spilman” type of the “varnde diet” of our own middle ages, they live on reciting parts of their great epic which is called the “Ālā-khaṇḍ”. The text of this poem is handed down in their families from generation to generation by purely oral tradition. It, therefore, varies from place to place, and in course of time its language has undergone strong alterations. As we have it, it contains such modern words as culverine, bombard, falconet, gun, rockets, cannon, powder-bags, arquebusier, pistol, bomb, shell, and even sappers and miners. No student of Indian literature will be astonished at such a fact. The Indian turn of mind, from the oldest times of Indian history onward, tends towards continual modernization. A complete lack of the sense of historical development is one of the most striking features of the Hindu mind, and even the Indian Mohammadans have undergone this influence. The well-known Hindu scholar V. Sh. Apte, in his Practical Sanskrit–English Dictionary, p. 986, translates the Sanskrit word vimāna by “a balloon”, and in the Akhlāq-e hindī,
that famous Mohammadan remaniement of the Hitopadeśa, the birds’ army is equipped with muskets, rifles, and artillery.

On the other hand, the contents of the Lay of Ālhā are undoubtedly old. This does not, of course, mean to say that the events related in the poem should be regarded as strictly historical. In this as in other respects the Ālh-khaṇḍ resembles our own mediaeval epics. As in other quasi-historical productions of India, as well as of mediaeval Europe, the supernatural has its due share in the account, and we shall scarcely be astonished to learn from the minstrels’ verses that, on different occasions, some of their heroes were changed into parrots by sorceresses and how they were afterwards released.

These sorceresses are not only gipsy girls, like Subhiā Biṇī (canto xvii), but sometimes princesses, like Chittar-rekha, who turns Indal into a parrot and takes him away in her magic cage (p. 212), or like Bijmā, who casts spells on the hostile heroes and turns Ědan into a ram (p. 128), or like Sunwā, who destroys the fatal spells of other sorceresses by counter-spells (pp. 194, 202, 258). Such sorceresses are deprived of all their powers when their hair is cut (pp. 194, 202, 258). King Naipālī casts a spell on the marriage armour; but a counter-spell of the bride, his own daughter, renders it ineffective (p. 184). The Mahōbā ruler possesses five magical horses and a philosopher’s stone, and the Rāja of Naināgarh owns a magic drum, the sound of which restores his dead soldiers to life (p. 163 ff.). Prithirāj, king of Delhi, has a magic arrow which makes him invincible (p. 215). We hear of magic powders (p. 213), magic pills (p. 257), magic spells and counter-spells, a magic fire which consumes a camp (p. 258), and even of a whole magic army (p. 257).

Throughout the whole of this romantic epic, indeed, history, legend, and fairy tale have been amalgamated into an harmonious unit.

On p. 13 Sir George Grierson points out that in Chand’s Prithī Rāj Rāsau the story of Malkhān’s death “altogether disagrees with the version of the Ālh-khaṇḍ, and the same statement is true with respect to a third version of the same story as given from the mouth of a Barhaut bard in the Merāṭh district by Temple in his Legends of the Panjāb, vol. iii., p. 39 ff.

In this cycle of Rājput chivalry tales, moreover, students of comparative legendary lore (Vergleichende Erzählungskunde) will find many of the well-known novellistic devices common to all the Indian story-tellers. Such devices are, e.g., parrots employed in taking letters to distant addressees (pp. 146, 210), warriors’ corpses rising from the
battle-field to continue fighting (p. 133), weeping, crying, laughing, and speaking skulls (pp. 85, 91, 139), a speaking elephant (p. 120), an eater of human flesh (p. 159), disguises of the heroes or of the heroines as jogis, as females, as a milkmaid, as a horse-dealer (pp. 201, 165, 239, 200, 174, 187, 188), the gardener's wife as a helpmate for obtaining access to a princess (p. 200), eyes and liver of a deer sent instead of those of a man sentenced to death, but spared by the executioner (p. 213), cutting off one's head in order to gain a boon from a goddess, and restoration of the corpse to life by the same deity (p. 269), and the aid afforded by deities in general, and especially by Śāradā, i.e. Durgā, the tutelary deity of Mahābā (passim), lioness' milk (p. 121), transmigration of souls (p. 192), seven consecutive incarnations of the same couple (p. 262; cf. p. 140), and remembrance of former existences (p. 201).

But as our own mediaeval epics afford us an excellent idea of what was the general state of things prevailing at the time of their composition, and in the respective countries of their poets, even so the Ālh-khand is a treasury of information of the manners and customs of those remarkable Rājpūt tribes which, in the twelfth century A.D., were the rulers of Northern India.

Psychologists as well as students of history and of folklore will be highly interested in features of these ballads like the following. Young Üdan, disguised as a jogi, comes as a spy to the court of Marō, where his father has been murdered by being crushed in a stone-mill, his skull being nailed on a tree. The youth is recognized by the murderer's daughter, who induces him to swear that he will marry her. After the defeat of her father, she and her mother are forced by the three princes Üdan, Ālhā, and Malkhān to see him put to death in the same horrible manner in which he had had executed Üdan's and Ālha's father. In spite of this, she is ready to become at once Üdan's wife. Üdan, who is deeply in love with her, wishes to have the ceremony performed on the spot; but the two other princes strongly oppose this, and Malkhān kills her with a terrible stroke of his sword. Before dying she foretells her lover that she will be his wife in her next existence. As Üdan killed her four brothers, her father's skull asks to be taken by him to Benares Tirtha, and Üdan obeys without a word.

The Banāphar princes never hit the first stroke in a single combat, because such an action would violate a law strictly observed by their clan. Generally speaking, they endure three consecutive attacks
before they strike their first blow. But their Rājpūt honour does not in the least prevent them from treacherously murdering an ascetic who, at their request, is about to give them a cup of water to quench their thirst, or from penetrating as spies, and under various disguises, into the palaces of their enemies, and even into those of their enemies’ wives.

Fictitious as most of these incidents are, they are highly characteristic of the notions of duty and of honour prevailing amongst those Rājpūt clans. In his introduction to canto iv, Sir George Grierson¹ draws the reader’s attention to the quaint marriage customs observed by them. “The father of the bride,” he says, “dares suitors to come, and when one does come, he has to meet force by force, and is treated with the foulest treachery. The most solemn oath of friendship, not to speak of safe conduct, is taken with no intention of its being kept, and is broken without hesitation. Ālhā succeeds, after many perils, in bringing away his bride, and it would naturally be expected that, in future years, his relations with his wife’s people would, at least, be strained. Yet we find them subsequently on the most friendly terms, and fighting side by side as allies.”

In respect to its form, as well as to its contents, the Ālh-khaṇḍ shows a strong resemblance to the Jain epics called rās. But together with the resemblance there is a fundamental difference. Whereas in the Jain epics, at least in those which are known to the present writer, the hero, or heroine, of the story invariably becomes rich and happy, the conclusion of the Ālh-khaṇḍ is as tragic as that of our Nibelungenlied. The tragic development sets in at canto xiii. The author of the ruin of the Delhi as well as of the Mahōbā dynasty is Māhil the Parihār, a character who, in a certain respect, reminds us of Hagen. Unlike the latter, however, he does not adhere to anybody, and the motive of his foul actions is exclusively his thirst for revenge. In the middle of the eighth century the Parihār dynasty had been subdued by that of the Chandēls, to which belongs his brother-in-law, Parmāl, king of Mahōbā. The destruction of the Mahōbā dynasty, therefore, is Māhil’s secret aim, and he pursues this aim throughout the whole of the poem. At his instigation Prithīrāj, king of Delhi, and father-in-law of Parmāl’s only son Brahṃā, takes the stronghold of Sirsā. Its gallant defender Malkhān has but a single vulnerable spot on the sole of his foot.

Māhil contrives to draw her son’s secret out of Malkhān’s mother, and in consequence of her indiscretion her son is killed. When Brahmā starts at the head of his army to take home his wife Belā from Delhi, Prithīrāj, again at the instigation of the traitor, has his son-in-law treacherously murdered. But before the young prince dies, Belā dresses in her husband’s armour, and in a single combat beheads the principal murderer, her own brother Tāhar, whose head she brings to her dying husband. After Brahmā’s death she ascends the pyre on which her husband’s body reposes, and dies as a satī, the fire which consumes her having burst from her hair.

In the battle which develops round the pyre all the warriors of Mahōbā, with the only exception of immortal Ālhā and of his son Indal, are killed, and all of Prithīrāj’s sons and his general with the greater part of his army are slain. With the scanty remnants of his troops Prithīrāj returns to Delhi, whereas Ālhā and his son set out for the “Land of Darkness”, where the former still lives, waiting for his moment to reappear and to avenge Mahōbā’s ruin. All the widows of Mahōbā die as satīs. “Parmāl starves himself to death, and Mahōbā disappears from history.” But the traitor Māhil survives.

From what has been said in the preceding lines, it will be seen that the Ālh-khānḍ, besides being most interesting for students of Indology, of Folklore, and of Comparative Literary History, is a truly poetical production. Out of its twenty-three cantos, five were totally, and two were partially, rendered into English verse by the late Mr. William Waterfield, who was an excellent scholar, well versed in ancient as well as in modern Indian languages. “His translation,” Sir George Grierson says, “is so accurate and follows the original so closely that I have not thought it necessary to alter a single word.” Still it reads like the original work of a really gifted poet. Again the present writer fully agrees with Sir George when, Introduction, p. 10, he writes as follows: “The style adopted by him, that of the English Border ballads, is excellently suited to the subject, and the occasional use of antique words and phraseology gives just the right idea of the rough and somewhat antique Bundēli Hindī dialect of the original.”

It is to be regretted that the author of this excellent translation did not translate the greater part of the Ālh-khānḍ. Still, the present volume gives a good idea of the whole work as well as of its parts. For it contains a lucid Introduction, a list of the many characters (pp. 27–37), abstracts in prose of all the cantos not translated by...
Mr. Waterfield, and explanatory notes, all these supplements being written by Sir George Grierson's master-hand.

The present writer trusts that all the readers of this pretty volume will agree with him when he says that Sir George Grierson did extremely well in spending his precious time on this first publication which makes the *Lay of Aīhā* accessible to Western readers. And such a statement will be the best recommendation of the book.

**Johannes Hertel.**


In spite of the formidable list of "works on or referring to the Nubian language" which appears in Appendix I, this is the first published Nubian-English Dictionary; and the author is quite right in supposing that "English-speaking students will find it a convenience to have the scattered vocabularies of four or five German authors united in one volume". The production of this work had already been arranged by the late Professor Bates some years before the war, but various causes delayed its completion until last year.

Westermann includes Nubian in his "Sudanic family" and Mr. Murray follows him so far as to admit that "there are good reasons for associating, on grammatical grounds, both Nubian and Kunama with Dinka and Shilluk". But, as regards vocabulary, "no language has been found... predominantly cognate with Nubian. In fact, of the Nubian roots considered, a large part cannot be paralleled in any of the languages examined." It must be remembered, however, that—as philologists frequently remind us—"vocabulary alone is not a safe guide in dealing with a language which has been subjected to so many foreign influences," so that the existence of numerous Arabic and Hamitic loan-words proves nothing as to the affinities of Nubian. The recent discovery of tones in the more primitive dialects spoken in Kordofan seems to confirm Westermann's conclusion and "to indicate a Sudanic basis for the language, on which waves of Hamitic influence have been successively superimposed." This influence has even gone so far as to borrow personal-endings for the verb and case-endings for the noun, thus largely obscuring the true character of the language. The existence of Christian texts in Nubian, dating from the tenth century (some of which have been published by
Mr. F. Ll. Griffith), gives it some claim to be considered as a literary language.

The printing and general get-up of the volume are in accordance with the best traditions of the Oxford University Press.

A. W.


This, again, is a most valuable contribution to our knowledge of Africa. We are already indebted to Mr. Talbot for the careful study of the Ekois people entitled In the Shadow of the Bush, and the present volume deals with their neighbours, the Ibibo. The latter, it may be necessary to state, inhabit the country between the Cross River and the Kwa Ibo, in the Eastern Province of Southern Nigeria, while the Ekois are to be found on the eastern bank of the Cross, extending into what was formerly German territory. (A mass of information as to these eastern Ekois is contained in Dr. Mansfeld's Urwald-Dokumente, 1908).

Mr. Talbot's book was ready as long ago as 1914, but its publication has been delayed by the war, and the lapse of time has added a painful interest to the numerous passages where the late Mrs. Talbot's share in the work is mentioned. Her book, Women's Mysteries of a Primitive People, 1913, broke new ground and gave promise—alas, unfulfilled—of still more important results later on.

The religion of the Ibibio is remarkable as exhibiting a more developed mythology than is usually to be found among the Bantu—at any rate in the eastern and southern parts of the continent, for among the Western Bantu, from the Congo northward, one observes a certain approximation to the belief and ritual of the Ekois, Yoruba, and other West African tribes. This comes out especially in the investigations of the late Mr. R. E. Dennett, which (apart from the somewhat fantastic conclusions he based on them) no anthropologist can afford to neglect. Mr. Talbot, indeed, points out the coincidence between Mr. Dennett's account of sacred groves in the Lower Congo region with his own description of the objects found in an Ibibio grove. It is interesting that both contain, among other things, "mats said to represent the rainbow." One feature of the Ibibio grove not mentioned by Mr. Dennett is "a legendary python set to guard the waters, a leopard appointed to the same office by land, and a fish-eagle hovering as
protector in the clear air above”. The python is regarded as sacred in various parts of Africa—e.g. by the Awa-Wanga, near the northeastern corner of the Victoria Nyanza; the leopard everywhere has tabus of one sort or another attached to him; the fish-eagle figures in East African folklore, though as yet there seems to be no evidence of his having any special importance, unless, perhaps as a totem.

In this connexion the chapter headed “Affinities and Were-Beasts” is of peculiar interest. But, indeed, the same might be said of every chapter. That on “‘Magic’ Plays” presents facts probably new to most readers, who will no doubt suspend their judgment as to whether it is a case of marvellously clever conjuring, or of hypnotic and clairvoyant powers beyond anything hitherto proved to exist. It should be added that Mr. Talbot manifests a laudably open mind with regard to the “occult”, and is quite free from the tendency to reject as incredible everything which cannot readily be explained. Whatever may be the explanation of the facts recorded, the book as a whole is certainly not calculated to detract from the uncanny reputation justly or unjustly attaching to West Africa.

The space at our disposal will allow of no further quotations, but it would be easy to fill many pages, and we can only add, while insisting once more on its scientific value, that Mr. Talbot has contrived to make his book as readable as a novel.

A. W.


Archdeacon Johnson, one of the veterans of the Universities’ Mission to Central Africa, has condensed into this unpretending little volume the results of an experience extending over some forty years. Within the compass of its two hundred pages we have a mass of valuable anthropological facts collected in a region little written up as yet, and told in a simple, straightforward style, which makes very easy reading. The first chapter contains an interesting description of the Lake—its harbours, headlands, islands, prevailing winds, and other atmospheric phenomena—illustrated by an excellent map. The tribes who inhabit its shores are the Konde, Tonga, M pistol, Akumatengo, Amapangwa, Nyanja, Yao, and Angoni—the most important being the three last-named.
“Except the Angoni, and there only partially, none of these tribes have any central organization or chiefs with widespread dominion. They are split up into numerous clans, each with its chief or headman, and the most important of the chiefs have only a few headmen under them... The idea of the family is interwoven with that of the village among the Lake people.”

The difficulty of arriving at the traditional history of a tribe which has been frequently displaced by successive migrations is well illustrated in the chapter headed “The Old Chiefs (1864–84)”. But the author’s careful and patient inquiries have recovered a considerable body of facts as far back as the first of the dates named. It is worth noting that what is usually described as the Yao invasion of the Shire Highlands, in the early sixties, was in reality a forced migration, they being expelled from their homes in the Lujenda Valley by the advance of the Alolo from the east. (The Alolo, in their turn, may have been displaced by the Portuguese, though this is not quite clear.) This puts a somewhat different complexion on the famous encounter of Bishop Mackenzie’s mission party with a band of these same Yaos (p. 101). But Archdeacon Johnson—or his printer—is surely in error in dating this incident 1864; it actually happened in 1861.

The chapter dealing with “Wizardry and Superstition” contains much with which one is already familiar in the case of other peoples (and which is therefore valuable for comparative purposes) and some points new at any rate to the present writer—e.g. the alternative method of divinations, when “the diviner pretends to talk with an inane little image, often made up with parts of animals, skin, tail, etc.” Again, while the “belief that the souls of men come back in the bodies of animals” seems common to all Bantu tribes; but one did not imagine that all animals were supposed to be re-incarnated spirits—indeed, the contrary has been expressly asserted by some natives. But Archdeacon Johnson heard a young man say—apropos of a discussion as to whether or no there were any animals on a certain small island: “How could there be wild animals on the island when nobody has died there?”

There are many passages one would like to quote, but I must confine myself to two, which show a fine psychological insight. Speaking of divination, the author says:

“The whole thing seems utterly foolish until one tries to unravel some native case where grievous wrong has been done and no witnesses can be obtained, and then one understands the natives resorting to it.
It was probably the same reason which made people sanction ordeals and torture in old times."

And which, one may add, in much more recent times, has been seriously urged in defence of duelling.

And in the next chapter, leading up to a number of simple and touching narratives taken down exactly as told by natives:

"In presence of the unknown and impalpable danger [from witchcraft] we have found fear leading to cruelty; where the danger is known and concrete we shall find courage and helpfulness."

For the "village stories" illustrating this dictum, we must refer the reader to the book itself.

Archdeacon Johnson’s probably unrivalled knowledge of the Nyanja language is evidenced by a large amount of translation work for which, it being published without his name, he has scarcely received sufficient credit. His collection of native proverbs—the work of many years—will, it is hoped, see the light shortly. One cannot help feeling doubtful, however, as to the validity of certain etymologies suggested by him in the work under review—the more so when we find him taking seriously Father Torrend’s identification of Mulungu and Moloch. He derives the Nyanja mfiti "wizard" from Portuguese feitelro, and the Yao msawi (Swahili machawi) from مسحر. But it seems ungracious to insist on a small point like this, when it is so far outweighed by the profit and pleasure to be derived from the book.

A. W.


Mr. Fell has already published a vocabulary and a grammar of the Tonga language, spoken by a tribe living near the Victoria Falls—also known as Batoka, from the Sesuto pronunciation of their name. He has now issued, as a reading-book for native schools, a collection of stories, riddles, and proverbs, taken down by himself from the recitation of children in the school at Kanchinju. The book is very welcome—apart from its immediate object—as a linguistic document (the only published Tonga texts I know of are those contained in the appendix to Father Torrend’s Comparative Grammar) and a contribution to folklore. Their value from the latter point of view is slightly impaired by the fragmentary character of some (e.g. Nos. 18, 22, 37,
But this is very often the case when stories are obtained from children, who are usually readier to tell them than their elders, but do not know them so well. The first three stories contain several of the well-known incidents in the career of the Hare—here called Sulee; among others the stratagem by which he enables the lion to entrap a number of animals by feigning death, and the episode of the animals digging a well, but in a somewhat unusual setting. (A fairly typical example of this last is the Swahili Sungura na Mgomba in Masomo ya Pili.) No. 89, "The Expert Singing Drummer" (a translation of Siamadizumininangoma) is a variant of the Swahili Watoto na Zimevi and numerous other tales, including Jacottet's "Tselane", and Dudley Kidd's "Child in the Drum". In "The Man who turned himself into a Lion" (102) a frog saves some women by swallowing them—an incident which is also found in "L'Homme au Grand Coutelas" (Junod, Chants et Contes des Baronga), and, in a far distant region, is told by the Jaluo ("Kavirondo") of the Tortoise.

A few proverbs may be quoted as specimens:

"The last remaining is taken by the river."

"The old woman longing to die runs away when she sees a snake."

"The new trumpet makes the mouth sore."

"I was afraid of the darkness which had no lion."

"I fled from the straight spear, I went into the barbed spear."

A. W.


This is one of the most satisfactory anthropological books which have come our way for some time and quite entitled to rank with Mr. Driberg's Lango. Mr. Melland has resided for eleven years among the Kaonde, as Magistrate for the Kasempa District (between the Kabombo and Lunga Rivers, to the north of the Zambezi, and directly south of the Belgian territory of Katanga), and had already, before entering on this office, had eleven years' experience among Bantu peoples. The careful record of Kaonde customs contained in this book shows a degree of insight and sympathy too rarely attained (one fears) by administrators in primitive countries. The chapter entitled "The Future of the Native" contains so much sound sense that one wishes it could be studied by every candidate for a Government appointment in Africa.
The notes on Kaonde religion are full of interest and calculated to throw light on various matters hitherto obscure. It has always been a moot point whether the Bantu believe in evil spirits per se, i.e. spirits other than those of the dead (who may be well- or ill-disposed according to circumstances). These ghosts of the departed are called *vimeule* or *wafu*, and, if belonging to the speaker's own family, *wakishi* (sing. *mukishi*). The *wakishi* are prayed to and propitiated, and the fear of offending them may be called the chief factor in native morality, so far as it depends on external sanctions. Shades of a man's enemies—or of any one whom he has injured, or in respect of whom he has an unfulfilled obligation—become hostile ghosts, *mitala*. Some forms of these can assume material substance, e.g. the particularly gruesome one described on p. 145—which in some ways recalls the *umkouw* of the Zulus. (The latter, however, is deliberately called into existence by a wizard, like the *milombe* and *tuyeurea*, of which Mr. Melland gives an account in his sixteenth chapter.) The whole subject of witchcraft, as here treated, is extremely interesting and instructive, though perhaps the author has allowed undue weight to the conclusions advanced by Miss Murray in *The Witch-cult in Western Europe*.

Another fascinating subject is that of the *kongamato*, a kind of kelpie said to haunt certain rivers. It is possibly mythical, but Mr. Melland shows good grounds for thinking that Pterodactyls may have survived in this region long enough to have passed into the traditions of the people. The *kongamato* is described as "a bird—but not a bird really"; like a lizard, with wings like a bat—four to seven feet in wing-spread, red, with no feathers, but with teeth in its beak. Natives who were shown a book with pictures of extinct monsters immediately picked out the Pterodactyl as the *kongamato*. The swamp between the Jiundu and Mwombezhi Rivers is supposed to be its especial home.

A. W.

**Tropical Hygiene for African Schools. English and Swahili.**


This is a most useful little book, which ought to have a wide circulation among educated natives in Kenya Colony, but is also likely to be very helpful to students of the language, the English and Swahili texts being given on opposite pages. The dialect used is that of Mombasa (as shown by the use of the forms *kutoma, ndia, wakwe*, etc.), but there would probably be no difficulty in understanding it at
Zanzibar or Dar-es-Salaam; and, in any case, the slight alterations necessary could easily be introduced in an alternative edition.

A. W.

Longmans, Green & Co. Price 9s.

Mr. McLaren's Grammar and Concise Kafir–English Dictionary have been in use since 1906 and 1915 respectively, and, though not quite unexceptionable from a philological and, more especially, from a phonetic point of view, have been found valuable helps to the learner. An English-Kafir Dictionary has been sorely needed, but this, somewhat strangely, is the first work of the kind that has been produced, those of Perrin and Roberts dealing with the Zulu dialect. Xosa, which is the proper designation of the language usually called "Kafir", spoken in the eastern and north-eastern parts of the Cape Province, is practically identical with Zulu as far as grammatical structure is concerned, though there are some interesting minor points of difference; the chief divergence is in the vocabulary: thus "boy" is in Xosa inkwenkwe, but in Zulu umfana (a word also used in Xosa, but in a somewhat different sense); "infant," X. usana, but Z. inqane; "bird," X. intaka, Z. inyoni (a widely distributed Bantu stem), etc.

A. W.


Some years ago Dr. Allan Parsons, of the West African Medical Service, compiled this Phrase Book with the help of a number of administrative officers in Northern Nigeria. The Government of Nigeria having now secured the copyright have issued a new edition revised by Rev. G. P. Bargery, of the Nigerian Education Department. The revision has mainly taken the form of bringing the spelling of Hausa words into line with the standard set by the latter Department.

The transliteration of Hausa words into Roman characters has been the bane of students of the language, who find in the books already published, on Hausa folklore and the like, words spelt according to the individual fancy of each compiler. Much confusion has been the natural result. It is even doubtful now if the standard spelling of the
Nigerian Education Department is really the best that can be devised in the absence of some application of phonetics. Native scribes use the Arabic alphabet with modifications for transliterating Hausa phonetically. Though not an ideal medium it at least leaves no doubt about long and short vowels, which the English spelling fails to indicate. In a negroid language like Hausa, where there are a large number of words spelt alike in English which have different meanings according to whether the vowels are long or short, the confusion to a beginner is enhanced. This, however, is by the way. The Phrase Book itself serves a very useful purpose, is extremely comprehensive, and is a valuable help to those to whom the acquisition of the colloquial tongue is a necessity for the proper performance of their duties in the wide area of Nigeria in which Hausa is the *lingua franca*.

All sides of life in Hausaland are covered by the phrases given—household management, travelling, stable management, hunting, political and administrative, military and police, public works, forestry and agriculture, customs, commercial, mining, nursing, and medical. It is an invaluable aid to the learner in that it indicates in numerous examples not only the grammatical structure of sentences, but also the way in which ordinary English turns of phrase should be translated for the proper understanding of the native hearer. To all engaged in administrative work in Nigeria it has great practical value.

J. Withers Gill.
NOTES AND QUERIES

INDO-ARYAN ETYMOLOGICAL NOTES

1. Sanskrit ánas-

The majority of words common to the Indo-European languages can be referred to groups comprising both nouns and verbs, and their relationship within the group is conveniently indicated by the expression "root". Thus the noun represented by Skt. bhêdâh, Eng. bait, and the verb represented by Skt. bhinátti, Lat. findere, Eng. bite, can be referred to a root *bheid-, of which the essential elements, the consonants and sonant, appeared in all members, whether nouns or verbs, of this word-group.

M. Meillet, however, very truly remarks 1 that all words do not belong to roots, and that many noun-stems cannot be analysed into root and suffix even where the final syllable has the form of a known suffix. He quotes as an example of such words Skt. ánas-n. cart = Lat. onus n. load, which have the form of the common noun-stems with suffix -es-.

It is true that both these words have derivatives in their own languages: e.g. Skt. anađêdâ- ox, ánasvat- yoked to a cart, Lat. onustus loaded, onerâre to load. But these are derivatives only from the noun-stems ánas- ones-.

In this particular instance, however, it is noteworthy that the words in question not only show the form of a common suffix, but also (as far as the Sanskrit word indicates) have the accent appropriate to the formation of stems in -es-, namely on the root-syllable (cp. Skt. šrávas- = Gk. kléos) and perhaps too the appropriate vocalization, namely, e 2 (cp. Skt. jánas- = Gk. génos = Lat. genus); for an I.E. *énos (equally with *énos) would become Lat. onus, 3 of which the expected paradigm would be onus *éneris. That the form with o has won the victory and has not been subjected to assimilation to the forms with e (as in the case, e.g., of genus generis for *gonus generis) may be due to the fact that this particular word had no other connected words in Latin with e, as with genus which had genitôr, etc.

1 Grammaire comparative des langues indo-européennes, p. 130.
2 Meillet, op. cit., p. 241.
With ánas- = onus has been connected Goth. dat. sing. anza beam, which points to an earlier stem *onsē-; but the comparison is not beyond doubt on the score of meaning. Further connexion has been supposed with Gk. anía Ael. onía grief, the former of which presupposed a reduced vowel in the root-syllable, viz. *²n-. This comparison would give us an I.E. root *en- *on- *n-, of which *énos would be a noun-stem with suffix -es-. But neither Boisacq nor Walde notice or explain the length of the i: Homer and Sophocles always have i (the word is not used by the other Tragedians), as also in its derivatives aníerós aníaó. The other poets have short or long as suits the metre (presumably on the analogy of the other very numerous nouns in -iá).

A number of roots are capable of further analysis. There are apparently simple roots enlarged by an element which cannot properly be described as a suffix. Sometimes simple root and enlarged root existed side by side, each with verb and noun stems attached to it. Thus there was a root *ter- 'tremble' seen in Skt. taraláḥ trembling, beside it there were the enlargements *tr-ep- (Skt. trapaté Lat. trepidus), *ter-s- (Gypsy traś- to frighten < *tarsayati Gk. ētersen, Lat. terror < *ters-es-) and *tr-es- (Skt. trásati Gk. tréo < *treso, Skt. trásah); *tr-ek- (Av. terásaiti tremble, Gk. atrekés); *tre-em- (Gk. trémō, Lat. tremor); *tre-em-s- (OSL. treás tremble).

A comparatively common element of enlargement is -ek- alternating with -k-: e.g. *ter- and tr-ek- (as above); *per- (Gk. peíra attempt) and *pr-ek- (Skt. praśnáḥ question); *pel- (Gk. diplós Lat. duplus) and *pl-ek- (Gk. plékó Lat. duplex).

Such enlargements are included in Hirt's dissyllabic light bases. Either syllable may have e (or o) vocalization, when the other has zero, or both may have zero. Thus we find *per-k- (O.H.G. fergón to pray) or pr-ek- (Skt. praśnáḥ Lat. preco) or pr-k- (Skt. prāśṭāḥ).

In this way a root *en- 'carry', in *en-es- Skt. ánas- Lat. onus, might have an enlargement *en-k- n-ek- y-k. This enlargement with the sense 'carry up, to reach' is widely represented in the I.E. languages.

*en-k-: Gk. ép-ek-on I carried.
*on-k-: Skt. án-ānś-a I reached, ānś-ah share Gk. ōγκος weight.
*n-ek-: Skt. nás-ati reach, Lith. nėš-ti id.

1 Feist, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache, p. 28.
2 Walde, Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, p. 540; Boisacq, Dictionnaire etymologique de la langue grecque, p. 63.
*n-ok-: Goth. ga-nah suffice.
*ŋ-k-: Skt. aś-nōti offer, reach.

Boisacq has already connected Gk. anīā with ὕγκος; but in making the interesting comparison between anīā: ὕγκος and muśa (<*mus-ya): Lat. musca, has, as already mentioned, not explained the Homeric and Sophoclean forms of the former with long ī.

2. Pali ghara-

A word which appears first in Pali under the form gharam has provided almost all the modern Indo-Aryan languages with their word for “house”:-—European Gypsy kher Armenian Gy. khar Kaś, gara Sindhi gharu Lahnda Kumaonī Nēp. Panj. Rāj. Guj. Mar. Hi. Bih. Beng. Ur. ghar Sgh. gara. In those languages, Gujarāṭī and Marāṭhī, which distinguish three genders, it is neuter, elsewhere masculine. The word is not given by Sir George Grierson in his vocabulary of the Piśāca (North-West Himalayan) languages.

One of the commonest words in Sanskrit, appearing from the Rgveda onwards, is gṛhām. This word, to be referred to Av. gṛvṛca- ‘cave in which demons dwell’ has in Pa. gaha- n.m. Pkt. ghaga- n. its expected forms; a secondary derivative gēha- n.m. also appears in Pali and Prakrit, and is preserved in Sgh. gē ‘house’, which is, however, possibly a literary loan from Pali. The simple gṛhá- (Pa. gaha-) in the compound gṛhasṭha- (Pa. gahantha-) is preserved in the Sgh. gāṭayā young man.

Hitherto it has been generally supposed that gharam was derived from gṛhām. M. J. Bloch compares Mar. ghar with Skt. gṛha-; and in an earlier paper I have suggested that it was derived from a form with different vocalization, *garha-.

But there is a considerable difficulty in this derivation. It is true that in certain modern Indo-Aryan languages an interior h is liable to be attracted to an initial voiced stop so as to form with it a voiced aspirate. Thus in Gujarāṭī intervocalic -ḥ- or h in the medial groups -ṛh- -mh- passes over to an initial g-: e.g. ghērā deep: H. gahirā id. (gahirāḥ); ghō iguana: H. gōh (gōdhā); gharaṇ eclipse <*garahana loan from Skt. grahamā; ghimel a partic. insect, Sindhi ghīma moisture rising from the ground (grīsmāḥ). Where -ḥ- separated two similar vowels, it passed over to any initial voiced stop: e.g.

1 Bartholomae, Altiranisches Wörterbuch, p. 522.
2 Ls Formation de la Langue marathé, p. 326.
3 JRAS., 1921, p. 528.

In Pali and Prakrit the only instances apparently to be found of an interior *h* being transferred to an initial voiced stop are Pa. *dhūtā*, Pkt. *dhū(h)dā* *dhū(d)dā* ‘daughter’, which is said to be derived from Skt. *duhitā*, and the word *gharam* now under discussion.

I have already suggested that Pa. *dhūtā* is in reality the verbal adjective (Skt. *dhītā*) connected with *dhāyati* ‘to suck’. For the meaning comparison may be made with Lat. *fīlius* son, OSl. *dītē* ‘child’ from the same root. It is true that by contamination with *duhitā* (also found in Pali) it has some terminations properly belonging to *tr*-stems: e.g. sing. acc. *dhītaraṇī* gen. abl. *dhītu*, plur. nom. *dhītārō*. But more commonly than is the case with other feminines in -tr- the expected endings of the *a*-stems also occur: 1 sing. dat. gen. *dhītāya*, voc. *dhītē*, plur. nom. *dhītā*, inst. *dhītāhi* gen. *dhītānām* loc. *dhītāsu*. In Prakrit also *duhidā* is found beside *dhū(d)dā* *dhū(d)dā*, but the latter always have the endings of the *ā*-declension; *dhū(d)dā* owes its *ū* to contamination with *duhidā*. In Sindhī *dhīu* is declined like *māu* (*mātā*): plur. dir. *dhīaru* obl. *dhīaruṇ* like *māiru* (< *mātāraḥ*); but so also are *bhēqu* sister (*bhaginī*) and *nuhu* daughter-in-law (*snuṣā*).

On the other hand interior *h* regularly retained its position: e.g. Pa. *garahā* (*garhā*) *garahati* (*garhati*) *duhitā*, *barihī* (*barhin-*) *barhiṣaṇī* (*barhiṣ-*), etc. There is thus no good phonological ground for believing that Skt. *ghām* or *garham* could have given rise to a Pa. *gharam*. Its etymology must be sought elsewhere.

The house or hut of the Indo-European period, according to Schrader,² probably consisted of a sort of portico or shelter formed by the overhanging eaves and an inner room in which was the hearth. Thus words for “burning” or “hearth” came to be used for the whole house: e.g. Lat. *aedēs* lit. “burning, fire, fire-place” (= Skt. *ēdhas-* n., but with the animate gender usual with words meaning fire and water in Latin)³; Gk. *hestē* ‘hearth’, used also to mean the whole house; cp. the English alliterative “hearth and home”.

The I.E. root *gʷer-* ‘be warm, heat’, is widely represented in the I.E. languages, and particularly in Sanskrit.

*Gʷer-:* Gk. *θερομαί* become hot, OSl. *zeravū* glowing.

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1 Geiger, *Pali*, p. 87.
*gʰwʰr-ː OSl. gorēti burn, OIr. gorim heat.

*gʰwʰrēn-ː Skt. hāras- n. flame, Gk. thēros n. summer-heat, Arm. jer warmth, Alb. zjar fire.

*gʰwʰn-ː Skt. ghṛnāḥ heat OSl. gürnū cauldron Russ. gornī hearth, Lat. forns oven.

*gʰwʰr-mōː Skt. gharmāḥ heat, Av. garmō hot, OPruss. gorme heat, Eng. warm.

*gʰwʰr-mōː Gk. thermōs hot, Arm. jerm id., Alb. zjarm heat. To this I would add Skt. harmyām ‘large house’, a derivation already suggested by Monier Williams, who connects it with gharmāḥ. With the -yo- extension of *gʰwʰermo- may be compared the similar extension of *gʰwʰormo- in Lat. Formiae name of a town. The different vocalization of the two stems *gʰwʰermo- and *gʰwʰormo- points to the existence of a root-noun *gʰwʰer- varying with gʰwʰor- of which these two are secondary derivatives.

*gʰwʰor-oː Lith. gūras steam, OIr. gor warmth, fire, Bret. gor fire.

It is here, I suggest, that Pa. gharam belongs. As with Lat. aedēs, the word for “fire or hearth” has come to mean the whole house. The etymology appears satisfactory on both phonological and semantic grounds.

It is tempting to add here Lat. forum, although this is already satisfactorily explained as = OSl. deorū courtyard : I.E. *dʰuer-door. According to Schrader the single hearth-room, having later added to it a living-room, became the front room. The Latin ātrium, probably connected with āter black, lit. burnt or smoky : Av. ātar- ‘fire’, and so originally the hearth-room (according to Cato apud Serv. ad Verg. A. 1,726 in earlier times used as a dining-room) became a fore-court. The derivation of vestibulum as *vesto-dhlo-m or *vesti-stibulum <-stadhlem ‘hearth-place’ ( : vesta) and afterwards ‘fore-court’ and synonymous with ātrium (as Gellius XVI, 5, 3, quoted by Schrader, says : animadverti quosdam haudquaquam indoctos viros opinari vestibulum esse partem domus primorem, quam vulgus atrium vocat) is at least as satisfactory as the derivation from *wero-stadhlom, whose *wero- ‘door’ is found in aperio open.

Forum seems to have meant at first the part just outside and in front of a building; Cicero, de Leg. 2, 24, 61, says : quod (lex XII tabularum de sepulcris) forum, id est vestibulum sepulcri . . . It is

1 Loc. cit.
thus an almost equal possibility that forum should be referred to an I.E. *gʷhoro- which gave OIr. gor fire Pa. gharain house as to an I.E. *dhuro- which gave OSl. dvořů courtyard. Should forus used by Vergil in Georg. 4, 250 in the plural to mean the cells of bees be added here?

R. L. Turner.

A MISPronunciation Of The Groups Kw And Tm

In a number of languages the change of the group guttural stop $+$ $\omega$ to a labial stop has occurred. The Indo-European groups $k\omega$ $\grave{\gamma}\nu\epsilon$ became labials in Greek ($p$- $pp$-, $ph$-) except before palatal vowels where they became dentals (in Aeolic here also labials); in Oscan and Umbrian they became $p$ and $f$ (the latter presumably through $x\omega$); and even in Latin, which retained $k\omega$ as $q\nu$, $\grave{\gamma}\nu\epsilon$ became $f$. In the Gallic and Brittonic dialects of Celtic $k\omega$ became $p$. Similarly the I.E. labio-velars $k\omega$, $g\epsilon\nu$, $g\epsilon\omega\lambda$ became labials in the same languages, and under certain favourable conditions in Germanic too.

In India the Sanskrit group $tm$ appears as either $tt$ or $pp$; e.g. $\tilde{a}t\acute{\mbox{m}}\acute{\alpha}$-Pa. $\tilde{a}t\tilde{\alpha}$ Pkt. $\tilde{a}t\tilde{\alpha}$ and $\tilde{a}p\tilde{\alpha}$ = Hindi $\tilde{a}p$ self. Nep. $po$ ‘indeed, just, really’ with its emphatic $p\acute{\iota}i$ in e.g. $t\acute{\iota}p\acute{\iota}i$ honorific pronoun of the second person singular. For the group $dm$ Prakrit shows $mm$ in $\text{chamma-}<\text{chadma-}$, $\text{pomma-}<\text{padma-}$ (Pischel, p. 192), but the $bb$ which is to be expected appears in Sindhi $pah\acute{\iota}n\acute{\iota}$ lotus $<\text{padmini id}$.

In view of the part probably played in producing sound-changes by children’s learning a language, two mispronunciations by my daughter, when 2 years old, are perhaps not without interest. At this age she reproduced the groups $k\omega$ and $tm$ both as $p$, saying, e.g. [paip] for quite, [pik] for quick, [pil] for quill, [piz] for squeeze, [pipl] for ointment.

Jespersen (Language, p. 168) reports having heard children in France say [pizin] for cuisine.

Sound changes may occur either in leaps or gradually. As to how those under notice here occurred, the childish mispronunciations are no guide, although obviously themselves in the nature of leaps. There is nothing in the history of the I.E. labio-velars to show that they did not become labial stops in the above-mentioned languages by a leap; and the fact that they became single stops is in favour of the theory of a leap: $k\omega$ probably became $p$ without any intermediate
steps. But that in Greek ᱠ in Greek ᱠ became -pp- points in that language at least to an intermediate step -kp-

In India tm and dm, tv and dv certainly went through the stage tp db, since they appear as such in the Girnar inscriptions of Aśoka. There we find the gerund ending -tpā = Skt. -tvā, cātpārō = Skt. cādvārō, and even dbādasa = Skt. dvādasa. In Sindhi pabhun b (not b) points to earlier -bb-, and therefore probably a still earlier -db-< -dm-.

R. L. Turner.

PARMAŁ RĂSO, AN ANONYMOUS HINDI EPIC

In the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal are two MSS. called respectively Mahobā Khāṇḍ and Kanaṇaj Khāṇḍ. They used to be tied up together and labelled “Prithvi Rāj Rāso”. The joint MS. bearing the date 1868 was believed to be a MS. of Chand’s famous poem. Bābū Śyām Sundar Dās, well known as a student of Avadhi, Hindi, and allied languages, made a careful examination of both parts and found that they were independent works. The second MS. relates to the fighting between Prithvi Rāj Chauhān and Jay Chand (Paṅgrāj). It is being prepared for separate publication. The first, Mahobā Khāṇḍ, describes the war between the same Prithvi Rāj and Parmardi Dev (Parmāl). This has been published for the first time. As the name Mahobā Khāṇḍ would have been misleading, it has been entitled Parmāl Rāso.

It is a publication of considerable importance. The editor, Śyām Sundar Dās, speaks of it in terms of great admiration. As one reads it, he says, one’s heart glows with enthusiasm, for there passes before one’s eyes a vision of the ancient splendour of India and of the mighty deeds wrought by India’s famous heroes. One is filled with joy and pride. Parmāl Rāso is nearly half as long again as Paradise Lost. It appears to have been written in Bundelkhaṇḍ during the seventeenth century. Incidentally it contains a long account of the life of Ālḥā and Īdāl. The editor is of opinion that it must be read solely for its poetry, as it has little historical value, founded as it is upon mere rumour or taken unscientifically from old poetical chronicles. It deals chiefly with two incidents mentioned in Prithvi Rāj Rāso.

It is a valuable addition to the epic poetry written in the Hindi group of languages, and the editor deserves our sincere gratitude.

T. Grahame Bailey.
BILAUHAR.

In reading Sir E. A. Wallis Budge's introduction to his monumental translation of the Ethiopic "Baralâm and Yéwásêf", it occurred to me that the current explanations of the origin of the name Baralâm are all unsatisfactory, and that a more adequate one can be found in genuine Buddhist legend. Admittedly Baralâm or Barlaam is a corruption of Bilauhar, as Yéwásêf arises from a misreading of Būdāsaf, and the latter again from Bôdhisattva; the question is, what is the origin of Bilauhar? To derive it from Bhagavân, and to see in the sage Bilauhar merely the Buddha in another form, is wholly unconvincing. I therefore turn for a solution to the oldest Sanskrit life of the Buddha, Āsvaghôsa's Buddhacarita.

In bk. v, v. 16 ff., the poet relates that the prince was accosted in the wilderness by an ascetic, who said to him 1: "I, being terrified at birth and death, have become an ascetic for the sake of liberation. Desiring liberation in a world subject to destruction, I seek that happy indestructible abode—isolated from mankind, with my thoughts unlike those of others, and with my sinful passions turned away from all objects of sense, dwelling anywhere, at the root of a tree, or in an uninhabited house, a mountain or a forest—I wander without a family and without hope, a beggar ready for any fare, seeking only the highest good." Then, continues the poet, "he suddenly flew up to the sky; it was a heavenly inhabitant [divâuskas] who, knowing that the prince's thoughts were other than what his outward form promised, had come to him for the sake of rousing his recollection." 2 Now I venture to suggest that this "heavenly inhabitant" is the original of Bilauhar. Barlaam, in respect both of name and of function in the story. Very possibly in some version he was styled a vîdyâdharma; the vîdyâdharas come under the category of divâuskasas or dêvas. Admitting this possibility, the corruption of the word is easily explained. It may have taken place already in the Pahlavi; but even if the word survived that stage without injury, the change in Arabic from بدیع‌هار to بلوهر would be easy. And nothing would be more natural than the evolution of this divine ad hoc preacher into a regular apostle, the more so as Vidyâdharma was also a fairly common proper name, especially of learned men.

L. D. B.

1 Professor Cowell's translation in SBE., xlix, p. 51 f.
2 In the version recounted in the Padyacâdâmaṇi the holy man is presented to the prince's sight by the gods for the same purpose, but says nothing.
Mr. F. W. T. Posselt, District Commissioner of Marandellas, Southern Rhodesia, has collected some interesting information in two pamphlets, published by the Argus Company, Ltd., Salisbury (S.R.), and entitled respectively, "Notes on some Tribes of Southern Rhodesia" and "Mambo and his Court". Mambo was the title borne by the King of the Barozwi, one of the principal tribes inhabiting the territory now called Mashonaland. ("Mashona," according to Mr. Posselt, is a generic term of recent date, probably derived from the Zulu verb uku-tshona "to descend, disappear", because these tribes retreated into caves or underground refuges, before the Zulu invaders, during the early years of the nineteenth century.) The Barozwi occupy the districts of Victoria, Ndanga-Bikita, and Makoni—in the neighbourhood of the Zimbabwe ruins. This was the residence of the Monomotapa, who seems to have been identical with the Mambo; in fact, it appears that the latter name is actually mentioned by Dos Santos. Mr. Posselt says: "There are no means of tracing from the present languages the etymology of the word 'Monomotapa'"; but, according to the Rev. W. C. Willoughby (Race Problems in the New Africa, p. 22), "the term Moñ a Matlapa means 'Lord of the Rocks' in Secwana, and Makalanga people who are familiar with both languages have told me that its meaning is the same in their mother tongue." (According to other authorities, mutapa is "a captive".) The people of the Victoria District are usually called Karanga (Kalanga—or "Makalaka" of the Basuto), but Mr. Posselt thinks this must have been used as a generic name. The Barozwi have been the ruling race as far back as their traditions reach; the Karanga are a distinct tribe and subject to the Barozwi. The last Mambo, Chirisamuru, was killed in the Zulu (or Swazi) invasion, about 1825. With regard to this invasion, which was led by Zwangendaba (father of Mombora, Paramount Chief of the Angoni in West Nyasaland till his death in 1891), Mr. Posselt mentions an interesting circumstance: "It is related that Mgwadi, the witch doctor, struck the waters of the Zambezi with his staff, whereupon they divided, thus permitting the Swazi to cross dry-shod." I heard of this tradition, at Blantyre, in 1893, through a native teacher who had talked with some of the Angoni headmen.

A. W.
The 22nd volume of the Archiv für Religionswissenschaft contains a most interesting report by Professor Meinhof, headed "Afrikanische Religionen 1915–22". It is a summary—as complete as present conditions in Germany will permit—of the research accomplished in this direction during the eight years surveyed. The amount produced in this time by German scholars can only be described as astonishing. Some of the works mentioned (e.g. Dannholz on the Wapare, Bender’s Volksdichtung der Wakweli, and others) have already been noticed in the Bulletin. Ankermann’s recent studies of Totemism (articles in the Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Neue Jahrbücher, and Anthropos) appears to be of the highest importance; other works to which attention should be called are Frobenius, Paideuma (Munich, 1921), S. Seligmann, Die Zauberkraft des Auges (Hamburg, 1922), and Hans Meyer, Die Barundi. There are appreciative notices of Dr. Roscoe’s Northern Bantu and Smith & Dale’s Ila-speaking Peoples ("ein besonders gründliches Buch"). The publications of the Congo State, both in French and Flemish, include several valuable monographs: Van Wing, De geheime Secte van’t Kimpasi; Tanghe, De Slang bij de Nybandi; and Bittremieux’ study of the Bakhimba Society. Under the heading "Hamiten", we find that Dr. Dempwolff has published a remarkable account of the Sandawi, a tribe in the depression west of Kilimanjaro, whose language contains clicks, and who may be looked on as a link between the North African Hamites and the Hottentots in the south. Another most important novelty is H. Vedder’s monograph on the Hill Damara, who, anthropologically considered, are negroes, but speak a Hottentot dialect. Their religion appears to be entirely distinct from that of the (Hottentot) Nama. They have in common with the Herero the cult of the sacred fire—not hitherto observed among other Bantu, so that the question suggests itself "ob die Herero den Gebrauch nicht im Damaraslande erst angenommen und in eigentümlicher Weise umgebildet haben ".

A. W.
thick paper; written in small fine nastalik by Muhammad ibn Muhammad un-Nairizi, and dated 15th Jamādi I, a.h. 887 (2nd July, a.d. 1482). The name of the work is given in the line f. 175a, l. 1—

بِحمد الله كَمْ آبِن دِستوْر عَشْتاَق بَیایان آمَد اَز تَآید خلَاق

and of the author, among other places, at f. 176a, l. 7—

جَو خَامِه بَافتوح دَرْل اسْرار زَبِان فُتَاحِیا درَکُش گَفَتار

and the date of composition (a.h. 840, a.d. 1436) in the chronogram at end, f. 178a, l. 8—

بَی ابن رِوضَة بَستَان عَالِم جَو تَارِیخ تَامِش دَار خَرَم

The poem is a romance in rhymed couplets relating to the allegorical story of Princess Husn and Prince Dil.

Mr. A. G. Ellis, who has kindly examined the MS., suggests that this poem is the original of the allegory in rhymed prose attributed to Fattāhī, of which the fullest account has been given by Dr. Rudolf Dvořák in Proc. Vienna Academy, vol. cxviii, 1889, part iv. He, however, does not allude to this poem, and it is not found in any of the catalogues.

Enquirer.
OBITUARY

Professor René Basset

By the death of René Basset the world of learning has lost an eminent scholar, whose publications, especially in connexion with North Africa, are much valued. Born at Lunéville in 1855, he began his career as a teacher in the École Supérieure des Lettres of Algiers at the age of 25 and rose to become Director of this institution; indeed, Algiers was the scene of his activities throughout the whole of his career, and he was Dean of the Faculty of Letters in the University there at the time of his death, 4th January, 1924. His literary activity was abundant and embraced many interests; he published and translated several Arabic texts on the history of Ethiopia, the geography of North Africa, and a number of poems; to the language of the Berbers he devoted especial attention and gave a considerable impulse to the scientific study of the various Berber dialects. He took a special interest in folklore and collected a large number of Berber and other stories in northern Africa. From the outset he was the editor of the French edition of the Encyclopædia of Islam, to which he himself contributed a large number of articles. A frequent contributor to learned journals, such as the Journal Asiatique, La Revue Africaine, etc., his articles always provided some fresh scientific materials, and will be missed by all students of the language and culture of North Africa.
IN this Bulletin, Vol. II, pp. 731–54, I have dealt in a preliminary way with the Brit. Mus. MS. Sloane 1820, the Livro da Seita dos Indios Orientais of Father J. Fenicio, S.J., which forms the common source of certain parts of the Asia Portugueza of M. de Faria y Sousa and of Baldaeus’ Afgoderye der Oost-Indische Heydenen, and is also the original of the work called Collectio omnium dogmatum & arcanorum ex Purinis seu libris Canoniciis Paganorum Indianorum, etc., written before 1789 by the Carmelite Father Ildephonsus a Præsentatione, and now apparently lost. I have also tried to show there in what connexion this uncommonly valuable manuscript stands to another one by Father M. Barradas, S.J., that seems still to be preserved in a private library in Portugal.¹

On p. 752 of my preliminary report I drew attention to the way in which Baldaeus has availed himself of the work of Father Fenicio, and suggested that he may have dealt in a somewhat similar way with other sources, not yet identified. When writing this I was not aware that within a very short time my suggestion would be fairly well corroborated.

When, in 1917, Dr. De Jong issued his reprint of Baldaeus’ Afgoderye, with a very valuable introduction and notes, he came to speak² at some length about the remarkable coincidences between certain parts of

² Introduction, p. lxxv sqq.
that work and the description of Hindu mythology found on pp. 82–136 of the work Asia, of Naukeurige Beschrywing van het Rijk des Grooten Mongols en een groot gedeelte van Indien, etc., by Olfert Dapper. This author, a Dutch physician and compiler of a good many works on geographical and ethnographical subjects, issued his Asia at Amsterdam in 1672 (the privilege of the work being dated 28th July, 1670), the selfsame year that saw the publication of the editio princeps of Baldeus. Dr. De Jong argues, on reasons that appear to me wholly convincing, that Dapper could not, before seeing his work through the Press, have had access to the book of Baldeus; nor could this author well have made any use of even the first edition of the Asia, seeing that he died already in August–September, 1671, about a year before the publication of both works. Consequently, Dr. De Jong suggested that there must have existed a common source that was used by both these authors; according to an indication in their texts he deems this to have been a narrative taken down at Surat in 1649. As I shall show presently this suggestion was a fairly correct one.

As for the date (1649) of the presumed source, Dr. De Jong drew his inference from a passage in Baldeus (p. 172, ed. De Jong) where this author says as follows: “In the year 1649 the Banyans of Surat stated that out of this period there had passed 4,750 years, so that there still remain 21,680 years.” Dapper, Asia, p. 136, in the corresponding passage, has substituted another calculation for that of his source, as he states that we live in the period of the Buddha-avatāra, and that in the year 1671—apparently the one in which he wrote this part of his work—there had expired 4,772 years and were still 21,080 to come, a miscalculation or a slip in the printed text as we ought to find the number 21,688 instead of it.

As the corresponding passage of the common source of both works—on which something will be said presently—does actually contain the year 1649, one might think that Dr. De Jong was quite right in his suggestion. In fact, we must, however, count also with a somewhat later date. On p. 46 (ed. De Jong) Baldeus mentions that “anno 1657 there had, according to their account in Surat, expired 4,758 years of the last age of the world”, a chronological statement that tallies completely with the surmised commencement of the Kaliyuga in

1 The period is that of the Buddha-avatāra which runs from the year 1 to the year 26,430 of the Kaliyuga (supposed to have begun in 3102 n.c.).

2 Viz. the Banyans.
3102 B.C. The corresponding passage in Dapper again calculates with
the year 1671, but as 1657 is actually found in the source of Baldaeus,
and is certainly the last date mentioned there, we may perhaps feel
entitled to suggest that this is the year in which that text was finally
taken down.

This, the common source of Baldaeus and Dapper, is a manuscript
in the British Museum, Sloane 3290, read and partly copied out by
me in the autumn of 1922. It is a book in small octavo, containing
121 leaves (= 241 pp.), written in an even, but somewhat difficult
handwriting. The language is Dutch, and the title runs as follows:
_Beschryvingh van den nachfolgenden figuren getrochen uyt der Heydenen
geloof Book geheten Deex autaers._1 On the flyleaf there is a note
in Sir Hans Sloane's handwriting, telling us that "This Book is an
Account of the Figures of Heathen Idols taken from the Heathen
Book called Deex autaers; it is different from the Account by Philip
Baldaeus. _vide_ Churchill's Collections, vol. iii._2 See the figures belonging
to this Book, min. 15." From this, as well as from the actual words of
the manuscript itself, it is clear that the work was supposed to be a sort
of textbook to a set of Indian drawings, depicting the ten _avatāras_
of Viṣṇu; such pictures are found both in the work of Baldaeus and in
that of Dapper, though they represent two entirely different sets of
originals and have apparently been more or less altered by the editors.

Anyhow, these drawings are not now to be found with the Sloane
manuscript 3290, nor was I able to obtain, at the British Museum,
any information concerning the words "min. 15" in Sloane's note,
which seem to be meant to furnish us with an indication concerning
their whereabouts. After some researches I, however, succeeded in
finding them; they are ten coloured Indian drawings, in quarto size,
representing the _avatāras_, and are at the present moment bound up
together with a set of 35 drawings of Persian dresses in the Additional
MS. 5254, which is now kept in the Oriental MS. Department. They
present a distinct similarity with the illustrations of Dapper, though
these have been considerably altered in preparing them for print.
The pictures in Baldaeus must have been taken from another set of
drawings of which I can, unfortunately, give no information
whatsoever.

The contents of the manuscript are as follows: on fol. 2r–v is
found a general introduction; then comes the description of the

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1 i.e. _Daśa-avatāra_.

2 This is the well-known _Collection of Voyages and Travels_, vol. iii, 1732.
avatāras, viz. mātsya (fols. 2v–3r), kūrma (fols. 3r–4r), varāha (fols. 4r–4v), narasiṁha (fols. 4v–6v), vāmana (fols. 6v–8v), Paraśurāma (fols. 8v–16r), Rāma (fols. 16r–44v), Kṛṣṇa (fols. 45r–119r), with a supplement titled Byvoegsel door den Braman Kieka (fols. 119r–120r), Buddha (fols. 120r–v), and Kalkin (fols. 120v–121r).

In order to show the very close connexion between this manuscript and the texts of Baldæus and Dapper, I shall give some extracts beginning with the description of the fourth avatāra, that of the narasiṁha, with which passage should be compared Baldæus, p. 58 sqq., ed. De Jong¹ and Dapper (ed. 1672), p. 89 sq.:

"Beschrivingh van Narings autser de 4ᵈ

[f. 4v] "In de eerste eeuwe is 't geschiet dat den Reus Hirrenkessep door menichvulde penitentie ende godsdienstige oefeningen den [f. 5r] vierhoofdigen god des luchts Bramha had beweect dat hy hem op seeckeren tijt verscheen, welche vraechde wat hy begeerde, o groot vermoegende Bramha, seyde Hirrenkessep, doet my dese gunst, dat ick een monarch en geweldich Vorst op de Aerde mach werden, ende schenkt my daarby dese gaven, dat ick noyt door Hemel, noch door aerde, noch door son, noch door maen, noch door sterren, noch door commeten, noch door wolcken, noch door wint, noch door hagel, noch door sneen, noch door regen, noch door donder, noch door bloixem, noch door weerlicht, noch door vogels, noch door dieren, noch door menschen, noch door duyvels, noch door visschen, noch door water, noch door slange, noch door adders, noch door eenich ander Venijn, hoedanich dat het mochte wesen, noch door swaert, noch door pijlen, noch door sinders, noch door Bersjes² ofte eenich dodelyck geweer, noch buyten myn deur noch binnen myn huys noch bij daegh noch bij nacht mach omgebracht werden, het welche hem Bramha beloefde, doen rechte den Reus Hirrenkessep hem op, en liet af van langer Bramha aan te roepen. Hier naer trock hij te velt, ende overwon menichte van steden en landen, so dat de gehele werelt hem onderdanich maekte, doen liet hij een gebot uyt gaan, dat men niemant dan hem alleen soude aenbidden, ende wie gevonden wiert tegens dit gebot te sondigen, soude zonder genade met de doet gestraft werden.

"Na dit sommige jaren geduurt hadde, begonnen veel van zijn onderdanen en voornamentl. haere Bramenes hier tegens te mompelen.

¹ It should be observed that Baldæus has drawn minor parts of his description of this avatāra from the work of Father Fenicio, l. iii, c. 7.
² The two words sinderes and bersjes are unintelligible. Dr. De Jong thought them to be a corruption of an expression like "Indra’s vajra ", but this seems scarcely possible.
saggende, wat sal ons eyndelyck [f. 5v] werden van desen Hirrenkessep, dat wij hem aenroepen, hij is wel een herscher der aerde, maer niet des hemels, laten wij ons dan van hem tot Mahadeu¹ keeren, die ons na onse lichame, door menichte van verwisselingh gesuyvert sijnhe tot hem in den hemel kan opnemen, des sij haer tot Mahadeu keereende, baden dat hij haer doch van dit tirannich gewelt wilde verlossen, die haer beloofde, dat de Huysvroew van Hirrenkessep genaemt Naecksea² een soon soude baeren, die haer verlossen soude, dat so lange gedult soude hebben.

¹ Eenen langen tiij hier naer baerde Naecksea den Hirrenkessep eenen soon, die sie noemden Brellade [Pralháda] welchen nu out geworden sijnhe, sijn Vader geen gottelijcke eere wilde bewijser, maer leerde dat men Mahadeu, ende niet sijn vader moste aenbidden waerom Hirrenkessep soo verbolgen tegen sijn soon wiert dat een ijseren calon dede oprechten die so glyent als vuur selve liet maecken waer een sijn soon wilde doen ombrengen, als Brellade met een groote menichte van volcq³ omtrent de plaets gekomen was, daer hij sterven soude so seyde Hirrenkessep laet nu eens sien wie u uyt dit gevaer en mijne handen verlossen sal, Brellade bat Mahadeu die hem behoorde, terstond barste desen ijseren calon van een met sulchen kracht dat er de aerde van schudde en beefde, waer uyt een soo seltsames monster voortquam, dat noch duyvel noch mensch, noch vis, noch vogel, noch slange, noch draeck noch eenich creatuur datoijt te voorden [f. 6r] geschapen is geleeck, blies viervlammen ten neusgaten uyt, en een machtige zwarte roockdamp quam hem ten keles uytgevlogen waer van alle de omstaenders so seer beangst werden, dat niet en wisten waer dat hem bergen soude, den Reus Hirrenkessep wiert bleek van schrik ende lilde van angst, als een riet dat van de wint bestormt wierd. Mahadeu hem in dees gedaeunte verandert hebbende gedacht aen 't geen Bramha den Hirrenkessep beloofd hadde ende om die belofte niet te niet te doen, schorte hem op, en voerde hem onder der aerde, onder den drempel van sijn huys daer hij den avontstont verwachte, so haest nu de son ondergingh reet hij met sijne afgryselijcke nagels dit grof gestelte van een, so dat hem het zwarte bloet van alle kanten uytspriogh, ende trock het vervloekte ingewant hem

¹ In this manuscript, as in the text of Dapper which follows it very closely, Mahádeu everywhere means Vísnu. Balázsus has, as a rule, substituted Vistnum for Mahadeu.

² This name (Naecksea in Balázsus) seems to baffle every attempt of a solution. According to the Puráñas the wife of Hiranyakaśipu was called Kayadhiū.

³ In the picture in Dapper are seen a number of bystanders adoring the Narasimha.
uyt de buyck, ende hingh het hem om den hals so dat hij in gestraft, en Bramhas belofte niet verkort waeren, want hij bracht hem niet om, noch binnen, noch buyten zijn huys, maer onder zijn drempel, noch op aerde, noch in den hemel, maer onder de aerde, noch door vogels, noch door dieren, noch door son, noch door maen, noch door regen, noch door wint, noch door hagel, noch door sneen, noch door menschen noch door duyvels, noch door slangen, noch door draecken, noch door eenich Venijn, noch door Vissen noch door water, noch eenich geweer, etc., maer door sodanige monsternagels als er noyt vor desen geschapen was.

[f.6v] "Doer stelde Mahadeu Brellade in het ryck van sijn vader die lange jaren seer godvrichtig regeerde hij naem sijn moeder Naecksea so lange sij leefde tot hem.

"Wanneer nu Mahadeu in drie dagen dit alles bericht hadde, is hij weder van de aerde in den hemel gestegen, daermee eyn dichde dese vierde autaer in de eerste eeuwe Korttosingke, na deselve geduurt hadde seventien mael honert acht en twintich duyssent jaren in welche alle de verhaelde wonderen geschiet syn, ende al'hoewel den tyt deser miraculen in alles maer 2 uyt maeckien dan seven duyssent seven honert jaren en drie dagen, so moet verstaen dat de seventien honert twintich duyssent jaren en drie honert twee en sestich dagen sy voor en tusschen beyden de miraculen, als mede daer naer doorgegaen."

The passage called "Byvoogsel door den Braman Kieka" [f. 119r-120r], which contains the śravaṇa-phala obtained by listening to, reciting, or writing down the story of Kṛṣṇa, is found nearly wholly unaltered in Dapper, p. 135, but is missing in Baldaeus.

The description of the two last avatāras, those of Buddha and Kalkin, run as follows 3 :

[f. 120r] "Bodos Authaer de negende.

" Bhodes heeft vader nochte moeder, is onsichtbaar maer dien hie haer vertoont, hebben hem gesien met vier armen . . . 4 dese doet niet als inwendig met nedergeschlagen oegen nacht ende dagh, sonder ophanden Mahadeu aen te bidden, en wanneer in dit wesen ses en twintich duyssent vier honert dertich jaren dus geseten heeft,

1 Cf. the passages from the Purāṇas quoted by Dr. De Jong, p. 62, n. 2, as well as Śiṣupālavadha, i, 47, etc.
2 The word "niet" seems to be missing.
4 The following description of Buddha's exterior is given in extenso in Dapper and need not be repeated here.
sonder eenige wonderen te doen, en met geen wereltse dingen [f. 120v] sich bekommert, so eyndicht zijn autaer, en Kallenkyns autaer volgt hem, synde de laeste.

"In dese autaer, naer de reeckeningh der heydenen leven wy nu, ende moet geduuren 26,430 jaren, waer van anno 1649 na haere tellinge verloopen waren 4,750 jaren, so dat tot volvoering deses autaers, noch resten 21,680 jaren.

"Kallenkyns autaer de tegende

"Kallenkyn is een wit paart boven in den Hemel, staande op drie voeten, houdende het voordte rechter been op, in 't beginsal van dit autaer souden de Benijanen seer godvruchtigh ende dien volgende oock seer voorspoedigh sijn maer in dese geluckige stam eenige jaren geweeest synde, sullen sij allens hens, hoe langer hoe meer, in 't quaet toenemen, en niet dan Goddeloosheyt plegen, dit sal duuren tot vier honderd [f. 121r] vvf duysent vvf honderd seventich jaren vervult syn, in welcke de sonden so sullen toenemen, dat Kallenkyn sijn rechte been tot straffe der sonden sal neder setten en de aerd daer so hart door drucken, dat het voor de slange Signag 1 onmogelyck sal syn te dragen, en de schilpat gevoelende dese ongemouylycke last sal domeelen in de diepte, en haer van de last, die se niet langer kan ophouden, ontreckent. Also sullen dan alle de inwoonders der werelt in de grondelose diepten vergaen, ende dus sal na de vier honderd twee en dertich duysent jaren de thiende autaer en laeste haer eynde nemen, ende weder om den eerste Mats autaer beginnen."

Already these short extracts will, when compared with the printed texts of Baldaeus and Dapper, reveal the fact that we have here, without the slightest doubt, the source from which both these authors drew that part of their Hindu mythology which deals with the avatâras of Viṣṇu, amongst which the popular stories of Râma and, above all, Kṛṣṇa are dealt with at very considerable length. A somewhat closer comparison of the texts in question will also put it beyond doubt that, while Baldaeus has in some few passages availed himself of other sources—chiefly the work of Father Fenicio—and has thus injudiciously put together South and North Indian sources, Dapper made use, for this part of his work, of no other authority than our manuscript, which he simply copied out with some slight alterations in the Dutch phraseology. It is also quite obvious that while Baldaeus does sometimes differ from the manuscript in the spelling of the Indian proper names—some of which are misspelt beyond recovery—Dapper has through and through given those names exactly as they appear in the manu-

1 Šeṣa nāga.
script. Dr. De Jong, in his edition of Baldaeus, p. lxxvii, suggested that
Dapper had made use of a source where the letters u and n were very
similar to each other, as in many passages he gives forms like
korttesingke (for *siugke, krtayuga), etc., instead of the correct ones,
and during my inspection of the manuscript I was able to corroborate
this suggestion.

Matters, then, seem to stand somewhat as follows: a Dutchman—
or possibly a native convert with a good knowledge of Dutch—
composed at Surat between the years 1649–57 a work dealing with
the ten avatāras of Viṣṇu, and drawing his materials from written as
well as oral sources. This work was also meant to be a sort of text-
book to a set of drawings representing the ten manifestations of the
supreme god. Of this work at least two copies must have existed,
one of which fell into the hands of Baldaeus—probably during his stay
in India—who made a most extensive use of it, without, however,
mentioning anything about his source, just as little as he did mention
his other chief source, the work of Father Fenicio. Another copy found
its way to Europe and was incorporated with the (probably very
extensive) collections from which Dapper drew the materials for
his vast geographical compilations. What became of these collections
after the death of Dapper is, unfortunately, wholly unknown to me;
but from the wholesale coincidence between the proper names in
Dapper’s work and in the manuscript dealt with here it seems to the
present writer extremely probable that the copy used by Dapper
somehow found its way into the collection of Sir Hans Sloane and is
the identical one now preserved in the British Museum as Sloane MS.
3290, while the drawings have been separated and bound up in the
Add. MS. 5254.

The results of this short investigation may seem to be rather
scanty. It has, anyhow, drawn attention (in connexion with the article
in the Bulletin, II, 731 sqq.) to a fact that must be considered fairly
incontrovertible, viz. that the work of Baldaeus on Hindu mythology
lacks every ounce of value as an original source. It is simply
a patchwork of extracts from the work of Father Fenicio and the
anonymous Dutch author in the Sloane MS. 3290, with occasional
quotations from Abr. Roger and some other authors, and Baldaeus
never in any way deserved the reputation for being a conscientious
and reliable writer in which he has for long time rejoiced.

1 Cf. this Bulletin, II, 734, 752.
2 This probability could be turned into certainty by a scholar who had access to
specimens of Dapper’s handwriting, as there are in the manuscript certain interlinear
corrections that seem to have been added by a person who made use of it.
NOTES ON THE JINN AND THE GHOUL IN THE PEASANT MIND OF LOWER EGYPT

Illustrated by transcripts of peasant tales taken from the lips of the fellâhîn of the Menûsia Province, Lower Egypt

By Constance E. Padwick, Pupil of the School of Oriental Studies, American University, Cairo

Note.—The script used to represent Egyptian Arabic speech in these notes is that of the International Phonetics Association, with the necessary modifications for Egyptian Arabic sounds, as found in Gairdner’s Egyptian Colloquial Arabic.

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Not found in Egyptian speech. Represented sometimes by "s" and sometimes by "t".

Not usually found in Egyptian speech. Represented in Cairene speech by "g", in upper Egypt and in some villages of lower Egypt by "g".
The above signs give the consonantal sounds of the fellâh's speech. The lengthening of vowels is represented thus: (short) i, (long) i.

With regard to writing these vowel sounds, a choice was before us. Egyptian speech follows perfectly regular and nicely observed rules as to the elision or shortening of vowels in relation to changing consonantal combinations. There is a continual delicate balancing of vowel values from the influence of one word and syllable upon another. Should writing represent these elisions and shortenings, which are, of the very genius of the spoken language? (e.g. should a writer of spoken French give us the "je-n sais pas" that he hears, or the "je ne sais pas" that is intended?) In Egyptian Arabic, the elisions, though strictly regular, are so numerous as to be confusing at first to the eye accustomed to regard each word as a unit, and these notes, intended rather to reveal the thought of the peasant speaker than the actual sound-quality of his sentence, give the vowel structure of each word as it is in pause, with the exception of a few shortenings in prepositional phrases and small connecting words.

In the case of proper names and other Arabic words occurring in the English text of the notes, and not being quotations from peasant speech, I have used the transliteration scheme of the British Academy.

These notes do not try to make any statement as to the position and nature of the jinn in Islamic theory, nor to give any account of the information, fascinating, gruesome, or tedious, to be found concerning them in Islamic literature. They seek, rather, to banish literary information and to look at the people of the jinn through the eyes of a fellâh of the Menûfia Province of the Egyptian Delta. And this unbookish purpose must explain what would seem an unbalanced combination at the very outset. For the jinn and the ghoul, grouped together at the head of this paper, belong to different categories of beings; the jinn with a rank and status in the Islamic universe that is never given to the ghoul, who is but a more awful beast among the other beasts.

But in the folk-stories of the Menûfiah fellâh, and in his goblin-haunted mind, there is no hard dividing line between the powers and
the malicious pranks of what he variously but almost indiscriminately calls ṣaḥiṭān, gānūn, ẓafarīt, maridīn and gūl. All of these belong to the same cycle of ideas and stories, and to separate them, as books separate them, would be to represent a division that does not exist in the fellāh’s mind. All of them are for him, as Professor Macdonald says,1 “on a dividing line between fairies, brownies, kobolds, and true theological devils.” In many of his stories all the above terms are freely interchangeable, although generally speaking the word ṣaḥiṭān 2 is the one chosen for the more individual and personal type of demon and the word gūl for the more purely bestial.

The peasant through whose eyes we now try to see (and educated Egyptian friends will sympathize with the attempt) is not the boy who has been to school, but his illiterate brother or sister whose visible world is bounded by the fields and market-places of a corner of the teeming Egyptian Delta. To these non-readers, the great body of information on any subject will come through the common mind and the common mouth of the local community. Yet even for them there may be outside information, and it is necessary to ask how far such influences as the Qur’ān, or the tales of professional story-tellers reciting Arabian Nights, or the information gleaned from specialists in magic, may be responsible for the peasant’s view of the jinn.

Influence of the Qur’ān

The unlettered fellāh does not know the Qur’ān except liturgically. He knows the phrases of daily worship, although it is exceptional for his sister to do so. For the rest he responds to the sonority of Qur’ān chanting—much as a European peasant might respond to the familiar chanting of holy psalms in Latin—with a response of the aesthetic or emotional side of his nature rather than of the intellectual. “Allah!” says the fellāh, “Allah! Allah!” and sways himself in true pleasure at the windings of the chanter’s voice. But he would be at a loss to tell the matter of the chant, and cannot produce for the questioner any of the teaching of the Qur’ān about the jinn. Yet the Book has its effect upon his jinn-beliefs, for he knows that the jinn are there, they are there in the holy Book. And so the Qur’ān provides him with

1 Aspects of Islam, p. 330.
2 The same confusion exists in the peasants’ use of this word as was noted by Goldziher in its use by the earlier Moslems. It means indiscriminately “die mit den Ginnen völlig identischen Seyṭānen der gahilija und der mit dem jüdisch-christlichen Iblis identischen Seyṭān”. (Abhandlungen zur Arabischen Philologie, 7.) In these notes the word is only used as a common, not a proper noun.
certainty that the jinn are included by Allah in the brotherhood of creation and in the framework of Islam. There is as secure a place for them in Allah’s universe as for ourselves and the beasts and the angels.

In a popular story of Khaḍra ash-sharifa printed in Cairo by Muḥammad Ḥusain at Ṭarazi an introductory verse reads in translation:

“Praise be to God the Merciful, who provides for men and the demons’ flock.
And for the birds, and all the fish, and for the worm inside of the rock.”

This is entirely typical of the popular mind in its accordance to the jinn of a place in the normal economy of creation and Providence.

For the rest it is possible that a general tendency in current peasant stories to connect the jinn with fire may look back unconsciously to Surah xv, 26, 27:

ولكان خلقناه من قبل من نار السموم

Certainly a strong connexion with fire is found in the peasant tales. The "ginni" may, for instance, appear as a man, but vanish away as a pillar of fire, as in the following example:


fa madd i:du w̄i misik il h̄ara:mi min i:du. ᾰα:m il h̄ara:mi waqad id il ‘afrīt zejj if jok, zejj il ρα:unfīd. fa far il ‘afrīt ji? sim il ‘inab li h̄addima χα:‘a il h̄ara:mi ‘ala ‘u:d wa:hīd. fa zi’il hu:wa

A man who wanted to steal grapes smeared himself with mud and went to the vineyard and took a large quantity, then left the vineyard with his grapes in a palm fibre basket. And on his way he found a man sitting with a cigarette in his hand who called out to the thief, "Come here, old chap!" He went to him, and the man said: "What’s that in the basket?" "Grapes," said the thief, much alarmed. "I want to divide them with you," said the man, who was an ‘afrīt and he stretched out his hand and took the robber’s hand, who felt his touch as though he were holding thorns or hedgehog spines.
And the 'afrit went on dividing the grapes till he left the robber with only one bunch. The robber went his way in anger, but presently returned to fight for his grapes. And when he came as near as a metre to that 'afrit person, the fejta:n turned into fire and ascended heavenwards.

Or, even more usually, the 'afrit is known by eyes of flame that shine out in the darkness large as saucers, as in the following example:


An elderly fellah of Menif said to me: “I saw one of the gann once, after this fashion. I was going in the last watches of the night to my field, and as I passed near a deserted sa:qiya on my way, I saw in the darkness of the night a fire burning at the sa:qiya, now flaring up and now dying down. I felt some fear of it, but I went up to the place where the fire was, and found the form of a man, and that fire was nothing but his eyes! And the man, who was an ‘afrit, said, “What do you want with me?” Terribly afraid I said: “Who are you?” “Do not ask,” said the ginni. Then he took me and made me walk with him, bringing me round and round the sa:qiya, and his intention was to trick me and make me fall into the sa:qiya. But I ran away from him, and the ginni overtook me and picked me up and raised me and threw me into the canal, which was rather low. And about dawn somebody passed and pulled me out of the canal.
Even the peasant who makes no connexion in his mind between the information in the Qur'an and his theory of the jinn, has at least this link between the two, that he is well convinced that certain passages of the Holy Book are potent against his ghostly foes. They may be written on charms or repeated orally, always provided that he who uses them is mutawaddi, 'āhir. Hurrying past the ruined house, or the disused water-wheel, it is good to say the Chapter of "Sincerity" or "the Verse of the Throne".

It is curious to note that the Coptic fellāḥ, although unable to find information about the creation of the jinn in his Holy Book, has yet contrived a Scriptural origin for them. Does not the Book of Numbers say of Korah and his rebellious company that they went down alive into the pit when the earth opened her mouth to receive that company of evil-doers? What, then, more probable than that these wicked ones should emerge still alive, and work evil upon the earth? In fact, the evil jinn are no others than Korah, Dathan, and Abiram and all their progeny!

**Influence of "Thousand and One Nights"**

Taken as a whole, the *Arabian Nights* contain a considerable body of information on the believing and heretical jinn, their modes of appearance and disappearance, their enchantments, servitude, loves, and wars.

It is possible to find many points of likeness between this information and the jinn-beliefs current in the Delta. But it is another matter to prove that the peasant borrowed jinn-ideas from the "Nights", and on investigation this seems less and less likely. When all is said and done, the *Arabian Nights* is an urban work. The characters move in streets and palaces and the bazaars of the merchants. If they venture outside the cities they meet not with the life of the fellāḥin, but with jinn and unearthly adventures. There are fishermen and gardeners in the Tales, but never a true fellāḥ. And study of peasant tales in the Delta indicates that the fellāḥin have never made the *Arabian Nights* their own as the townsmen have. It is a striking fact that after inquiry, now extending over several years, about the stories current in the Delta, I have never once, on asking a fellāḥ for a tale, met with one drawn from the *Arabian Nights*. On the other hand, in Cairo, servants and such-like, often produce hashed fragments of stories from the "Nights".

In spite, too, of the correspondence of many ideas about the jinn
in peasant tales and in the *Arabian Nights*, it is true to say that there are also marked differences. The jinn of the *Arabian Nights* have reached a higher stage of development than the jinn of the Delta fellâh. They are more urbane and more individualized. The peasant has, as far as I can discover, no jinn with individual names like “the Mârîd Kashkash” or the “‘Afrit Dahnash son of Shemhumûris the Flyer” (story of Prince Qamar ez Zamân). Certain names he has which at first seem to point to individualization, but which on closer study are found to be used as generic. Thus “ginnû ðuhr” is the name of any ginni that shows itself by day and a fellâh in describing the shyness of present-day ginn will say, “In my grandfather’s time this was waste ground, and you could see as many as sixty ‘afrit ðuhr here any day.” So also “ginnû l bahr” seems a generic name for a type of hideous mermaid ginni, responsible for all the accidental daylight drowning in the canals. “umm is subjâ:n” the ‘afrita that snatches or injures little children seems at first to come nearer personality. But I cannot discover any more individualization than that of her horrid preference for little innocent victims. She is not individualized as a person, but as an office. “umm is subjâ:n” is hardly more personal a name than “umm il gi:lan”,¹ which is the polite way of addressing any ghûla whatsoever.

This practically complete lack of individualization in the Menûfi’s jinn stories perhaps indicates that we have here under our eyes an earlier stage of thought than that reached in the cities when the “Nights” were composed. Our jinn stories may be nearer those tales current before the Islamic civilization, of which Robertson Smith

¹ Paul Kahle in his very interesting transcription of the Zăr-ritual words (Zăr-Beschwörungen in Ägypten, Der Islam, 1912, p. 23) quotes a cry to a spirit called “Umm il Ghulâm”, among the salutations to semi-satanic powers in both the Cairo and Luxor rituals. He thus explains the use of the term: “Umm el Ghulâm (Mutter des Knaben) ist eine berühmte Walljü in Kairo, deren Heiligtum in der nach ihr benannten Strasse östlich von der Gâme’ el Ḥasanein liegt. Sie soll nach der Schlacht von Kerbela das Haupt Husêns gefunden haben; als man es von ihr forderte, habe sie ihrem eigenen Sohn den Kopf abgeschlagen und den herausgegeben, das Haupt des Husên aber nach Kairo gebracht. Die Moschee, in der sie beerdigt ist, wird nur einmal im Jahre geöffnet, und zwar eine Nacht, vor der lêlet el-kebire des Mûlîd des Husên. Darauf spielt das uba’uda an: jedes Jahr einmal möge eine Zar-Beschwörung veranstaltet werden. Auserdem is aber die Umm el-Ghulâm hier zu einem Zar-Geist geworden.”

In spite of the fact that “umm il gula:m” is thus invoked in the Cairo and Luxor rituals, I have not so far been able to find that any Delta peasant has heard of her. A question about her is always corrected as though the questioner were stumblyingly trying to say “umm el gi:lan”, and some answer about the habits of the local gu:l is given.
writes: "In the Arabian Nights we find jinn with individual names and distinctive personalities, but in the old legends (of Arabia) the individual jinni who may appear to a man has no more a distinct personality than a beast." ¹

Influence of the Professional Magician

The professional magician (‘arrâf) in the Delta folk-tale is nearly always a Maghrabi. That is to say, he is not only, as is the sheikha (or "wise woman") somewhat outside the common life by reason of uncanny knowledge direct from supernatural sources, but he is a foreigner as well, from the western land that is for the Egyptian the home of magic.

Such people are specialists who in part hold the keys, or, at least, have the right of entry into the jinn world, and perhaps can summon at will their allies among the jinn; sallat is the word always used for such authoritative calling. These master-men may even control unseen powers by a finger gesture, as in the following example:—

ka:n hina e:h? ra:gil bitaː il miːfat wi 1 fallijat bi jibiː fi e gibːaː l igrannː waːːid ir raːgil da waːːhid guːl min giːːn il gibːaː l innu waːːtima kaːn jibiː il miːfat jiːʃawwar li 1 guːl li foː.

fa jawwar bi subaːːu wi bassːa li foː? wi nizil il guːl illi sallatu.

Who came here? A pedlar of hair combs and vermin combs, selling in the mountains. Now you must know that his man had promised one of the mountain guːls that when he made a sale he would beckon to him up above. And he beckoned with his finger and looked upwards, and the guːl whom he had summoned, descended.

Jinn allies may reveal to the ‘arrâf or sheikha the confidences which they caught when they listened at the curtain that veils the heavenlies, before the angels spied them and pelted them away with falling stars. Or these wise people may know instead the peculiar combinations of powerful names that will hold the jinn in check. In any case, it is safer for the fellâh to buy a charm from them, and it is to their interest to keep the guardianship of mysteries, so that the sum-total of information gained from them as to jinn-nature is very tiny and practically amounts to a strong re-affirmation of the existence of dangerous powers against which charms are needed, and in particular a firmer belief in the power

¹ Religion of the Semites, Lecture III.
of jinn to "possess", or clothe themselves with (jiltabisu bi) human beings. This side of jinn-belief is the Sheikha's kingdom.

Expert information, then, whether from the Qur'an reciter or the story-teller of the Arabian Nights, or from the professional Sheikha, is very scanty, and we now turn to examine the great body of popular belief which, whatever its original source, now survives and is propagated only in the folk-mind.

Beliefs in the Popular Mind

Haunts of the Uncanny: (a) The Desert

We do not in the villages talk about the green chrysolite mountains of Qâf beyond the Circumambient Ocean, nor of the City of Brass upon which the sun riseth not, as the abode of the spirits we fear. In this southern angle of the Delta we have in the place of those homes of fearful romance a dim grey line on the horizon beyond our familiar fields, the grey wall of the desert bounding our human activities, and visible from any housetop.

In our popular stories, Arabs from out the desert play the part of mystery and outlawry that gipsies play in English stories. And the desert is the scene where we place supernatural encounters, as it was in the days of the Christian fathers and hermits of the Egyptian wilderness.

Here you may meet the Saints:

\[\text{RA}:\text{lit li sitti: innaka ka:nit mafja fi l gabal wi bassi wahda tanja wajja:ha wi } \text{RA}:\text{bilhum haramijja } \text{RA}:\text{libi:n filu:shum. wi } \text{RA}:\text{fu kitir } \text{RA}:\text{lan ka:nu sitta:t wi. l haramijja rajhi:n jidurr-hum. wi sara}\text{\text{"}:it sitti: bi so:t } \text{RA}:\text{li "ja mari girgis! ja mari girgis!" fa ha:lan gih benha w ben il haramijja wa:hid la:lis libs abjad fi abjad wi ra:ki\text{"}: husan abjad. fa } \text{RA}:\text{fu l haramijja minnu wi harabu. fa ka:nit sitti } \text{RA}:\text{wuza tibussi \text{"}:du wala:kin hu:wa mu\text{"}: ra:di, } \text{RA}:\text{al "ma\text{"}:lehj" wi kallimha bismiha wi ba\text{"}:di.}

My grandmother told me that she was walking in the desert with only one other woman when robbers met them and demanded their money, and they were terrified, for they were women and the robbers meant to injure them. And my grandmother called out loudly: "St. George! St. George!" And immediately there appeared between her and the robbers one clothed in the whitest white raiments and riding a white horse. And the robbers fled in fear. And my grandmother wanted to kiss the horseman's...
hand, but he was unwilling, and said: "Never mind," and talked with her, calling her by her name. And after about half an hour, suddenly he disappeared, and she saw no trace of him or of his steed.

The desert, too, is the haunt of all the tribes of jinn, the 'afarit, the māridin, and more especially of the ghūl. In the example already quoted of the pedlar who summoned an ally of the ghūls, this was called "wahid ghūl min ghilān il gibāl". The tale goes on to relate how the ghūl snatched a maiden and carried her off to his house in the desert-mountains where only a few camel trains passed; and the maiden sang in her loneliness:

kanīt wīdāʾa gaļja sabāhit
wīdāʾa gaṛja fi wust il giḇaːl
il 'alja.

Once Wīdāʾa had plenty
Now Wīdāʾa's a slavey
In the midst of mountains lofty.

Here, apparently, a real mountain must be intended, but in general the word "gabal" in the Delta stories stands for the desert, and carries with it no more mountainous meaning than the rise of the low desert hills or sand dunes beyond the flat cultivated fields.

It is interesting to note that while 'afarit constantly inhabit places within the village boundaries, the home of the ghūls is always the desert, though they may come down into the village street at night sniffing for blood. Here is an encounter at midnight:

?aːbilha l guːl fi nuss is sikka,
 ga ji'āffar wi jinaff wi ?al laha
 "aːkulik hina walla aʃiːl 'aːl
?urun awaddiːhi l gabal?" ... wi ṣaːlha l guːl 'ala ?urunu wi
χadha l gabal fī χussy w ḥattaha
fīh.

The guːl met her in the middle of the street and, raging and snorting, said:—"Shall I eat you here or carry you on my horns to the desert?"—and the ghoul carried her on his horns and took her to his rush hut in the desert, and put her inside it.

Just as in reading the stories of the fathers of the desert, it is very hard to resist the inference that some of the apparitions of evil ones were visits of wild beasts to the cave where the tense-strung hermit fasted in awful solitude, so in hearing the stories of Egyptian peasant encounters with jinn or ghūls, it is difficult not to infer that many such stories are based on meetings with wild beasts in the terrors of desert
solitude. Those terrors, it must be remembered, are overwhelming to an Egyptian fellâh whose normal life from birth to death is lived in a social crowd.

Such a creation of night terrors, in which the narrator is perfectly unconscious that he creates, can be seen in the following account from the village of Subk. Here, surely, the jinn tradition is caught growing under our very eyes from the terrors of darkness and solitude and an encounter with a pariah puppy.

kanhina raqîl gada' ḥawi ma kanjî wa:xid zejju f subk wi ḥal li "ana jufu't' farqâmîn il gann. kutt.'aru:hi il ge:'t bi l lâ:'fî ḥarî if jahr wi d dunja 'atma, wi ḥawi ginni faklu kalbi kibikî wi ḥaltî lu "ca:wuz minni ḥâ:h?" kan huwa bassî jilahlîh wi 'eneh ḥaddi kida (size of saucer indicated) fa lammetu w jiltu f hidîni li ḥaddima wasalt il ge:'t. wi hat'tetu 'a:l ḥard. wi ba'd:en ma jufu't' wala hâ:ga 'alafan ḥaddetu f hidîni. wala:kîn lau kuttî ḥarabtu walla 'a: miltu b jidda kan mawwîtnî.

There was a very hefty fellow here, no man like him in Subk. And he said: "I saw one of these jinn-birds. I was going to my field at night, at the end of the month when nights were dark, and a jinni met me in the form of a big dog. I said to him: 'What do you want of me?' He only panted, and his eyes were large as saucers. I picked him up and carried him in my bosom as far as my field and put him down on the ground, after which I saw him no more, and nothing happened to me because I had taken him into my bosom, but if I had struck him or been hard on him, he would have killed me."

The peasant's phrase, "farqâmîn il gann" is more suggestive of animal existence than of personality. But while jinn stories may bear this suggestion of wild-beast origin, still more is this the case with the ghûl of the mountains. On this point Professor Robertson Smith makes an interesting note on Arabic phraseology: 1 --

"The Arab says 'the ghûl appeared,' not 'a ghûl appeared,' just as David says 'the lion came and the bear' (1 Sam. xvii, 34; Amos iii, 12; v, 19). The definite article is used because in such cases definition cannot be carried beyond the indication of the species. The individuals are numerically different, but qualitatively indistinguishable. This use of the article is sharply to be distinguished from such

1 *Religion of the Semites*, Lecture III, n. 15.
a case as לִּי in 1 Sam. ix, 9, where the article is generic, and a general practice of men is spoken of."

I have never found this usage departed from by Delta peasants in speaking of the gu:l. Indeed, a fellāh told me that the difference between an ‘afrit and a gu:l was that the former often took human form, the latter always wild beast form. Peasant stories do not always bear this out. In the general confusion as to the exact nature of these evil powers, no strict dividing line is possible, and there are some stories in which the gu:l seems to be undergoing domestication and anthropomorphosis without losing the heart of a beast.

In one of the most popular of all the Delta stories a gu:la appears as a bad old woman with a magic well under her power. When little girls are sent to borrow the sieve from her, she tests their characters by ordering them to comb the vermin from her hair. Those who are polite under these circumstances are rewarded by embroidered raiment from the magic well, and chains of gold. Those who fail in politeness are sent away, garbed in clinging lizards, snakes, and frogs. Here the gu:la has become an old witch with human form and straggling white hair.

In another story, which seems to show that the gu:l may have human forms, he sucks blood from a maiden’s finger every day, upon which her brothers lie in wait and kill him, and having cut up his body, sell it to his wife and children as fish for dinner. When they came to cook the fish:

\[il\ bint\ is\ sugajjara\ wagadit\ suba:\ abiha\ wa\ ?a:\ lit\ l\ ummaha\ "\ suba:\ abu:ja\ hina,\ jamma".\]

"This is father’s finger, mother."

Perhaps a missing link between the wild beast gu:l of the desert and this anthropomorphic type was some gorilla in the Cairo Zoological Gardens, for Menūf people have earnestly assured me that a gu:la was on show there; only, with the usual elusiveness of such beasts, she proves upon inquiry to have died some years ago.

(b) Watery Haunts

The Egyptian peasant does not, like his brother of Palestine, place an ‘afrit in every well; his waters have not the mystery of mountain springs. But beside any of the larger canals may be found at summer noondays, ginni;l-bahr, who snatches unwary bathers to their doom. Very often in woman’s form, letting down masses of matted hair, this ginniya sits at the water’s edge, ugly as sin. She has no power unless
you are alone. But if you are alone she calls to you "Come here", and then "Take my hand", and leads you down under the water. "ginni d duhr" seems to be an alternative title for this snatcher of noontide bathers, who probably has had long dominion in Egypt, for it is worthy of note that in the Baptism Service of the Coptic Church, prayer is made that those about to be baptised may be defended "from all the darts of the enemy, and from evil assaults, and from the demon of noontide, and from the arrow that fieth by day, and from the thing that walketh in darkness, and from the imaginations of the night." ¹ In spite of the general recollection of Ps. xci, 5, 6, in this petition, the definite phrase "demon of noontide" would seem to point to some definite and known belief in the Egypt of those days.

Perhaps the most assured home of the jinn in Egyptian peasant eyes is the disused water-wheel. A friend in Menuf who studied eight years in the Azhar and four years in the Government training college for teachers, but spent his childhood amongst the fellâhin, told me, "To this day when I am walking in the fields, if I come to a sâqiya not in use, I tremble. And if no one is walking with me, I wait on the path till someone comes up, so that I shall not have to pass the place alone."

He gave the following account of the origin of his terror:—

lamma kuntawi lad sugajjar ben il fellâhin kamit in na:s il kubâr: mir rig:al wi n niswa:n ji>nu:li "tswa tiruh ʿand is sa:2ija wi l bir di ".

?alti lmum "le:hi?

?a:mu ?a:lu ʿafan fi:h hunak ʿafarit. ma jisahhi: tiruh li wahdak. in kan fi:h itn:en walla talata wajjaba:da ma jisahruf:


When I was a little boy among the fellâhin, the big people, both men and women, used to say to me: "Keep away from that sâqiya and well."

"Why?" I said.

"Because there are ʿafarit there. It is not safe to go alone. If there are two or three of you they do not appear, but if one goes there alone, either at noon in summer or by night, there will appear to him a cat or some such form, and it will grow till its feet are on earth, and its head in the heavens, and it will lead you off the path and then snatch you up and lift

¹ The Rites of the Coptic Church, translated by B. T. A. Evetts, p. 27.

you high into the air and drop you into the well.”

One day I went to the village near the well and found all the women wailing. They told me Muhammed son of so and so, had been thrown by the jinn into the haunted well. He had been out at night. He was well and sober, and no one had a grudge against him. There was no reason why he should have strayed off the path and fallen into the well. I went to the place and found a great crowd, and the man’s body lying in the water hole. Afterwards, they made a wall round the place that no one should approach it. But they built the wall too low, and a water buffalo went over it and was found dead in the well.

(c) Ruins

A ruined house, as any other desolate and forlorn place, is jinn haunted. A well-to-do and pious Moslem of Menûf relates as follows:—


“I went at noon into an uninhabited house, old (and disused), and I went all alone into a dark room, and felt movement in the room, but did not see anything. And presently something came and lifted me up and then dropped me down again, and I heard a voice call me by name, and I fell to the ground and lay there till people came and found me and took me home, and I was ill in the house for three days after the adventure.”
(d) **Dark Rooms**

But it is not necessary for a house to be ruined in order to be jinn-haunted. Darkness is cover enough and it is always wise to have a light at night. Also in shutting the house-door one should say: "Aṣu:zu billah min farr if saja'tin" and the bismillah, for no devil can pass through a door so shut.

\[
\]

A woman went alone into a dark room and found in it forty little boys clothed in white and wearing tarbouches. She was terribly frightened, but they said: "So long as you tell no one about us, we will do you no harm, but bring you whatever you want."

She asked them for all her desires, and her husband marvelled to see her grow rich. When he plagued her as to the source of her riches, and suspected her of the worst conduct, he drove her at last to tell him the truth, and from the day in which she was compelled to tell the secret, they made her a cripple and left her and all her riches vanished away, and she had no more from that source."

(e) **Latrines** are also jinn-haunted places, for the folk say that their two guardian angels \(^1\) go with them into all places but these, and hence leave them here exposed to the attacks of evil ones.

(f) **Cemeteries**, again, are invariably shaitān-haunted. You should never go alone to the Coptic cemetery outside Menuf, nor visit it at night, or the shaijaṭin will, says the fellāḥ, "jimawwituk wi jiʔattaː uk" (kill you and chop you into little bits).

(g) **Trees** in the Egyptian Delta are more often saint-haunted than jinn-haunted. Paradise, say the fallāḥin, is surrounded by a hedge of the nubq (zizyphus spina-Christi), as any pleasant fruit-garden near our villages will have its prickly hedge. A nubq-tree of considerable

\(^1\) Strictly speaking these should be recording angels, but since they are holy powers, they are regarded as guardians against jinn.
age will always be haunted by a saint. It is not, however, unknown with us for a labakh-tree (colloquially we generally call it labbay, *acacia mimosae*) to be jinn-haunted or *maskuna*. Such a tree will be used in the same way as a saint-haunted one, and barren women will walk round and round it praying for conception, and buffaloes with insufficient milk may also be led round it.

**Modes of Summoning Jinn**

Although the jinn often visit mankind at their own will, or may entice him for their own pleasure towards their haunts, there are also several ways of summoning them which, if used clumsily or unintentionally, may result in their appearing in the worst of tempers. Thus, in calling to a friend, it is of importance to beckon with the finger to the exact individual intended, for fear hovering jinn should take the call as for themselves. In the same way, in calling to a beast, one should indicate with the finger the beast required for fear of summoning a jinni. "The old men told me this when I was a boy," said my informant, "but we don't think much about it now."

Another belief that is waning is the old idea familiar to us through a famous story in the *Arabian Nights*, that to throw anything, such as a date stone, to the earth with violence was a dangerous act, for fear of striking a lurking jinni. This idea is enshrined in our Delta folk-stories, as when seven sons refused to kiss their father's hand until he found them brides, and he replied:

```plaintext
kulli wa:hid minkum ja:χud
 giridu w jirmi:h fi ajjl maχall,
 wi min kulli maχall suʔu:t il
 garid titla' lu 'aru:sa.
```

Let each of you take his stick of palm-leaf rib, and throw it down anywhere, and from the place where your stick falls there will rise up a bride for you (a jinniya).

But though this idea is often repudiated, there does certainly live on a sense of the danger of striking with violence and disturbing jinn in their haunts. A student told the following story to the Rev. H. E. E. Hayes, of Menuf.

"A relative of mine was a student who sat at his books till late. One night, having worked till midnight, he threw from his bedroom windows dirty water and polluted a ginniya who was in the street below and cried out, 'I will punish'. From that time a woman with eyes of fire haunted the street, and four or five days later, finding my cousin in the street alone, she seized him by the throat and would
have throttled him, had not his mother run up to his help. After that she was quiet again."

The greatest danger from such disturbance of the jinn is that they may in revenge "possess" the disturber. In an article by Vollers, an Egyptian correspondent is quoted who lays bare this danger exactly as it exists in the mind of the Menufieh peasant to-day.

توهموا ان عفريتا من الجن يخرج من الأرض فيلبس يجسد بعض الاشخاص وبالخصوص باجساد النساء اللاتي هن عرسة لعمل الاجراءات التي تكون على غير رضا، هؤلاء العظريت على زعمهم كالدقيق على الأرض بدون سبب أو الدخول في محل مظلم بغير تسمية او قتل احدى الخشرات المسماة كالمقرب و النعمان ليلا او الوش أو البكاء او الصراخ.

These are possibilities, but there is one certain mode of evoking a shaitân. In all cases of murder or violent death, when the blood of the slain touches the earth, there rises from it (as in most of these cases of evocation it is from the earth that the jinni rises) a shaitân who is not the ghost of the murdered one, but is exactly in his likeness, speaks with his voice, and haunts his haunts.

Thus, in a village street where a great Bey killed three slaves, their voices may yet be heard, though the shayatîn who make the cries are not their ghosts.

A girl fell from a balcony in Menûf and was killed. It was necessary for the mistress of the house to fetch the Coptic priest (the girl being a Copt) to exorcize the Shaitân before the Moslem neighbours would be satisfied that the house was not haunted by a demon in the girl’s form.

Lane (Modern Egyptians, chap. x) says that the term ‘afrit is applied to the ghost of a dead person. On first sight this would seem to be so, but Egyptian friends are careful to insist that these spirits which appear in cases of violent death, are not the spirits of the slain, but ‘afarit in the slain one’s form. The belief is closer to the idea of the qarina, the "double" in the spirit world, than to that of the return of the human spirit to earthly haunts. This belief is, so far

as I know, the only one among our people in which the jinn attain to anything like real personality, and it seems to belong to a different range of ideas from those concerning the wild-beast jinn.

MODES OF MANIFESTATION

1. Animal Forms.—While the ghoul is in essence a wild beast of the desert, the jinn may assume the forms of more familiar beasts. “Bâ’d il kila:b mil ginn” the people say, and a jinni often chooses the form of a cat, a great cat, sometimes, that towers up to heaven, with burning eyes. (The black cat is, of course, the special form of the qarina.)

Riding Beasts.—Mules or donkeys may also be jinn-forms, and round these gathers a cycle of stories of ridden jinn. These jinn, who are beasts of burden perhaps mark a stage in which thought is passing from a wild-beast conception to a personified conception of the jinn. “Just as animal gods pass over into anthropomorphic gods, figured as riding on animals or otherwise associated with them, the jinn begin to be conceived as manlike in form, and the supernatural animals of the original conception appear as the beasts on which they ride.”

These beasts of burden sometimes allow themselves to be ridden by Beni Adam, being under the control of those who recognize them and know that they are afraid of “cold iron”.

The following story was recently told to the Rev. H. E. E. Hayes, of Menûf:

“About 53 years ago the Gindi family were, as they now are, notables of Menûf. And as they were sitting in the Maqlis el Baladiya a question occurred which needed an answer from a notable of Tanâta. A servant of the Gindi family was told to go to Tanâta and bring back an answer. He had to ride, for the railway was not yet made. As he passed the old cemetery of Menûf he saw a donkey saddled ready for a journey. No owner was visible, and the servant determined to take him for the business of the notables. He seized the rein and mounted the beast, which at once put down its head and threw him off. ‘You must be a jinni,’ said the servant, and quick as thought took a penknife from his pocket, opened it, and put the blade to the donkey’s neck. At once the beast became submissive, and said:—‘Where do you want to go?’—‘Tanâta.’—‘Then cover your head and ears with your garments.’ He did so, and in five minutes found himself in Tanâta. He handed in the letter to the notable and refused to dismount even for coffee, but remained sitting on the donkey with

1 Robertson Smith, Religion of the Semites, Lecture III.
his knife-blade on its neck, until he received the answer. He returned
to Menuf as fast as he came, dismounted at the door of the Maglis,
left the donkey, which instantly disappeared, and entered the meeting
of notables. They rebuked him, saying, 'We sent you to Tanata.
Make haste, it is time you started.' He replied, 'If I go to Tanata
and come back with an answer in half an hour what will you give me?'
Jestingly they all named a sum, whereupon he produced his letter and
told his tale, and received from them the promised money.'

This story is placed back fifty years in time, but the following was
told me of a fellah now living, who is deeply insulted at the suggestion
that his experiences might have taken place in a dream world:

ra:gil fella:h xa:raq min be:tu fa
a:xiir il le:l jiru:h il ge:t. fa
wagad huma:r gami:l fi:s sikka wi
fi:h lig:a:m. xa:m rikibu fa wagad
il haraka ge:r il xa:da fa:iri:fi innu
xa:ri:t mil ginn. wi garaz fi
kitfu matwa wi kalimu wi xa:l
waddi:ni misr". fa wadda:h
fi mudda xa:sira xa:lis. wi talab
il fella:h jirga' il be:t fa ragga'a
fi:l ha:l. wi 'andama wasal il
be:t xa:la' il matwa min kitf il
huma:r. wa fi s sabah fatta:j
'ale:h, ma wagadu:j abadan.

A fellah left his house towards the end of the night to go to his
field. And he found in the road a
fine donkey bridled. He mounted
but found the motion unusual,
and knew that it must be an
'afrit of the jinn. And he dug a
penknife into its shoulder and
spoke to it, and said: "Take me
to Cairo." And he was conducted
there in the briefest space of time.
Then he asked to return to his
house and the jinni brought him
back instantly. And when he
reached home he drew the knife
out of the donkey's shoulder.
And in the morning, though he
searched for the beast, he found
him no more.

Snakes.—I do not think that snakes in the Delta come into the
cycle of jinn-ideas, though they have a very important place in
magical ideas. The snake in the house is called sa:kin il be:t, as
though human beings were the intruders, and he the rightful owner.
Great care must be taken to protect the snake family. The zir
must not be left uncovered for fear one of them should fall into it. For so
long as the snake family are well, they will do no harm to the human
family, but the death or injury of one of the snake inhabitants will
be revenged on the human inhabitants of the house.
In the Delta stories I have not met with a snake which is a true jinni (as in the story of the First of the Three Ladies of Baghdad or Abu Muḥammad the Lazy, in the *Arabian Nights*), but the snake has an undoubted connexion, in these folk-tales, with magic. There is a snake-bridegroom (il ḥanash abu 'urnēn, the Egyptian horned viper) who creeps into the bride-chamber by a hole in the wall, and can be turned into a prince by the trust of a human bride who will without fear suffer him to coil his snaky folds about her.

Whether we have, in the Delta peasant’s reverence for snakes, some relic of pre-Islamic and pre-Christian religion, is for experts to decide.

2. *Showers from above*

The strange manifestations by brick-throwing mentioned in Lane’s *Modern Egyptians*, chap. x (p. 231 Everyman Edition) can be matched in the stories of to-day. Jinn often show their presence by showering stones from above. The following very circumstantial story was told in Menūf, but placed in Upper Egypt:

“In Upper Egypt a man was much startled by stones falling through the roof of his house of sunbaked bricks. For several nights in succession showers of stones came through the roof, and when he could find no thrower and no cause for the visitation, he went to the Ma’mūr:

“The Ma’mūr attributed the throwing to the action of spirits, and wrote a message, which was left the following night in the room where the showers occurred, asking what the throwers of stones wanted. In the morning, they were found to have written on the paper that they were people of the jinn who required that house in which to celebrate a wedding.

“The owner of the house again took counsel with the Ma’mūr, who wrote a second message asking the jinn to pay rent of £15. This was far beyond the value of the place, for it was a poor man’s house. In the morning fifteen golden sovereigns of English money were found beside the paper. The owner of the house took the money and moved himself and his family to a hut near by. Each night for forty nights, sounds of music and rejoicing were heard in his former dwelling. Afterwards, all was quiet and he returned and took up his abode, and was no more troubled.”

3. *Hostile Pranks*

There is a range of activities of the jinn, which, while not acts of deadly enmity and greed for blood, like those of the ghoul, can only
be described as malicious pranks. In the stories of the fellâhîn, these tricks are often freakish interruptions of the work of the fields:—

A rich man had a herdsman who went one day to the field with the cattle, and tethered them in the clover. And no sooner did he tether them than he would find them loosed again. And he was perplexed by this all day. And at sunset he loosed the cattle and took his homeward path, and the jeṭaṇ who had been playing these tricks came and cut the rope by which he was leading one of the water-buffaloes. And the herdsman returned to the house and found the owner of the cattle sitting at the door. He asked his servant: "Where are the buffaloes?" "Here they are with me." Then the owner said: "One buffalo is missing," and he beat that servant, and said: "Get along with you, go and look for the missing buffalo."

The servant returned weeping to the field, taking with him a dog that ran in front of him, till they reached the place, and lo! there was the buffalo grazing clover at night, and a jeṭaṇ beside her. The man trembled with fear and could neither return to the house without the buffalo nor venture into the field to take her from the jeṭaṇ. But the dog barked, and the jeṭaṇ took fright and turned into fire and disappeared, and the servant took the buffalo and went home with her.
Of the work of watering may be interrupted:

There was once a fellâh who was watering his plot, and every time he went to turn the water into a fresh set of runlets, he found that it was not flowing. And he was surprised at the failure of the water, and when he looked for the cause, he found a je'tân putting bricks into his irrigation trench and blocking it. He moved the bricks from the trench, but as fast as he did so, the je'tân put them back. Then the fellâh sat down very angry by the canal. And the je'tân came and said: "What are you doing?" "Watering my plot." "Come down into the water," (of the canal) said the je'tân, and when the peasant refused, he seized him and rolled him in the mud and disappeared. And the fellâh returned to his house a sick man.

Another cycle of these pranks is concerned with interruptions to men going to prayer whether in the mosque or the Coptic Church. A man in Menûf on his way to morning prayer saw a baby crying in the road, picked it up, put it on his shoulder, carried it home to his wife and said: "Take care of it till the mother comes, shame upon her for leaving it in the street." The woman, who was nursing her own babe, put it down on the mat and took up the foundling, and the man went late to prayer. As she laid the foundling babe to her breast, it grew and grew beneath her eyes till it became about as large as a full-grown man. She flung it away and fainted. When the man came back from prayer he found his wife in a swoon and no trace of the foundling.

4. Possession

Pranks in which a jinni plays the part of a clumsy Robin Goodfellow, without his sense of fitness and humour, are the least serious modes of self-manifestation. The modes which keep the fellâh, and still more
the fellâha, in a real bondage of fear are those concerned with sickness, most of which can be placed, from the peasant’s point of view, under the heading of “possession”, although sometimes in cases of violent accidents, the jinn are understood to be merely murderous agents from without, as in the instance already mentioned of a girl who fell from a balcony, when Menûf opinion had it that a jinni had thrown her down.

From the moment of birth when the midwife names Mohamed and ‘Ali over the child to preserve him from the jinn; through all the ceremonies of the seventh day, directed towards saving the child from those “mulûk” who are hovering ready to harm; until, in his last sickness, bread is laid under his pillow, that the life-giving properties of it and the wholesomeness of the salt therein may keep off shaiyaţîn, the fellâh is conscious of foes ready not only to harm him from without, but to seize on his very person, clothe themselves with it, and to harm him from within.

The patients in Menûf hospital do not hesitate to attribute all sorts of physical troubles, from a tubercular hip to pneumonia, to an ‘afrit resident in the afflicted part. The mysteriousness of madness and epilepsy have, of course, always lent colour to the fear of possession on which is built the marvellous popularity and general spread of the Zar-ritual despite the hostility of ecclesiastical authorities.

That this probably Abyssinian ritual is comparatively new in Egypt is proved by the fact that Lane’s works with all their fulness of detail on cognate subjects never mention what is to-day one of the great features of non-official, popular religion, unauthorized by Islam.

The Zar-exorcism is carried on in Menûf not only among purely illiterate fellâhin, but in such houses as those of the postal officials. The type of illness to which it is specially applied is thus described by the same Egyptian correspondent of Dr. Karl Vollers quoted above:—

و متى تلبس الشيطان جسم المرأة صارت تعترف بها تernote تحصل لبا منها تشنجات و ذهول كان اللصاب نائم أو مجنون ومنهم من تكون حالته قاحزة على فقد الشعور بدون حركة ومنهم انتقل و منهم من يرقص و ينتقل من مكان إلى مكان مع التكلم وكل لا ينفي عليه هذه الاحوال إذ ربما شاهد منها كثيرا. و من
Not only such abnormal states, but almost all types of disease are attributed to jinn possession. Thus, a saint’s tomb in the middle of Menûf is visited by women every Friday, who say that she who sits in the holy place will have driven from her “the jinni of trembling”, i.e. the shivering fits of fever.

This habit of “clothing” themselves with human bodies as their tormented hosts, leads us into quite a different range of thought from that in which the jinn snatch and murder and seem to us to betray wild beast origins. Yet this second range of thought is ancient enough among Semitic peoples, and on its happier side of possession as the cause of poetic or artistic inspiration, it entered literature, as Goldziher has taught us from pre-Moslem Arab thought. What further origins it may have had for the Delta fellâh, in old Egyptian thought, experts must tell us. The present significance of possession is nearly always hostile. Yet there are perhaps the faintest traces of that old belief that any mysterious human powers, above the normal, were due to the working of the jinn, and especially the magic weaving of words by the poet.

“Nicht die legendendichtende Nachwelt allein ist es, die der poetischen Kraft des Hasan (Hasan b. Thâbit) diesen übermenschlichen Ursprung zuschreibt. So wie er sich auch sonst auf seinen “Bruder von den Ginnen” beruft, der ihm seine Worte kunstvoll “weibt” (Diwan Hasan b. Thâbit, 39, 4), sagt er einmal ganz deutlich, dass ihm manche gewichtige Qâfiya zu nächtlicher Zeit vom Himmel herab entgegenkomme:—

Any idea of beneficent inspiration, or “possession” like this “possession” of the poet, for the good of the possessed, is nearly dead in the Egyptian Delta. There is a lingering, all but forgotten belief that the art of carving the ivory and ebony screens of the Coptic Churches of Old Cairo with their wealth of fine and tender detail was

1 Abhandlungen zur Arabischen Philologie, p. 3, Goldziher.
taught by good Jinn who learnt it in Paradise. And there is a common saying among the fellâhîn that the Pyramids, too great for man to make, were the work of Gânn ibn Gânn. But for the rest the whole jinn tradition now alive in this corner of the Delta is one of hostile forces. Jinn do not inspire, they seduce to destruction. They only "possess" to destroy, and not to enable.

The Qarîna.—No account of the jinn in our fellâh's mind would come near truth which left out his weird and sinister fear of the qarîna, very rarely openly referred to, but taking a large place in life. From the moment of conception of every human babe a shaitân or 'afrît of the jinn is set apart as its twin-spirit. The relationship is a most strange one, for while, on the one hand, the spirit-mate (whose sex is the opposite of that of the babe) may envy, with malignant eye the good fortune of its earth-mate and may cause its illness and death (hence many visits of pregnant mothers to the sheikha to buy charms against the qarîna), yet on the other hand any damage done to the spirit-mate will harm the human partner.

Thus, we have a cycle of stories in Menûf of blows struck at cats by night (when the qarîna prowls in animal form, especially that of a black cat) with resultant illness of human babes next morning. The fellâhîn say that one should never strike any beast after sunset for fear of damaging a human child.

The Rev. H. Hayes recounts a story as told him by a most intelligent fellâhîn family in Menûf, of a cat that one of the daughters of the house shut up in a corn-bin by night. "Next day their neighbour's child was ill, and the sickness could not be diagnosed. The mother sent the town-crier round, begging anyone who had shut up a cat during the night to release it. Then the girl remembered the cat she had shut in the bin. She ran up and released it. It ran to the house where the sick child lay, and immediately it entered the house the child recovered and told its mother that it had been shut up in a corn-bin."

It is easily seen that this cycle of ideas on the qarîna—a sort of extended personality through which one can be hurt, and at the same time a sort of intimate enemy by which one can be hurt—plays a very large part in the life of the fellâhîn, and especially of the women as guardians of little helpless lives. Our peasants all understand the use of the word qarîna in this particular connexion, although it has had a far nobler use in regard to the spirit world in older Arabic.

1 I am not able to judge of the alluring theory that this belief is a survival of the ancient Egyptian "Ka".
"Und auch in der theologisch beinflussten Überlieferung seiner (Muhammad's) Lebensbeschreibung (die Berichte gehen auf ash Sha'bi zurück) wird von dem Verhältniss der inspirirenden Engel Gibrâ'il und Isrâfil zum Propheten dieselbe Terminologie gebraucht, die man von den sich dem Menschen zugesellenden Ginnen anzuwenden pflegte.

Die begleitenden and schützenden Dämonen heissen قرن pl. قرن

der Menschen, and auch von jenen Engeln wird gesagt اسر اقبال قرن

يرسول الله جبريل هو الذي قرن به (Tab. i, 1248, ult. 1249, 10).\(^1\)

From such uses the word has fallen to the sinister meaning described above. But the fellâḥ does not use it much. With the usual euphemism due to fear, which leads him to refer to the jinn as the "mu'lûk" and to one possessed as 'aruusit iz zar', he will speak of the qarina as the "sister" or the "brother" of the human babe. When a child has died, its illness being due to the hostile envy of the qarina, the account given is "gat uxtu darabitu" or "gih a'xuha xana'ha".

In this qarina belief, we find a strange linking of the two main tendencies already noted in the peasant's jinn ideas. The one strain of ideas tends to separate the jinn from personality and ally them with the beasts of the waste; the other tends to clothe them in human personality, either by the mode of "possession", or, as in the case of the shaitân of the murdered, by an imitation of all the characteristics of an individual. In the strange and powerful belief concerning the qarina, the two strains meet. The spirit is distinct and personal, set apart as the familiar (albeit the hostile familiar) of one human spirit. At the same time, its mode of manifestation is through the animal form that it adopts every night. Here is a deeply seated belief which has not yet received the study that it deserves, either from professed students of such matters or from those who aim at a more sympathetic understanding of lives as they are lived under the Egyptian sun.

\(^1\) Goldziher, Abhandlungen 6.
MUSICAL ACCENT IN JAPANESE MORPHOLOGY

By Oreste Pletner

Many grammars of the Japanese spoken language have been written, and some of them are well compiled on more or less scientific principles, but one of the most important characteristics of the spoken language, namely the tones and their laws, have been rather neglected.

Meyer and Edwards have mentioned in their works the existence of significant pitch, or "musical accent", in the language, and later one Russian linguist, E. Polivanoff, published in Russian a small but strictly scientific research on "Musical Accent in the Tokyo Dialect" (edited in the Bulletin of the Academy of Sciences in Petrograd) in which he deals with "types of accent" in the standard Japanese language. Some Japanese works on that subject may also be mentioned. The first Japanese to write about it was Bimyosai Yamada. In his accentuated Japanese Dictionary (Nihon Daijiten), published towards the end of the nineteenth century, he gives in the supplement some general remarks on the changes of tone in the inflected forms of words, but his efforts were unfortunately discontinued. Recently there have appeared some further works on this question, e.g. a book by Imamura, Tokyo-ben (Tokyo Dialect), and an alphabetically arranged Dictionary, edited by Sakaeda. A number of articles on Japanese tone have appeared in Shinri-kenkyu (Psychological Studies) written by Sakuma, who has quite lately edited a book on Japanese Phonetics and Tonetics (Nihongo-no hatsuon oyobi aksento). Sakuma was the first to show that in the Tokyo dialect two consecutive syllables could both have the high pitch, and that for the word to be properly pronounced it was not sufficient to give the correct tone on the last syllable only.

In this paper I do not intend to deal with the so-called "accent-types" of substantives, which retain more or less their primary tone in their inflected forms; my purpose is to show how the tone alters in the inflected forms of adjectives, verbs, and words derived from verbs—in other words, to show how tone is used to indicate morphological distinctions.
English is not a "tone-language," that is to say tones do not distinguish one word from another, nor do tones have any morphological functions in English. Morphological changes are often effected in English by suffixes (as in he insults (in'salts), ¹ as compared with I insult (in'salt); goodness as compared with good), but these suffixes do not in any way affect the tone or the stress. In English, stress often has semantic force in the differentiation of homonyms, e.g. 'insalt (insight), in'salit (incite, in sight). On the other hand there are innumerable cases in English where homonyms are not differentiated by stress (e.g. dessert and desert (v.), both pronounced di'zear.t). In other cases stress in English has a morphological function, insult (s.) ('insalt), insult (v.) (in'salt), increase (s.) ('inkri:s), increase (v.) (in'kri:s), escort (s.) ('eskɔt), escort (v.) (es'kol or is'kol).

In Japanese, stress appears to be of no importance, and its place is taken by tone. So we find in that language homonyms distinguished by tone, e.g. 'a.sa (morning), 'as.ar.a (hemp), and homonyms not distinguished by tone, e.g. 'ka.mi (God), 'ka.mi (hair). In other cases tone has a morphological function, compare a'su.i (hot, adj.), a'suku (hot, adv.); the shifting of the high pitch places the word in a new morphological category.

Note.—The tones are indicated in this article as follows: " means that the following syllable has high pitch, " . . . " means that all the syllables enclosed between " and " have high pitch, " means low pitch, " . . . " means that all enclosed syllables have low pitch. The pitch of unmarked syllables is mid to low when preceded by a syllable marked " (except in " . . . "); it is low when preceded by a syllable marked "; it is mid when preceded by an unmarked syllable (except where the notation " . . . " or " . . . " is used).

Thus, when a succession of syllables is written without a tone-mark, it means that the syllables are said on a monotonous or nearly so. A word so pronounced is here called monotonic. It is sometimes convenient to have a special mark to show that a word is monotonic; is used for this purpose in this paper.

In this attempt to give a description of the part which tone plays in Japanese morphology I will begin by a few remarks on the Japanese sounds, which I am representing here by the International Phonetic symbols.

¹ When a word is printed in thick type it means that it is written phonetically (I.P.A. system).
The so-called u of Japanese differs from the English u (of boot) in having hardly any lip-rounding. The sound might be symbolized by ū, but for practical purposes it is convenient to use u. e is fairly close, and o somewhat closer than cardinal o. a, i are much the same as the English vowels in father, heat.

The consonant here written t is really a palatalized dorsal s-sound resembling the Russian palatalized s (ʂ). ŏ is used for an affricate corresponding to this; ʤ is the corresponding voiced sound. ʦ is the affricate as in German zehn (ześn); ʣ is the corresponding voiced sound. ʧ represents “bi-labial f”, more accurately r. The corresponding voiced sound w has less lip-rounding than in English.

r stands for a sound between ʐ and d, really a kind of retroflex d. In some cases, especially before the vowel o, the acoustic impression of the sound bears a likeness to l, being perhaps in this particular instance a fricative ʐ with simultaneous lateral opening; at the same time the sound has a certain plosive character, as is shown by the confusion of it with d in Southern Japanese dialects. (The phonetic symbol is strictly l, but r is used for practical convenience.)

q stands for the German ich-laut, i.e. a palatalized h.

There is only one consonant which appears at the ends of words or syllables in Japanese, namely, a kind of η-sound. According to following consonants it may either be η or become m or n. At the end of a word the stoppage in the mouth is very weak, and there is nasalization of the preceding vowel.

Verbs

Before speaking about tone I propose to give here a few grammatical explanations regarding verbs. We shall divide all verbs into two conjugations, the first including verbs with a consonantal stem, i.e. a stem ending in a consonant; the second including those with a vocalic stem. Thus, such verbs as jō-m-u, kak-u, job-u belong to the first conjugation, and ane-ru, ake-ru, tabe-ru, mi-ru to the second. This classification seems to me to be quite reasonable, as (1) each group of the above-mentioned verbs has its particular system of suffixes (-u, -ru); and (2) we observe that consonantal stems are subject to “alternations” or modifications in inflected forms (e.g. kak- [kāi-]), whereas the vocalic stems (ake-,

1 The notation kak- [kāi-] is to be read thus: the stem kak- is changed in certain inflected forms to kai-.
tabe-) remain unchanged throughout the whole conjugation. There are, however, exceptions to this last statement, in the case of some stems, such as ki- || ko- || ku- in ku-ru and fi- || se- || su- in su-ru, but these must be considered as archaisms. As regards verbs of the first class, in the spoken language of the present day the consonantal stems alternate with vocalic ones, as kak- || kai- or kap- || ka-; the modified stems without final consonants are supposed to have had final consonants in the past.\(^1\) In any case the particular system of suffixes would enable a Japanese to distinguish these verbs from those of the second class. We could therefore suggest the following definition of the two conjugations: 

*When the stem of any part of a certain verb ends in a consonant, that verb belongs to the first conjugation; other verbs (namely, those with a constant vocalic stem) belong to the second.* Thus, such verbs as kak-u and ka-u (Preterite: katt-a) will belong to the first conjugation.

The modifications of the stem-morphemes\(^2\) in conjugation depend upon final consonants, which are n, m, b, r, s, p, k, η, s. A particular kind of modification in the stem corresponds to each of these consonants. There are two stems that are subject to modification, namely, that of the present tense and that of the past tense. The first appears in the present and in its derivative forms, such as the participle-substantive, the subjunctive, the negative present, the imperative, etc.; the latter is used in the preterite, the participle-substantive of the preterite, the gerund, and in analytic forms such as the progressive, the frequentative, etc. Let us consider the modifications of stems ending in a consonant. Those verbs which originally ended in n, alternate n of the present with nd in the preterite; and we have the following formulae for different kinds of modifications:—

*\(^n\) n||nd (sin-u, sind-a; to die).
*\(^m\) m||nd (jom-u, jond-a; to read).
*\(^b\) b||nd (job-u, jond-a; to call).
*\(^r\) r||tt (ar-u, att-a; to be).
*\(^s\) s||tt (mas-u, matt-a; to wait).

\(^1\) The verb ka-u (to buy) is supposed to have been originally kap-u, then changed to kaif-u, and finally ka-u.

\(^2\) Morphemes are the smallest morphological elements into which words can be divided. Thus the words *goodness*, *supporter*, both consist of two morphemes, *good* and *-ness*, *support* and *-er*.

\(^3\) A prefixed * denotes a supposed older form.
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*p. -tt (ka-u, katt-a; to buy).

*k. ktt (first type: includes only two verbs, ik-u, itt-a "to go", and one variety of aruk-u, arutt-a "to walk").

*k. kii (second type: includes the remainder and the second type of aruk-u, aruit-a).

*g. -ii (iso-u, isoid-a: to hurry).

*s. sii (das-u, dafit-a; to take out. The vowel i placed between two voiceless consonants becomes devocalized. Though in the consciousness of the speaker i may be identified with i, yet we consider ii as containing no vowel, especially when we compare it with the penultimate syllable (usually long) of other verbs of the first conjugation).

The stems of the verbs belonging to the second conjugation are, as we have said, not subject to change, except in the case of the two verbs ku-ru (to come) and su-ru (to make). The suffixation of verbs of the second conjugation is, however, more complicated, because before the suffixes which are in common use for both conjugations, the second conjugation inserts particular single-sound morphemes such as -r-, -j-, -s-, e.g. mi-r-u, mi-s-aseru, mi-o. We can consider, in treating of the morphology of the ordinary spoken language, the morpheme -t- in the past tense, gerund, and other forms of the second conjugation (mi-t-a, mi-t-e) as belonging to the same category as the above-mentioned -r-, -j-, and -s- morphemes, although in the first conjugation we applied the t and d sounds to the verbal stem (daft-a, jond-a). Notwithstanding the still existing connexion between -ta of the first conjugation and -ta of the second, I would point out here a new process of displacement of morphological boundaries in the word. For the colloquial language the -u of the present and -a of the past tense incline towards the full recognition of the equal rights they have in morphology. The forms of the past tense tend towards the same number of syllables as the forms of present (jo-mu jond-a instead of the ancient form: jo-mi-ta).

The two alternating verbs of the second conjugation ku-ru and su-ru are recognized by Japanese grammarians as "irregular", but we have also examples in Indo-European languages, in which the forms commonly used preserve an archaic construction.

Independently of these divisions into conjugations the verbs can be divided according to their tone into two classes: monotonic
(not containing a high pitch) and tonic or accented (containing a high pitch). Monotonic verbs are such as:
First conj. jobu to call; sinu to die; iku to go; ruku to wipe; kau to buy.
Second conj. akeru to open; aneru to lift up; kureru to give; suru to make; kiru to wear.

As examples of tonic verbs the following may be mentioned:
First conj. jomu to read; nomu to drink; kaku to write; tabu to stay; kiru to cut; kau to feed.
Second conj. homeru to praise; tberu to eat; kuru to come.

We distinguish among verbal forms the synthetic and analytic, i.e. firstly, independent conjugation of the verb, secondly, conjugation by means of auxiliary verbs and affixes. We start with the form jomu which only conventionally could be designated as infinitive. This form can have the meaning of indicative present, future and present participle according to the context and its position in the phrase, e.g. bokuwa honwo jomu (I read a book), but honwo jomu çto (a man reading a book) or mijonshi honwo jomo: (I shall read the book to-morrow). All the tonic verbs consisting of two syllables have the high pitch on their first syllable. Yamada gives examples of verbs with the high pitch on the second syllable, such as tsuku (to arrive), fuku (to blow) and surku (to love). In my view they all have the high pitch on the first true syllable, as in these verbs the so-called first-vowel, being placed between two voiceless consonants, is devocalized, and these verbs are really pronounced as tsuku, ruku, and suru, under the t, s, and r shows their quasi-syllabic character.

These verbs differ from the homonymous verbs soku (to pierce), suk (to be empty), ruku (to wipe). There arises here the question, what is the difference between these verbs? In the first case, notwithstanding the impossibility of the first so-called syllable having a musical pitch, owing to the lack of vowel, the articulating speech organs are influenced by what would have taken place in the normal pronunciation of this syllable with a voiced vowel, so that the first syllable has a sort of stress accent:
'sku, 'rku, etc.

The verbs of the first conjugation composed of three syllables are either monotonic or with high pitch on the second syllable: budzuku (to continue), nodzoku (to exclude), taktu (to beat),
su-'sumu (to wrap), ha-'nasu (to speak), ko-'maru (to be embarrassed). Verbs having a diphthong as their first syllable, such as 'kairu (to return), 'mairu (to go), often considered by Japanese grammarians as composed of three syllables, are, from the point of view of tone, composed of only two syllables. (They follow the same rules as 'kaku, 'kaita; 'mairu, 'maitta; 'kairu, 'kaitta.) The combination of a vowel with η (or its variants m, n, ŋ) must be considered as a diphthong for Japanese linguistic conception. Most of the verbs composed of more than three syllables are compound verbs, their tones being more complicated, and they need a special study.

Verbs of the second conjugation consisting of two syllables can be in the present tense either monotonic or with high pitch on the first syllable: neru (to sleep), miru (to resemble), miru (to see), kuru (to come). Verbs of three syllables are monotonic or with high pitch on the second syllable: a-jeru (to lift up), ta-beru (to eat), akeru (to open), mi-seru (to show). According to my observations there are no verbs composed of two syllables in which the high pitch falls on the last syllable, as it does in substantives such as ha-'na (flower) (which is different from hana (nose)).

The tone in the past tense of the first conjugation coincides with that of the present: kiku (I hear), kiita (I heard), jomu (I read), jonda (I read), su-'sumu (I wrap), su-'sunda (I wrapped). For the second conjugation the same rule applies only to the verbs consisting of two syllables, such as miru, mita; neru, neta; but verbs consisting of three syllables with the high pitch on the middle syllable transfer that high pitch to the preceding one: ta-beru, tabeta; mi-seru, miseta, etc. In other words, there is a tendency to have the high pitch on the third syllable from the end (the so-called Dreisilbengesetz\(^1\)). But here arises the question, why does this displacement not take place in the past tense of the first conjugation? (su-'sumu, su-'sunda; ta-taku, ta-taita, etc.). It seems to me that the reason lies in the same tendency to have the high pitch on the third syllable from the end. (The two elements of the diphthong ai and of un or um, both potentially capable of having the high tone, may be considered here as two syllables, su-su-n-da and ta-ta-i-ta.)

Hence for the tone of the past tense (preterite) we establish

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1 Three syllable law.
the following rule: *all verbs which are monotonic in the present tense remain unaltered in the past tense.* Tonic verbs of the first conjugation and those composed of two syllables of the second preserve also their tone of the present, but tonic verbs consisting of three syllables or more transfer in the past tense their high tone to the preceding syllable.

**Note.**—'kur, although it has high pitch on the first syllable, becomes monotonic in the past tense *kita.*

The gerund is formed by the addition of the suffix *te* to the unchangeable stem of the second conjugation or *e* to the stem of the past tense of the first. Its tone coincides, for both conjugations, with that of the past tense: *'kaita* (wrote), *'kaite* (writing), *'tabeta* (ate), *'tabete* (eating), etc.

The negative present (*praesens negativi*) is formed by adding the suffix *-anai* in the first conjugation and *-nai* in the second, to their respective stems. Monotonic verbs do not change: *neru, ne-nai; aneru, ane-nai; jobu, job-anai,* etc. In the tonic verbs of the first conjugation the high tone of the positive present tense is transferred to the next syllable: *'jomu, jo-manai; 'nomu, no-manai; ta-taku, tata-kanai; bu-sumu, bu-su-manai.* Again, we see the action of the "Dreisilbengesetz ¹". The tones of verbs of the second conjugation remain unchanged in the negative present: *'miru, 'minai; ta-'beru, ta-benai; 'kuru, 'konai.*

The negative past tense is formed by addition of the suffix *anakatta* to the stem of verbs of the first conjugation and *nakatta* to those of the second. From an etymological point of view *-nak-att-a* is the past tense of the adjective-verb *na-i* (*na-||nak*), *-atta* being associated with the past tense of *ar-u att-a.* The tone in these forms is rather complicated and inclined to instability, as is often the case in long words, and the examples given below merely show the relation of the tone in these forms to the original tone in the present tense. In the negative past tense tonic verbs retain the tone of the corresponding present tense: *'jo-manai* (I do not read), *'jo-manakatta* (I did not read), *'konakatta* (from *kuru*), *su-manakatta* (from *sumu*, to dwell). But the monotonic verbs have the tendency to lower the tone of the group *-katta* (*'na-katta*) with optional lowering of the first syllable

¹ Three syllable law.
(・・・na[katta], but this is the general tendency in long words unless they have not a high-pitched first syllable: 'jobana[katta or jo[bana]katta (I did not call), 'nena]katta (I did not sleep), etc.

The negative gerund is produced by the suffix a-naide or -a-nakutte added to the stems of the first conjugation and by means of -nakutte or -naide to the second. These forms have the same tone as the preceding ones: jo'manaide (being not reading), jo[bana]ide or jo[bana]kutte, 'minaide, etc.

We have examined the present, preterite, and gerund, both positive and negative forms. Let us take now the "probable future", as it is called by Chamberlain, or "futur dubitatif" in French (Ballet) and call it subjunctive, remembering, however, that the idea of futurity is implied, as e.g. mjo:ntfi honwo jomo: (I will read to-morrow). The suffixes of this form are -o: (-oo) for the first and -jo: (-joo) for the second conjugation. Verbs of two syllables have high pitch in the "probable future" on the first element of the long vowel, thus -0.o, both for tonic and monotonic verb: jo'mo.o (I (you, we, they) will probably read); (let me (us) read); jo'bo.o, mi'jo.o. But verbs composed of three or more syllables tend towards the -o'o type (i.e. the part of the word before the second element of the long vowel seems to be high and level and the tone is lowered in the middle of the long final vowel) for monotonic verbs, and inclines to the -o'o type in tonic or accented verbs. Taking into consideration that the lowering of the first syllable is a usual phenomenon in the Japanese language we may observe here the tendency of accented words to coincide with the monotonic ones in forms which may be considered practically monotonic:
'tsudzuko'o (from tsudzuku); ta'bejo'o (ta'beru); ta'tako'o (ta'taku), etc.

The negative of the preceding form is constructed by adding the suffix -umai to the stem of the first conjugation and -mai to that of the second. The tone of these forms is rather uncertain; the tendency, however, is for all tonic verbs to have the last vowel of the diphthong -ai lowered, whereas the monotonic verbs keep the tone unchanged (the usual lowering of tone of the first syllable in the word must not mislead us): ha'nasuma[i (I will probably not speak); tsudzukmai, mi'ma.i, kimai (from kiru, to wear), ki'ruma'i (from kiru, to cut); ta'bema'i . . .
There are several ways of forming the conditional mood, according to the tense required, by the addition of different suffixes. We may begin with the suffix -eba for the first conjugation and -reba for the second. Present conditional tonic verbs keep their tone and the monotonic ones have high pitch on the first syllable of the suffix: "jom-eba (if I read); nom-eba (if I drink); ta'be-reba, "ku-reba (from kuru, to come); i'keba (from iku, to go); ki' reba (from kiru, to wear); kir-eba (from kiru, to cut). Suffixes -ara (first conj.) and -tara (second) are added to the stem of the preterite in order to form the past conditional. These forms preserve the tone of the past tense in tonic verbs and lower the last syllable of the suffix -(t)ara for the monotonic ones, with optional low tone of the first syllable: "jondara (from jomu), mitara, "tabetara, "itta-ra, "jonda-ra (from jobu), ha'naftara, su'dzuita-ra, etc. The future conditional is formed by means of the suffix -nara added to the present; its tone coincides with that of the past conditional described above: "jomu-nara, jo'bu-na-ra, su'dzuku-na-ra, miru-nara, etc.

The corresponding negative forms are constructed with suffixes -anakereba (-anakera) for the first conjugation and -nakereba (or -nakera) for the second. For the past tense of the negative conditional we have suffixes -anakattara (first conjugation) and -nakattara (second conj.). They are also formed by the suffixes -to, -nara (or -naraba), added to the negative present. Tonic verbs seem to retain the tone of the negative present tense in the first form in -nakereba: jo'manakereba, ta'benakera, "minakereba, etc., but the monotonic verbs show a tendency to have the last two syllables lowered: jo'banake_reba, bu'dzukanake_reba, kinake_reba, etc. The forms of conditional preterite negative have the same tone as the present negative for tonic verbs and lower -ttara in monotonic verbs: jo'manakattara, "minakattara, ta'benakattara, jo'banaka_ttara, bu'dzukanaka_ttara. In the conditional future negative we observe the same phenomenon as in its positive form except that in monotonic verbs the lowering begins from the ending -i of the present negative: jo'bana_inara, su'dzukana_inara, "ikanana_inara, etc. The addition of the suffix -to in order to express another shade of conditional present does not change the tone of verbs: jo'manaito, ikanaito, etc.

There is a special mood, the so-called desiderative, to show the desire to perform an action, which is formed by the suffix -itai for
the first conjugation and simply -tai for the second. The tone of
these forms seems to follow the example of the negative probable
future (-mai): jo̱mita̱i (or jo̱mita̱, i); jo̱bitai̱ (or jobitai,
ikitai), etc.

We must mention also a peculiar mood in Japanese verbs
which shows the frequency of an action, or rather its quick inter-
change with another one. It corresponds to the French “tantôt
... tantôt” (sometimes). This form is constructed by the
addition of the suffix -ari to the stem of the past tense for the
first conjugation and -tari for the second. The tone follows
the example of the past conditional: "jondari (one moment I read
the next ...), tsu̱dzuita̱ri, mitari, aketari (from akeru,
to open). In monotonic verbs the forms tend to become quite
monotonic (jondari, from jobu, to call).

The passive and causative moods are formed by adding to the
stem of verbs -areru and -aseru respectively for the first conjuga-
tion and -raru and -sasu for the second. Monotonic verbs
remain unchanged in these forms, whereas tonic verbs of both
conjugations seem to coincide in the following type: -e ru,
jo̱bare ru, ta̱beraru, tsu̱dzukena ru, ta̱besasem ru.

The simplest manner of forming an imperative addressed to
an inferior is the addition of the suffix -e to the stem of the
present tense in the first conjugation and -ro in the second.
Monotonic verbs have in these forms the high pitch on the suffix,
and tonic ones retain the tone of the present tense: "jome, jo̱be,
ta̱bero, ta̱take, etc.

Adjectives

If we consider the Japanese adjective from a syntactical point
of view, i.e. with regard to its relationship to other words in the
sentence, we shall find that its functions resemble to a great extent
those of the verb: e.g. midzuo motte kuru goto (a man bringing water)
or chōna midzuo motte kuru (a man brings water). In the first
case "bringing" has attributive functions, qualifying the sub-
stantive "man", in the second "brings" is predicative. It is
much the same with the Japanese adjective: takai jama is "high
mountain", while jama na takai means "the mountain is high".
Thus verbs and adjectives discharge the same attributive and
predicative functions, but the changes of form peculiar to adjectives
compel us, of course, to classify them in a separate morphological
category. If we were studying the primitive Japanese language this separation might possibly not be necessary. Professor Kanazawa in his "Bumporon" considers the adverbial form in -ku as a survival of ancient verbal forms, such as iwa-ku, nora-ku, etc. At the present time, however, we are considering the modern colloquial language of Tokyo, and must base our decisions upon that.

The form of adjectives which corresponds to the present tense of verbs ends in -i, and we differentiate here, as in verbs, between monotonic and tonic (or accented) adjectives. The stem of adjectives can consist of one, two, three or more syllables. If the stem of a tonic adjective consists of only one syllable the high pitch falls on that syllable, if the stem has two syllables the high pitch is on the second, if it has three, the high pitch falls on the third. Adjectives consisting of more than three syllables are mostly compound adjectives, their tone depending on that of their components. Examples of monotonic adjectives are: kurai (dark), osoi (late), akai (red), ama-i (sweet), abu-i (thick), munasi-i (vain). Examples of tonic or accented adjectives are: na-i (absent, not being), ko-i (dense), ru'ka-i (deep), ta'ka-i (high), ha'ja-i (quick), a'tsu-i (hot), tada'si-i (right). If we examine these forms we discover that the principal difference between the stems of adjectives and those of verbs consists in their last sound, which in the case of adjectives is always a vowel. This vowel, joined to the suffix -i, forms a diphthong. The form in -i is a "new formation" which has absorbed the two ancient forms in -si (predicative) and -ki (attributive). The bare stem of an adjective can represent an independent syntagm, for instance jiro from ji-roi (white) meaning whiteness, but there are very few stereotyped words of such formation, the suffixes -mi and -sa being used for that purpose: kanasi-i (sorrowful) and kanasi-mi (sorrow). The stem of an adjective is sometimes used in compound adjectives as first component, e.g. hosoi (thin) and nañai (long) give rise to a new word hosonañai (thin and long); waru-i (wicked) and mono (thing) form waru-mono (a wicked man); to-i (far) and sakaru (to be separated) give to: zakaru (to be distant). Stems of adjectives are like those of verbs ending in a vowel, e.g. hañime-ru (to begin), the stem of which, hañime, means "beginning".

1 A Syntagm is a word which we recognize as a constituent of a phrase.
The second form which helps to place adjectives in a separate morphological category is the adverbial one formed by addition to the stem of the suffix -ku. Both forms are included in the paradigm of the adjective. We call paradigm the “tout ensemble” of such forms of a word which follow the same morphological principle, and constitute a particular system of word-construction. The other forms of adjectives are mostly derived from the adverbial form.

The tone of the adverbial form is more or less regular in the dialect of Tokyo. Monotonic adjectives remain monotonic and the tonic ones which have more than one syllable in their stem, transfer the high pitch to the syllable preceding the one that has it in the form ending in -i. Adjectives having stems of only one syllable do not change their tone: oso-i, oso-ku; asu-i, asu-ku (we must remember that the first syllable may be low, so that a'su'ku", o'soku" can be heard, as well as the first variety), na-i, naku; ta'ka-i, takaku; ha'ja-i, haja-ku; kita'na-i, ki'tana-ku, etc. But if the high pitch, when changed in this way, would fall on a syllable containing a vowel which may be dropped (as u and i are in Japanese, especially after voiceless fricatives and affricates), it does not change: r(u)'kai r(u)'kaku (deep), 'ma'i m'aku (sweet) (but sometimes 'ma i maku), t(i)'kai t(i)'kaku (near).

If the adverbial form is combined with the verb gozaru (a polite form of “aru”) instead of ending in -ku, it lengthens the last vowel of the stem, the tone remaining the same; tako-gozaimas (it is high), asu:gozaimas (it is hot), oso:gozaimas (it is late). In the Western dialects of Japan (so called “Kwansai”) this latter form only is used and in that respect they are more progressive. The form ending in a long vowel developed, we may suppose, by analogy with the form of present tense ending in a diphthong, the length of the vowel corresponding with the length of a diphthong.

The form of adjectives which corresponds to the past tense is formed by the suffix -katta. Tonic adjectives retain the tone of their adverbial form and the monotonic ones lower the syllable -tta, as well as the first syllable; haja-katta, aska-katta, takakatta, but o'soka"tta, a'kaka"tta, ku 'raka"tta.

1 The mark, placed under a consonant indicates that that consonant is syllabic.
Note.—m'rai becomes m'maka'tta or m_makatta, in which the high pitch falls on the syllabic m.

The present conditional is formed by the suffix -kereba (which is supposed to be an amalgamation of ki and -areba). Tonic verbs have the same tone as in the past tense and monotonic ones lower the group -reba: 'hajakereba, 'abkereba (from 'absu), 'takakereba, o'soke'reba, a'kan'reba, ab'kereba (from a'bsu). The past conditional is formed by means of the suffix -kattara. Monotonic verbs lower the ending -ttara, while the tonic verbs retain the tone of the adverbial form: o'soka.ttara, ku'raka.ttara, 'takakattara, 'abkattara, etc.

The subjunctive (probable future) is formed by the suffix -karó; its tone seems to be variable, though the tendency is to lower the second element of the long vowel and raise the last syllable for both tonic and monotonic verbs.

Adjectives form their gerund by the addition of the suffix -kutte. (This latter originates from the combination of the adverbial form in -ku, with -atte the gerund of the verb aru. The alternation of atte|utte, i.e. a||u occurs in long words in order to economize the effort in articulation. Comp. kudasutte instead of kudasatte.) In these forms the tone of the adverbial form is preserved for tonic verbs and the syllable preceding the suffix -kutte is raised in monotonic verbs (-ku ought to be raised too, but u being dropped, the suffix is rather ktte than kutte): sirioktte, 'takaktte, ku'rakte, o'soktte, etc.

Substantives are derived from adjectives by means of the suffix -sa and sometimes -mi. The monotonic adjectives do not change and the tonic ones retain their adverbial tone: ab'issa (thickness), o'sosa (from o'soi, late), hajasa (speed), r'kasa (depth).

The negative forms of adjectives are constructed by the same suffixes as in the case of verbs, i.e. by different forms of the adjective nai, which performs the functions of praeensens negativi for aru (to be) and means "not to be". These suffixes are added to the form in -i and not to the stem, therefore they are not so amalgamated as to make a new word; for instance waruku nai (not bad), is recognized as two separate words, whereas kairanai (I shall not return) can hardly be divided, as kaira- is not a syntagm and the negative kai'r'anai is even differentiated by tone from the positive form kairu.

1 Syntagm is a word which we recognize as a constituent of a phrase.
It may be remarked that in forms not combined with the verb aru, i.e. in the adjectival paradigm, the monotonic adjectives remain practically unaltered and tonic ones transfer their high pitch to the preceding syllable.

The suffix -no, which changes a verb into a substantive (Participium Prosustantivium), likewise transforms an adjective:atsuino (something hot). The suffix -des, added to substantives in order to turn them into verbs (such as hanades "is a flower", hanadatta "was a flower") ought strictly not to be added to adjectives, for they have in themselves predicative functions. However, -des is to-day more and more employed for adjectives, and such phrases as jamaña takaindes (the mountain is high) or hejāna kuraindes (the room is dark) are often used instead of the correct construction: jamaña takai, hejāna kurai. It is interesting to note with respect to such forms asatsuindes, asuino, etc., that in many instances the difference between the tonic and monotonic adjectives disappears and there are many in Tokyo to-day who do not recognize such difference. In the Kyoto dialect there is no difference at all.

The foregoing general rules of tone and its variations are based on my own observation of the speech of the average educated Japanese in Tokyo, amongst whom I made exhaustive inquiry regarding the particular examples quoted. In the paradigms of the conjugation of verbs and adjectives I have illustrated the pronunciation of Mr. J. Machida, of Tokyo, which appeared to me to represent the average. During our work together I noticed that he was perfectly conscious of his tone, which is rather exceptional with Japanese.

I am glad here to have the opportunity of thanking Professor Fujioka, of Tokyo, for his valuable advice, and Mr. Ide, of the School of Foreign Languages in Tokyo, for his able collaboration.

Paradigms of Verbs

(For meaning of tone-symbols see page 448.)

First conj.—rjomu (to read), jōbu (to call), ha*nasu (to speak), tōsuzuk (to continue).

Second conj.—rmiru (to see), kiru (to wear), ta*beru (to eat), akeru (to open).

Stems of present (first conj.).—jom-, job-, hanas-, tsuzuk-.
Stems of preterite (first conj.)—jond-||jond-, jond-||jond-, hanaʃt-, tʃudzuit-||tʃudzuı̯f-

Stems (second conj.)—mi-, ki-, tabe, ake-

Present.—jomu (I read), jobu, ha’nasu, tʃudzuku, miru, kiri, ta’beru, akera.

Preterite.—jonda (I read), jonda (I called), ha’naʃta, tʃudzuı̯ta, mita, tabeta, aketa.

Participle-subst. (present).—jomuno (reading), jobuno, ha’nasuno, tʃudzukuno, miruno, ta’beruno, akeronu.

Participle-subst. (preterite).—jondano (having read), jondano, ha’naʃtano, tʃudzuı̯tano, mitano, tabetano, aketano.

Imperative.—jome (read), jo’be, hanase, tʃudzu’ke, miro, ta’bero, ake’ro.

Condit. pres.—jomeba (if I read), jo’beda, ha’naseba, tʃudzu’keba, mireba, ta’bereba, ake’reba.

Condit. pres. (2).—jomuto, jobuto, ha’nasuto, tʃudzukuto, miruto, etc.

Condit. pret.—jondara (if I had read), jondara, ha’naʃtara, tʃu’dzuita’ra, mitara, tabetara, a’keta’ra.

Condit. future.—jomunara (if I shall read), jo’buna’ra, ha’nasunara, tʃu’dzukuna’ra, mirunara, ta’berunara, a’kerunara (?).

Subjunctive.—jo’mo,o, (I may read), jo’bo,o, ha’nasoc”, tʃudzuko, mi’jo,o, ta’bejo’o, akejo’.

Gerund.—jonde (reading), jonde, ha’naste, tʃudzuı̯te, mita, tabete, akete.

Passive.—jo’mare’ru (to be read), jobareru, ha’nase’ru, tʃudzukareru, mi’rare’ru, ta’berare’ru, akareru.

Causative.—jo’mase’ru (to let one read), jobaseru, ha’nasare’ru, tʃudzukas eru, mi’sase’ru, ta’besare’ru, akesaseru.

Potential.—jo’mereu (to be able to read), joberu, ha’nase’ru, tʃudzukeru.

Preterite of doubt (Edwards-passé renforcé).—jondakke (I might have read), jon’dakke, ha’naʃtakke, tʃudzuı̯takke, mitakke, tabetakke, ake’takke.

Progressive.—jonde iru / jonderu (I am reading), jonde iru / jonderu, ha’naʃte iru / ha’naʃteru, tʃudzuı̯te iru / tʃudzuı̯teru, mite iru / miteru, kite iru / kiteru, tabete iru / tabeteru, akete iru / aketeru.
Perfective.—"jonde simau / "jonqimau / "jongqau (I shall finish reading), jonde simau / jonqimau / jonqau, ha'naste simau / ha'nastqimau / ha'nastqau, "budzuite simau / "budzuifimau / "budzuifqau, mitq simau / mitfimau / mitfau, kite simau / kifimau / kifau, tabete simau / "tabetfimau / "tabefqau, akete simau / akefimau / akefau.

Perfective preterite.—"jonqimatta / "jongqatta (I have finished reading), jonqatta, ha'nastqetta, "budzuifqatta, "mitfatta, kifatta, tabefatta, akefatta.

Subjunct. preterite.—"jondaro: (I should have read), "jonda"ro, ha'naftaro; "budzu"ro, "mitaro, "kitaro, "tabetaro: a'keta"ro.

Concessive (1).—"jondemo (even having read), jonqdemo, ha'naqtemo, "budzu"mo, "mitemo, ake'temo, "tabetemo.

Concessive (2).—"jondatte, jonqdatte, ha'nastatte, "budzu"tte, "mitatte, ki'tatte, "tabetatte, ake'tatte.

Desiderative.—joni"tai (I want to read), jobitai, hanast"tai, "budzukitai, mi"tai, kitai, tabet"tai, aketai.

Frequentative.—"jondari, jondari, ha'nastari, "budzuitari, "mitari, kitari, "tabetari, aketai.

NEGATIVE

Present neg.—jo'manai (I do not read), jo'banai, ha'nasai, "budzukanai, "minai, kanai, ta'benai, akenaai.

Preter. neg.—jo'manakatta (I did not...), jo'banaka"tta, ha'nasakatta, "budzukanaka"tta, "minakatta, "kinaka"tta, ta'banakatta, "akenaka"tta.

Prohibitive.—"juna (do not read), jo'quina, ha'nasuna, "budzuku"na, "miruna, ta'beruna, a'kena"na.

Conditional (1).—jo'manakereba / jo'manakerja (if I do not read), jo'banakerereba, ha'nasana"kereba, "budzukanakereba, "minakereba, "kinakereba, ta'benakereba, a'kenakereba.

Conditional (2).—jo'manakattara (if I did not...), "jobanakattara, ha'nasana"nakattara, "budzukanakattara, "minakattara, ki'naka"ttara, ta'benakattara, akenakattara.

Conditional (3).—jo'manainara (if I shall not...), jo'banainara, ha'nasainara, "budzukainara, "minainara, ki'nainara, ta'benainara, a'kenainara.
Subjunctive neg.—jo'm_mai (I may not read), jo'bumai', ha'nasumai', i, su'dzukumai', mi'ma', i, ki'mai', ta'bema', i, a'kemai'/akemai.

Preterite.—jo'manakattaro: (I might not read), jo'banaka', ttaror, hanasankanattaro, su'dzukanaka', ttaror, minakanattaro, ki'naka', ttaror, ta'benakanattaro, a'kenaka', ttaror.

Gerund neg.—jo'amanade / jo'manaktte / jomazuni (not reading), jo'banade / jo'bana', ktte, ha'nasana', naide / ha'nasa'naktte, su'dzukan', ide / su'dzukanak', ktte, minaide / minaktte, ki'nide / ki'naktte, a'kena', ide / a'kena', ktte.

Concessive (1) neg.—jo'manakttemo / jo'manaidemo (even not having ...), jo'banak'ttemo, ha'nasa'nakttemo, su'dzukanak'ttemo, minakttemo, ki'nakttemo, a'kena', kttemo.

Concessive (2) neg.—jo'manakattatte, jo'banaka'ttatte, ha'nasa'nakattatte, su'dzukanaka'ttatte, minakattatte, ki'nak'ttatte, ta'be_nakattatte, a'kenaka'ttatte.

Analytic Forms

Forms expressing necessity: Necessity.
(1) jo'manak'tfa ikenai / ikañ, jo'banak'tfa, minak'tfa ikañ, a'kena'k'tfa ikenai (I, you, they, must read. Read!), or
(2) jo'manak'tfa naranai / naran / narimasen...
(3) jo'manakerja ikenai / ikan / ikemasen...
(4) jo'manaku'tfa da'me...
(5) jo'manaku'tfa i'ja...

Forms expressing prohibition: Prohibitive.
(1) 'jonde wa ikenai (... must not read), mitewa ikenai
(2) 'jon'ga ikenai / naranai, miba ikenai...

Forms expressing possibility.—'jondemo ii / jo'rosi'ii, jon'demo 'i_i, ha'nas'temo 'i_i, su'dzu'te'mo 'i_i, mitemo ii, ki'temo ii, tabetemo ii, a'kete'mo ii (... may read, may not), jo'manakuttemo ii (... need not read), jo'banak'tttemo ii...

Forms expressing doubt.—'jo'mukao firenai, / firen (perhaps I will read), jo'bu_kamo firenai, ta'berukamo firenai...
'jo'mukao siria' (Why should I not read?) jo'bu_kafira...
'miruka'sira'... 'mo_kafira', jo'bo_kafira... su'dzu'koka_kafira, mi'jo_kafira... taber'jo_kafira.

Denominative verbal form (present tense).—jomundes (jom-un-des is reading), jo'bundes, ha'nasundes, su'dzukun'des, mirundes, ki'rundes, ta'berundes, or jo'bunda, jomunda, etc.
Denominative verbal form (past tense).—'jondandes, jon'dandes, ha'na'jandes, bu'dzuita'ndes, 'mitandes, ki'tandes, 'tate'tandes, a'keta'ndes . . . ( . . . was reading, etc.).

Categorical negative.—'jomja: finai (I do not read at all), 'mija:-finai, 'tabe'-ja:finai . . .

Forms expressing command.—o'jomi', o'jobi', o'jomi', jo, o'ake'jo (used mostly by women and girls). jo'mja:nejare, 'jonde-ketskare (the verbs ja'jaru and kekskaru, being equivalent to the auxiliary verbs oru or iru are used only by uneducated people and are considered vulgar). 'jonde kure (read it to me) is an imperative of 'jonde kureru, which in literal translation means "give reading" and can be called Modus Dativus. According to the grade of courtesy desired towards the person accosted, the Japanese can substitute for kureru, kudasaru (to let down), which, being less familiar, implies that the person to whom you speak is in a higher position than yourself and could grant you something only by "letting it down": jonde kudasai (deign to read it). (Compare "condescend."). anjeru (to lift up) means quite the opposite, so that 'jonde oanenasai could by no means be translated "read to me", but it must be understood that the action of reading must be performed for somebody else who has a high standing, and the phrase would rather mean "Please read to him", showing thereby the courtesy towards "him". The same sense could be expressed by means of the verb jaru: 'jonde jare, but in a familiar way. Polite forms of imperative are also formed with the help of the verbs nasar-u (to do) and irassjar-u (to be): o'jomi'–nasai, ojobinasai . . . 'jonde irassjai / jonderrassjai (Please do read! or Be so kind as to read!).

Paradigm of Adjectives

Monotonic.—kurai (dark), osai (late), ahsui (thick), munasii (vain).

Tonic.—'nai (not . . .), r'kai (deep), a'kai (high), tada'sii (right).

Adverbial form.—kuraku, osoku, ahsuku, munafku, 'naku, r'kaku, 'takaku, ta'dasiku.

Preterite.—ku'raka'tta, o'soka'tta, ah'skatta, mu'naska'tta, 'nakatta, r'kakkatta, 'takakatta, ta'dasjkatta.
Conditional (1).—ku’rake’rebə, o’soke’rebə, a’ške’rebə, mu’nafke’rebə, nakereba, r’akakereba, takakereba, ta’dafkereba.

Conditional (2).—ku’raka’ttara, o’soka’ttara, aš’akattara, mu’nafka’ttara, nakattara, r’akakattara, takakattara, ta’dafkattara.

Gerund.—kuraku’tte, o’soktte, ašktte, mu’nafktte naktte, r’akktte, takaktte, ta’dafktte.

Subjunctive.—ku’rakaro’o, o’ sokaro’o, aš’ka’ro:, mu’nafka’ro:, nakaro:, r’akaro:, takakaro:, ta’dafka’ro:.

Substantives.—ku’rasa’, o’sosa’, ašusa, munafisa, kasa, takasa, ta’dafisa.

In conclusion, I must not omit to mention a category of words which are considered as adjectives by Japanese and some European grammarians, as, for example, sidzuka (quietness), baka (foolishness), kire: (beauty), but which ought to be placed from a morphological point of view into the class of substantives, notwithstanding their attributive functions. The addition of the suffix -des, as in hanades, bakades, without introducing the morpheme -n-, as for adjectives (e.g. kurain-des), proves that these words belong to the category of substantives. They cannot be placed (without a suffix) before a substantive, as in the case of adjectives (kurai heja), but they are connected thereto by means of the suffix -na, e.g. kire:na čto (handsome man). The suffix -na may be considered as forming a particular “attributive case” for substantives.
THE FORMS AND NATURE OF THE TRANSITIVE VERB IN SHINA (GILGITI DIALECT)

By Lieut.-Col. D. L. R. Lorimer

I. The following article has grown out of notes made in response to a request from Sir George Grierson for the paradigm of a Shina (šin'a) transitive verb with a root ending in a consonant, and in reply to a suggestion made by him that the construction with the trs. vb. is agential, i.e. that the ostensibly active trs. vb. is in fact passive, or was originally so.

I shall first give the paradigm of a typical trs. vb. with such notes as appear necessary, and shall then proceed to discuss the composition and nature of the trs. vb., and examine whether these afford any evidence that the trs. vb. is essentially passive, and that the special form of the noun or pronoun used as its subject is, in fact, an agent case.

2. I give the forms of the verb found in Gilgit Shina, because that is the best-known dialect, and the verbal forms are, on the whole, not unduly worn down.

THE FORMS AND NATURE OF THE TRS. VB. IN SHINA (GILGITI DIALECT)

[The values of the symbols used in the following are approximately as follows:—

a  a in “father”.
Λ  u in “but”.
e  e in French “été”, a in Scots “date”.
ς  e in “met”.
⁺e  e in “water”.
i  ee in “seen” (but not diphthongal).
i  i in “pin”.
ų  oo in “boot”.
ų  u in “pull”.

The sign : following a vowel indicates that it is long.¹ A full-stop on the ground-line between two vowels merely indicates a hiatus and that the two vowels do not form a diphthong.

¹ I understand that the sign : is now used for “very long”. There are few, if any, consistently very long vowels in Shina, and many marked : in this article are perhaps scarcely to be described even as “long”.

**The Transitive Verb in Gilgit Shina**

**Active Voice**

**Indic. Fut.**

sing. m. and f.

1. z'amum
2. z'amé
3. z'amé, z'améi

Plur. m. and f.

1. z'amé:n
2. z'amé:t
3. z'amé:n

**Pres.**

sing.

1. z'amumus
2. z'amé:no
3. z'amé:n, z'amé:nu

f.

1. z'ammis
2. z'amé:ni
3. z'amé:ni

**Imperf.**

1. z'amum'osus
2. z'amé:iso
3. z'amé:s, z'amé:su

**Pret.**

1. z'amé:gas
2. z'amé:ga
3. z'amé:go

**Pres. Perf.**

1. z'amé:ganus
2. z'amé:ganó
3. z'amé:gun, z'amé:gunu

**Plup.**

1. z'amé:gasus
2. z'amé:gaso
3. z'amé:gus, z'amé:gusu

The vertical stroke ' before a vowel indicates that the stress accent falls on that vowel.
THE FORMS AND NATURE OF THE TRANSITIVE VERB IN SHINA

**Imperative.**
2. *z'amē*

Optative, etc.
3. *zam'o:t*

**Participles.**

*Pres.* *zam'o:je*

*Past* *zam'e:, zam'e:ta*

**Infin.**

*zam'o:iki*, to strike, the act of striking.

**Agent Nouns.**
1. *zam'o:ki, zam'o:ik.*
2. *zam'e:ço, pl. zam'e:če.*
3. the 3rd pers. sg. and pl. of the future tense are also used.
   *z'amē:i, pl. zam'e:n.*
   or, with the substantival suffix -ek,
   *zam'e:ek, pl. zam'e:nek.*

**Examples—**

*mas zamē bam, I shall be a striker.*
*tus zamē bai.i.*

*ani manu:je zamē:en hane, these men are the strikers.*
*zamo:iki anu han, this is the striker.*
*tus zamō:ik be.eno, you are a striker.*
*zamē:i manu:jo, the man who strikes.*

It is often, however, difficult to diagnose the exact force of the *zamo:iki* form owing to its use as an infinitive and as an equivalent of, or substitute for, the gerund and gerundive.

Thus, with *bo:ki*, used in its sense of “to be able”, we have *mas zamō:iki banus*, I am able to strike; while, *mas zamō:iki hanus*, or, *zamo:konus*, means I am to, must, should, ought to, strike; similarly, *mas zamō:kusus*, I had to strike; *tus zamō:iki hano*, or, *zamo:kono*, you must, or, ought to, strike, etc.

This construction is also used impersonally, or passively:

*aniu ašpo zamō:kun*, it is necessary to beat this horse, or, this horse ought to be beaten.

There are certain verbs in which an -i- vowel appears in certain parts at the end of the base of the verb.

These are of two classes:—
1. Verbs whose root ends in -i, e.g. *vi.'o:iki*, to throw.
2. Verbs with roots ending in a consonant, in which the -i only appears in certain forms.

*hor'oriki*, to take away, may be given as an example of the latter. The following are the parts in which it varies from verbs of the *zamo:oki* type:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2nd plur. fut.</td>
<td><em>h'oret</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd plur. pres.</td>
<td><em>h'oren</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pret.</td>
<td><em>hor'i:gas, etc.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perf.</td>
<td><em>hor'i:ganus, etc.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plup.</td>
<td><em>hor'i:gasos</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative sg.</td>
<td><em>hor</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past pc. act.</td>
<td><em>hor</em> iتان*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verbs of the *vi:o:ki* type (including pl. *pi:o:ki*, to drink) are similar. Thus:

*vi:et, vi:gas, vi, vi:*

*pi:o:ki*, to seize, is an exception:

*pi:'at, pi:'egas, pi:te, pi:'e:*

### Compound Tenses

Apart from the uses just dealt with, the following compounds are to be mentioned.

Any tense of the indicative fully inflected may be used, followed by *bai:i* (*bai, be, bai*), which is apparently the 3rd sing. fut. of *bo:oki*. This produces a sense of doubt or possibility, etc.

Thus: *mas zamam bai*, perhaps I may strike, *tsos zamat bai*, etc.

There is also the following tense:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td><em>mas z'ame bai:am</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td><em>bes z'ame bai:en</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tus z'ame bai:i</em></td>
<td><em>tsos z'ame bai:et</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ros z'ame bai:i</em></td>
<td><em>ris z'ame bai:en</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This also appears to mean, "possibly I may strike," "perhaps I shall strike." I have been unable as yet to ascertain exactly how it differs in sense from *mas zamam bai:i*, etc.

"I would (strike)," "I would have (struck)," are rendered by the future tense followed by the invariable particle *sik*.

*mas zamum sik*, I would strike, I would have struck.

*ris zame:n sik*, they would strike, they would have struck.

I have omitted to mention that the infin. *zamo:iki* is capable of inflection like an ordinary noun, e.g. locative, *zamo:iker* (generally used in the sense of "immediately after striking"), abl. *zamo:ikejo*. 
THE FORMS AND NATURE OF THE TRANSITIVE VERB IN SHINA

With the postposition -sin, meaning "till", "so long as", an apocopated form of the ininf., or it may be an original verbal noun, zam'ø: is used.

tos ro zam'o:siŋ, so long as you beat him, or, till you beat him.
tos ro ne zam'o:siŋ, so long as you don’t beat him, until you beat him.

This form zam'o:- is also probably the base of the pres. part. 
zam'o:je = zam'o: + aje.

Note.—In the above paradigm, as elsewhere, I have aimed at giving only what may be regarded as sound average forms. It is scarcely practicable, and would only be confusing, to state all the permissible variants arising from slight differences in the vowels of the inflectional endings. All short unaccented vowels may be said to be liable to variation.

**Passive Voice**

Pres. base. zam'i:j-

Past base zam'i:it-, or, zam'i:id-

The conjugation of the tenses formed from the pres. base is identical with that of the active voice of a verb of the hero:iki type.

**Indic. Fut.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing., m. and t.</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. zam'i:jam</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. zam'i:je</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. zam'i:je.i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pres. zam'i:jumos, etc.

Impf. zam'i:jumosos, etc.

The conjugation of the tenses formed from the past base is identical with that of Neuter Verbs. The variable endings are nearly the same as those of the Active Verb.

**Pret.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>m.</th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>t.</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. zam'i:do</td>
<td>zam'i:dis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. zam'i:do</td>
<td>zam'i:de</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. zam'i:do</td>
<td>zam'i:di</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Perf. zam'i:donos, etc.

Plup. zam'i:duos, etc.

**Imperative.**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. zam'i:j</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. zam:i:j’a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Participles.

Pres. zamij'o:je

(VERBAL) zamij'i:

Past. (ADJECTIVAL) 1. m. zam'i:to f. zam'i:ti pl. zam'i:te
      2. m. zam'e:go f. zam'e:gi pl. zam'e:ge

Infinitive.

zamij'o:ki.

The above was given me with the theme -id- in the past base. The theme -it- is also permissible in this case, and is, in my experience, generally preferred for Passive, as distinguished from Neuter, Verbs.

3. The following general remarks may be made on the forms given in the above paradigm:—

(1) Unstressed vowels are often indistinct and appear to be subject to variation, e.g. the -om of the 1st sing. fut. is sometimes -am, and the terminal vowel of the 3rd sing. fut. appears in many forms.

(2) Long vowels are liable to become diphthongal, except those preceding the -g- in the past tenses, which are always, I think, simple.

4. The following particular points call for notice:—

(1) With reference to the parts given of the verb horo:ki, some verbs have the past participle in -i, not -e. In these the long vowel of the pret., perf., and plup. tenses is -i, not -e:. There are a few partial exceptions, e.g. thon:ki, to do, p.p.c. the:, pret. the:gas and thi:gas; do:ki, to give, p.p.c. de:, pret. de:gas and di:gas; bor:ki, to become, p.p.c. be:, pret. bi:gas. bi:gas, however, is anomalous, as it is a trs. form in an intrs. verb. The regular form is bulos (bil-).

A few verbs have alternative forms of the p.p.c. in -e and -i, and corresponding alternative forms of the past tenses, e.g.


The verbs which present this -i- vowel are of two classes:—

(1) Those which have an inherent -i- which is part of the root.
(2) Those in which the -i- appears only in the parts mentioned above.
Examples of the two classes are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>chrvo:ki</th>
<th>chrvi:umos</th>
<th>I place</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chrvi</td>
<td>place thou!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chrvi:</td>
<td>having placed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chrvi:gas</td>
<td>I placed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gmo:ki</th>
<th>g'inumos</th>
<th>I take</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gm</td>
<td>take thou!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gm'i:, gini</td>
<td>having taken</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gin'i:gas</td>
<td>I took</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) The forms of the 2nd plur. of the fut., pres. and impf. tenses have -a- (zama:t, etc.), only when the stress accent falls on that syllable. In verbs in which the accent falls on the preceding syllable, this -a- is replaced by a short variable vowel, a, e, e.

(3) The position of the stress accent is of further importance, as it usually strengthens and makes definite the vowel on which it falls, or else it falls on vowels naturally long, the result being the same whichever is the process. I have dealt at some length with the stress accent in my article on “Shina Phonetics” in the JARAS. of January and April, 1924. I need only mention here that the accent normally falls on the final vowel of the p.p.c., e.g. zam'e:, having struck, while in the 2nd sing. imperv., when of the same form, it is generally on the preceding syllable or else level. The final vowel in the p.p.c. tends to be long, in the imperv. it tends to be short.

(4) In some verbs the 2nd sing. imperv. has no final -e. The ending of the 2nd plur. is sometimes -a, and similarly the trace of a -y- sound is sometimes heard before the -at of the 2nd plur. fut.

(5) I think there is a difference between the endings of the 2nd and 3rd pers. sing. of the fut., though it is not very noticeable. The 2nd pers. centres on -e; the 3rd pers. is -e:i, -e:i, -ai:i, -i:i, etc. It is probable that the final vowel of the 3rd is longer than that of the 2nd.

(6) Where the alternatives exist, the forms of the 3rd pers. sing. and plur. with a final vowel are probably original, but my best informant prefers the shorter forms.

The following will serve as illustrations of the points noted under the preceding sub-heads Nos. 2, 3, and 4:
The forms of the 2nd plur. imperf. are: \( \text{wal}'\text{a}:\text{set}, \text{at}'\text{a}:\text{as}t, \text{mar}'\text{a}:\text{set}, \text{ch}'\text{a}:\text{nas}t, \text{pa}:\text{as}t, \text{l'a}\text{mat}, \text{h'or}:\text{set}, \text{g'ina}s\text{et}, \text{v'i}:\text{es}t \).

It will be noted that in the above examples where the accent falls on the second syllable of the 2nd plur. fut. the final vowel of the p.p.c. and penultimate vowel of the 1st sing. pret. is -e, and the 2nd sing. imperv. has a final -e; while, where the accent falls on the root or first syllable in the 2nd plur. fut., the vowel in the p.p.c. and pret. is -i, and the 2nd sing. imperv. has no final vowel.

That this is a general rule is supported by the examination of twenty-six other verbs taken at random, eighteen of which are of the later-accent type, and the rest of the prior-accent type.

5. Transitive verbs appear always to be capable of conjugation in the passive voice. The forms are obtained by adding to the simple verbal base the theme -i:j- for the present tenses, including the imperf. and the infin., imperv. and optative; and the theme -i:t- or -i:d- for the past tenses. The ordinary mood and tense endings of the neuter verb are then added to these extended bases. These are practically the same as those of the trans. verb except in the case of the pret.

The accent is always on the theme -i:j- or -i:t-, except where -i:j- is followed by a long vowel, when the accent tends to advance on to it. All passive verbs are therefore of the prior-accent type. Thus: 2nd plur. fut. \( \text{zam}'\text{i}:\text{j}t \), imperv. 2nd sing. \( \text{zam}'\text{i}:\text{j} \).

The passive is not very much used. It is to be noted that in form it closely approaches to the commonest type of derivative intrans. verb. These have the -i:j- theme in the present base, and -i:d- or -i:l- in the past base.
far'o:tki to turn (verb trans.)
for'i:j'oriki to turn (verb intrans.)
for'i:jam I shall turn (intrans.)
for'i:dos, for'i:los I turned (intrans.)

In some verbs the j and d are preceded by another vowel than i. In most original intrans. verbs the past base has the theme -t- or -l-

wai'o:tki to come w'atuls I came
'oriki to come 'aluls I came
'r:o:tki to weep r'o:los I wept

6. Before proceeding to attempt to analyse the various parts of the trans. verb, it is desirable to call to mind the phenomenon on which we particularly desire to obtain light.

The subject of an active trans. verb, i.e. the actor, whether a noun or pronoun, invariably takes a suffix -se, or -se, or in a reduced form -s, whatever the mood or tense of the verb. Thus the -s suffix occurs with the ininf., imperv., pres. pc., and past pc. It is also assumed by the agent, when expressed, accompanying the adjectival p.p.c. passive.

The question is, what is the force of this suffix? Is it agential, and is the act. trans. verb really passive?

7. Excepting the ininf. and participles, all tenses of the verb, whether trans. or intrans., have endings which vary according to the nature of the logical subject of the verb (i.e. the noun or pronoun, which in English is the subject). These endings therefore appear to be personal endings agreeing with the subject of the verb.

The endings of the fut., pres., and imperf. indicative and of the imperv. and optative, as well as those of the invariable participle s, are the same in trans. and intrans. verbs, but in the case of intrans. verbs a special theme is inserted between the root of the verb and the ending.

The endings of the pret., perf., and plup. tenses appear to consist of two main elements, a theme and a personal ending. In the perf. and plup. the personal endings are further immediately preceded by an -n- and an -s- respectively. In trans. and intrans. verbs the themes are different, and also in a less degree the personal endings.
8. There are two types of personal endings:—
   A. Those occurring in the fut. indic. (and the pres. subj.,
      which is identical in form).
   B. Those occurring in the pres., imperf., and past tenses indic.,
      and found in their simple form in the pret., intrans., or passive.

The A endings are:—

sing., m. and f.                   plur., m. and f.
1. -um (-am)                    1. -'on
2. -e                           2. -'at, or, -et
3. e,i (e,i, ai,i, etc.)        3. -'en, or, -en

with these may be mentioned the

Imperv. 2nd sing. -e              2nd plur. -'a, or, -ya

and the opt. 3rd sing. and plur. -'ot.

The B final endings differ considerably from these, and in the

sing. have different forms for the masc. and fem. They are:—

m. f.                           plur.
1. -us -is                      1. -es, is
2. -o -e                        2. -et
3. -o, -u -i                    3. -en

(a) In the pres. indic. these endings are added for the 1st sing.
    and plur. direct to the 1st sing. and plur. of the fut. For the
    remaining persons they appear to be similarly added to the
    corresponding persons of the fut., but an -n- is inserted between
    the fut. form and the ending. Thus:—

sing., m.                       plur.
1. z'am-um-us                   1. zam-'on-es
2. zam-'e:n-o                   2. zam-'a:n-et
3. zam-'en (-u)                 3. zam-'e:n-en

In the 2nd plur. the final -t of the fut. has disappeared, and in
the 1st and 3rd plur. the final -n. These losses may be due to
phonetic simplification.

(b) In the imperf. indic. the same procedure is followed, but
    instead of an -n- an -s- is inserted, preceded by a vowel where the
    fut. form ends in a consonant.

In the 3rd plur. the final -n of the ending is missing.

(c) In the past tenses of trans. verbs a preliminary element of
    -g- is added to a form identical with that of the p.p.c. This
    gives a base of the form of the

    simple base of the verb + 'e; or, 'i:

    e.g. zam 'e: + g-
From this *past base* are obtained:—

The *pret.* by adding endings approximating to the B endings, but not identical with them. The most definite difference is the substitution of *-a* for *-o* in the 2nd sing. m. Less definite, but still characteristic, is *-as* for *-us* in the 1st sing. m. The final *-n* of the 3rd plur. is also missing.

The *perf.* by adding vowel + *n* + B endings.

The *plup.* by adding vowel + *s* + B endings.

In both the last cases the final *-n* of the 3rd plur. is wanting. Thus:—

Root *zam-*, p. pc. *zam'e*; past base *zam'e:g-*.  
1st sing. m. pret. *zam'e:gas*  
1st sing. m. perf. *zam'e:ganos*, or, *zam'e:gunos*  
1st sing. m. plup. *zam'e:gasus*, or, *zam'e:gosus*

9. These latter forms suggest the following remarks:—

The B final endings are almost identical with the inflectional endings of the pres. and past tenses of the verb "to be," *hanos*, I am, and *asus*, or, *asulos*, I was.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>f.</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>h'an-us</em></td>
<td><em>h'an-is</em></td>
<td>1. <em>h'an-es</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>h'an-o</em></td>
<td><em>h'an-e</em></td>
<td>2. <em>h'an-et</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>h'an-u</em></td>
<td><em>h'an-i</em></td>
<td>3. <em>h'an-e</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>han</em></td>
<td><em>him</em></td>
<td><em>han</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>hun</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The *-n* appears to be part of the root as the infin. *han'omiki* is admitted.)

The conjugation of *asus* (and *asulos*) is similar.

It seems fair to assume that these are personal endings corresponding to the person of the subject. They certainly act as if they were.

It then further seems probable that the B endings preceded by *-n* represent the actual verb *hanos*, and those preceded by *-s* the actual verb *asus* (*asulos*, *asil-*). This is briefly stated as fact in the *L.S.I.*, vol. viii, pt. ii, p. 163.

I have already assumed that these endings are added to the forms of the future tense to form the pres. and imperf. As far as the future is concerned the forms of the 1st pers. sing. and plur.
make this highly probable, and the vowels preceding -s- in the 1st sing. and plur. and 3rd plur. of the imperf. are natural as representing the initial a- of asus, which disappears in the other persons where it is preceded by a vowel.

The discrepancies of the disappearance of an n in the 1st sing. and 1st and 3rd plur. of the pres., and the loss of the t in the 2nd plur. are phonetically not unnatural if it is assumed that the initial syllable of the hanus forms has been dropped. But this is perhaps unwarranted in view of the retention of the initial vowel of the asus forms. The alternative is to assume that in the 1st persons, for some reason, only the plain B endings are added, viz. -us, -is, and -es, and that in the 2nd plur. the ending is added to the 2nd plur. of the imperv. and not the future. This would explain the case of the 2nd plur. imperf., where there is no apparent phonetic reason for the dropping of the -t, zama:eset for zama:teset. There seems to be a tendency to confuse the fut. and imperv. forms. For instance, in the verb wai:ziki the form to be expected for the 2nd sing. fut., wa.e, wai.i, appears not to exist, and the imperv. form wa is used. There is also usually difficulty in getting anyone to give the fut. forms as distinguished from the imperv.

The absence of the final -n of the B ending in the 3rd plur. imperf. will be noted also in the past tenses, and is to be remarked in the verbs hanus and asus themselves.

10. Returning to the future tense, it is also used, as far as I can ascertain, as a pres. subj., and it is not improbable that it was originally used as a general, or indefinite, pres., like English "I do" as opposed to "I am doing". The use of the present as an unemphatic future is general in Mn. Persian and Pashtu.

If the above indentifications of the n and s are admitted, the forms of the pres. and imperf. of the Shina verb would represent:—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{I do (I am)} & \quad \text{thou doest (thou art)} \\
\text{I do (I was)} & \quad \text{thou doest (thou wast)}
\end{align*}
\]

11. Proceeding now to the past tenses, by which here and elsewhere I mean the pret., perf., and plup., but not the imperf., we find that the last two elements, that is, the -g- and the inflectional endings, resemble closely the corresponding tenses of the verb "to go", bojo:zki, which are as follows:—
The forms and nature of the transitive verb in Shina

Pret.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>m.</th>
<th>f.</th>
<th>plur. m. and f.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ga:s</td>
<td>gye:ɛ's</td>
<td>1. gye:ɛ's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ga:</td>
<td>gye</td>
<td>2. gye:ɛ't</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. go:u, gau:u</td>
<td>gye:Ɂ</td>
<td>3. gye:ɛ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Perf.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>m.</th>
<th>f.</th>
<th>m. and f.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. g'a:nus</td>
<td>gye:ɛ'nes</td>
<td>1. gye:ɛ'ones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. g'a:no</td>
<td>gye:ɛ'ne</td>
<td>2. gye:ɛ'net</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. g'ɔ:u'n</td>
<td>gɪn</td>
<td>3. gye:ɛ'n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plup.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>m.</th>
<th>f.</th>
<th>m. and f.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. g'a:sus</td>
<td>gye:ɛ'sis</td>
<td>1. gye:ɛ'ses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. g'a:so</td>
<td>gye:ɛ'se</td>
<td>2. gye:ɛ'set</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. go:s, go:u's</td>
<td>gis</td>
<td>3. gye:ɛ's</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The there is the usual uncertainty about the subordinate, i.e. the unstressed, vowels and the distinction between e and ɛ.)

The vowels in the trans. verb endings are indeed generally in a reduced form, and the -y glide commonly disappears, or is lightened, and has been omitted in the paradigm of zam'e:ki. Thus:

- zam'e:gas I went
- zam'e:ganus, or, gunus I have gone
- zam'e:gasus, or, -gusus I had gone
- zam'e:ges, or, -gis we went

This, however, is readily accounted for by the removal of the stress accent from the part of the verb “to go” to the preceding e: or i. Thus, zam'e:ganus as against g'a:nu. Moreover, even in forms corresponding to zam'e:gunus, where there is only one syllable preceding the -g-, one frequently hears an -a- or -a:- vowel due to the shifting forward of the stress accent, e.g.

- dig'a:sus // d'i:gasus, d'i:gasus I had given
- dig'a:sus // d'i:gasus, d'i:gasus I had given
- big'a:nu // b'i:ganus, b'i:gunus I have become

For identification a still stronger argument exists in the identity of the ending of the 2nd sing. masc. pret. of the trans. verb with that of the same part of the verb “to go”.

- zam'e:ga thou didst beat ga: thou wentest

I know of no other situation in which the normal B ending of the 2nd sing. masc. is replaced by -a.
Similarly, in the 1st sing. masc. pret. we have always -gas, never -gus.

In the case of ga: it seems probable that the root of the verb “to go” is ga- or ga-, and that the -a- absorbs or overpowers a following -o, or short -o, but combines with a following -u to form -o: or -o:u, while, followed by a palatal, it is variously palatalized.

Thus:—

Pret.

sing. 1.  ga + us → ga:s
2.  m.  ga + o → ga:
 f.  ga + e → gye
3.  m.  ga + u → go:u, gau:u
 f.  ga + i → gye:i

Perf.

sing. 3.  m.  ga + un (← -unu) → go:un
 f.  ga + in (← -ini) → gi:n

Plup.

sing. 3.  m.  ga + us (← -asu) → go:s, go:us

As -ini gives -in, or -in, so -asu probably originally gave -us, or -us, rather than -us.

However this may be, it will be acknowledged that the endings of the past tenses of trans. verbs differ from the true B endings, and are essentially identical with the full forms of the corresponding tenses of the verb “to go”.

12. For the use of the verb “to go” as an auxiliary verb, there are various examples in other Aryan languages.

In Hindostani in such compounds as:—

baith-janā to sit down
gir-janā to fall down
ho-janā to become

In Hindostani, Pashtu, and Persian, giving the force of the Passive:—

H. márā-jānā
Pa. wahale šwul
P. zada šōdan

šwul and šōdan are etymologically referable to the Avestan root šav-, to go, and they still appear in their original meanings in Pa. raša, come to me, and P. a:mad o śud, coming and going.

Both from internal evidence and from analogy it seems highly
probable that the past tenses of Shina trans. verbs are compounded of some part of the principal verb plus a past tense of the verb "to go".

13. I have already suggested that the part of the principal verb so employed is the past pc. active. The form of the p.pc. is the verbal root + ɛː, or iː, which invariably bears the stress accent. Now this is, in all cases, identical with the portion of the past tense of a trans. verb, which precedes the -g- plus inflected ending. Where -eː- occurs in the p.pc. it also appears in the past tenses, and where -iː- appears in the one it also appears in the other. A few exceptions have been noted in para. 4 (1) above. In all cases this vowel bears the stress accent. The similarity is exact and identity is probable.

Assuming then this identity as a fact and the theory of the use of the past tenses of the verb "to go" as correct, the content of the past tenses of trans. verbs may be represented as follows:—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{th'ɛː} & \quad \text{ganus} \\
\text{having done} & \quad \text{I have gone} \\
\text{paʃ'iː} & \quad \text{gas} \\
\text{having seen} & \quad \text{I went}
\end{align*}
\]

What I have called the past pc. is, however, also used, as the English pres. pc. is used in phrases such as: "saying this he got up." Again, if we admit the possibility of analogy in the use of the verb "to go" in Shina, Pashtu, and Persian, we can regard -gas, -ganus as having come to mean "I became", "I have become", etc.; for in Pashtu the verb šwol (except in composition) is used only in the sense of "to become", and the same is true of the Persian šudan, if a few survival phrases are excluded.

Jānā in composition in Hindustani is probably to be regarded as having the same force, while in English we say, "he went lame," "he went silent." Allowing force to these arguments we should then render

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{th'ɛː} & \quad \text{ganus} \\
\text{as} & \quad \text{I have become}
\end{align*}
\]

14. This concludes our examination of the Shina trans. verb, and the main results may be stated as follows:—

(1) There is a future tense (probably originally present in meaning) which has inflectional endings that agree in number and person with the subject.
(2) The pres. and imperf. tenses are formed from the inflected parts of the future by adding to them (broadly speaking) the pres. and past tenses of the verb "to be", also inflected to agree with the subject in number, person, and gender.

(3) The pret., perf., and plup. tenses are formed by adding the corresponding tenses of the verb "to go" to the past pc. active of the principal verb. The past pc. is invariable, but the parts of the verb "to go" are inflected to agree with the subject in number, person, and gender.

(4) There is a Passive Voice of which the final inflectional endings in the present and past tenses are the same as those found in the Active Voice, except in the case of the pret.

(5) With all parts of the Active Voice the subject or actor takes the -s suffix, as also does the agent when stated with the adjectival passive pc. (zamito).

15. We may now return to the -se, -s suffix, which is invariably found attached to the nominative form of the subject (as we understand it) of every trans. verb.

This -se, -s Sir George Grierson regards as an agential suffix, and the words carrying it he therefore regards as being, at least by origin, in the agent case and not in the nominative. This implies that all parts of a trans. verb are, in their nature, essentially passive. "I do this" would be literally "by me this is done", and so on. No probable origin for this suffix in any Indo-European language has, I believe, been suggested, but Sir George Grierson draws attention to an -s suffix in Tibetan similarly used with the subject of a trans. verb. "In Tibetan," he says, "the verb, which is apparently transitive, is really impersonal. 'I beat' is really 'beating is going on by me', and so on."

The question naturally follows, are the Tibetan and Shina -s by origin identical, and is the Shina trans. verb like the Tibetan impersonal, or is it passive?

About the Tibetan -s I can say nothing, as I know no Tibetan and have no means here of making good the deficiency, but to prove its identity with Shina -s more than similarity of function would of course have to be shown. Some probability of borrowing by the one language from the other would have to be made out, and a borrowing of so important and radical a construction with the particle accompanying it would be a very serious affair, quite different from the purloining of a mere word. One would expect
that the one language had at some time exercised an actual domination over the other. If a Tibetan-speaking people had been conquered and subjugated by a Shina-speaking people, in adopting the Shina language they might have imported into it their pet suffix and construction. A modern parallel instance may be pointed out in the Shina-speaking Gilgiti servant who has learnt Hindustani and says, "hamne karega."

I shall do it.

But as far as I am aware, any such close association in the past between the ancestors of the present Shina-speakers and Tibetans is unlikely. It seems more probable that the Shina-speakers' ancestors, so far as they were not "Shins", were Burushaski-speakers. This is, however, a matter, as far as I am concerned, of mere conjecture. If, however, Tibetan was able to impose its -s suffix on Shina, it would surely have presented it with other grammatical forms and constructions, or at least with some of its vocabulary. Can such traces of Tibetan influence be detected in Shina? This question I cannot answer myself, but an affirmative answer would surprise me.

Granted that the -s suffix does denote an oblique case, the agential, is it impossible that it corresponds to the ablative suffix of Hind., -se, or the Skt. genitive suffix, -sya?

16. Reverting again to the verb, it may be remarked that the modern Shina-speaker has certainly no feeling that his trans. verb is either impersonal or passive; mas ro zame:gas, "I struck him," is just as straightforward to him as the English words are to us. The verb in all its variable parts agrees with the subject, i.e. the actor, and the object (when expressed) is to all appearance in the accusative case, which in Shina is not differentiated from the nominative.

17. In the other languages possessing a passive construction of the trans. verb, such as Hindustani and Pashtu, the use of that construction is limited to the past tenses, and it is more or less obviously felt to be definitely passive.

(a) Thus in Pashtu the actor is put in an oblique case, the form which it assumes when accompanied by a pre- or post-position, while the object of the action is in the nominative and the verb agrees with it in number, person, and gender.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>ma</th>
<th>kshadza</th>
<th>wahale</th>
<th>da</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(by) me</td>
<td>the woman</td>
<td>beaten</td>
<td>is (3rd sing. fem.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Similarly in Hind.

maíne 'aurat mári hai
by me a woman beaten (sing. fem.) is

the meaning in both cases being, "I have beaten the (a) woman."

(b) In the Gabri dialect of Modern Persian, where an apparently similar construction is found with trans. verbs, the verb is uninflected, the actor is in the nominative form, but is accompanied by a special pronominal supplement of the same number and person, which has presumably agential force, and the object is in its simple form, which is presumably the nominative. The nominative subject may be omitted, leaving only the pronominal supplement. Occasionally the object is accompanied by the accus. suffix (ra:) as in ordinary Persian, which seems to show a weakening in the appreciation of the passive nature of the construction. The case seems to be nearly analogous to that of Hind. when the accus. suffix -ko is added to the object and the verb remains invariable in the masc. sing. form.

(c) In ordinary Mn. Pers. the construction with past tenses of trans. verbs is active: subject in nominative, verb agreeing with subject, object in accus., but it seems to have originated in a passive construction represented by Old Pers. ima tya maná kartam, this (is) that of me the thing done (sing. neut.), i.e. this is what I did.

Mn. Pers. man u: ka:r ra: kardam
I that business (acc. suff.) I did

It is a coincidence that the Mn. Pers. nom. man has developed out of the O. Pers. gen. maná.

If the Shina construction is in origin passive, it would find a close parallel in Mn. Pers.

18. So far we have been considering languages which are of the same family (Aryan) as Shina, but which are not associated with it geographically, and are not likely to have had any direct influence on it in historical times. A search for analogies among the less known tongues with which Shina has probably for long been in actual contact might be entered on with greater hopes.

The immediate linguistic neighbours of Shina are: on the west, Khowâr (Chitrâli); on the north, Burushâská, and in a lesser degree Wâkhi; on the east, Kashmiri; and on the south, the Pashtu of Sat.
Pashtu we have already considered, and all that it is necessary to add here is that it has provided a considerable element in the vocabulary of the Chilas dialect of Shina, but not in that of its other dialects.

19. Khowār, an independent item in the same linguistic group as Shina, differs from it considerably in its treatment of trans. verbs.

The subject, or actor, is always in the nominative and there is no suffix corresponding to the Shina -se; the object is in the accus.; and the past tenses of trans. verbs appear to be formed by attaching various parts of the verb "to be" to the past pc. of the principal verb, e.g.,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{po:šik} & \quad \text{to see} \\
\text{asum} & \quad \text{I am} \\
\text{po:ši} & \quad \text{having been} \\
\text{asistam, asitam} & \quad \text{I was} \\
\text{po:šitam, po:šitam, po:šam} & \quad \text{I saw} \\
\text{po:ši asum} & \quad \text{I have seen} \\
\text{po:ši asistam (asitam)} & \quad \text{I had seen} \\
\text{awa} & \quad \text{horo} \\
\text{po:ši} & \quad \text{asum} \\
\text{I} & \quad \text{him} \\
\text{having seen} & \quad \text{am} = \text{I have seen him} \\
\text{hes} & \quad \text{ma} \\
\text{po:ši} & \quad \text{asur} \\
\text{he} & \quad \text{me} \\
\text{having seen} & \quad \text{is} = \text{he has seen me}
\end{align*}
\]

20. Wakhi. Direct contact between Shina and Wakhi, a Ghalcha language, scarcely exists at present, and has probably been even less in the past. Wakhi immigration into Upper Hunza (the Chapursan Valley and Gujāl) and Upper Ishkoman is of recent date, I believe, and only in the latter case are Shina and Wakhi speakers living in contiguity. Burushaski and Warchikwār (Burushaski of Yasin) speakers have sat astride the main routes to Wakhān through Hunza and Yasin probably since before the advent of the Shins or of the Shina language into Gilgit.

Wakhi, whether or not it has had any influence on Shina, possesses a construction with the past tenses of trans. verbs which though not passive suggests that it may possibly once have been so. The verb has a constant form for the pret., perf., and plup. respectively; the actor-subject is in the nominative form of the noun or pron.; the object is in the accus.; and there are floating pronominal particles which vary with the person of the subject. These particles may be suffixed either to the verb or the subject, or may be interjected elsewhere in the sentence. The case may be
akin to that of Gabri Persian when the latter puts the object in the accus., but the personal particles have greater freedom of position and they are used not only with trans. but also with intrans. verbs. They, or forms very like them, appear also to act as parts of the verb "to be". Shaw seems correct in saying that the Wakhi trans. verb "cannot be considered an impersonal verb with an instrumental case as in Hind. past tenses" , and the evidence is against an agental origin of these particles.

The above remarks are based on R. B. Shaw's article "On the Ghalchah Languages" (JASB., vol. xlv, pt. i, No. 2, 1876), supported by my own personal observation.

The phenomena described appear to be common to other Ghulcha languages.

21. Kashmiri is, like Shina, a Dard language. At the present day it has little or no influence on the Gilgit dialect of Shina. It has the passive construction with the past tenses of trans. verbs following the same rules as Hindustani. (See Linguistic Survey of India, vol. viii, pt. ii, p. 290.)

22. Of the languages which we proposed to examine we have now only Burushaski left to deal with. This language is not Indo-European, and its affinities are still a matter of uncertainty.

It is generally assumed to be the original language of the Gilgit area, or at least more original than any other language now existing there. This hypothesis would seem to be supported by its geographical situation in the remoter and less accessible parts of the Agency—the side valleys of Hunza and Yasin. It may be supposed that the speakers of the language have at some time been pushed out of the lower regions by Shina-speaking invaders, or else that their language has been silenced and superseded there by Shina.

The vocabularies of the two languages share a good many words which are not apparently of Sanskritic origin, and are probably true Burushaski. In morphology, Burushaski stands quite by itself, but in manner of speech it shares some general features with the Dard languages, Shina and Khowâr—for instance, the repetition of a final verb in the form of a participle at the commencement of the following sentence, and the use of the p.p.c. of the verb "to say" at the end of the record of a speech or thought, with the effect of closing marks of quotation.

It is remarkable that in the matter of trans. verbs Burushaski
bears a considerable resemblance to Shina. The subject appears in an extended form, but the verb agrees with it, and the object is in an uninflected form which may be either the nominative or accusative, but is presumably the latter.

It is to be noted, however, that Burushaski has not the -s suffix of Shina, and that the extended form of the subject appears in general only when the verb is in a past tense. As in Shina the impf. is associated with the present and not with the past tenses, and the simple form of the subject is employed with it. At least one verb, however, generally takes the subject in the extended form in all cases. This is henas, to know. I suspect that the use of the extended form is optional in all cases.

In Burushaski the extension of the subject takes the form of a suffixed -ə, or ə. This gives the form of the general oblique, or formative case, i.e. the form of the genitive and that to which case or postpositional suffixes are added.

In the case of the 1st personal pronoun sing. the form is ja, which is also the genitive or formative, the nom. and accus. being je. It will be recalled that in Pashtu the case in which the actor appears with the past tenses of trans. verbs is also the formative. In Shina the suspected agential forms are composed of the nominative plus the -s suffix.

As in Shina so in Burushaski there is nothing in the behaviour of the past (or present) tenses of trans. verbs to suggest that they have a passive meaning.

23. Returning now to Shina it may be remarked that, if the analysis of the past tenses of trans. verbs is accepted, it does not render it impossible that these tenses are essentially passive and the subject in the agential case. What for convenience I have called the p.p.c. active might really be passive, and the appended part of the verb "to go" would still, according to Shina practice, agree with the actor in number and person, and where admissible, in gender. If these p.p.c.'s were passive they would be verbal and impersonal, and not adjetival like the zamitto forms.

Where these apparently active p.p.c.'s are used independently, followed by an intrans. verb, the subject is given in the extended form preceding the pc., and the intrans. verb follows agreeing with it. Thus:

\[ \text{məs ađə tʰə: ɡə:s} \quad \text{I thus saying went away} \\
\text{rə:s ađə tʰə: bəto} \quad \text{he thus saying sat down} \]
res ade the: nikhati she thus saying came out
(thoki means to "say" as well as to "do").

On these lines it would not be impossible to regard mas
zame:gas as signifying: by me striking-having-been-done I
became, i.e. I struck. But in this case how does the object stand?
mas ro zame:gas. zame: would have to be regarded as personal:
"he having been beaten by me I became," which, to say the least,
is a complicated form of expression for "I beat him".

The remaining tenses, viz. the present and imperfect, and
probably also the imperative and optative, go back to the future,
and the future, in the absence of any argument to the contrary,
must be regarded as a simple tense formed of the root of the verb
plus pronominal suffixes, these suffixes agreeing in number and
person with the subject, i.e. the actor. There are no grounds for
suspecting in it the presence of a passive participle.

24. Two more characteristics of Shina demand notice before
we proceed to sum up the case of the nature of the Shina
trans. verb.

The first of these is that there is no distinctive form for the
accusative in Shina of either nouns or pronouns. The form,
therefore, of the direct object of a trans. verb is the same as the
nominative; this makes possible the supposition that there is, or
originally was, no accusative case. Burushaski is in the same
position. In the other languages to which we have referred there
are distinct forms for the accusative at least of some of the
pronouns. These forms are used for the object of a trans. verb
when the construction is active; the nominative is used when the
construction is passive. The total absence of special accusative
forms in Shina and Burushaski favours the possibility of there
having originally been no such thing as the object of a trans. verb
and therefore no such thing as an act. trans. verb in these
languages.

25. The second point deserving note is the use of the 3rd pers.
forms of the pret. tense of verbs as quasi adjectives. This is
common in the case of intrans. verbs, where it may have arisen
from the idiom which acts as a substitute for the relative
pronoun.

bala wato manu:jo ne.i watun
the yesterday-come man has come again.
bala wato o: manu:jo ne.i watun
yesterday he came, that man has come again.

Very probably the two idioms are identical. The same use occurs with trans. verbs.

aṣpo wale:gu manu:jo go:n
horse he brought man has gone

i.e. the man who brought the horse has gone.

In this example the use is on all fours with that in the preceding examples of intrans. verbs. The man remains the subject of the verb, which has transitive force.

But there is a totally different idiom in which the same part of the verb is used to all intents and purposes as a passive participle.

The following was taken down to dictation in the ordinary course of narrative:

ruyes ko manu:jo hari:gye to “ha ha” tho:je hari:go o: manu:je.i
no:m de: “bes hari:gyes” the: harenan
When witches carry (lit. carried) off a man, crying “ha ha” and mentioning the name of the carried-off man, and saying “we have carried him off”, they bear him away.

Here hari:go is clearly a pass.p.c. agreeing with manu:jo, understood. ruyes does not stand to it in the relation either of subject or agent.

I have since obtained other examples of this usage, but it is rare in my experience, the p.p.c. passive being used, or the finite verb:

hari:to manu:jo fatu mu:o
the carried-off man subsequently died.

ris hari:gye o: manu:jo fatu mu:o
they carried (him) off, that man subsequently died.

I do not think this hari:go could be used with a pronoun of the 1st or 2nd person.

The hari:go forms are inflected for gender and number:

mare:ge manu:je
slain men

chini:ge po:ne = chidi po:ne
broken roads

26. Taking into consideration all the facts and appearances which we have been examining, it appears to me that our conclusions must remain indefinite.
(1) The trans. verb active at the present day contains and conveys no sense of the passive.

(2) The past tenses (pret., perf., and plup.) of trans. verbs act. may originally have been passive. The analogy of other Aryan languages, and, in particular, of other languages of the Dard group, makes this probable; and this would supply a raison d'être for the -s suffix.

In the same sense the lack of a form for the accusative case and the occasional use of the forms of the 3rd pers. pret. act. as an adjectival passive participle may be of significance.

(3) There is no analogy that I know of for the future and present tenses being passive. It could only be assumed that, when the consciousness of the passive in the past tenses had been lost, the use of the still surviving -s suffix having become associated with the trans. verb, was illogically extended to the subjects of all parts of trans. verbs. The parallel case of Gilgit–Hindustani, hamne karega, I shall do, has already been quoted.

(4) The fact that with the adjectival pass. pc. (zami:to) the agent, when expressed, is given the -s suffix, would prove the agential nature of the -s suffix, if illogical analogy, which we have postulated to account for its use with the future and other tenses, could be ruled out. But we cannot have it both ways.

Example—

mas zami:to manu:jo the man beaten by me

(5) The -s suffix itself remains unexplained, unless grounds for identifying it with the Tibetan -s can be adduced, or, which seems less unlikely, it can be referred to the Skr. gen. ending -sya.

For the development of an agential meaning in the genitive we have noted the case of Old Pers. manā, which again, as it happens, has provided the nom. man = I, in standard Mn. Pers.

The forms in -se could not, however, have been derived directly from forms in -sya (or the equivalent), as -se appears to be added to the Shina nom. form, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom.</th>
<th>-s Form.</th>
<th>Gen.</th>
<th>Formative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>manu:jo</td>
<td>manu:ju:s</td>
<td>manu:je:i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>manu:jæ</td>
<td>manu:jes</td>
<td>manu:jo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg. m.</td>
<td>ro</td>
<td>ro:s</td>
<td>re:se:i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>re</td>
<td>re:s</td>
<td>re:se:i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>ri</td>
<td>ris</td>
<td>rine:i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The attachment to the nominative favours a comparatively late introduction of the suffix, and this in turn favours, rather than otherwise, its somewhat unintelligent introduction from a foreign source.

GILGIT.
28th December, 1925.

Postscript.—Since writing the above I have received a further communication from Sir George Grierson regarding matters dealt with in this article, from which I gather the following:—

1. He agrees with the identification of hanus and asus in the present and perfect and in the impf. and plup. respectively, as already stated in para. 9 above.

2. These verbs, owing to their capacity for inflection for gender, he considers must be participial in origin.

3. He does not favour the verb "to go" theory for the past tenses, considering it more probable that the -g- is derived from an original -ka suffix, and that the form is a past pc. "The -g past pc. is common in Dardic." The form zame:go would, therefore, be by origin a past pc. (passive ?), and the terminations, I presume, my "B endings" for the pret., and the hanus and asus endings for the perf. and plup. The analogy of other Dard languages must be of great weight, and the use of the zame:go forms as a past pc. passive is a strong argument, unless these forms are really distinct from the 3rd persons of the pret.; but an explanation is still required of the -ga of the 2nd sg. masc. pret., and the other similarities to the verb "to go".

4. Sir George also suggests as probable that the suffix -se is in origin the same as Skr -sya, "which as in Tirahi has become a general oblique case, and then has become allotted to the Transitive Nominative (my term for the forms with the -s suffix—D. L.) under Tibetan (or ? Burushaski) influence."

The point now occurs to me that in the Shina pronouns the gen. sg. ending is -se, se:i, se:i, etc., which may be a survival of the -sya in its original function.

ko who? gen. ke:se, etc. cf. Skr. kas, gen. kasya
0 that gen. ese cf. ? Skr. asya
ro that gen. re:se
anu this gen. anase

The -se would thus occur in two strata, one older and one younger, represented by the gen. ke:se and the agential ko:se, ko:s.
If Sir George would allow himself to be sufficiently provoked by my fallacies or ignorance to give the interested public an authoritative statement of his views based on his unrivalled knowledge and experience, or if any philological expert would take up the challenge, this article would have served a very useful purpose.

Gilgit.
4th February, 1924.

Postscript No. 2.—1. The kind interest of friends threatens to make it impossible to bring this unhappy article to a final conclusion. Since it went to the press I have had some correspondence with Dr. Grahame Bailey on the phonetic aspects of Shina, and I must crave indulgence for a second postscript.

2. I have first to say that at Dr. Grahame Bailey’s request I have paid special attention to the differentiation of cerebrals and non-cerebrals, and aspirates and non-aspirates, and the forms now given in this article represent my final, or at least latest, information and views regarding the various words contained in it.

3. I have already added a note above drawing attention to my misuse of the symbol : to represent “long” instead of “very long”. Further, in many cases where I have thus marked a vowel as “long”, the longness is little more than the inevitable (?) lengthening produced by the incidence of the stress accent; it would have been sufficient to mark the stress accent and omit any “long” mark. All stressed syllables are, I think, more or less lengthened, whether marked so or not.

Stress and length are also, I think, liable to be affected by extraneous circumstances.

This explanation may be taken to absolve me from asking the unfortunate printers to alter all the length marks.

4. Dr. Grahame Bailey pointed to inconsistencies in the phonetic representations of some words; most of his criticisms I had already anticipated by alterations of my own.

Two points remain to be noticed, my use of

\[
\text{ai}\text{i and au}\text{u}
\]

e.g. in \(\text{bai}i\) and \(\text{gau}\text{u}\).

These are meant to represent vowel sounds equivalent to the English

by +ee and dhow +oo (the last syllables being short)
as I should pronounce them. How they should be correctly represented
in I.P.A. symbols, frankly, I do not know. I accordingly let them stand with this ambiguous explanation—for what it is worth.

Perhaps bæi would be the nearest thing to what I mean by bai.i.

5. As regards the few Urdu words quoted, I gather that Dr. Grahame Bailey would render them:

bæthjana and
mañe orat mari fæ

My version was written without regard to phonetics, as Urdu is commonly written in India.

Rama, Astor.
28th August, 1924.

It is to be noted that in this article sounds in the production of which the tip of the tongue is drawn back, even slightly, behind the teeth-ridge are reckoned cerebrals. This is in accordance with the definition which I believe has been adopted by Dr. Grahame Bailey and the modern school of Phoneticians, and includes what elsewhere I have divided into two categories, viz:

Cerebrals and
Post-Alveolars.
CRITICAL REMARKS ON INTONATION RESEARCH

By O. Gjerdan

THERE is scarcely anything in language so meagrely dealt with by scholars as musical accent. That is particularly the case with such languages as have no so-called etymological tones; but musical accent in "tone languages" has also been most inadequately examined. The reason for this is of course that the student considers himself incapable of clearing up this side of the language he is examining. That it is, however, possible to penetrate very deep into the tone systems of a language without having a sharp ear for music (in the usual sense of the words) is shown in K. E. Laman's The Musical Accent or Intonation in the Kongo Language.¹ This work is undoubtedly a most important attempt to disentangle the musical accents of a tone language, and deserves to be studied by all those who have an interest in such things, not only by Africanists. I do not propose here to give a regular review of it, but as I suppose most readers of this Bulletin do not know Laman's book, I will give a short summary of its contents.

After a preface and some introductory remarks, the author first briefly describes dynamic accent, quantity, and the pronunciation of vowels and consonants, in the Kongo language. Then (pp. 7–13) he enters upon his discussion of musical accent; speaks of intervals, intonation, tone of voice (key) and gradations of pitch; and gives a "graphic scheme of the pitch", phonetic symbols for it, and rules for their use. On pp. 13–16 he illustrates some important word accents, marking the stress, the quantity, and the pitch of the syllables by strokes of different thickness and length at different heights. Pages 17–29 are occupied by a musical notation for the stress, length, and intonation of words and word-formations in the Kongo dialect Kingoyi. Pages 31–3 deal with syllabic pitch, word-pitch, ground-pitch, influenced pitch, falling pitch, rising pitch, and two sorts of pitch that he calls acute and grave; pp. 34–8, with stress and pitch; pp. 39–41, with quantity and pitch; pp. 41–3, with the pitch and the quality of the sounds. On p. 45 begins a treatment of the character and rules of pitch in isolated stems and derivatives; high pitch, low>high, semi-

¹ K. E. Laman, The Musical Accent or Intonation in the Kongo Language, Stockholm, 1923.
high, acute and semi-acute, semi-high, semi-low or low, semi-high, semi-low, grave and semi-grave, high or semi-high, semi-low, low, high, semi-high, low, very low pitch. Pages 87-104 give an account of the character of and the rules for pitch in genitives and adjectives, in prepositions, in tense and mood, in pronouns, in questions; pages 109-22, of pitch in verb- and noun-formation. The book ends with eight tables of notes, representing, most of them, musical word-acents in different Kongo languages and dialects, one the tones used by two women quarrelling about some pigs, one a little song, and one the tones employed by a person mocking birds, etc.

The reviews I have seen of Laman’s work show that others have found, as I have, that it is a very important book. To expatriate on its merits is unnecessary. They are evident. Of course, it also has its deficiencies. With material so difficult to manage, that is almost as it should be. In the following pages I shall dwell upon some deficiencies that other readers of the book cannot discover, for reasons mentioned below. But I shall also touch upon some others.

One is that the author has not given us any examples of the intonation of small every-day phrases and similar speech, proverbs for instance, and a comparison between the intonation of the words in these phrases and that of the same words in an isolated position. The little song and the mocking of the birds are interesting, but it would have been more valuable in a book like this to have had simple sentences instead. Certainly there is one example of connected speech, the quarrel between the two negro women, but it was too animated to turn out quite well from a phonetic point of view.

That he has no accurate ear for music, Laman confesses (p. 1). Conscious of that imperfection, he has made himself, and caused to be made by others, phonograph records of the musical accents in many of the Kongo languages and dialects he has examined. The intonation of the recorded words has been determined by ear and transcribed in musical notation by Dr. Heinitz at the phonetical laboratory at Hamburg. These transcriptions, indicating the intonation, quantity and main stress of the words, Laman has printed in his book. It is, however, not on these phonograph records and Heinitz’ transcription of them that he has based his rules for the different accents. The present writer, at whose disposal the phonograph records have been placed, can attest that these rules, and consequently also the results of the author’s researches, must have been arrived at in outline before the records were taken. The grouping of the words on
the cylinders, among other things, proves that. Dr. Heinitz’ transcriptions have been of great use to Laman in so far as they have given him information of the exact tones that—according to Heinitz—were used by those who spoke the words into the apparatus, which, of course, has made it easier for Laman to write his book, giving him, as it were, a handy alphabet. But, in my opinion, the author has not only benefited by these transcriptions; it seems to me that he has paid too much regard to them. They have so to speak spirited him into the mountain, and he has not always found his way out again.

One and the same word is in general recorded on the cylinders only once; a few words, however, are met with a little oftener, in different surroundings: paka = to cut up, baka = to catch, kanga = to roast, kanga = to bind. These words Heinitz transcribes as follows: 1

pākā (D–D), pāka (D–D), pāka (C sharp>D–D), \( ? \) pāka (B>C sharp–C), pāka (E sharp–C), pāka (D–D);

bāka (D–B), bāka (D–B flat), bāka (E–C);

kānga = to roast (D>E–C), kōnga (C sharp>D–B), kānga (E>F sharp–C sharp);

kāngā = to bind (D–E), kānga (C–D), kānga (C–D), kānga (C sharp>D–E).

The accentuation of each word is, as we see, somewhat different almost every time. The reason for this may be that Heinitz has understood the same impression differently in different surroundings, or that the speaker has not always used the correct pronunciation, or that the different intonations represent pronunciations that were all familiar to him and equally correct. In the tables of notes Laman has only printed the following, given by Heinitz:

bāka (E–C).

kānga = to roast (D>E–C).

pākā (D–D) or pāka (C sharp>D–D).

kāngā = to bind (C–D) and kāngā (D–E) or kānga (C sharp>D–E).

Why has he left out the rest? Has Heinitz made mistakes, or the speaker? On one cylinder baka is followed by bakulu, wabaku; but Laman does not print the form bāka (D–B flat) that Heinitz gives here. Almost the same intonation, bāka (D–B), is given in another place by Heinitz. But Laman prints bāka (E–C). Why? It looks as though he had decided for bāka (E–C), because baka with this intonation

1 Instead of his musical notes I have made use of the corresponding letters, and write, for instance: pāki (C sharp>D–D), which means that the first a is long, that the second syllable has the strongest stress, that the pitch rises from C sharp to D in the first syllable, and that the second is pronounced on D.
occurs once among some ten other verbs which were intoned in the same way. If this is his reason, the objection can be made that, as these words evidently belong to the same type of intonation, they will very easily be intoned without variation, in precisely the same way, when, as here, they are spoken or sung in a line one after the other.

From a pedagogical point of view, it was perhaps convenient to leave out the other varieties given by Heinitz, but scientifically it would have been of great interest to have these examples and many more of the same word in different surroundings, and a discussion of the different intonations they would probably have indicated, in order to get a view of their sphere of latitude. As most words are recorded only once, and the groups of words are very often spoken not truly in isolation, but rhythmically, it also seems to me as though the author would have done better if he had employed Heinitz' transcriptions mainly as illustrative material; for I am sure he did not intend, when he began his work, to give a description only of the intonation used at the moment when the words were recorded.

In the preface the author tells us that out in the Kongo he made use of special terms, such as "nzambi-pitch", "nkanda-pitch", etc., as a key to words with the same intonation. I think he would have done well to describe the accent of these key-words closely from as many phonetic points of view as possible, just as he heard them with his inaccurate ear for music. I am convinced that he would have given us much very valuable information that we have now failed to get, to a great extent, I suppose, because he has forgotten that musical accent was not invented by, or intended only for, persons who have an absolute ear for music, but without doubt mainly for men much poorer and more fallible in that respect than himself. That being the case, I think that statements by such persons on this subject may be of even greater importance than statements in musical notation, however good that may look.

On p. x Laman says: "In studying the pitch and comparing the musical notation we must remember that the musical system is not intended for singing the words but to give a good notion of the musical accent and its pronunciation." But the words whose notation is given on pp. 17–29 (not the others in the book) were spoken into the phonograph not with a speaking but with a singing voice, so far as I, and other persons whom I have asked to listen to the records, could hear. It may therefore be questioned if this material, to which Laman pays particular regard, is as valuable for an analysis of the musical
accents in a spoken language as the other material. I for my part do not think that this fact has seriously affected Laman's results as far as pure pitch is concerned, but of course he ought to have mentioned this circumstance. Probably he did not notice it himself, just as we commonly do not notice that we very often use a speaking voice instead of a singing voice when we have lost the thread of a song and repeat it from the beginning in order to pick it up. To make clear what I mean by singing with a speaking voice, I may add that many children (whether it is only those with an inaccurate ear for music I do not know) have a great inclination to sing with a speaking voice. The pitches of the syllables may be quite right, but it does not follow that the performance is real singing. The organs of speech—those which are above the vocal chords, and no doubt the vocal chords too—work differently in the two cases, so that the acoustical result, the tone-complex of a vowel for instance, gives the effect of something somehow unharmonious in speaking and in singing with a speaking voice, and of something harmonious in singing. It also seems obvious to me that the way in which the organs work in speaking favours the tones that intensify the vowel character, whereas in singing tones are favoured which make the tone-complex as a whole more sonorous, but diminish the vowel characteristics. That the use of a singing voice alters the phonemes used in ordinary speech is certain, but to what extent it may have affected the Kingoyo musical accents mentioned it is of course impossible to say, as we have not the same words pronounced with a speaking voice. If, however, we presume that the musical accent is more than the purely musical element—pitch—then it can hardly have escaped being affected in these words as they are now pronounced.

Laman talks much about an accent that he calls "acute" and another which he names "grave". As the Swedish and Norwegian languages distinguish between two accents with the same name, for instance in the words ånden—the wild duck (acute) and ånden—the ghost (grave), or buren—the cage and buren—carried (participle), I have, as a Swede, been particularly interested in the acute and grave Kongo accents. On p. 32 ff. the author says of them: "They have a special character both as to their pronunciation and their influence upon the pitch-rules, and have therefore been given special signs so as to be more easily recognized" [á=acute, á=grave]. What then is the phonetic difference between them? Laman (l.c.) writes: "The acute pitch in primitive words is a high root-pitch with a rising
character both as to its tone and its stress." Heinitz describes some of the acute accents as rising, e.g. Nzambi = God. Many others, however, are given by him without a rising tone, and of them Laman himself says (p. 63) that they have "level root-pitch". Since it must be added to this that in inflexion the acute may appear with a falling root-pitch, e.g. wa Nzambi = of the God, it is difficult to see what are the tone characteristics of the acute. That the tone begins high cannot be the deciding factor, for that characterizes other "tones" also in the Kongo languages, among others the grave according to Laman.

What then of the stress? On pp. 13 ff. the author has tried, as I have already mentioned, to illustrate the pitch, stress and quantity of some important "accents" by strokes of different thickness and length at different heights. Among the examples are words with the acute accent. But I cannot see any difference in stress between them and words without the acute illustrated there.

It is no easier to find what characterizes the Kongo grave phonetically. And here a very remarkable thing must be mentioned. On p. 149 Laman says that the first ten of the Bembe words transcribed on pp. 146 ff. have the grave accent. Of these—to my ear—ntsanda, nganga, and ndangi have my Swedish acute; Nzambi, ngambu, bembe, ngundu, nkumbi, my Swedish grave. It is the same with the corresponding Yaka words transcribed on pp. 150 ff. Here also ntsanda, nganga, and ndangu have to my ear my Swedish acute and Nzambi, ngamba, bembe, ngunda, kumbi my Swedish grave. The tenth word I must, for a special reason, pass over: unfortunately the Bembe and Yaka records were partly so indistinct when I got them that I could not decide the accentuation of all the words recorded. But, judging from those audible, my Swedish grave is a very common accent in Yaka as well as in Bembe, and very similarly used in both dialects. Very similarly, but, as it seems, not quite in the same way, for a few words have in that respect different accents in Bembe and in Yaka. This difference can be explained in two ways: either Yaka has the Swedish grave accent as well as Bembe, but differs from it now and then in the use of it; or the Swedish grave occurs in Bembe as well as in Yaka, but without being a sine qua non for either of them, i.e. the words quoted above, for instance, can be pronounced so that a Swede hears his Swedish grave, but also so that he does not get this impression, without the one pronunciation being less good Bembe or Yaka than the other. As I have had many opportunities of hearing, the Swedish grave occurs accidentally in many languages in which it is
not a regular accent, both in continuous speech and in isolated pronunciation of words; for instance, when the speaker wants to give prominence to the endings. Having never met a Bembe or a Yaka man, I cannot of course say if the Swedish grave accents that I have heard on Laman's Bembe and Yaka records—but not his other records—are accidental or not, particularly as each of the words occurs only once in the records; but the comparatively great frequency of this accent in the Bembe and Yaka records—in at least more than a fourth of the 75 words recorded—and its occurrence for the most part in the same words in the two dialects, makes it probable that it is not accidental. If so, I think that a thorough comparison between the words with the "Swedish" grave in Bembe and Yaka, and the corresponding words in other Kongo dialects, Kingoyi, for instance, might rather easily clear up the origin of the grave, and even perhaps throw some light upon the origin of the Swedish and Norwegian grave accents. There are signs that seem to me to point to that.

On p. 144 Laman comes back to the acute and grave accents once more. There he writes: "acute with a rise (or tendency to be raised) in pitch and stress, passing through a great interval in the intonation, and grave with a fall (or tendency to be lowered) in pitch and stress, passing through a small interval." From the words I have italicized here it seems as though the author, having got so far, found the definition of the acute and grave he had given on p. 32 insufficient. But he has given us no further particulars of what he means by these expressions "tendency to be raised" and "tendency to be lowered". That is to be regretted, for is a mere "tendency" a sufficient distinguishing mark? When once in conversation with Laman I maintained that his descriptions and Heinitz' notations give a rather chameleon-like picture of the acute and the grave, he protested that in spite of all the variations of the acute, he always gets from it an auditory impression and a feeling such as he gets from no other Kongo accent. And I believe him. My Swedish grave may vary in many ways, as my sensations, my ear and my own instrumental researches have taught me. But for all that I am sure that there is something in all these varieties of the grave that holds them together and distinguishes them from the acute accents. I am also convinced that Noreen is in the right when he says in his modern Swedish grammar, Vårt Språk, ii, p. 204, that the difference between the sorts of Swedish grave and acute here alluded to mainly depends on a difference in the stress, though not on the degree of stress but on the way in which the stress is distributed.
within the syllables. Through listening to Laman's records I am now convinced that the impression I get from the Kongo acute also depends most on the intensity.

His general opinion of the so-called musical accent the author gives us on p. xi, when he says: "There is surely a considerable musical element in the musical accent, since it can be rendered so exceedingly well by notes. But there are also other factors, because the same pitch of tone is not always of the same character and pronunciation." A reference to § 26 shows that he was thinking chiefly of the acute accent when he wrote this. But it seems to me very regrettable that he has not entered more fully into the matter. For instance, what is the difference between the Kongo grave and the Swedish grave in cases where the former sounds like the Swedish acute? It seems somewhat unfortunate that Laman has used the two terms with an unusual meaning. Probably he felt himself incapable of analysing these factors, and therefore found it better to confine himself to the musical side. Everything, however, seems to go to show that the purely musical element is not even the most important factor in any musical accent. The reason why the musical accent is in general only treated from the musical point of view is, I suppose, the fact that whispered speech, in which the musical element in the proper sense of the word disappears, is looked upon as abnormal speech. I think it would be very useful for the solving of the mysteries of the musical accent if those who devote themselves to the investigation of these accents would lay to heart the fact that a whispered language has as many distinct musical accents as the same language when voiced. A Chinese whom I once asked if the Chinese have any difficulties in understanding one another when they are whispering, looked at me with a smile full of pity, and answered: "No." Certainly he had never thought that a man could be stupid enough to ask such a question. The term musical accent and the possibility of examining the pitch experimentally, whereas it is impossible or difficult to examine the intensity and the timbre in the same way, must not induce us totally to neglect everything else for the pitch.

How has Laman decided if a tone used by those who have spoken into the phonograph is high, semi-high, semi-low or low, the four "tone-positions" he speaks of? So far as I can see, he has collected all the tones which, according to Heinitz, have been used by the speaker, and then arranged them in the four groups according to their pitch. That seems certainly rather arbitrary and vague. A small
step only, and a high tone becomes middle, a middle tone low. But is it possible to classify them in any other way? Are not the tone-positions high, semi-high, etc., something very relative? Men and women who speak a tone language speak both in high, middle, and low tones, but their high tones are not at all the same, nor are their middle and low tones. The woman's low tone may be the man's high tone, one man's high tone may be another man's middle tone, and so on. Consequently it is generally said in works dealing with tone languages, that one must listen to a stranger a little while before it is possible to settle his tone-positions and so easily follow his speech. Is this true? So far as I know, there are no proofs given that, for instance, a Chinaman hearing another Chinaman speak for the first time has any difficulty in understanding him at once, provided that they speak the same dialect. A difficulty of the kind supposed to exist must, of course, be diminished by the fact that commonly syllables of different pitch and tone-glise follow one another; but such a language must be said to be too imperfect to be plausible.

When producing a high tone men and women do not articulate (with their vocal chords for instance) in the same way as when they produce a middle or a low tone, and a man and a woman articulate their high, middle, and low tones principally in the same way. Listening to a man and a woman singing the same tone, we hear that it is the same tone, but we can also hear that it is a high tone for him and a low tone for her. There are several differences. The high tones, for instance, sound (more or less) smooth, the low tones (more or less) rough. Between them we have tones that sound intermediate. The conformity in articulation and acoustic effect between men's and women's high, middle, and low tones does not vanish when the vibrations of the vocal chords vanish, when voice is changed to whisper. It would be of considerable value if those who have good opportunities to examine people speaking tone languages would try to find out if the factors just discussed do not play a most important rôle in their so-called musical accents. If it is true, as Nekes, among others, says in Anthropos, vi, p. 547, that the tones of a word in a tone language form an indissoluble whole with its sounds, that the negro cannot even conceive the sound-complex of the word without the tones belonging to it, then I cannot help thinking that the purely musical elements are not the only, not even the most important, factor that the hearers go by when deciding which musical accent the speaker uses. But if such things as the quality I have just mentioned and the intensity
have a finger in the pie, then we know that even persons without an accurate ear for music are able to master musical accent.

Another question that is intimately bound up with this and that the reader of Laman's book would have liked discussed, is whether a person wanting to learn the musical accents of a Kongo language must necessarily be so particular about its tones and intervals as Laman's book is. Is it, for instance, necessary in disyllabic Kingoyi nouns with a high root-pitch and a falling word-intonation to pronounce the last syllable five semi-tones lower than the preceding one? Do I make a mistake if I pronounce it six semi-tones lower or four, as in disyllabic verbs with a high root-pitch and a falling intonation? Heinitz' transcriptions (p. 17) and Laman's descriptions (pp. 46 and 48) indeed seem to imply that it is necessary, but nevertheless I doubt it: all the more since Laman maintains under Stress and Pitch (p. 34 f.) that such nouns have a stronger stress in the root syllable and a weaker stress on the last syllable than the corresponding verbs. If the last syllable in these verbs really always lies a tone higher than the same syllable in the nouns, this might perhaps be a natural consequence of the fact that the verbs have a stronger stress on the last syllable than the nouns. But must the last syllable really always lie a tone higher in the verbs? My doubt as to this does not of course imply that the nouns and verbs in question can be accentuated in quite the same way. After listening to Laman's records, I am, on the contrary, more inclined to think that verbs and nouns not only in this, but in all other cases, never coincide accentually, not even those nouns and verbs that Heinitz (p. 21) marks exactly alike as to pitch, intonation, stress, and syllabic length. I think I hear an accentual difference even between them. But since, as I said before, the cylinders are now in a very bad condition in places, I only mention it for the benefit of those who study Kongo dialects and cognate languages.

In most cases Laman's descriptions agree with Heinitz' notations as to quantity and stress as well as pitch. In a few cases, however, the former conflict with the latter. Since the impressions that Heinitz' notations illustrate now and then do not agree with the impressions that I and other Swedes have got by listening to the records, I should have liked Laman to discuss these notations also. I do not at all mean to reject Heinitz' work. But we must not forget that persons with different mother tongues hear somewhat differently. Germans and Englishmen, for instance, very often hear the accent on the last syllable of a Swedish word such as Stockholm, but we Swedes hear it on the first.
On the other hand, Swedes often assert that the stress on such words as *Dickens* spoken by Englishmen lies on the second syllable.\(^1\) Of course one can discuss who is in right in such cases, but it is rather unprofitable. Instead it would be very profitable, I think, if we tried to come to terms about the reason why we hear differently. But then one must have absolutely the same acoustic phenomena to study over and over again. Possibilities of this, however, are only offered by records on speech-machines. Laman's Kongo records might have been of great help also in researches of a general application of that kind if copies of them could be got, but he probably had not the means to procure matrices when he had got the records on the cylinders. This is to be regretted from many other points of view, for instance, from the pedagogical. I myself know how dim my ideas of the musical accents in the Kongo languages were before I got an opportunity to study them with the help of Laman's records, and yet I had bestowed a great deal of labour on his descriptions and Heinitz' notations. This resource is now irreparably spoiled.

Laman's book has given me occasion to touch upon some factors that my own studies of so-called musical accents have made me think—certainly in some cases and perhaps in all—not less important and deserving of investigation than their purely musical side. I therefore also think that this side ought, if possible, not to be studied in isolation. For then there is really a danger that what has already been done must be done again sooner or later. That I have chosen Laman's work as a basis of discussion does not mean that he has been more one-sided—according to my opinion—than many others. On the contrary, his book shows such thoroughness and desire to solve other difficulties as to the musical accent in the Kongo languages that I am sorry he has not solved them all.

\(^1\) I am indebted for this information to Mr. L. J. Potts, English Lector at the University of Uppsala.
THE AKHYAYIKA AND THE KATHA IN CLASSICAL SANSKRIT

By Sushil Kumar De

The distinction made between the ākhyāyikā and the kathā by the writers on Sanskrit Poetics is well known. We propose in this paper to consider how far the prescriptions of the rhetoricians apply to the few existing specimens of the ākhyāyikā and the kathā by Subandhu and Bāna-bhaṭṭa, and what light, if any, they throw on the development of these species of prose composition in Classical Sanskrit.¹

The oldest writer on Poetics who deals with this matter appears to be Bhāmaha, who draws a rigid distinction between the ākhyāyikā and the kathā. Bhāmaha lays down (i, 25–9) that the ākhyāyikā is a literary composition (1) which is written in prose in words pleasing to the ear (śrawya) and agreeable to the matter intended (prakṛtānukūla); (2) but which may contain metrical pieces in vāktra and aparavāktra metre, the object of these verses being to give a timely indication of future happenings in the story; ² (3) which should have an exalted substance (udāttārtha) with some characteristics supplied by the poet’s imagination as a special mark,³ and having for its theme the abduction of a girl (kanyā-haraṇa), a fight (samgrāma), a separation (vipralambha), and the (final) triumph (udaya), apparently of the hero; (4) in which an account of his own deeds ⁴ is given by the hero himself; (5) in

¹ The reader need scarcely be reminded that the Sanskrit theorists define poetry so as to include any literary work of the imagination, and absolutely refuse to make rhyming or verse an essential.

² The text reads (ed. Trivedi, B.S.S., Ixv, 1909) reads vāktraṁ cāparavāktraṁ ca kāle bāhyarthakāṃsai ca. Śāṅkara, quoting this verse in his commentary on the Harṣa-carita (in sl. 10), reads kāye kāvyārtākāṃsai ca.

³ The reading, which is apparently corrupt, is kaver abhiprāya-kṛtaṁ kathānaiṁ kaiścid anukītā, “marked by certain narrations created by the intention of the poet.” Premacandra, quoting this half-verse in his commentary on the Kāvyādāraka, reads kaver abhiprāya-kṛtaṁ anukānaṁ anukītā kathā, introducing a grave variant and connecting it with the kathā. But it is not intelligible how he connects the next line in Bhāmaha (kanyā-haraṇa, etc.) with the ākhyāyikā. From the text as it stands in Bhāmaha, both these lines should rightly go with the ākhyāyikā, and not with the kathā; and for this we have the authority of the text of the Agni-purāṇa, which appropriates one of these lines.

⁴ vṛttam ākhyāyate tasyāṁ nāyakena sva-ceṣṭitam, where the word vṛttam in connexion with sva-ceṣṭaṁ may indicate “actual history” or “facts of experience” as opposed to “invented fiction”. This should be read with Bhāmaha’s prohibition of self-revelation by the hero in the kathā. In the kathā, Bhāmaha pointedly says “what noble man flaunts his own merits?” It may be asked in this connexion, how is it that Bhāmaha allows the hero to narrate his own exploits in the ākhyāyikā, to which this objection also apparently applies? To obviate this seeming inconsistency we should
which the story is divided into several pauses called *ucchvāsa*

1. In the *kathā*, on the other hand, there are no *vaktra* or *aparavaktra* verses, no division into *ucchvāsas*; and the story should not be narrated by the hero, but by some one else. It may be written in Sanskrit or in Aparbhāṃśa, which indicates by implication that the *ākhyāyikā* should always be composed in Sanskrit.

Dāṇḍin appears to criticize and reject all these fine distinctions, which, in his opinion, are not essential but more or less formal requirements. He states that some people would distinguish between the *ākhyāyikā* and the *kathā* by maintaining that in the former the narrator is the hero himself, in the latter the hero or some one else (*nāyakena itareṇa vā vācyā*), on the ground that the discovery of one's own merit is not a fault in one who is only stating what is true (*bhūtārtha-śqṇṣi*). Dāṇḍin disagrees with this opinion, and holds that the fact that the hero or some other person is the narrator is not a real ground of distinction, and it is not strictly observed in current poetical usage (*aniyamo drṣṭah*): for sometimes in the *ākhyāyikā* the narrator is found to be some person other than the hero. Secondly, Dāṇḍin urges that the employment of specific metres like the *vaktra* and *aparavaktra* need not be rigorously binding in an *ākhyāyikā*, for they may (like *āryā* and other metres) incidentally occur in the *kathā*. Thirdly, the designation *ucchvāsa* is sometimes found indeed applied to the divisions of an *ākhyāyikā*, like the term *lambhaka* in the case of the *kathā*; but nothing can be concluded from this. Fourthly, themes like the abduction of a girl, fight, separation, or triumph, are not special characteristics of these prose compositions, for they are also found in the *sargabandha mahākāvya*. 4. Fifthly, special marks due to the inventive power of the

1 The word *ucchvāsa* (lit. breathing out) indicates a pause for breath; and so it is a name for a chapter which constitutes the pause for the narrator, who cannot be supposed to tell the story "in one breath", but should recount it in an easy manner with necessary pauses.

2 The linguistic forms, according to Bhāmaha, for literary compositions are Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Aparbhāṃśa (i. 16), but it is not clear what Bhāmaha means by the last term. Dāṇḍin gives a definite connotation to this term as the language of the Ābhiras and others in the *kārya*; but in the *śāstra* it is a name applied to all languages other than Sanskrit (i. 36).

3 As in the *Harṣa-carita*, as Taruṇa-vācaspati in his commentary points out.

4 Dāṇḍin is here intentionally misunderstanding Bhāmaha. No doubt these themes are found in the *mahākāvya*, but Bhāmaha probably means that while these things are subordinate in other species of poetic composition, they should be prominent in the *ākhyāyikā*. 
poet need not be a fault elsewhere (i.e. in a kathā), for there is no limit as to the means which a poet may adopt for the attainment of his purposes. And lastly, Daṇḍin expressly says that the kathā may be composed in all languages as well as in Sanskrit; for the wonderful story of the Brhat-kathā is said to be written in the bhūta-bhāṣā.

We are not concerned here with the much-discussed question whether these remarks of Daṇḍin are directly levelled (as they probably are) against Bhāmaha in particular; but we should note that while Bhāmaha makes a sharp distinction between the two species, Daṇḍin does not admit this distinction; and considering the admittedly a posteriori nature of these earlier works on Alamkāra, it is not improbable that their respective conclusions were based upon the observance of current poetical usage, which they analyse, and in which an explanation of this divergence of view should be sought.

Let us now turn, therefore, to Bāna’s Harṣa-carita and his Kādambarī, which are respectively designated by the author himself as an ākhyāyikā and a kathā, and see how far the teachings of these two earliest theorists are illustrated by these two typical works, or whether their conclusions were based upon some other prototypes.

The Harṣa-carita begins with twenty introductory stanzas in the śloka or anuśṭubh metre, concluding this preliminary part with a verse in jagatī. These verses contain an obeisance (namaskriya) to Vyāsa, and to the deities Śiva and Pārvatī, and dwell upon poets and poetry generally, incidentally praising great poets and poems of the past. After briefly stating the merits of an ākhyāyikā (śl. 20) the author praises king Harṣa, devotion to whom supplies the motive of his literary composition, notwithstanding the existence of great works and authors in the world.

After this comes the prose story, of which eight ucchvāsas remain. That the chapters were entitled ucchvāsas by the author is indicated by the obvious pun in śl. 10. With the exception of the first, every ucchvāsa begins with a pair of stanzas, which give an indication of what is to follow. The metres of these verses are fairly uniform, consisting

1 This special “mark” (cīhna or auka) is interpreted by commentators old and new (Tarunā-vācaspāti and Premacandra) as signifying the trick of special words (like śrī at the end of Māgha’s poems, lakṣmī in Bhāravi, anurāgā in Pravarsena, etc.), to indicate the end of a canto (bandha-cīhna). But perhaps this remark in Daṇḍin connects itself with Bhāmaha’s remark that the ākhyāyikā may sometimes bear the marks of the poet’s inventive power (kaver abhiprāya-kṛtaḥ kathanaḥ kaiścād aṅkita), and refers to the invented episodes or parts in the matter-of-fact ākhyāyikā.

2 By which term Daṇḍin, implying the Paśśācī Prakrit, shows himself conversant with the legendary account of the origin of this work.
generally of āryā, with the single exception of a stanza in the sloka-metre in Ucchvāsa iii.

In the prose-part we have a detailed account of the poet’s family, extending from the first to the third Ucchvāsa, his youth, introduction to the court of Harśa’s step-brother and the manner of his reception there, his return to his native country, and relation of the story of king Harśa to his relatives. Thus the main story begins with the third Ucchvāsa and continues to the eighth, where it breaks off.

It may be noted that the prose narrative contains some verses in different metres, of which one (ed. N.S.P., 1918, p. 125) is expressly stated to be in the vaktra-metre, while four (pp. 18, 78, 125, 159) are similarly stated to be in the aparavaktra-metre.1 The other verses contained in the prose narrative are in vasanta-tīlaka (ii, p. 54), śārdūla-vikṛidita (ii, p. 69), āryā (iii, p. 86; iv, p. 140; vi, p. 185), srağdhara (iii, p. 93), and sloka (v, p. 153), the last two Ucchvāsas containing no verses at all.

Before taking up the Kādambarī, we may briefly indicate the nature of the other (and earlier) kathā in Sanskrit, viz. Subandhu’s Vāsavadattā, which is referred to by Bāṇa himself in his Harśa-carita. This work begins with twelve introductory stanzas in āryā, with an obeisance to Sarasvatī, Kṛṣṇa and Śiva, some praise of good poets, and a statement of Subandhu’s authorship. The prose story is immaterial for our purpose; but it may be noted here that we do not get this form of the story of Vāsavadattā elsewhere, the particulars of it being probably due to the inventive genius of the poet. There is no interruption or pause in the narrative, and no division into chapters; nor are there vaktra or aparavaktra verses, although some metrical pieces in āryā, śikharini, śārdūla-vikṛidita, and srağdhara occur thrice. The tenor of the story is more or less peaceful, love being the prevailing sentiment; and there is no samgrāma or kanyā-harana (as in Bhāmaha’s ākhyāyikā), unless Vāsavadattā’s being carried away to the Vindhya mountains be construed as an instance of the last theme.

1 The scheme of the vaktra as given in the Harśa-carita verse may be analysed thus:

This is really a variation of the sloka-metre, as Piṅgala, v. 9, indicates, the important difference being that the penultimates in the second and the fourth pāda are long, with which exception it approaches pathyā. The scheme of the aparavaktra is this:

But Piṅgala gives it somewhat differently:
The Kādambarī, the story of which is too well known to require recapitulation here, is similar in form, but perhaps less complicated in plot. The prose narrative, which is continuous, is introduced by some verses in vamsastha, which contain an obeisance to Brahma, Śiva, and the author’s guru Bhatsu, some remarks on the effects of good poetry, and an account of the author’s race and family. The tenor of the story is similarly peaceful, with love as the prevailing sentiment, and is not based upon any known itihāsa, the main plot being probably an invention of the poet.

Taking the Harṣa-carita as a typical surviving specimen of the earlier ākhyāyikā (its date being the first half of the seventh century), we find at once that while it conforms in some points to the requirements prescribed by Bhāmaha, it cannot yet be taken to typify exactly the ākhyāyikā described by him. The work is written in agreeable prose with verse-adjuncts, but the vaktra and aparavaktra verses contained in it are merely topical and do not fulfil the requirement that they should indicate the tenor of the plot, this work being done by the pairs of verses (generally in āryā) appended at the beginning of each chapter. The story is indeed udattārtha, being the history of a great king, and is regularly divided into ucehvāsas: but it does not touch the themes of kanyā-haranā, etc.; and it is difficult to see what special mark of the poet’s inventive genius it bears, inasmuch as it professes to be the actual life-history of a royal personage narrated by an eye-witness. But the most important point to note in this connexion is that it does not conform in the essential characteristic laid down by Bhāmaha that the narrator must be the hero himself.

Taking these facts into consideration, it will not be wrong to draw the conclusion that the prototype of Bhāmaha’s ākhyāyikā was probably not the Harṣa-carita of Bāna, but some other work which has not come down to us. From Bhāmaha’s treatment we may, however, conclude that in spite of some controversy in his time on this point, two kinds of prose narratives, respectively known as the ākhyāyikā and the kathā, existed which could be differentiated from each other on very important points. Apart from merely formal requirements, Bhāmaha’s analysis makes it clear that the ākhyāyikā in his time was more or less a work of the nature of an autobiography, where the narrator is the hero himself, who recites the facts of his own experience, and who (as interpreted by Daṇḍin) cannot therefore be accused of self-boasting, unworthy in a noble personage. Bhāmaha indeed allows some scope for poetic invention and introduction of interesting
themes to prevent its being a bare recital of facts; but the prevailing tendency to matters of fact is emphasized by Bhāmaha as the distinguishing mark of the ākhyāyikā as contrasted with the kathā. Bhāmaha’s description of the kathā, on the other hand, is purely negative (excepting his injunction as to the language to be employed); but it appears by implication that the kathā, as distinguished from the ākhyāyikā, was more or less of the nature of a fiction, an uninterrupted story or narrative, where the narrator should be some person other than the hero. With respect to subordinate points, viz. the presence of vaktra and aparavaktra verses and division into uccaḥvāsas, Danḍin certainly evinces a great deal of common sense in rejecting these formal requirements as essential features. But they do not appear to be altogether immaterial, and the animus with which the earlier theorists enter into the controversy can be understood if we consider that some of these formal differences find an explanation in the respective differences in the general character of these two species. The real issue involved in the ākhyāyikā, however, is not whether the name of the chapter should be uccaḥvāsa, or whether the kind of metre employed should always be vaktra and aparavaktra, but the fact that it is essential that the ākhyāyikā should be divided into well defined pauses or chapters, while the kathā should be continuous narrative, and that certain verses (possibly inserted at the beginning of each chapter) should foreshadow the tenor of the chapter following. The pauses in the ākhyāyikā, as already pointed out, were necessary because the hero, who is himself the narrator, should be allowed to recount his story in an easy manner; while the appearance of the indicative verses is excluded in the kathā by the fact of its being an uninterrupted narrative. The semblance of reality which the appearance of the hero as the narrator adds to the ākhyāyikā is similarly out of place in the kathā, where the poet or some other person should be allowed to weave out the narrative. This was, in general, the conception of these two species of prose composition in the time of Bhāmaha. The ākhyāyikā was more or less a serious composition dealing generally with facts of actual experience with an autobiographical or semi-historical interest; while the kathā was essentially a fictitious narrative—which may sometimes (as Danḍin contends) possess an autobiographical form, but whose interest chiefly resides in its invention. The ākhyāyikā declined in later times and did not keep strictly to the characteristics detailed above; but the kathā, although it was well defined (after Bāṇa’s works)
in Rudraṭa, was less touched by changes in form and substance even from Subandhu’s time.¹

This will be clear from the attitude of Daṇḍin, as well as from the fact that in the later Agni-purāṇa, and more markedly in Rudraṭa, these two species were defined somewhat differently and were modelled apparently on the works of Bāṇa. The existence of an ōkhyāyikā like the Harsa-carita, in which the narrator is not the hero himself, probably urged Daṇḍin to maintain that this characteristic, in conformity to current usage, should not be taken as a fundamental point of distinction; and Tarunā-vācaspati pertinently refers to Bāṇa’s Harsa-carita as an illustration to the point. The older and more rigid distinction was being obliterated by the innovation of bolder poets since Bhāmaha’s time; and Daṇḍin insists neither upon the person of the narrator, nor the kind of metre, nor the heading of the chapter, nor the limitation of linguistic form as essential marks of difference, maintaining as he does, in view of the poetical usages of his own time, that such trivial distinctions are no longer material, and that both the species come under the same class of composition with only a superfluous difference in nomenclature. It was a period of uncertain transition in the history of these species of prose compositions, when older distinctions were losing their interest, but when no fixed rules had been (as Daṇḍin’s negative and destructive criticism implies) yet evolved to govern the practice or theory relating to them. Thus Vāmana, coming after Daṇḍin but probably before Rudraṭa,² brushes aside (vytti on 1, 3, 32) the controversy and discussions in which Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin apparently engage themselves, and refers the curious reader to the works of “others”, apparently regarding the question as of no great theoretic importance.

When we come to the Agni-purāṇa, which more or less uncritically copies the dicta of Daṇḍin and other authors,³ we find, however, the

¹ As the definition of the kathā did undergo much material change in the course of its history, Bhāmaha’s somewhat general characterization is applicable to Subandhu’s Vāsavadattā as well as to Bāṇa’s Kādambarī; but it is possible that the latter was not the prototype contemplated by him, just as the Harsa-carita was not the prototype of his ōkhyāyikā. This would corroborate the date of Bhāmaha as a younger contemporary of Dharmakīrti (as conjectured by Jacobi in Sb. der Preuss. Akad., xxiv, 1922, pp. 211–12; see my Hist. of Sanskrit Poetics, vol. i, pp. 48–9), and possibly therefore of Bāṇa himself. Bhāmaha, if he at all knew Bāṇa’s works, could not yet regard them as authoritative examples, and he apparently draws his conclusions as to the nature of these compositions from other established works of his time, which are now lost.


³ This point regarding the nature of the alaṃkāra-section of the Agni-purāṇa is noticed in the work cited in footnote 13, pp. 102–4.
influence of Bāna's works reacting upon the theorists and making them change their definitions to suit the new conditions. According to the Agni-purāṇa, we have in the ākhyāyikā (1) a praise of the author's family (karti-vāṃśa-praśamsā) in prose, (2) themes like abduction of a girl, fighting, separation, and other untoward incidents (vipattayāh), (3) division into uchvīsas, (4) presence of cūrṇaka,1 or of vaktra and aparavaktra verses, (5) a brilliant diction exemplifying the excellence of rítis and vṛttis. In the kathā, on the other hand, (1) there is the praise of the poet's family in verse, (2) there may be an episode or another story (kathāntaram) introducing the main story (mukhyasyārthāvatārāya), (3) we have pauses or paricchedas, but sometimes there may be divisions called lambhaka,2 (4) catuspadī- verses may be introduced in each garbha.2 This is practically the conventional enumeration, but with a marked difference, the most important point being the karti-vāṃśa-praśamsā, and the use of the kathāntara, which are omitted in the discussion of earlier writers, but which are admitted here (and more pointedly in Rudraṭa) probably through the influence of Bāna's works.

Rudraṭa differs very noticeably from the older writers in his treatment; and it may be generally said that he has accepted and generalized the characteristics of Bāna's two works into universal rules governing the composition of the kathā and the ākhyāyikā respectively. According to him, we have in the kathā (1) an introductory namaskriyā in verse to the devas and gurus, and a statement of the author's family and the motive of his authorship; (2) the prose narrative, written in Sanskrit (or in verse in other languages) in light alliterative words, the plot including pura-varvana, etc. (as in the case of the utpūḍya-kāvya, xvi, 3); (3) a kathāntara at the beginning, which is immediately connected with the main story; (4) a theme consisting of the winning of a girl (kanyā-lābha), which being the main issue, the sentiment of love is developed fully in it (vinyasta-sakala-śringārā). In the ākhyāyikā, on the other hand, (1) we have the namaskriyā to devas and gurus in verse, together with an incidental praise of older poets, a confession of one's own inability and a statement of the poet's motive in writing, notwithstanding these drawbacks, which motive may spring from the

1 Vāmana defines (i, 3, 23-5) cūrṇa (one of the subdivisions of prose diction) as anāvedaḥ-latila-padam (delicate words and no big compounds, utkalikāprāya being the reverse.
2 Read bhaved vai lambhakaiḥ kvacit for bhaved vā lambhakaiḥ kvacit in the printed text.
3 The Agni-purāṇa speaks of khaṇḍa-kathā, parikathā and kathāṇiκā, for which see Locana, p. 141 (which adds sakala-kathā), and Hemacandra, who defines various other subspecies (pp. 339-40).
poet’s devotion to a particular king, his addiction to the praise of other people’s merits, or from some other special causes; (2) the story should be written in the manner of a kathā, but emphasis is put on the injunction that an account of the poet himself and his family must be contained in it, written in prose and not in verse; (3) there are divisions into ucchvāsas, and two āryā-verses should occur at the beginning of each chapter, excepting the first.¹

It will be seen at once that these characteristics detailed by Rudraṭa apply fully and strictly to the cases of Bāṇa’s two works. Rudraṭa, along with the author of the Agni-purāṇa, gives interesting remarks concerning the introductory stanzas, all the peculiarities of which are minutely observed in the introductory stanzas of Bāṇa. Even the requirement that in the ākhyāyikā the poet should state in verse that his devotion to a king or some other cause supplies the motive of his writing, and that he should describe his own race and family in prose, agrees with Bāṇa’s practice in the Harsa-carita, which also almost strictly fulfils the condition of having two āryā-verses at the beginning of each chapter, as well as the condition concerning verses in the prose narrative, which need not be in any prescribed form, but may contain vaktra and aparavaktra verses. It appears, on the other hand, that the question as to who should be the narrator, after Daṇḍin’s criticism and Bāṇa’s example of the Harsa-carita, was probably of no interest to Rudraṭa, who does not, like the author of the Agni-purāṇa, even mention it. Taking Rudraṭa’s analysis side by side with the two works of Bāṇa, one cannot but conclude that Rudraṭa has only generalized the cases of the Harsa-carita and the Kādambarī into universal instances of the ākhyāyikā and the kathā respectively.² The distinctions and definitions of older writers on Poetics were now mere conventions, and the new ākhyāyikā and the kathā had become stereotyped after the model of Bāṇa’s two famous works.

It will be noticed, however, that although Rudraṭa does not speak upon the general nature of the two species and does not consider the question whether the ākhyāyikā should be of the nature of a serious relation of actual facts and the kathā of the nature of an invented narra-

¹ Some matters of detail are added, viz. on the occasion of a doubt concerning a past incident or an incident not witnessed by the speaker (parokṣa), or concerning a present or future object, the poet, in order to dispel the doubt, should let someone cite in the presence of the doubting person one or two of the poetic figures anyokti, namāsokti, or ivaśa; and the metres employed in these cases should be āryā, aparavaktra, or puspitāgra, or, according to circumstances, metres like the mālīnī.

² Nami-sādhu in his commentary apparently agrees with this view.
tive, he yet emphasizes the softer character of the latter by indicating that its main issue is kanyā-lābha (and not the more valorous kanyā-haraṇa in the ākhyāyikā of older Poetics) which gives free scope to the delineation of the amorous sentiment in all its phases (vinyasta-sakalasṛṅgāra). With this statement Rudraṭa lays stress upon one of the distinctive features of Subandhu’s and Bāna’s works, viz. that in their kathās love is the prevailing sentiment; and this throws into relief the general character of Sanskrit prose kathā as an invented love-story, which approaches the nature of romantic fiction. Ānandavardhana, who deals with prose composition only topically (p. 141) in connexion with his discussion of sampāghatānā (condition of compounds in diction), appears to recognize this point. He says that in the kathā we have the same kind of diction as in the ākhyāyikā; but in the former the rules relating to rasa should be observed (iii, 8), implying thereby this peculiarity of the delineation of rasa (especially sṛṅgāra) as its principal concern. To Abhinavagupta, on the other hand, who accepts the older convention, the two species are interesting only from the point of view of form, the ākhyāyikā, in his opinion, being characterized by ucchvāsas and vaktra-aparavaktra verses, and the kathā being entirely devoid of these. Hemacandra (p. 338) follows the same convention, but admits Daṇḍin’s criticism (as do most later authors) regarding the narrator and the linguistic form, and pointedly quotes the Harsa-carita and the Kādambarī as typical instances. He agrees with Rudraṭa, however, that the kathā may be wholly in verse, citing an unknown Līlāvatī as an example. Vidyādhara does not deal with the question at all; and to Vidyānātha the kathā is unknown. The latter speaks of gadya- and padya-kāvyas, citing the Kādambarī and the Raghuvāṃsa as instances; while the definition of the ākhyāyikā is attempted, as in the case of Abhinavagupta’s definition, mainly from the formal point of view. Viśvanātha, the latest writer who devotes some attention to this question, merely puts Rudraṭa’s generalization in a precise form; and his treatment shows that the older distinctions were already forgotten, and the new types evolved on the basis of Bāna’s works had firmly established themselves. But, like Rudraṭa, Viśvanātha emphasizes the sarasa vastu as the substance of the kathā, although he is silent with regard to the question of the subject-matter of the ākhyāyikā.

Thus we can distinguish two or three well defined stages in the growth of the kathā and the ākhyāyikā in Classical Sanskrit. The earliest forms of these, as we have seen, are noticed by Bhāmaha, and their characteristics may be summarized thus:
Akhyāyikā. (1) The subject-matter gives facts of actual experience; (2) The narrator is the hero himself; (3) The story is divided into chapters called ucchvāsas, containing indicative vaktra and aparavaktra verses; (4) Scope may be allowed to poetic invention, and the themes may embrace subjects like abduction of a girl, fighting, separation, and final triumph; (5) It should be written in Sanskrit.

Kathā. (1) The subject-matter is probably an invented story; (2) The narrator is some one other than the hero; (3) There is no division into ucchvāsas, no vaktra or aparavaktra verses; (4) It may be written in Sanskrit or in Apabhramśa.

These characteristics do not apply strictly to Bāna’s two works, which, however, begins to influence the theorists a little later, and we find a constructive criticism of these fine distinctions as early as Dandin. The new akhyāyikā and the kathā which rose in later times and which finds itself modified from the older types partly on the model of Bāna’s two works, are distinctly authorized by Rudraṭa, who generalizes the characteristics of Bāna’s two works into rules of universal application. The characteristics may be given thus:

Akhyāyikā. (1) The subject-matter gives facts of actual experience; (2) The narrator need not be the hero himself; (3) It is divided into chapters called ucchvāsas, which should (excepting the first) open with two stanzas, preferably in āryā, indicating the tenor of the chapter in question; (4) It possesses a metrical introduction of a literary character.

Kathā. (1) The subject-matter is a story, generally a love-story, for the most part invented by the poet; (2) The narrator should be some person other than the hero, who may sometimes take that rôle; (3) There is no division into chapters; (4) It should have a literary metrical introduction.

This practically stereotypes the two species in Sanskrit literature; and as a natural result of this fixing of the characteristics, the akhyāyikā and the kathā declined to such an extent that most later theorists do not think it necessary to dilate upon the question.
ABHASA-BHASA

By L. D. Barnett

ECCE iterum Crispinus! The readers of this Bulletin are doubtless as weary of the dis crambe repetita of the Bhāsa-controversy as I am, and I must crave their indulgence for returning to it in reply to Professor Keith’s remarks in Vol. III, p. 295 ff.

There are three distinct questions at issue, which Professor Keith persistently confuses. They are: (1) whether the Trivandrum plays are earlier than Kālidāsa; (2) whether they are all by the same author; and (3) whether they, or any of them, are the works of Bhāsa.

To the first question no decisive answer can be given. All arguments drawn from the language, whether Sanskrit or Prakrit, and from the technical terms used are perfectly inconclusive. The arguments from style depend almost wholly upon subjective taste. As I have repeatedly pointed out, the supposed archaisms are more or less the common technique of Keralan playwrights. As to the Prakrit, I was the first to show that it represents the teaching of an old school of grammarians which has survived only in Kērala, and is used by local playwrights and scribes of quite late date; hence its presence in a play proves little or nothing for the antiquity of the play. Professor Keith, who writes as though the existent Prakrit grammars were the only authorities on the subject, may with profit study Hertel’s introduction to his new edition of the Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad, in which Hertel incisively points out that we do not know what kinds of Prakrit Kālidāsa used; we only know the Prakrits which later grammarians, editing manuscripts of his plays, have foisted into them. Professor Keith’s argument that because there is no Māhārāṣṭri Prakrit in the Trivandrum plays they must be earlier than Kālidāsa ingeniously combines the fallacies of petitio principii, accidens, and non sequitur: the fact is that southern playwrights have usually avoided Māhārāṣṭri, even in comparatively late times, and hence its absence proves nothing as to date.¹ The Matta-vilāsa, of the seventh century, has none, nor has the comparatively late Tapatī-samvarana. Dr. Morgenstierne’s scholarly study of the relation between the Čārudatta and Mṛchakaṭiṅka has certainly

¹ It may be remarked that the Śāuraseni Prakrit in these plays, as given in the printed texts, is of a very mixed sort, including a number of forms that according to the published grammars belong to Māhārāṣṭri.
established a fair possibility for the contention that the latter is an adaptation of the former; but even if we admit this, the age of the *Mṛcchakatika* still remains uncertain (Professor Keith himself thinks it may be as late as the eighth century), and therefore we cannot infer that the Cārudatta is earlier than the fifth century, the presumptive date of Kālidāsa.

Professor Keith remarks that “Bhāsa’s dramas not merely commence with the entry of the Sūtradhāra after a Nāndī . . . but they omit the name of the author and the work, and this latter peculiarity is not followed in the other dramas played in Kerala”. The last sentence is a typical example of the Professor’s love of drawing sweeping conclusions from imperfect information. The comedy *Bhagavadajjukīya*, of which I have copies, and which I hope will soon be published by Mr. Pisharoti, possesses all the features which, according to the Professor, stamp it as a work of Bhāsa; it opens with the entrance of the Sūtradhāra after a nāndī, it makes no mention of its own title or the author’s name, it uses the term sthāpanā, and it is all in Sanskrit and Śāurasēṇī of sorts. But even the Professor will not claim it for Bhāsa when he reads it, especially as it contains a passage which looks suspiciously like an imitation of one in the *Mallavilāsa*. The same features occur in the *Dāmaka-prasāhana*, except that it is all in Sanskrit.¹ Thus the Professor’s statement that “the other dramas played in Kerala” do not omit the name of the author and the title of the work is not true, and so his “obvious explanation of this peculiarity” as being a feature of Bhāsa’s day (a very pretty example of the fallacy of *petitio principii*, by the way) falls to the ground.

Lastly, Professor Keith wholly fails to meet my objection that the *Pratimā* mentions Mēdhātithi’s *Nyāya-śāstra*, which, it seems to me, can only mean the *Manu-bhāṣya*, a work of about the tenth century.

The term *Nyāya-śāstra* signifies either (1) a book of law, or (2) a book of logic. In this connexion logic is quite out of place; but even if it were admissible, the fact remains that the only śāstras by Mēdhātithi on record are the famous *Manu-bhāṣya* or commentary on Manu, the *Smṛti-viveka*, and a *Jyotir-mēdhātithi*, the first two on law and the third on astrology, and of these only the *Manu-bhāṣya* has survived. I therefore conclude that the book to which the play refers is the *Manu-bhāṣya*.² The Professor contests this conclusion because (1)

¹ It may be remarked that some plays, such as the *Yayāti-carita* and *Bhima-parākrama*, have no prologue at all.

² It is perhaps worth noting that Mēdhātithi is quoted quite early by Southern writers (*Winternitz, G.I.L.*, iii, p. 494).
in the enumeration in the play the Nyāya-śāstra is separated from the
text of Manu, and (2) "it is clear that a different kind of Čāstra is
desired and is actually given". These two pleas are really one,
and prove nothing. As to the first, if we suppose (which is rather
unlikely) that the author is so careful that he would not mention a
commentary upon Manu at such a distance from the text of Manu,
what shall we say of passages like Mahābhārata, XII, cci, 8, which
enumerates the three Vēdas and then the Vēdāṅgas, among which the
Nirukta or commentary on the text comes third? It is the custom of
Hindu pedagogues to make their pupils learn their texts by heart and
then, sometimes after a considerable interval, to teach them the com-
mentaries. As to the Professor's second plea, it is merely another
instance of his affection for the petītio principii.

As it is not in the least relevant to the main issue that the genealogy
of Rāma in the Pratimā is Puranic (I myself pointed out this fact in a
note), or that the story of Avimāraka is earlier than Daṇḍin, we may
sum up by saying (1) that the evidence suggests the tenth century or
later as the date of the Pratimā, (2) that some of the other plays may
be of the seventh century, and perhaps somewhat earlier, but (3) that
no case has been made out for the contention that any of the plays is
earlier than the period of Kālīdāsa, i.e. the early fifth century.

The second main issue is whether all the plays are by the same hand.
As admittedly they are all anonymous, and show considerable
differences of style, even the Professor will grant that this issue may
be regarded as an open one. Now I have shown reason for supposing
the Pratimā to be later than some others of the batch; if then the
Pratimā may be by another author than the others, the batch is not
homogeneous, and there may be three, four, or more authors concerned
in it.

But now let us, for the sake of argument, assume that all the plays
are by an author earlier than Kālīdāsa, and consider whether we can
identify him with Bhāsa.

The identification rests wholly on the fact that Bhāsa is known to
have written a Svapna-vāsavadaṭṭa, and one of these plays is a
Svapna-vāsavadaṭṭa. This argument is a broken reed. There were
certainly two plays of that name, and probably more, just as there are
two Kumāra-sambhavas and two Kalyāṇa-saṅgandhikas; for the
passages quoted by writers on rhetoric from a Svapna-vāsavadaṭṭa
cannot be traced in the Trivandrum play.1 This fact naturally arouses

1 On this point new and valuable evidence has been brought forward by
1923, pp. 197, 217.
suspicion, and suspicion deepens into conviction when we find that Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra in their Nātya-darpaṇa, a work of the twelfth century, quote a verse as from "the Svapna-vāsavadatta written by Bhāsa"); with a summary of its context, and neither this verse nor the context can be traced in the Trivandrum play.

This last fact will convince every reasonable reader that the anonymous Trivandrum play is not by Bhāsa. With this the attempt to father the whole batch upon him collapses, and Professor Keith's confident assertion that "the case for accepting Bhāsa's authorship appears enormously strengthened" reads like a joke. Solvuntur risu tabulae.

[P.S.—Since the above note was printed I have had the pleasure of reading Mr. Gaṇapati Śāstri's note in the October number of the JRAS., in which he quotes references to a Svapna-vāsavadatta from the Bhāva-prakāśa and Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa. As, however, these works refer to the play without mentioning its author, they prove nothing as to Bhāsa's authorship.]

1 M. Sylvain Lévi in discussing this passage (ut supra, p. 197 f.) is doubtless right in holding that Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra here specifically mention Bhāsa as author in order to distinguish his Svapna-vāsavadatta from another play of the same name.
HINDI PROSE BEFORE THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

By T. Grahame Bailey, M.A., B.D., D.Litt.

The early literature of the Hindi group of languages, that is the literature written in Avadhī, Bihārī, Rājputānī, and Hindi proper, was largely poetical, and prose was rare. In the beginning of the nineteenth century Lallū Ji Lāl and Sadal Miśr entered Dr. Gilchrist’s service and at his suggestion translated some early works into modern vernaculars. The works selected were chiefly Sanskrit, and they were translated into Braj or Khaṛī Bōlī. Lallū Ji is the better known of the two, but he was not a pioneer, nor was his example followed. For nearly fifty years after he wrote, nothing of real merit was produced in Khaṛī. The practical founder of modern Hindi prose, the man who gave it its impetus and started it on its career of prosperity, was Hariś Chandar. A somewhat exaggerated emphasis has been placed on Lallū’s and Sadal Miśr’s translations, and this has resulted in a lack of perspective. Lallū has been acclaimed as the “Father of Hindi prose”. The title is inaccurate, and has been made the subject of protest. One Hindi writer, in complaining of his being called the “Creator of Khaṛī Bōlī”, maintains that such an idea is entirely erroneous, and remarks that before his books were brought out Sadā Sukh Lāl and Inshā Allāh were writing in straightforward Hindi. He adds, in an amusing aside, that they wrote on their own initiative and not at the behest of another. He also criticizes Lallu’s style as being too much tainted with Braj idioms and poetical turns of expression. Sadal Miśr he regards as Lallu’s superior.

Hindi prose has existed for centuries, some would say for nearly six hundred years, and there are about thirty known writers of prose before Lallū Ji, several of whom wrote in Khaṛī. There may have been many more.

Attention should be drawn to another point. It is unfortunate that many authors have written of translations (e.g. Prem Sāgar, Rājnīti, Śakuntalā) as if they ranked with original compositions. This is damaging to the reputation of Hindi literature. A similar mistake has not been made in the case of Urdu. We may be sure that in no language would more than perhaps one translation in a thousand, or even many thousands, be considered worthy of mention in a history of its literature unless that literature were deficient in writers of ability.
The following list, including the dates, has been taken from Hindi sources. Students of Central Indian languages may be glad to have it in a convenient form. It goes without saying that some of the dates are open to reconsideration, but certainty will probably never be attained.

The earliest Hindi prose composition is to be sought in the deeds of gift of early rulers. It is difficult to be sure of their genuineness. The Nāgarī Prachāriniṇī Sabhaḥ, in its search for early MSS., found a number of these deeds which, if authentic, take us back to the eleventh century. Confining ourselves to regular composition, we have the following prose writers who preceded Lallū Ji.

1. Gorakh Nāth, the father of Hindi prose. Keay speaks of him as a semi-mythical person living about A.D. 1200, but Śyām Sundar Dās gives his date as 1350. In this he is followed by the Miṣr brothers, by Greaves, and by Vraj Ratn Lāl, all of whom favour the middle of the fourteenth century. An extant prose work in the Braj dialect is attributed to him, but it may have been written by his followers. We are much in the dark, and to deny his authorship is as useless as to affirm it. It is noteworthy that Avadhī was not favoured for prose writing. Gorakh Nāth lived far to the east, but this book is in Braj.

The next known extant prose work dates from the sixteenth century, two hundred years later.


3. Gokul Nāth, son of Viṭṭhal Nāth, flor. 1568, wrote the famous "Chaurāsī (Vaiśṇavō kī) Vārtā" and "Do sau bēvan Vaiśṇavō kī Vārtā". These are devoted chiefly to stories of his grandfather's followers. He probably wrote the Ban Yātra, though the Miṣr brothers say it was written by Mahā Prabhu Ji, i.e. Vallabhāchārya. All three are in the Braj dialect.

4. Nand Dās, after the middle of the sixteenth century, was the best known of the four members of the Aṣṭ Chhāp who were attached to Viṭṭhal Nāth. His greatest title to fame is that he was probably Tulsi Dās's brother. He wrote two prose works in Braj, which are not extant.

5. Hari Rāy, a contemporary of Nand Dās, produced three prose works.

6. Gaṅg Bhāṭ, 1570, has the distinction of being the first prose writer who used khaṇī bolī. He has left a 16-page book called Chand Chhand Barnan kī Mahinā.
7. Before 1614: a Sanskrit treatise on astrology named Bhurana Dīpikā, is accompanied by a commentary in bhāṣā. The author is unknown. The MS. bears the date 1614, the composition itself cannot be later, but may be earlier.

8. Jaṭmal, 1623, is the author of Gorā Bādal kī Kathā, telling of Ratn Sen, Padmāvati, Gorā and Bādal. It is poetry with a large admixture of prose in khaṛī. Jaṭmal is therefore, so far as our knowledge goes, the second writer of khaṛī bolī.

9. Manohar Dās Niraṇjani, about 1650, wrote Gyān Chūry Vachnīkā, in Braj prose.

10. Jasvant Singh, Mahārājā of Jodhpur, 1625–81, the famous writer on poetical style, was the author of a prose work called Prabodh Chandrodhay Nāṭak.

11. About 1658 Jagjī Chāraṇ produced the Ratn Maheśdāsot Vachnīkā, in which he extolled the bravery of Ratn Singh Maheśdāsot, Rājā of Ratlām.

12. In the same year, 1658, Dāmodar Dās, the Dādūpanthī, wrote in Rājputāni prose a translation of the Mārkanḍeyā Purāṇ.

13. In 1663, unknown author: prose translation of the Yogvāsiṣṭh.

14. Seventeenth century, date usually given as 1680; Baikuṇṭhmanī Śukl wrote two works, Vaiśākh Māhātmya and Agahan Māhātmya. These are in Braj poetry, but contain much Khaṛī prose. The Miśr brothers say they are in Braj prose.

15. Bhagyān Dās, 1699, translated the Gitā into prose under the name of Bhāṣāmrit. The Miśr brothers refer to this work as “kavitā”. This may be an oversight.

16. Surati Miśr flor. probably during the first third of the eighteenth century, though he has been put earlier, translated the Baitāl Pachisi from Sanskrit into Braj prose. This was done at the command of Mahārājā Jai Singh.

17. Ajit Singh, 1680–1724, son of Mahārājā Jasvant Singh, mentioned above, is known to have written a work named Guṇsūr, partly in verse and partly in prose. It is an account of Rājā Sumati and Raṇī Satyārūpā. His language is a mixture of Braj and Rājputāni, the former predominating.

18. Debi Chand, 1720, a translation of Hitopadeś in Braj prose.

19. Unknown author, a MS. dated 1720, containing a work in Braj prose called Krisṇa ji kī Līlā.

20. An unknown author, about 1719; translated into Hindi a Persian translation of the Upaniṣads.
21 and 22. Lalit Kiśori and Lalit Mohini, 1743, joint authors of a 46-page book in Braj bearing the title Śrī Śvāmī Mahārāj jū kī Bachnikā. The Mahārāj here referred to is the sixteenth century religious leader Hari Dās, to whose sect the authors belonged.

23. Amar Singh Kāyasṭh, latter half of eighteenth century, wrote Amar Chandrikā in verse and prose mixed. This is a commentary on Bihārī’s Sat Saī.

24 and 25. Agr Nārāyaṇ Dās and Vaiṣṇav Dās, in the end of the eighteenth century, wrote jointly a prose commentary on Nābhā Dās’s and Priya Dās’s Bhaktmāl. The Miśr brothers do not mention the fact of their joint authorship or allude to prose writings. They say that Agr Nārāyaṇ wrote the Bhaktas Bodhinī Tikā, explaining that it is a commentary on the Bhaktmāl. They give the same name to a work by Vaiṣṇav Dās without the explanatory remark, and they leave the reader to understand that there is no connexion between the two. Vraja Ratn Lāl states that their book exists in two MS. copies, one dated 1772 and called Bhaktmāl Prasaṅg, the other dated 1787 and called Bhakti ras Bodhinī.

26. Bakhteś, 1765 or 1771, wrote a commentary on the Rasrāj, an erotic work by Mati Rām Tripāṭhi, which discusses various kinds of lovers, both men and women, especially women. The Miśr brothers mention only this commentary among the works of Bakhteś, and say that he wrote charming poetry.

27. Śer Śingh, killed in 1793, son of Vijay Śingh, who was King of Mārvār, wrote a mixture of verse and prose in a work entitled Rām Krīṣṇ kā Jas. The date was approximately 1789, and the language used Mārvāri.

28. Kaibāṭ Sarbāriya, about 1797, was author of Anant Rāy (or Anand Rām) kī Vārtā, which contains both prose and verse.

29. Sadā Sukh Lāl wrote many articles in Khaṛī. Unfortunately none of his books are extant. He was about a quarter of a century before Lallū Ji.

30. Inshā Allāh Khān, the only Muhammadan in the list, wrote before 1809 Rāṁ Kētakī kī Kahānī in “ṭheṭh Hindi”, a somewhat peculiar variety of Khaṛī. This appeared before the Prem Sāgar.

31. Sadāl Miśr, 1773–1848: his chief work was Chandrāvatī, 1798, a translation of the Sanskrit Nāsiketopākhyaṇ. His other prose works are not extant.

Of the prose writers of the early nineteenth century it has been said that Inshā Allāh was Venus, Sadāl Miśr dawn, and Lallū Ji morning.
THE FOWL AND THE CAT: A SWAHILI POEM IN
THE TIKUU DIALECT

By Professor Alice Werner

A LETTER received some time ago from my Lamu correspondent, Muhammad bin Abubakar (commonly known as Muhamadi Kijuma), contains a passage which may be translated as follows:—

"Behold these verses: I obtained them from the Watiku (that is to say), from an aged woman of Rasini; it contains a testimony (to the ancient glories) of Emezi, which was a great country [city?] with mansions of stone, very large, and before the Arabs settled in Africa, it was already in ruins. It lies to the south of Waraka."

The Watiku are the Northern Swahili (also called Bajun or Wagunya) who inhabit the mainland north-eastward from the Lamu archipelago, though some of them settled at Rasini (Faza) about three hundred years ago. Their dialect presents many peculiarities, and the specimen before us is archaic in addition, dating "from the time when the Emezi dialect was in existence". (This, no doubt, must be taken with reservations, though it is quite possible that the Emezi dialect survived the destruction of the city.)

Emezi is said to have been on the site of the present Wangi—at the head of the Mongoni creek, which opens out of the Siu channel to the northward. Waraka I have been unable to identify.

The poem takes the form of a dialogue between a Fowl (kuku) and a species of genet (?) called kanu, explained by Muhammad as "an animal which eats fowls" (nyama alao kuku). But it is explained that these stand, figuratively, for a man of rank (mtu bora) and a plebeian (mtu dhaifu).

The stanza is the widely current one used in such popular compositions as the Ayubu, the Shufaka, and the Kutawafukwe Muhamadi. It consists of four lines, each having two beats and (approximately) eight syllables, three of them rhyming together and the fourth on a

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1 Nti is the word, but the writer may have meant mui (mji).
2 Stigand, The Land of Zinz, p. 168; see also p. 34. For Emezi, see pp. 29, 44.
3 For examples, see Stigand, loc. cit., and Taylor, African Aphorisms, p. 18.
4 Kuku is used metaphorically (and contemptuously) for persons of low or servile condition; cf. the proverbs kuku haekui shakidi, wala hajui sharia ("A fowl is not set as a witness, nor does it know the law"), and kuku na mavi mlowe: ukumucwa aleni? ("What's bred in the bone...?"); also Kuku mwewe kwaaw vitae, for a parvenu—slaves being forbidden to wear sandals.
different syllable, which, strictly speaking, should be the same throughout the poem. Here, however, the rule has not been observed in two out of the eight stanzas, one of which ends in -na and the other in -ya, the remaining ones rhyming on -wu. This may be due to corruption of the text, which there is reason to suspect on other grounds. Though not expressly so stated, the copy sent me by Muhammad (which is in his own handwriting) was no doubt taken down from oral recitation—but whether previously so transmitted I have no information. He subsequently sent me a corrected copy, with notes of his own, which I have mainly followed in the text here given. The passages which defy interpretation at present appear to be corrupt; and I should be grateful to any resident on the Coast who would be kind enough to throw any light on these, or on the probable date of the piece—which can hardly go back to the seventh century A.D. (The first settlement of Pate is usually assigned to the year A.H. 69.)

**Kuku**

Mwendani, nilikuwene
Wakeeo kama jini,
Huzingazina iyoni,
Ni muizi ujile kwiva.

Ewee, Kuku, situkane,
Maneno hayo sinene:
Waungwana si vangine,
Ni sisi wa kuzaliwa.

Na mkiva waungwana
(Hamtuwasi kunena)
Mungalizinga mtana,
Na watu wakiwaona.

Mtana tutazingale,
Ni fungu la wanazali:
Kaulize Simambali
Hatta kisiva cha Goa.

Simambali ikizinga
Kuea mabunduki na panga
Ndisi wana wa Yunga,
Hatuonani na yua.

**Kanu**

My friend, I have seen you, who sit like a jinn; you keep wandering about in the evening; you are a thief, you have come to steal.

You, Fowl, do not abuse (your betters); do not say these words. Freemen (nobles) are not (like) others: it is we who are the (nobly) born.

But, if you were nobles (you shall not prevent us from speaking) you would walk abroad in the day, when people can see you.

By day we will walk abroad; that is the privilege (lit. share) of the nobly-born; Go and ask (the men of) Simambali, or even the island of Goa.

(Even) if (the men of) Simambali walk about (swaggering) with guns and swords, yet we are the sons of Yunga, (who) do not meet the sun.
Simambali na Emezi
Kwenye majumba makuzi
Yaundao majahazi
Yakizinga na uziwa.

Na yua likitupata
Hudeuka kama nta;
Hatuuvi kama ukuta
Upandao kenda kwiwa.

Kwiwa hativi za watu;
Huilia mali zetu
Na penye misu mitatu
Tukanyakua mmoya.

Kanu
Simambali and Emezi are places having great mansions, who build ships sailing hither and thither on the sea.

Kuku
And if the sun reaches us, we melt like wax; we are not (solid) like a wall which you scale to go and steal.

Kanu
As for stealing, we do not steal other people’s (goods); it is they who consume our property; and (therefore) where there are three half-grown chicks, we (always) seize one.

Notes
1. *Mwendi* (or *mwandani*, cf. Aphorisms, p. 86): in current Swahili *muenzangu*, *muenzio*, etc. *Nilikuwe*, a tense not recognized in any grammar known to me: *nieene* (or *mbweene*) is the archaic perfect of *ona* and *ni-li-wene* might be a pluperfect. *Wakeeo* (one would have expected *uweeo*): *kee*, perfect of *kaa*. The meaning seems to be that during the daytime the *kanu* lurks in dark corners, but wanders up and down (*zingazina*) in the evening, like a thief. *Mwizi* for *mwevi* “thief” (here written ﺸ) is not confined to the Lamu dialect; it is found also at Zanzibar and on the adjacent mainland (see Madan’s Dictionary, s.v. and the story of *Mwizi na Tajivi* in Masomo ya Pilu, p. 51). *Ujile*, old perfect of *kuja*, “come”; mod. *umekuja*. *Kwiwa*, “steal,” mod. *kwiba* (cf. Ayubu, st. 43)—but in the Lamu dialect *kujepa*.

3. Ha-mtu-wasi: the verb may be Ar. ﻊ, “rebel,” which, by an extension of meaning, might bear the sense here given to it; Muhammad explains it as equivalent to *kataza*, “forbid.” It occurs in a proverb—Taylor, Aphorisms § 173a.

4. *Zingale* is a form not easy to account for; perhaps merely a poetical licence for *tutazina*. *Simambali* (*Simambayi* or *Simambaya*) appears to be a ruined town on an island about half-way between
Kiunga and Kwaihu. The "Island of Goa" is not Goa in India, but "near Kiunga, in the Tikuu country... there are many minarets, and the Goanese were buried there; there are (also) graves of the Portuguese". The kanu evidently claims citizenship, either in this town or in Emezi.

5. Mabunduki is an unusual plural, but it is quite common to find loan-words whose first syllable cannot be taken as a prefix, fluctuating between classes 5-6 and 9-10 (e.g. both gari la and gari ya are heard, while the plural may be either gari or—more usually—magari). Ndisi = ni sisi. Yunga is taken by Taylor (Stigand, Dialect, p. 91, note) as an honorific epithet of Pate: "Pate-Sanspareil" but Muhammad explains the phrase veana wa Yunga, "sons of Yunga," as zijana za kushaua, "boastful young men," kushaua being equivalent to the Zanzibar kujivuna. (Madan renders "show off"). If Pate is meant, point is given to the arrogant boasting of the kanu (who seems intended by the author to have the last word), since Emezi and Simambali, with which he may be understood to claim connexion, are older than Pate: in fact, Muhammad (unless I misunderstand him) says that Simambali is the place whence Pate was colonized (asili ya vatu wa Pate). The Fowl seems to say that though now fallen on evil times, his house is as good as the best, and its members so delicately reared that they cannot meet the eye of the sun—"they would melt like wax," as subsequently stated.

6. Makuzi, an old (or poetical?) form of makuu. Yaundao is in concord with majumba, but it is quite a permissible licence to take it as referring to the inhabitants of the houses. Uziwa (same root as zivwa, "lake") is explained by Muhammad as equivalent to bahari.

7. Hudeuka: the hu-tense is more freely used, even to this day, in the Lamu and other northern dialects than in those of Mombasa and Zanzibar (where it is usually confined to the third person). Deuka = yeyuka (or yawka).  

8. Hatiwei = ha-tu-ivi. Mali (treated as a noun of Class 10) is understood as governing za. Hu-i-ilia: literally, "they eat for themselves," -i- being the reflexive pronoun in the northern dialects—
elsewhere -ji-. *Misu* (pl. of *musu*, or *muisu*?) is explained by Muhammad as "half-grown chicks" (*zișana za kuku wakuu katiti*), quite small ones being *zișiso* (pl. of *kijiso*).

The following rough attempt at a metrical version represents fairly well the main drift of the original—which, it may be thought, is scarcely worth the trouble. But it is not without interest, from a linguistic point of view.

**Fowl:** My friend, I see you seated in
Dark corners, lurking like a jinn,
Or, in the evening, bent on sin,
A-roaming up and down.

**Cat:** O Fowl, from ribald talk refrain—
The laws which common folk restrain
Are nought to us who still maintain
Our fame and high renown.

**Fowl:** If ye were noble as ye say
(My words no fear of you shall stay)
Ye sure would walk abroad by day
For all the world* to see.

**Cat:** If that we list to walk by day,
We'll do it—'tis the freeman's way:
Let Simambali city say,
Or the Goans' isle so free.

**Fowl:** Let Simambali's haughty sons
Swagger abroad with swords and guns:
'Tis *wee*, the gently-nurtured ones
Must shun the light of day.

**Cat:** Emezi once, and Simambal'
Were glorious, with bower and hall
Stone-built, and ships majestic
Sailed thence the ocean way.

**Fowl:** If once the sun strike head of ours
We melt like wax and wilt like flowers:
We are not solid walls or towers
To be scaled by thieves like you!

**Cat:** No thieves are we: who reave our gear
Are thou and thine. So, when ye rear
Three pullets, know that we draw near
To snatch one as our due!
THE DIALECTS OF THE ZANZIBAR SULTANATE

By W. H. INGRAMS, Assistant District Commissioner, Zanzibar

INTRODUCTION

THE language of Zanzibar par excellence is Swahili, and Zanzibar may be said to be the home of this language, not in the sense that its oldest form is spoken there, but because the Zanzibar dialect has come to be known best, owing to the writings of such men as Steere, Madan, Sacleux, and, to some extent, Krapf, though his dictionary is mainly devoted to the Mombasa dialect. Also in the days of the opening up of Africa, explorers and traders generally fixed up their caravans in Zanzibar, and these porters and soldiers journeyed into the far interior, some of them remaining there and thus making Swahili a lingua franca understood, as Steere says, along the coasts of Madagascar and Arabia, and in Central or inter-Tropical Africa, as well as by the Seedees (Sidis) in India.

The old classical or literary Swahili is known as Kingozi, and there are but few specimens of it surviving. The name is said to be derived from Ngozi, the plot of land where the palace of the old King of Pate stood. Ngozi in Swahili means skin, and the application of the word to the place suggests the story of Carthage, and also that of Kilwa, though there the land was bought from a neighbouring chieftain for the cost of surrounding it with cloth. A similar story is extant at Tumbatu.

The Arabs have made of Swahili a language full of Arabic words Swahiliized, and this form of speech has been carried by Arab traders as far as the Congo.

It would be difficult to say what is the purest form of Swahili spoken to-day. The word itself is Arabic and means the people of the coasts (Sawahlil). Ki-swahili means the language of these people. Ki-swahili may, therefore, legitimately include words of Arabic origin, as the Swahili people have been intermarrying with the Arabs for many centuries.

In the Zanzibar protectorate there are several dialects and, even in the town itself, several forms of speech, which vary only as the

1 Except in poems, of which large numbers are known to exist. Some of the MSS. appear to be of considerable antiquity, comparatively speaking.—A. W.
speech of Whitechapel varies from that of Whitehall. In the Arab quarter of Baghani many words are used but slightly disguised. In Malindi the harsh gutturals of Arabs born in Arabia are more apparent, while in Ngambo the speech is far more African.

The speech generally of Zanzibar is known as Kiunguja, Unguja being the native name of the island.

In the outlying portions of the Sultanate there are three dialects, the first of which has several forms.

Kihadimu is the dialect of the Wahadimu. These people live in the south and east of the island. The most archaic form of their language is spoken in Makunduchi and Jembiyani, large villages of respectively 1,500 and 400 huts on the south-east. This dialect is totally incomprehensible when spoken to a person knowing only Kiunguja, owing not only to the number of different words and the peculiar conjugations of the verbs, but to its unusual pronunciation, which is very nasal.

Coming northwards up the east coast the dialect of the next two villages, Bwejuu and Paje, varies again and has forms peculiar to itself. Nearly every village has different forms till one reaches Nungwi, the northernmost village of the island, where, if an inhabitant spoke in his own dialect to a man of Makunduchi speaking his own dialect, they would to some extent not understand each other, and to an outsider would appear to be speaking different languages.

Kizimkazi, the most south-westerly village in the island, and the old capital, has a number of forms peculiar to itself, but coming northwards up the west coast the dialect approximates more and more to Kiunguja proper.

But these dialects are to-day known as Kikale or Kikae, a word meaning archaic, and while they are used in the villages, Kiunguja is known to most of the people.

Separated by a channel about a mile wide from the north-west of the island of Zanzibar is that of Tumbatu, where the dialect used is called Kitumbatu. This has many forms in common with Kihadimu, but nevertheless differs more from the various forms of the latter than they do from each other.

The Wapemba, so-called aborigines of Pemba, speak another dialect called Kipemba, which again varies considerably from Kihadimu and Kitumbatu.

In addition to the dialects of every day there are others used by the witchcraft guilds. In Pemba this is known as Kipepo, and is
spoken in different ways by the Robamba, Kumbwaya, and Umundi guilds. In Zanzibar there is a similar dialect called Kimundi.

The medicine men have a form of speech, consisting mostly of peculiar names for the trees and herbs they use, which is called Kiganga. There are different forms of this in Zanzibar and Pemba.

Kinyume is not a dialect, but an enigmatic way of speaking. The commonest form, at which many natives are expert, is the transposition of the last syllable of a word to the beginning. This causes a shift of the accent. e.g. mbengo nguwa faameku naja for ng'ombe wangu amekusá jana.

EXPLANATORY NOTES ON THE VOCABULARIES

Possessive Pronouns and the Preposition "of"

The vy-forms are, except in Kipemba, only used adverbially: Tseende vyetu, let us go home.

In their possessive sense these pronouns have the ordinary form: Nguo zangu, my clothes.

In Kipepo, K signifies the Kumbwaya and Pungwa guilds; U the Umundi (Mdindi).

J signifies the name Juma bin Hassan, one of the principal witch doctors in Pemba, who was my informant. The words thus marked are used in Robamba and perhaps in Umundi. Uk = Unguja kuu.

Robamba is spoken in a drawling way, Umundi and Kumbwaya fast.

Shingazija is of course not properly a Zanzibar dialect. I give it as not much of it has been published (except by Heepe). There are about 10,000 Comorians in Zanzibar. It may be said to be a native language in the same way as Gujarati and Arabic, which are so described in the Code of Regulations, and for the knowledge of which, in addition to Higher Standard Swahili, a bonus of £50 is allowed. There may be said to be a Zanzibar dialect of Arabic, as there are those of Egypt, Syria, Hejjaz, Hadhramaut, Iraq, and Muscat.
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**Notes:**
- **Muju:** The word for water in Bambuti.
- **Lamba:** The word for water in the Bantu language.
- **Mwana Mume:** The word for water in the Mwe language.
- **Mkalongo:** The word for water in the Mkalongo language.
- **Bacha (Old):** The word for water in the Bwa language.
- **Kyungo:** The word for water in the Kyungo language.
- **Kizange:** The word for water in the Kizange language.

**Other Notes:*
- **Jua:** The word for water in the Ju language.
- **Mndi:** The word for water in the Mndi language.
- **Luju:** The word for water in the Luju language.
- **Kuba:** The word for water in the Kuba language.
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THE MATHARA-VRTTI

By Professor A. Berriedale Keith

In a paper contributed to the Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume in 1917, Professor S. K. Belvalkar announced the discovery of a new commentary on the Sāṁkhya-kārikā by Māthara, and identified it with the lost Sanskrit original of the commentary on that work preserved in the Chinese translation of Paramārtha (c. A.D. 550). Commenting on this suggestion in 1918, I observed that derivation of the newly discovered commentary and of Paramārtha from the same source was an alternative possibility. Professor Belvalkar has now, in a paper which was written to form part of the collection presented to Professor Hillebrandt on his 70th birthday, and is published in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, adduced reasons in support of his original suggestion.

There are two questions immediately involved: the first is the relation of the new commentary to the version of Paramārtha and the commentary of Gaudapāda; the second is the authorship of the commentary. The first rests on internal, the second on external, evidence, and, by citing parallel passages in extenso, Professor Belvalkar has greatly simplified the task of any investigator of the facts.

The first point which clearly appears is that there are large portions of text present in Paramārtha and in the new commentary, which are omitted in Gaudapāda. But what is requisite is to establish that there are grounds for holding that Paramārtha’s version was derived from the new commentary, and not merely from the original of it, and no evidence to this effect is now adduced by Professor Belvalkar. On the contrary, he admits candidly that the new commentary has been contaminated by admixture from Gaudapāda, and even cites a verse of the Hastāmalaka, ascribed to Čaṇkara, and he places the amount of students’ interpolations at as high as twenty per cent. This is a very different thing from his contention in 1917 that Gaudapāda’s Bhāṣya was “merely a paltry abstract of the Māthara-Vṛtti with an occasional addition here and there”. As a matter of fact, the extracts given in order to show the relationship of the new commentary and Gaudapāda, and to support the conclusion that Gaudapāda’s work is a “simplified abridgment—with an occasional

1 pp. 171–84.  
2 Sāṁkhya System, p. 70, n. (ed. 2, p. 80, n. 2).  
3 1924, pp. 133–8. I am indebted to the author for a copy of this paper.  
4 p. 168.  
5 p. 148.
addition here and there which is implied in simplification—of the Māthara-Vṛtti” yield no such result. Professor Belvarkar does not point to anything proving derivation of one from the other, and, as he admits contamination of the new commentary by use of Gaudapāda, it would be more legitimate to claim that Gaudapāda’s work formed the basis of much of the Māthara-Vṛtti. The true conclusion, however, is obviously that both go back to an original commentary which neither faithfully preserved, and which is also inaccurately represented by the translation of Paramārtha.\(^1\)

The second question then presents itself: what is the value of the title Māthara-Vṛtti? It is given in one MS. of Saṁvat 1457, and it would be idle to regard this as in the slightest degree conclusive evidence of authorship. If there really were a famous commentary on the Sāṁkhya-kārikā by Māthara, we would expect to find it mentioned elsewhere, and Professor Belvarkar claims\(^2\) that references have been discovered to Māthara or Mādhara in the Nandīśūtra and the Anuyogadēvārasūtra of the Jainas, which belong to a time not later than about A.D. 450. But it is most important to note what these references are; they consist simply in the fact that, in lists of works, after the Sāṭhitāntanāṃ appears the Mādharam,\(^3\) and the obvious meaning of this is confirmed by Guṇaratna Sūri in his commentary on the Saddarçana-samuccaya, who talks of the Saṣṭhitantroddhārārūpam Mātharabhāṣya as the first of his authorities for the Sāṁkhya. The Mādhara, therefore, was an exposition of the Saṣṭhitantra, and not of the Sāṁkhya-kārikā or Sāṁkhya-saṃpadati, which is given separately by Guṇaratna, followed by the Tatvavakumudī and the Gaudapāda, the Ātreyatantra, etc. The notice of Rājaçekhara Sūri, cited by Belvarkar,\(^4\) is obviously a reproduction of exactly the same notice as that in Guṇaratna. Contrast this with the comment of the new commentary on the last Kārikā of the ordinary text of the Sāṁkhya-kārikā; there is no hint to connect this work with the Saṣṭhitantroddhārārūpam of Guṇaratna. Further, we have the fact that Paramārtha leaves us entirely without any suggestion that he knew the name of Māṭhara, and Gaudapāda and Vācaspati are equally silent.

We have, moreover, a very interesting piece of evidence in Guṇaratna, which tells definitely against the use by Paramārtha of the Māṭhara-Bhāṣya. Professor Belvarkar\(^5\) cites in support of his

\(^{1}\) As in the case of the extra Kārikā interpolated after 61.  
\(^{2}\) p. 155.  
\(^{3}\) See Weber, Ind. Stud., xvii, 9.  
\(^{4}\) Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, p. 174.  
\(^{5}\) Annals, p. 154.
theory the fact that Maladharī Rājaçekhara (A.D. 1350) "actually quotes a stanza from the Māthara-Vṛtti under Kārikā 37 :—
hasa piba lala moda nityam
viṣayam upabhuṁja kuru ca mā cañkām
yadi viditam te Kāpilamataṁ
tat prāpsyase mokṣasaukhyam ca.
which is unknown to Gauḍapāda, while Paramārtha seems to give in the same place what appears to be a translation of the more familiar verse :—
pāñcaviṁcitatattvajñō yatra tatrācrane rataḥ
jaṭi muṇḍi cikhi vāpi mucyate nātra saṁcayaḥ."
Now Guṇaratna ¹ gives us the former quotation in an improved form as Mātharapraṇṭe, which can only mean at the close of the Māthara-Bhāṣya—where, indeed, one would expect to find it, and then goes on to give the second verse as āstrāntare. This means, as all our evidence above also shows, that Paramārtha followed a different authority from the Māthara-Bhāṣya.

There is, therefore, no possible conclusion other than that the new commentary on the Sāṁkhya-kārikā is not what the discoverer claims it to be, the Mādhara referred to in the Jain texts. Why the title Māthara-Vṛtti was accorded to it in the MS., we cannot say for certain; very possibly it contains some matter which appeared in the real Māthara-Bhāṣya; conceivably it is the work of a later Māthara; but we are not called upon to account for the many absurd ascriptions of authorship by scribes.

It follows from this conclusion that no weight can be attached to the attempt ² to push the date of Içvara-kṛṣṇa back to the first century A.D. or the first part of the second, by the argument that, as the new commentary styles him Bhagavant, and as Māthara lived before A.D. 450, Içvara-kṛṣṇa must be allowed to be at least as old as the dates suggested. On the contrary, the date of the commentary may reasonably be regarded as shown to be late by this use of Bhagavant; the time of Içvara-kṛṣṇa evidently lay far beyond the compiler, since an additional Kārikā is boldly added to the established text.³

These negative results leave us in the position that we now have three sources for the reconstruction of the original of Paramārtha, but these three are quite inadequate to enable us to carry out any satisfactory reconstruction; a certain amount of matter alone can be established as belonging to the original source, far too little to be of

1 p. 96. ² p. 168. ³ p. 147.
substantial value. Was this original by Īcvaraṅkaṇa as Dr. Takakusu once suggested? We are left merely to conjecture, but one point may be noted, as it bears very definitely on the issue, and has not yet been adduced. We find given expressly as by Īcvaraṅkaṇa himself a definition of the Kārikā allusion to the nature of perception, viz. prativiśayādhyavasāyō drṣṭam, to the following effect: pratiniyata-dhyavasāyah crotādisamuttho 'dhyakṣam. This looks precisely as if we had before us a citation from Īcvaraṅkaṇa's own elucidation of his Kārikā, and the idea is strengthened by what we read in Gaudapāda, who has: prativiśayesaḥ crotādīnām cābdadivivayesv adhyavasāyo drṣṭam prayakṣam ity arthaḥ. It is significant that the new commentary uses netrādi in lieu of crotādī in its version, thus departing from the version ascribed to Īcvaraṅkaṇa, which is the obvious and natural order and is followed by the new commentary on Kārikā 4, as by Gaudapāda. As the Kārikā is no more than a summary of established doctrine—whether in Sūtra form or not—it was to be expected that Īcvaraṅkaṇa should comment on it, and here we seem to have definite proof of his doing so, apart from the question of his identity with Vindhyavāsin or Vindhyavāsa, of whom we have prose citations of commentary type. On that point there is no doubt that Guṇaratna's evidence is negative in character, for he certainly cites Vindhyavāsin apart from Īcvaraṅkaṇa. We have, of course, the possibility that he drew from different sources, as these commentators often do, and that in one case he simply took the name as given: this is strongly supported by the fact that the verse which he cited is found also in the Syādvādamañjarī of Malliṣeṇa, which was doubtless familiar to him; if so, there is nothing in his evidence to negate the identity suggested by Takakusu. What is clear is that, as pointed out elsewhere, we must distinguish between the Śāṅkhya teacher Vindhyavāsa or Vindhyavāsin and the Mīmāṁsā authority Vindhyavāsin, who rejected inter alia an ātīvāhika carára, and cannot possibly have been Īcvaraṅkaṇa or perhaps even a writer on Śāṅkhya.

1 J.R.A.S., 1905, p. 50: apparently withdrawn later (Garbe, Śāṅkhya-Philosophie, p. 86).
2 Guṇaratna, p. 108.
3 p. 151.
4 Bhojaraṇya on Yoga Sūtra, iv, 22.
5 But he also cites the Kārikā without naming Īcvaraṅkaṇa (pp. 98, 102, 103, 109), and as at p. 103 he says Śāṅkhyaṣṭīrtham ācē, it looks as if he were citing at second hand again. This is confirmed by his citation, slightly incorrectly, of Kārikā 62 (p. 107), as Kāpilāḥ, while just above an incorrect version of Muniṣaka Upaniṣad, i, 2, 10, occurs. The citation from Patañjali (p. 105) is not in the Yoga Sūtra.
7 Karma-Mīmāṁsā, p. 59.
AN EMBASSY FROM KING JOHN TO THE EMPEROR OF MOROCCO

By E. Denison Ross

ON pages 559–64 of Vol. II of Chronica Majora of Matthew Paris (London, 1874) we find under the date of A.D. 1213 the following curious anecdote regarding King John. The heading runs: Qualiter rex desperans miserit ad admirantium Murmelim.† The story, which never seems to have attracted the attention it deserves, is of considerable interest to students of Islamic history, whether it be based on fact or no.

HOW THE KING IN DESPAIR SENT TO THE AMIR UL-MU'MININ

He therefore sent most secret envoys with all haste, namely Thomas of Herdington, Radulfus, son of Nicholas Esquire, and Robert of London, a cleric, to the Admiralus Murmelius, King of Africa, Morocco and Spain, who is commonly known as Miramumelius (i.e. Amir ul-Mu'minin), announcing that he was fully prepared to hand over himself and his kingdom and to hold the same from him, and if it pleased [the Moorish king] would become his tributary. That he would not merely relinquish the Christian faith, which he considered vain, but would adhere faithfully to the law of Mohammed. Which, when the said envoys had secretly received, they arrived at the court of the said prince. They found a few armed men at the first gate guarding the inner approaches with drawn swords. At the second entrance (courtyard) to the palace they found soldiers armed to the fist and smarter than the former ones, and as one might judge, stronger and more noble than the others. In the second entrance of the inner palace they found what were apparently more powerful, more ferocious, and more numerous soldiers than in the first. When they were quietly ushered in, by permission of the amir himself (for their great king is called admiralius), the envoys, on behalf of their king that is of England, saluted respectfully and explained fully the reason of their coming, delivering a royal letter, which was clearly translated by an interpreter who had been called in. This having been understood, the king closed the book he had been perusing; for

† This narrative is also to be found in the Gesta Abbatum S. Albani, i, pp. 236–42 (Riley). An English version is to be found in the J. A. Giles’ Translation of Roger of Wendover (vol. ii, pp. 283–6) [Bohn. London, 1849].
by his throne there was seated a scholar, a man of youthful age and stature, but mature in bearing, eloquent in speech, and circumspect. And after a little, as if conferring with himself, he replied, modestly saying: "I have just been reading a book in Greek written by a learned Greek Christian by name of Paul, whose manner and words have given me much pleasure, and I accept them. One thing about him, however, displeases me, namely that he did not remain in the faith in which he was born, but with inconstancy flew over to another one like a fugitive. And now I say the same thing of your English King, who in a waxen (soft) and unsteady way is sliding away [glosit transmear] after abandoning the most holy and universal faith of the Christians in which he was born." And then he added: "The omnipotent God, the Creator of all things, from whom nothing is hidden, knows that if I were an infidel (exile) I would choose that faith above all others, and would embrace it whole-heartedly." He next inquired what was the condition of the King of England and his kingdom. To this Thomas, the most eloquent of the envoys replied: "He was born of kingly ancestors, noble and free, his lands are rich and content with its blessings, cultivation, pastures, and meadows, and it abounds in forests. From it all kinds of metals are extracted by the process of conflatio (smelting). Our race is erudite and ingenious, and learned in their tongues, namely Latin, French, and English, also fully instructed in liberal and mechanical arts. However, our land does not produce any vineyards or olive groves or fir-trees, but obtains these in abundance from neighbouring countries by way of trade. The air is salubrious and temperate; lying between the west and the north, it takes coolness from the north, and the result is an agreeable temperature. As it is encompassed round by the sea it may be called the Queen of Islands. Being a kingdom governed by an appointed and crowned [head], and being recognized from of old as free and ingenious (independent) looking to none but God for guidance. Our church and the practice of our religion there more than in any part of the world has prospered and is ruled by the Papal and royal laws."

Having heaved a deep sigh from the depth of his bosom, the [Moorish] king replied: "I have never either heard nor read of any king possessing such a prosperous and loyal kingdom, who wished of his own accord to ruin his own principality, and to turn a free into a tributary state, to pass it from himself to a stranger, and from happiness to misery, and to surrender himself unwounded voluntarily
to another. Rather I have often read and heard of those who with much shedding and spilling of blood have gained freedom for themselves, which is laudable. Now I learn that your master is despicable, mean, and cowardly, that he is less than a nobody; he wished to turn from a free man into a slave, which is most despicable, indeed most wretched—(nullique miserabilis).” He next inquired—but with contempt—regarding the king’s age, figure, and physical strength. To which the following answer was given: “He is about fifty years of age, and wholly white haired, strong in body, not stout but well set up and strongly built.” When the king heard this he said: “His strength of youth and manhood has already begun to cool and freeze. Within ten years, should he live so long, his strength will depart before he has achieved any real work if he now begins to go to pieces, nor shows any courage. He is really fifty, but he seems to be sixty. He’d better seek peace for the rest and lie low.” [Pace de cetero sibi adquirat et quiescat.] Weighing all the questions and replies of the envoys, the king after a brief interval of silence, having indicated his great indignation by pantomimic gestures [subsanatio], the Amir heaped abuse on King John in the following words: “He is no king, he is only a knight who is already in senile decay; I care not a bit for him, he is not worthy of making an alliance with me.” Then turning to Radulphus and Thomas, with a scowl he added: “Do not return to my presence, nor let your eyes look further on my face. The fame, or rather the infamy of your king, who has already apostasized, makes me positively ill.” The envoys having therefore retired with blushes of shame; the amir or king happened to notice Robert of London, who was one of the envoys, and who was small and dark, with one arm longer than the other, and mis-shaped fingers—two being joined together—and the face of a Jew. The amir, thinking that such a despicable person could not be deputed to explain so difficult a mission unless he had knowledge and understanding, observing his crown and tonsure, and realizing that he was a cleric, he ordered him to be summoned, who while the others were talking had remained silent, standing at a distance. He having been retained while the others were spurned, the king spoke of many things with him in secret which Robert divulged to his friends afterwards. The king asked him various questions about King John of England, saying that if he deviated from the truth in his replies he would never believe a Christian, especially a cleric, again. Robert, taking an oath by his Christian faith, undertook to answer everything truthfully.
He then answered the king that John was a tyrant rather than a king, a subverter rather than a ruler, the oppressor of his own people, and envious of others, a lion to his own subjects, a lamb to foreigners and rebels; who by his greed had lost the Duchy of Normandy and many other lands; and, further, was thirsting either to lose or destroy the kingdom of England. After scurrilous allusion to the king and his court, when the amir heard these things, he cursed him in accordance with his own faith and said: “Why do these wretched men allow such a one to rule over them? Of a truth they are effeminate slaves.” Robert replied: “The English are the most patient of men, until they are goaded beyond endurance. But now, being enraged, like a wounded lion or an elephant, they, though tardily, strive to remove their necks from under the yoke of the oppressor.” And when the amir had heard all this he criticized the excessive patience of the English; which the interpreter, who was present throughout, declared properly interpreted as formidolositas. Robert returned laden with gifts, but none for John nor even a greeting. When the envoys returned home, and announced to their master what they had heard, John was much grieved to learn that he should have been so slightly spoken of by that amir, and that he should have been baulked in his scheme, but Robert, having shown his respect to the king by giving him some of the rich gifts he had received, managed to get a more favourable hearing than the rest, although he had at first been kept quietly in the background. The king therefore honoured him more than all the others, and this rascally plunderer granted him the custody of the Abbey of St. Albans, although it was not vacant. So that this renegade from the faith rewarded his cleric with the goods of another.

The Moorish king referred to is no doubt the Almohade Abū ‘Abdullah An-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Abī Yūsuf, who ruled from A.H. 595 (A.D. 1199) to A.H. 610 (A.D. 1215). He was born in A.H. 576 (A.D. 1180). He is described by a contemporary writer, al-Marrākeshî,1 as being “brave but averse to the shedding of blood; and disinclined to discuss matters which he had not well studied.” His reign of nearly sixteen years was mainly occupied with the suppression of revolts in Africa, but in A.H. 607 (A.D. 1210), owing to the rupture of the peace he had concluded with the King of Spain, he crossed the sea to attack the Christians. At the beginning of A.H. 608 (A.D. 1211) he entered the

Christian territory and laid siege to the strong fortress of Salva Tierra, which he captured. He afterwards remained in Spain till the month of Ramazan, A.H. 609 (January, A.D. 1213), when he returned to Marrakesh, where he died in Shawban, A.H. 610 (December, A.D. 1213). The embassy of King John, if it went to Morocco and found the Moorish king in his capital, must have arrived either before A.D. 1211 or after A.D. 1213, January.

However, from a passage which occurs on pp. 565–6 it appears that the expedition of the Moorish king into Spain took place after his interview with King John, and therefore the embassy of King John must have arrived before A.D. 1211, although in the Chronicle it appears under A.D. 1213. The passage in question runs as follows:—

"About this time the king, or emir, Murmelius, of whom mention was made above, with a large army which he had collected, with John's consent, as is said, determined to take forcible possession of the kingdom of Spain; and he was inspired with this boldness by the wavering faith of King John, and the interdict on that kingdom. When, however, the Christian followers of the king of Spain heard of this, they bravely opposed him, and dispersed his whole army, and drove them from the country, after slaying his eldest son and capturing his royal standard."
REVIEWS OF BOOKS


The "Hill-Damara", as they are usually called in South Africa, have long provided one of the standing problems in anthropology. Cust, writing in 1883, says (Modern Languages of Africa, vol. ii, 438, 440): "A Negro race on the West Coast has been subdued by the Nama, and has adopted their language, and is called Dama or 'Conquered'. . . . Their proper name is Hawkoin [this is disproved by Herr Vedder, who shows that it is merely the Nama word for 'strangers']; the Nama call them Ghoodama. They are . . . in something akin to the Bushmen, loving the solitude of the desert and not caring for dwellings [but] possessing flocks and skilful in gardens and agriculture; small of stature and oppressed by the Herero and Nama, numbering thirty thousand at least, according to Palgrave." Herr Vedder puts their number, in recent years, at not more than 25,000. The form "Damara", as he points out, originated in an error, -ra being the feminine dual suffix. No doubt some inquirer, seeing two women and asking of what tribe they were, mistook the import of the answer "They are two Dama (women)".

It is the first time that a thorough study has been made of this intensely interesting tribe—"ein Völkchen, das entschieden das allerprimitivste des ganzen afrikanischen Südens ist." The author—who over ten years ago published in the Zeitschrift für Kolonialsprachen an excellent grammar of the Bushman language—has lived long enough in the country to be on intimate terms with a very shy and difficult people, and has thus collected an amount of information whose value cannot easily be over-estimated. This applies more especially to the sections headed respectively "Die Familie" and "Religion und Aberglaube"; but there is not a page in the book which the student can afford to neglect. The first volume appeals more especially to the anthropologist, the second to the linguist, but the latter, with its collection of carefully elucidated songs and proverbs, has an interest beyond the merely philological one.

The institution of the "Sacred fire" (pp. 20-38) is one to which
special attention should be directed. It appears to be peculiar to the Dama among non-Bantu and the Herero among Bantu tribes, and there is no indication that either has borrowed it from the other. The Herero living beyond the Kunene (known as Ovatjimba), who remained behind when the main body migrated southward, and have never been in contact with the Dama, observe this custom; and there are several striking differences in the ritual as practised by the two peoples. The Herero have no special tabus connected with the sacred fire—the Dama have many, and extinguish it if any one of them is infringed. The official called tsō-am-aob (translated by Vedder "Speisemeister"), whose functions are intimately connected with the sacred fire of the Dama, is quite unknown to the Herero. On the other hand, the Herero carefully and reverently preserve the drill used for lighting the fire, and hand it down from father to son; the Dama attach no special value to this implement.

The Dama social organization is of the most primitive kind. The family is the largest unit, and no kraal (werkft is the word in use here) contains more than one family—if we understand by this word the direct descendants of a man still living. There is no chief, but the head of the family. His head wife is the guardian of the sacred fire, and his right-hand man is the "Speisemeister" already mentioned, whose duties are to taste all provisions brought in (no doubt in order to take off a tabu, as Bantu chiefs have to taste the first of the new crops, so that it may be safe for the people to use them), to cook and distribute the meat, to attend to the sacred fire and kindle it afresh when necessary from the embers kept for the purpose in the head wife's hut. He is also employed as a messenger to other kraals, and is expected to possess a knowledge of medicinal herbs. He is appointed by the chief—not necessarily from among the members of his own family. "Der Ursprung dieses merkwürdigen Amtes... ist rätselhaft."

Enough has been said to show that we have here a noteworthy contribution to anthropological research, in a field where hitherto very scanty results have been obtained. It may be noted in passing, that the much-discussed Kattea or "Vaalpen" of the Transvaal, who have sometimes been set down as entirely mythical, are, in all probability "Bergdama". The author's remarks on the enormous difference observable in physique between those Dama who eke out a miserable existence in the Otavi hills, and those who go to work on farms—where they are well and regularly fed—recall the statement of Colonel Hodson (in a lecture delivered at this School) as to the higher type of
features and general appearance produced in the jungle tribes of India by improved conditions of living. It seems to be suggested that many so-called racial characteristics are less permanent than was once thought to be the case.

A. Werner.


Very little has appeared in English relative to the Wachaga since the publication of Sir Harry Johnston's *Kilimanjaro Expedition*. Mr. Dundas has been resident for many years in East Africa, latterly as Senior Commissioner in the Tanganyika Territory, and has made the fullest use of his opportunities for inquiring into the life of a little-known and extremely interesting people. The first chapter, containing a detailed description of the mountain (the summit was first reached by Dr. Hans Meyer in 1889), will be specially attractive to climbers. Some earlier travellers—no doubt unacquainted with the language, and staying too short a time to have any real intercourse with the people—have asserted that there are no myths or legends connected with Kilimanjaro, and that it does not seem in any way to have impressed the Chaga imagination. How far this is from the truth has already been demonstrated by Guttmann, and Mr. Dundas shows clearly what an important factor in tribal life it is. The highest peak, Kibo, "is the great landmark and focus of the Chaga people... The dead are buried with the face turned towards Kibo; the side of the village facing Kibo is the honourable side, where the house-master is buried, and the villagers assemble for feasts and councils."

The Wachaga appear to be a people of composite origin who have, in the course, probably, of some five centuries, evolved a singularly homogeneous culture, though never arriving at a political unity. They now form "twenty-eight small states, the population of which varies from 1,000 to 20,000 inhabitants", and of which, sometimes one, sometimes another has attained a sort of local and temporary supremacy. Some clans trace their descent from the Kamba, Taita, and other Bantu tribes, others from the Masai and Dorobo, but Mr. Dundas is disposed to think the Kamba the predominant strain. It seems probable that both Kamba and Chaga started from a common centre,
the former having migrated to the north and the latter to the south;
"the people of the small district called Keni in Rombo [on the S.E.
slope of Kilimanjaro] have a tradition that they are the ancestors of
the Kamba tribe, and curiously enough I have often been told by the
Kamba that they came from the region of Kilimanjaro."

There are legends of an aboriginal pygmy tribe called the Wacon-
yingo, who were encountered by the first Chaga settlers. These have
become in legend the "Elves" or "Good People" who haunt the
upper part of the mountain, recalling, in some particulars, the
mythical characteristics attributed to the Bushmen of South Africa.
Canon MacCulloch suggests that all the varied folk-lore concerned
with elves, dwarfs, trolls, etc., may have grown out of a belief in the
ghosts of vanished pygmy races. Another tradition relates to the
Umbo people, who invaded Kilimanjaro from Usambara, or, according
to some "were driven out of their own country and passed westwards
into an unknown land. The horde was so vast that it took seven
days for the whole to pass". It is remarkable that a similar name to
this crops up in at least three different parts of Africa. Near Mount
Kenya we have the Embu, in Nyasaland the A-mbo, inland from
Quelimane; further south, the Zulu Aba-mbo. The account given by
the Wachaga suggests the migration of the Zimba, who spread such
terror in the sixteenth century, and who may or may not be identical
with the "Jagas" who appeared on the Congo a hundred years
later—but no identity of name can be suggested here, even if it were
possible to take the zi- of Zimba for a prefix.

Many interesting passages call for quotation, but enough has been
said to show that we have here a most valuable contribution to African
anthropology. One is glad to see the appreciative notices of B. Gut-
mann, a writer whose work is far too little known in this country;
much of Mr. Dundas' book is avowedly based on it, and some passages
actually translated. But—as will be obvious to anyone who takes the
trouble to compare the parallel passages in Dichten und Denken der
Dschagga\textsuperscript{1}-Neger and Volksbuch der Wadschagga—Mr. Dundas has ob-
tained independent versions of most, if not all, of the tales and legends.
We would take this opportunity of calling attention to a highly im-
portant series of papers by the same writer, in the Zeitschrift für

\textsuperscript{1} German writers mostly adhere to this spelling, which suggests a doubt
whether the initial consonant is voiced or not. Sir H. H. Johnston has adopted
"Caga". "Chaga" seems to be the most satisfactory form for general use. It
is not clear why Mr. Dundas has retained the double g, while rejecting the dach :
this would be an unprecedented phenomenon in Bantu.
Eingeborenensprachen for 1923–4, entitled "Kerbstocklehren der Wadschagga", giving an account of the teaching symbolically conveyed by the old men in the initiation ceremonies, by means of notched sticks forming a kind of memoria technica. Mr. Dundas does not mention this, though he alludes to something of the sort as forming part of the girls' initiation.

A. W.


Captain Rattray has already rendered signal service, both to anthropology and linguistics, by his Chinyanja Folk-Lore (surely this ought to be reprinted!), Hausa Folk-Lore, Ashanti Proverbs, and his grammar of the little-known Mole language. But we may be pardoned for thinking that the present volume surpasses in value all his previous works. It is a determined and, one is convinced, successful effort to get below the surface of Ashanti belief and ritual, and to show that much which seems to us strange and even repulsive is not without its reason, and that a relatively sound one. The name Ashanti is for most of us associated with unspeakable horrors of blood and licen—though Dr. R. A. Freeman and Dr. Claridge should have done something towards dissipating that ancient prejudice—so that a passage like the following will come with a shock of surprise: "I approached these old people and this difficult subject (their religious beliefs) in the spirit of one who came to them as a seeker after truths... which not all the learning nor all the books of the white man could ever give to me.

... I attended these ceremonies with all the reverence and respect I could accord to something which I felt to have been already very old before the religion of my country had yet been born as a new thought, yet not so entirely new, but that even its roots stretched back and were fed from that same stream which still flows in Ashanti to-day."

Some of the invocations and prayers here translated are very remarkable, and equally so the "oracles", utterances of a priest or medium, e.g. the following ascribed to the spirit Ta Kora:

"From the time of Osai Tutu until the reign of Agyiman, if any one were in need and he came to me and told me, I made it right for him... I am called Ta Kora, if it be that anything is spoiled, I mend it (kora, to mend)... The man who loves me comes to me, and when he goes away, I shall stand behind him and accompany him on a good path that he may go his way. And this one who has come
[Captain Rattray], I grant him permission to go to my rock should he wish to go. Let him go and behold the place where I reside . . . Many of my children say they will go to school, and I do not stand in their path and say they must not serve the Supreme God. In my own being, I am the son of God, and if my grandchildren say that the white man loves me and has drawn nigh to me, I, too, shall stand behind him.”

The detailed description of the various ceremonies which the author witnessed in person, and which were explained to him by the most competent native authorities, is extremely valuable. The fact that he was allowed to be present—and was, moreover, conducted to the most jealously guarded sacred places: the Bosomtwe Lake, the source of the Tano and the Bosomtwe Rock—speaks volumes for the confidence with which he has been able to inspire the people.

The chapter on the Drum Language (the substance of which has already appeared in the African Society’s Journal) introduces a subject of great interest, and one not hitherto studied in detail by any English writer. It appears that phoneticians do not agree with the writer as to the possibility of rendering the tones of the language on the drum, but this point cannot be argued here. Of great importance, also, are the very full discussion of relationship systems contained in Chapters I and II—in which, incidentally, an entirely unexpected light is thrown on the position of Ashanti women—and the account of land tenure in Chapter XXI. Attention must also be directed to the passages dealing with the Golden Stool, which has been the object of so much misapprehension. The question of the Ashanti “gold-weights” which has been a standing puzzle to the ethnographer (some having come to the conclusion that they were not weights at all, but a kind of memoria technica for tales and proverbs) is very fully elucidated, and, we venture to think, finally settled.

The general appearance of the volume is quite in keeping with the traditions of the Oxford University Press, and the numerous photographs are of unusual interest, and sometimes of real beauty.

A. W.


Kpelle is a member of the Mande (Mandingo) speech-group, which occupies an extensive area in West Africa. This is well shown in
Sir H. H. Johnston's map (Liberia, vol. ii, p. 1093), but should be somewhat extended, as this writer does not include Kpelle (called by him Kpwesi or Gbele 1) in the Mandingo group. There seems no doubt, however, that it should be so placed, and that, with its sub-dialects of Toma, Gbunde, and Gbande, and the closely related Mano, Gio, and Mende languages, it forms a subdivision which Westermann calls the Kpelle-Mende group. This belongs, with Susu and some others, to what M. Delafosse has called the Mande-fu division, fu being their word for the numeral 10, while other Mande languages have tamu.

The Mande languages "bilden eine geschlossene Einheit von eigenem Typus" and cannot be classed with the author's Sudanic family, as the greater number of their word-stems consist of two syllables, in marked contrast to the monosyllabic basis of the latter. Another peculiarity is the change in the initial consonant of a noun when used definitely (voiceless consonants become voiced, voiced ones prefix a nasal)—a change which takes the place of an article. But the definite noun, in addition, takes a suffix, and as the plural is also formed by means of a suffix, it is a little difficult to understand Professor Westermann's remark, "Die Affixlosigkeit teilen sie [die Mandingo-sprachen] mit den Krusprachen und dem Songai." In genitive construction the possessor comes before the thing possessed—the reverse arrangement to that of the Bantu languages; and the position of the direct object is between the subject and the verb.

Tone is a conspicuous feature in Kpelle, though stress is not altogether absent; there is a slight stress on the stem-syllable in polysyllabic words. Pairs of similar words only distinguishable by tone are not uncommon; thus, ye with the level tone is "hand", but with the high tone "cotton".

The grammar proper only takes up twenty pages of Professor Westermann's book, but, as he says, it does not profess "eine vollständige Darstellung des Sprachbaues zu geben, sondern will nur das Verständnis der Texte und den Gebrauch des Wörterbuches erleichtern." The texts, indeed, are the most valuable part of the work, and will appeal, not only to the student of language but also to the anthropologist. They comprise descriptions of native industries, institutions and customs, tales and legends, etc.

The notation employed is Meinhof's (adapted from Lepsius),

1 N. W. Thomas (Specimens of Languages from Sierra Leone) calls it "Pwese"; older writers "Pessy" and "Pessa".
which, in the absence of a universal agreement on the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association, is, perhaps, the most satisfactory that could be adopted.

A. Werner.


The Tumbuka-Henga (the reason for this composite designation is given in Mr. Cullen Young’s preface) inhabit the region west of the north end of Lake Nyasaa. The language strongly resembles Nyanja, but preserves various features which tend to be lost in the latter—e.g. the li- prefix of Class 5, and the distinct forms for “father” and “mother” according to relationship with the speaker, as in Zulu. The three locative classes evidently exist (see p. 98) though not recognized as such. The author’s modest apology for “entire lack of training for scientific grammar-making as now understood” must disarm criticism, and the amount of first-hand material here collected—with an amount of care and patience only to be estimated by any one who has personally attempted the same work—outweighs in value the most thoroughly “scientific” grammar compiled on theoretical lines only. But we may be permitted to dissent from the view that “Dative” is the best term to use for the verbal form in -ira (-era). Mr. Cullen Young says that it “has not yet received any accepted title”. This is so far true that no one term has yet gained universal acceptance; but “Applied” and “Prepositional” have so far distanced all competitors; and of these (both of which seem preferable to “Dative”) I should unhesitatingly vote for the former. The section headed “The Alphabet” (which, as its very title implies, is written without reference to recent developments in phonetics) is disappointing in that it contains no reference to the combinations so unusual in Bantu, sk, zg (wiske, baulizga). It is not easy to see whether this is a case of a vowel being dropped between the two consonants: analogy seems to suggest that they might represent a sound occurring in other languages as sh, zh (f. 3), (wiske “his father” =ishe in Shambala, Old Swahili, and elsewhere).

A curious point is the existence of a word lichila “hammock”, evidently a back-formation from machila, borrowed from the Portuguese (probably through the Anyanja), and regarded as a plural. The origin of this word, however, seems by no means certain.
The "Notes on the Origins and History of the Tumbuka-Henga Peoples" are most valuable, and should be commended to the attention of all ethnologists. The Portuguese records show, in the light of present-day knowledge, that some tribes at least occupied approximately their present positions as much as 300 years ago, which entails some modification of the current view. The Tumbuka tribe, by the by, are mentioned by Lacerda as "inhabiting the upper reaches of the Loangwa" in 1796.

A. W.

Afrikanische Relikte und Indianische Entlehnungen in der Kultur der Buschnegrier Surinams. Eine vergleichende ethnographische Studie. Von Gerhard Lindblom. 9 1/2 x 7, pp. 120, 1 plate, 29 illustrations in text. Göteborg (Sweden): Wettergren and Kerber, 1924.

This interesting study, which, however, professes to be merely preliminary and tentative, is based on an examination of the objects brought from Surinam by Baron Klinkowström in 1890, and now deposited in the Stockholm Museum. Though Dr. Lindblom has not in this case carried out his inquiries in situ, he is by no means inexperienced in field-work, as proved by his study of the Akamba, published some years ago. On the whole, the results arrived at go to show that the negroes of Guiana mostly came from the Gold Coast and adjacent regions, though there are some traces of derivation from the Congo—e.g. in the kifunga charm, a sort of tripod erected at the entrance of a village, to keep away evil influences. Dr. Laman is quoted by the author as deriving this word from the Kikongo verb funga, which he renders "vertreiben (Geister, etc.)." But it might be pointed out that the Swahili funga "fasten" is used of securing a place with similar charms ("binding" the spirits, as it were), and rough arches, like those described by Plehn for Kamerun (quoted on pp. 90, 91), are sometimes, in East Africa, set up as a protection against epidemics. This funga appears to be derived from a primitive Bantu root (for which Meinhof suggests the form tûnga), which might easily acquire the special meaning it now has in Kikongo, as in Zulu it has become restricted to that of "swearing". The wooden lock figured on p. 21 also occurs in some parts of East Africa—where it is clearly derived from Arabia. But in spite of such stray links with the east, it seems quite clear that the negro population of Surinam is mainly of West African origin.

A. W.

We have received from Messrs. Longmans, Green and Co. two of the excellent Zulu Readers prepared for the use of Native schools in Natal by Mr. James Stuart, formerly Magistrate at Durban, whose knowledge of Zulu is equalled by few, if any, Europeans. The texts here given have all been dictated by natives, and comprise traditional narratives, folk-tales, some of the praise-chants (izibongo) of the Zulu kings, descriptions of customs (such as the Umkosi, or feast of first-fruits), and crafts (the cutting-out of hide shields, and carving of knob-kerns and throwing-sticks) and proverbs (iziyag). If we might venture a criticism it would be to regret that so many of the texts deal with incidents calculated to give an exaggerated idea of Zulu ferocity and bloodthirstiness. One wishes, for instance, that the editor could have included an account of Cetshwayo’s “City of Refuge” for unfortunates accused of witchcraft and the noble eulogy of the same chief pronounced by Ndabuko and others, in 1880. These two Readers (a better description would be “collections of Zulu literature”) will be found very useful for Europeans learning the language (especially as the old and unusual words occurring in the songs are explained in notes), and the same may be said of the admirable Xosa (Kafir) Readers for which the Rev. Candlish Koti is responsible. These last are not so exclusively derived from Native sources, containing a certain amount of translated or adapted matter, but, the author being himself a Xosa, the language may be accepted as unimpeachable. Both these important South African dialects (they practically form one language) are taught in this School, and the Readers will be very welcome as class-books.

A. W.

The East India House. By William Foster, C.I.E. (The Bodley Head, 12s. 6d. net.)

This most interesting volume throws light from many unexpected quarters on the history of the East India Company. It contains, for instance, the first precisely accurate description of the early organization of the Company, about which so many historians have gone astray. It traces the growth of the Company’s great house which lay in the angle between Leadenhall Street and Lime Street, it narrates the
doings, many of them quaint, and some of them significant, of the Court of Directors. It describes the organization of the home servants, who included not only men of letters like Lamb and Peacock, but Orientalists like Wilkins and Wilson. Mr. Foster does not forget to provide his readers with an account of the origin of the India Office Library, in 1798, when the Company decided to create an "Oriental Repository", in 1801 appointing Wilkins Librarian, and assembling the books and curiosities till then scattered through the departments and warehouses. The Company was a generous and discerning patron, and set a noble example to its successor, the Secretary of State in Council, in the way of acquiring MSS. and encouraging the study of the East.

H. H. D.

A Short History of India. By E. B. Havell. (Macmillan, 3s. 6d.)

This little book is intended for use in schools. It is written in an interesting manner—particularly that part of it which relates to the Hindu period, although Mr. Havell appears to believe that the whole of Indian civilization was imported by the Aryan-speaking tribes. The later part is disfigured in several places by curious errors of detail. For instance, on p. 199, Clive is said to have only just reached Madras when the news of the Black Hole arrived; on p. 204 a salt-monopoly is alleged to have been granted to the Company by Mir Ja'far; on p. 206 we are told that the Company acquired Benares ten years before its cession; and on p. 220, the functions of the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors are completely misunderstood.

H. H. D.


MM. Féghali and Cuny, armed with M. Meillet's theory on the origin of grammatical gender in the Indo-European languages, have set out to blaze a pioneer trail through the forest of Semitic gender. Although the Semitic languages have no neuter, they assume, on the very slender ground of the existence of a neuter pronoun in ancient Egyptian and in Berber, that proto-Semitic did originally possess an "inanimate" category, and aim at proving that the nouns which are characterized by a "feminine" termination are its representatives in the later Semitic languages. Their actual arguments, however, go to show no more than that in a number of cases the "feminine" termination is a later addition to an originally undifferentiated form. It seems essential
to the success of any investigation of gender in Semitic to determine the origin and function of the "feminine" terminations, but the authors content themselves with a few vague allusions to this. One is surprised also to find them deprecating reference to semantic categories, for not only is M. Meillet's own argument almost entirely semantic, but it is difficult to conceive that the theory can be demonstrated on any other basis. It is not enough to show that many words which are neuter in Indo-European are feminine in Semitic; it must be shown, if the author's thesis is to be proved, that the feminine attribution conceals a conception of the objects as inanimate. Moreover, MM. Féghali and Cuny have not taken into account the fact that the triliteral structure of Semitic necessitates some modification of the methods applied to Indo-European roots; derivatives, for example, and plurals (at least in Arabic) can rarely, if ever, be cited in evidence. Finally, any thorough investigation of Semitic genders must surely utilize to some extent the researches of Littmann, Schwabe, Albrecht, Fischer, Rosenberg, Brockelmann, and Barth, to mention but a few of those who have already made a substantial clearing in the forest.

H. A. R. G.


The student of Indian painting of the Muhammadan period has no longer ground for complaint of lack of material for the purposes of study. The attractive series of coloured cards issued by the British Museum has made a certain number of these paintings widely known, and in two publications of the India Museum some of the finest examples of the schools of Humayun and Jahangir have been reproduced. The contributions made by German scholars are perhaps less well known in this country, e.g. Dr. Ernst Kühnel in his Miniaturlmalerei im islamischen Orient, 1922, gives nearly 50 examples of Indian paintings, and the same author has, in collaboration with Dr. Hermann Goetz, recently brought out a magnificent volume—Indische Buchmalereien aus dem Jahangir-Album der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—which very successfully reproduces in colour a collection of pictures, once in the possession of the Emperor Jahangir. This work, with its scholarly text and its detailed study of the individual pictures, indicates the direction in which future publications may best aid the study of Indian painting of the Muhammadan period, namely, the preparation of monographs upon separate collections or volumes, the pictures of
which clearly belong to one and the same period. For Mr. Percy Brown’s comprehensive work will render unnecessary for some time any attempt to take a complete survey of the whole field. No writer upon this subject has hitherto made so ample a use of the historical material available for tracing the development of Indian painting during the two centuries of its richest manifestation under the patronage of the Mughal Emperors, nor has any collected together illustrations from so many diverse sources. The list of painters which Mr. Percy Brown has compiled is the fullest that has yet been published; but it may be doubted whether the number of painters was so large as the list of names would seem to imply, for one and the same artist was often indicated in more than one way. Mr. Percy Brown himself suggests that the same painter is at one time called Ghulām Ikhlās and at another Ikhlās only (pp. 196–7), but he assigns a separate individuality to Ghulām, the painter of the elephant picture in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (reproduced in Plate LVI), though the Persian inscription clearly gives the word Ikhlās. Similarly, it may be doubted whether Bābū and Bābū Ustād; Kesu and Kesu Gujarātī and Kesu Kahār; Mādho and Mādho Katan, or Mādho Khurd; and others in this list, were really separate persons. Much work still remains to be done before the individuality of each of the artists who worked for the Mughal Emperors can be exactly determined—if indeed such an attempt can ever be successful at all, and Mr. Percy Brown has clearly stated the difficulties in the way (p. 109 sq.); but in any case the work of future investigators will be much facilitated by the list, with its ample references, that he has so laboriously compiled. It is somewhat strange that Mr. Percy Brown, with his long experience of life in India, should describe Muhammadan dervishes as “priests” (Plates XLI, LI, LXVI, LXVII); Plate LI represents some of the most famous saints in the history of Muhammadan India; Plate LXVII is described as “Priests discussing the Qur’an”, but such devout personages as are here depicted would never have placed the Word of God where this book lies, and the writing on it clearly shows that it is not a Qur’an. But these are trifling blemishes in a work of such outstanding merit, which will serve to stimulate interest in this somewhat neglected period of the history of painting; and Mr. Percy Brown’s book is sure of a welcome for its own sake, having been produced with all the stateliness of type and splendour of illustration that make the publications of the Clarendon Press so supremely attractive.

This monograph is based on a collection of silver ornaments and other small objects brought together by Mr. Borchardt in 1916–18 while he was a member of the Turco-German Military Mission in Kurdistan. A short description of the town of Suleimaniye, the headquarters of the Mission, is given, together with a few notes on the population of the district. We are further told that the silversmiths in Kurdistan are generally Jews, as is often the case throughout the Mohammedan East. Their tools, workshop, materials, and methods of work are described in detail.

The collection, consisting of forty odd pieces, includes specimens of mirror cases, clasps, belts, buttons, daggers, different small ornaments, and charms. According to the motifs of decoration and quality of workmanship, they are divided by Mr. Berliner into three groups:—

Group 1: Specimens of superior workmanship displaying a style of decoration which Mr. Berliner regards as being due to Western influences.

Group 2: Imitations of the former, of inferior workmanship.

Group 3: The largest as to the number of pieces. Objects belonging to the types already well known from other countries of the Near and Middle East.

Objects of groups 2 and 3 only are still being produced locally. The state of our knowledge concerning Kurdistan does not allow us to determine with certainty the origin and age of group 1, and of the older specimens of group 2. Even the origin of the style peculiar to groups 1, and 2, is explained differently by the two authors, Mr. Borchardt thinking, contrary to Mr. Berliner’s belief, that we need not seek a Western source of inspiration for their designs which can be easily deduced from old Sassanian motifs of neighbouring Persia.

A descriptive catalogue of all the objects collected, which are also reproduced on twenty excellent plates, completes the work.

P. Borowsky.


This work consists of translations of several Assyrian medical texts in the British Museum, with copious notes, and deals with
"Diseases of the Head", "To turn grey hair black", etc., and "Diseases of the Eyes". These inscriptions, which not improbably have a Babylonian origin, have attracted the attention of many eminent Assyriologists. Assyriological learning of past years, however, was not equal to the task of translating these difficult inscriptions, and even now many more texts, and many more explanatory lists will be needed, before satisfactory renderings can be made.

In all probability it will be asked what constitutes the special difficulty of these inscriptions. The answer is simple: they are difficult for the same reason that the omen-tablets are difficult: because of the large number of ideographs employed. This peculiarity leads naturally to the probability that the specialist-scribes who wrote them aimed at keeping their contents as secret as possible—like the medical men of to-day. Nevertheless, the remedies are set forth in such a way that the methods of cure employed have all the fullness of detail which the student of Assyro-Babylonian medicine (it was evidently based on a long series of experiments extending, perhaps, over hundreds of years) could possibly desire. As an example of the remedies used, I quote here one of the prescriptions as translated by Professor Campbell Thompson:

[If] scab has infected [a man]'s [head], it tickles him, and should he remove (it), the [scab?] increases. [Take] seed of arnoglosson . . . dust of diki of caper, dust of sesame, dust of *millet, dung of the doves of a mountain-palm . . . thou shalt knead (these) in hot rose-water, press, cool, (and) bind.

This rendering of the prescription differs from that of the author, but I have simply condensed it to its shorter literalness. In all the main points the translation is his.

It is to be noted, that these medical inscriptions are exceedingly fragmentary, and when we take this into consideration, it is surprising that Professor Campbell Thompson has been able to get good sense out of them. The following is an extract of which about two-thirds of the two lines of which it consists is preserved:

[If a man]'s [head] . . . is sick, thou shalt bray šašumtu, murdudū . . . mu.un.sir (?) together, knead in rose-water, press on his head, [bind, and for three days not take off].

Of course it is possible that, when the completing words are found, the prescription will not read quite like this, but in the meantime we have the probable sense of the inscription. Naturally we should like
to know what the herbs śaṣumtu murdudā,¹ and others in the gap, really were. Also, what was this "sickness" of the head? With regard to the possibility that the restoration "head" may be wrong, it is to be noted that the possessive pronoun -su suggests that the preceding word was qaqqad "head".

The Babylonian women, like those of modern times, viewed with apprehension the possibility of losing their hair, as the following extract shows:—

Enimenimma: Šārat qaqqad sintisti isahhah.

Incantation: Should a woman’s hair get thin.

Ritual: Thou shalt take her muṣadi (perhaps "hair-ribbon", "fillet"), plait a cord, ur̄te (fibres?) of the bark (?) of a palm of the north thou shalt spin; hair of a white horse, 7 and 7 knots thou shalt tie, in her hair thou shalt bind; thou shalt recite the charm 7 times... for 3 days the back of her neck will hurt her; until her hair remains firm, thou shalt not release (it).

But Assyro-Babylonian medicine occupied itself with many other things than scabies, or itching, or falling hair. The following is one of those dealing with maladies of the eyes:—

If a man’s [eyes] are sick, and matter (?) is secreted on his temples, [thou shalt spread] tanners’ verdigris on vellum (?), on [his eyes] bind; bray copper-dust (? copper filings), arsenic, yellow sulphide of arsenic, mix in curd, apply to his eyes... .

There are also incantations for the cure of diseases of the eyes, and the Babylonians were probably not far from the truth when they attributed toothache to a "worm"—indeed, the progress in medicine made from 2000 B.C. onwards was quite creditable. Nevertheless, the remedies may, at times, have done more harm than good.

Professor Thompson has opened up very satisfactorily a really difficult branch of Assyriological study in this little monograph, and we may hope to see still more successful renderings by him in future publications.

T. G. Pinches.

¹ From its form, śaṣumtu is clearly Semitic, but murdudā, from the characters used to express the reduplicate ending, is just as certainly Sumerian. A possible rendering of the latter, šam murdudā, would be "herb making strength", or the like, suggesting some drug with especially tonic properties.

Notwithstanding the small number of pages, their size makes this book a work of considerable extent, in spite of the comparatively short introductory paragraphs. According to the descriptive list, the texts are twenty-two in number, and include cones, cylinders, tablets, prisms, bricks, and slabs. Most of the texts are Babylonian, but some (bricks mainly) come from Assyria. In the list of contents the order is that of the running numbers of the Weld-Blundell collection.

The material now published was obtained by Mr. H. Weld-Blundell, of Queen’s College, Oxford, on the occasion of his visit to Mesopotamia in 1921, and later with the valuable aid of Captain Cook of the Ministry of Awkaf in Baghdad. In conjunction with the Field Museum at Chicago, excavations were afterwards made at Kish (Ahamer), which, with the neighbouring mounds of Umm Gharra, will entail much work. During the first season, the temple-tower Unir-kidurnah was laid bare on two sides, and the platform of the temple E-mete-ursag was located. Both these buildings had been restored by Samsu-iluna, son of Hammurabi, Ramman-abla-iddina, and Nebuchadrezzar. The explorer of these ruins was Mr. Mackay. The finds have been of considerable archaeological importance.

Many inscriptions in the present publication are of considerable length, though short ones are also to be found. Among the most noteworthy is the first (W.-B. 162), which seems to be a legend concerning Enmer-kar, king of Erech, possibly of about 2300 B.C. The introductory lines are imperfect, and doubt therefore exists as to the real nature of the inscription. In Professor Langdon’s introductory notes, he points out that the legend, archaic though it is in its present form, goes back to the prehistoric period, and deals with the time when the deity Umun-bandaa (non-dialectic En-banda) or Lugal-bandaa, “the king of youthful strength,” was king, and the dominion of the Babylonian states was transferred from Ašunnak to Unug (Erech). According to col. ii, 1, 13, the Amorite was, even at that early date, in the land. It is to be noted that this geographical name has no determining suffix, but the words lu še-nu-zu “man not knowing obedience” which follow may be regarded as rendering this unnecessary. The foundation of Erech seems to have been regarded as going back 50 sossi (ninnum šus) of years—3,000 in all—before this legend was written.
The interest taken by women in the religion of the Babylonians is well exemplified by the record of the building of a temple to Nin-êgal "an underworld-deity", by Simak (?)-Ininni, one of the wives of Rim-Sin, king of Elassar. The cone upon which the text is inscribed was dug up at Senkara. Ininni is described as the eldest daughter of Zuenna, the moon-god Sin, and Professor Langdon is undoubtedly right in identifying her with Istar, who, in going down to the Underworld to seek Tammuz, her spouse, was regarded as one of the deities of that region. The description of the goddess, as given in her various titles, is excellently expressed. She was the great lady knowing the whole of the dark-headed multitude which Anu, Enlil, (and) Enki had delivered into her hand, and whose judgment and decisions she constantly directed. It was also she who, "solicitous" and wise, made (their) decisions. As a leader of the great gods, she was the supreme word (enim-mah), whose utterance was unrivalled. These and other honorific phrases show this divinity—not as the unwedded mother-goddess, but as occupying a glorious place in the wide heavens, and as the wife who hears intercession (dam arrazue giš-tug). Of the two readings of the goddess’s name, Eres-ê-gal is probably better than Nin-ê-gal—she descended to the underworld as a bride seeking "the husband of her youth".

The "Hymn to Nidaba, the Grain-Goddess", seems to have contained originally about 120 lines. This is undoubtedly owing to its subject, a very interesting text, for the goddess of grain was naturally the deity to whom all men owed the preservation of their lives. Nidaba was the Sumerian pronunciation of her name, but this appears in Akkadian as Nisaba, implying that the d was pronounced as dh (th), and softened in Akkad to s—the usual fate of th in the Arabic of Syria. As pointed out by the author, Nidaba is associated in the "theological" lists with a deity named Hani, who is also mentioned in this inscription. Hani, however, seems to be closely connected with Ašnan, the goddess of bread in general, of whose name it is noteworthy that the Sumerian form or rendering, Ezinū, has a more Semitic look. There is much to be said about this goddess and her masculine counterpart or aspect, as revealed by the name En-zi-kalama "lord of the land’s life". One of her two attendants, who were apparently in the form of winged bulls, was named Kalagga-sagga, a personification of the "happy" or "contented people" which her good work produced. This text translated by Professor Langdon makes her to be, like Ašnan, one of the special favourites of Enlil (and Ninlil), the primeval deities of Nippur. Most of the lines take the form of a direct address:
Ni-dagal-dagalla ni-pešpešamen
Ambarra ambar-ana-kim si-saemen
Gīš-sag si-sa-men suh(?)-tub(?)-gīgīda(?)-men
Aar šag hulhulene nin zizi-bi-men.

She who extendeth, she who increaseth, art thou;
Directress of the wells like the wells of heaven art thou;
Shelter (?) arranger art thou; defence (?) extender art thou;
Food rejoicing the heart art thou; lady giving comfort art thou.

There is much doubt as to the rendering of these lines, but I quote
them simply to show the constant introduction of the termination
-men “thou art”. It is noteworthy that the first element of Nidaba’s
name lacks the distinctive character še, the word for “grain”, which
occurs, however, in the Hymn to Dungi.

This last is published by Professor Langdon under the title “Litur-
gical Hymn to Dungi”. As is well known, he was the first king of the
Dynasty of Ur, which reigned about 2300 B.C. It is inscribed on a
prism in four columns, and originally contained 102 lines of writing.
Here again we have the direct address with men “thou art”. Professor
Langdon’s translation of the first four lines is as follows:—

He that as a half (god) has been born, an heroic one art thou.
Divine Dungi thou art; he that as a half (god) has been born, a
mighty man art thou.
Thou wast born a panther with flaming eyes, even as a great dragon.
King of the four regions thou art.

An interesting footnote explains how the verbal form batuddenna-ta
in the first two lines means “hast been born as a half (god)”. Verbal
forms beginning with ba-, however, are numerous, and sometimes -ta
is found as a suffix. An alternative rendering would therefore be:—

On thy being born, a hero thou art;
God Dungi thou art; on thy being born, a mighty man thou art.

But Assyriologists will thank Professor Langdon for the transla-
tion of this interesting text referring to the deified Dungi, all of whose
successors were honoured in the same way and worshipped in the
temples of the land.

The “Scholars Tablet containing Syllabary A and a list of Gods”
is an example of the way in which young scribes were taught their
profession. It would be, however, of much greater value if the list of
characters (it cannot be called a syllabary) were accompanied by their
values and meanings. Value is given to it, however, by the editor’s
comparisons and notes. The order differs somewhat in column 5, and
there is an omission. As the syllabary-portion is on the reverse, the numbering of the columns is from right to left. It therefore follows the list of gods, notwithstanding that we should regard a list of characters as a more elementary exercise.

Among the other inscriptions may be mentioned that recording the restoration of the wall of Sippar by Ḥammurabi—its name was “By the command of Šamaš may Ḥammurabi not have a rival”—one of those phrase-names which are a feature of Babylonian nomenclature. Of special interest is the inscription giving “Regulations for Disposition of regular Offerings to Ishtar and Nana of Ereh.” These consisted of the parts of various animals and were for the use of various priests, ministrants, and workmen employed at the temple. Some of the gifts or offerings are described as having been instituted by Nabû-abla-iddina, who ruled about 900 years B.C.

But enough has probably been said to show the importance of this publication, and the value of Professor Langdon’s work in editing the texts it contains. It is the production of an accomplished Assyriologist who has made a speciality of Sumerian and of religious texts such as these, and the issue of the remainder of the Weld-Blundell Collection will be looked forward to with interest. It is a real augmentation of the corpus of Babylonian literature, which promises to be the most considerable of all the scribal productions of the ancient East.

T. G. Pinches.


Rustam, who was born in Bosnia at the beginning of the sixteenth century and rose from the position of a simple Janissary to that of Grand Vizier, relates in this chronicle the most memorable events of the reigns of the Osmánli Sultans, Bayezid II (p. 14 et seq.), Selim I (p. 33 et seq.), and Suleyman (p. 58 et seq.). Despite the extreme concision of its form, which is devoid of any attempt at beauty of style, the narrative contains much that is interesting from the point of view of the history of civilization. Among the matters touched upon are the following: the Turkish fights against the Persians and the Shiites (Qizil-básh), p. 26 f., 36 ff., 56 ff., 72 ff., 77 ff., 153 ff., which also touch upon the questions of the Jihad and the Mahdi; further, the sea expeditions of the Osmánlis, which are linked with the famous name of Khayra’ddin Barbarossa (p. 93 ff., 100 ff., 139). The advances
of Suleyman against Hungary (p. 69 ff., 73 ff., 109 ff.), upon Moldavia (p. 97 ff.), and Austria (p. 118), rather concern the history of Europe. Although in the transliteration of doubtful geographical names (sometimes rather incomplete) there is room for improvement, the translation as a whole is a praiseworthy contribution to the materials for Ottoman history which will also have documentary value for historians of Turkey.

**Türkische Bibliothek XXII : Das anatolische Wegenetz nach osmanischen Quellen. Von Franz Täschner. 8vo. xii + 246 t. Berlin : Mayer & Müller, 1923.**

Making use of the abundant material available in Arabic, Turkish, and Modern Greek literature, the author attempts to reconstruct mediæval Asia Minor, whose transformation after the gradual break-up of the Byzantine rule dates roughly from the ninth century. His main sources are Ibn Baṭūta, Hamdu’llah Mustawfī, and (among the Turks) the Safar-Nameh of 'Ali Yezdi, and the political writings of Feridun, as well as the Jehannuma of Hajji Halfa and the travels of Evliya, a work which presents many difficulties to him who consults it. To complete this material Täschner turns to account the observations of European travellers to which the references will be found on p. 48 et seq. The eastern boundary of the field covered in these studies is roughly the line Trebizond, Euphrates, Anti-Taurus, Cape Amanur; while Constantinople (the coast-line on the Black Sea, Constantinople, Brussa, etc.) may be taken as the starting-point. The fifty lithographic tables serve to elucidate the material which the author has brought together in the text with great industry.

**Sitté und Recht in Nordafrika : Quellen zur ethnologischen Rechtsforschung. Gesammelt von Dr. Ernst Ubach und Ernst Rackow. 8vo., 441, S. Stuttgart : Enke, 1923.**

Although these sketches, undertaken in prisoners’ camps during the Great War, relate chiefly to the study of legal conditions in the Maghreb, and particularly to the comparative study of the law of the person, succession, property, aliens, and criminal law in Morocco, Algeria, and Tunis, they are not without some bearing upon the general history of civilization, and particularly in its relation to Islam. References will be found to the well-known predilections of Orientals, often noticed by others, for certain numbers, such as seven (pp. 35, 374, 293,
335, etc.), and the number forty 1 (pp. 294, 347). Belief is also very general in Eastern races, in the malocchio or Evil Eye 2 (p. 46), and in the significance of Salt (pp. 33, 114), which on p. 33 is regarded as a protective means against evil spirits (cf. Islam, ix, 50 ob.). Even to this day, indeed, the belief in magic and counter-charms which, as can be shown, was shared by Muhammad (Bokhārī "ṭibb", cap. 47; Houdas trans. iv, 85) plays a great part in the spiritual life of the North African Muslims (cf. Index, s.v. Zauber).

An important part of the prisoners’ work deals with the social position of woman in the Moghrab which, indeed, in many instances, is not in accordance with the provisions of the official Shari’a, e.g. the disuse of the veil in Ulad Nā’il in Algeria, forced marriage of girls as reported from Morocco (p. 79), cf. against this, Bokhārī, trans. Houdas, iv, 435; isolated cases of prostitution, though these occur, it is true, in the East (vide Islam, ix, 92). Without referring more particularly to other interesting features, I might mention, as here dealt with, the right of asylum, blood-vengeance, games, death customs, etc., which may be easily found in the index. The whole work is enriched by photographs, drawings, musical extracts in very welcome fashion, and shows a decided advance in the province of North African Islam.

O. Rescher.


The keynote of Professor Hertel’s present researches was struck in his paper “Das Brahma” in Indogerm. Forschungen, xli, p. 185 ff., where he put forward with much vigour the view that brahma denotes the heavenly fire worshipped by the Indo-Iranians (brahman—corresponding to flāmen, φληγμον). Following up the lines of thought presented there, he has now begun the publication of a series of dissertations, the aim of which primarily is to win a reliable basis for the correct explanation of the Veda and the Avesta”. The three little books that now lie before us are the firstfruits of this undertaking.

They deserve a hearty welcome. With wide and profound learning,


2 Bokhārī, Subject Index, s.voc., Islam, ix, 28.
Dr. Hertel combines a masculine vigour of thought which is singularly refreshing and stimulating. He is a bold radical; under him tradition goes by the board, and cherished prejudices are remorselessly jettisoned. The reaction from the Pischel-Geldner movement back towards the position of Roth and Whitney is complete. All Indological studies, he declares, have gone utterly astray in their explanation of the central idea of Indian thought, because they have followed the *ignis fatuus* of tradition. They have ignored the fact that the Achaemenid inscriptions, the Avesta, and the Rgveda are composed in closely related dialects, which are morphologically in the same stage of development, and in their accidence and syntax show features of decay that can be chronologically estimated from the ancient inscriptions of Persia. They have neglected to see that the rapid development of the Indo-Iranian languages which we observe from the time of their appearance in history makes it quite impossible to ascribe a development of thousands of years to the poetry of the Rgveda, so far as it is presented in our Sanhita. Instead of objective examination, students simply transferred the ideas of the Christian Catechism to the Rgveda, and in it, in this collection of songs of Aryan warrior and robber tribes, whose highest object was to murder men of another faith and to carry off their cattle, and whose relation to the *devás* is determined by the principle *do ut des*, they found ideas like ‘devotion’, ‘piety’, and even ‘holiness’, and ‘holy life’, in the sense of ‘chastity’. The πρῶτον ἴενδος, however, was the translation of *devá* as ‘God’, of *āśura* as ‘God’, or ‘demon’, according to the apparent connexion. Our Rgveda, as Bloomfield has proved, contains only epigonic poetry. Between the composition of the older parts of our Rgveda and its later portions took place the migration of the tribes from Iran into India (into the Gangetic Doab, not the Indus valley, *bien entendu*); even in the age of Herodotus the Vedic tribes were still more or less nomad, and the Gāthās prove that Zoroaster was much concerned to induce the nomads of his country to settle down into agricultural life. In India the Aryans, living under geographical and social conditions utterly different from those of their previous home, underwent rapid changes. Language, social habits, and religion swiftly altered. The eating of meat and drinking of spirits ceased to be general. The old language broke up into dialects; both the words and the ideas of its ancient hymns became largely unintelligible, and there is a wide breach in tradition between them and Vedic exegetes such as Yāska. Old *devás* changed their rôles, or entirely faded away; and with them dis-
appeared the ancient conception of brāhma as the Heavenly Fire and the Supreme Wisdom pervading all life, leaving only a few unheeded traces in later literature.

As Dr. Hertel proposes to publish an essay on the home and age of the Rgveda as the fourth part of his Forschungen, it will be fairer to him and to his opponents to suspend final criticism upon these general doctrines until the appearance of that work. Provisionally, however, we may say that much in these studies appears to us admirable, and much debatable. The demand for a fresh unprejudiced examination of the sources and a final demolition of all vain idola of prejudice and sentiment is one with which we must all sympathise. Several of Dr. Hertel’s theses are very probable, in spite of their boldness and indifference to tradition. But must we therefore regard all Vedic and Avestic tradition as equally untrustworthy, and say with him that it “can only be considered in so far as it confirms the results of the study of these sources; it can contribute nothing to the elucidation of what is obscure in them”? Obviously there are various degrees of tradition. That of the Parsis probably is for the most part worthless, and deserves the short shrift that it gets from him. But in India the case is different. Here, no doubt, a large amount of foolish concoctions also passed current; but there is likewise some gold in the dross. Dr. Hertel himself corroborates his theory of the Yama-legend in “Die Himmelstore” by quoting divers more or less corrupt versions of it from Brahmanic and Epic literature; what are these but tradition? If then some traditions which support his theories are good, it is rather a petitio principii to damn all others that do not. Furthermore, the exegetical tradition from Yāska downwards rests largely upon the school-teachings of the Brahmans, an intensely conservative race, who may be described as spiritual mummies that can talk; they have preserved much from the days of Yāska onwards, and we may reasonably infer that they have also preserved a little from the period of the Brāhmaṇas. Tradition, we may admit, is not in itself a guide; but when rightly analysed it is a wholesome corrective to arbitrary speculation.

“Die Zeit Zoroasters” is an incisive study of the sources—mainly the Avesta, the Achaemenid inscriptions, and Herodotus—which as regards essentials seems to us almost to compel conviction. It shows that the doctrine of the Gāthās, the only teaching which may be with certainty attributed to Zoroaster, is a strict moral dualism, with a pantheon composed wholly of abstractions and with Ahura-mazdā as the sole Creator. The cult of nature-powers, animal-sacrifice, haōma-
drinking, the sacrosanctity of fire and water, the worship of fire, the
creative power of the Evil Principle, exposure of the dead to birds of
prey and dogs, and exaggerated respect for the dog and its kind, which
are characteristic of the later Avesta, are wholly unknown in the
Gāthās. On the other hand, there is no feature of Zoroastrianism visible
in what Herodotus describes as the national religion of the Persians.
The latter is plainly the religion which Zoroaster’s life was spent in
combating—a worship of daēvas or nature-powers, notably the heaven,
sun, moon, earth, water, and wind, which had the Magians as its priests,
which demanded sacrifices of all creatures, except human beings and
dogs, and which permitted strong drink and drunkenness. The Magians
alone, says Herodotus, exposed corpses to birds and dogs. Zoroas-
trianism first appears as the state-religion in the Bisutūn inscription
of Darius I, who speaks in language appropriate to the Constantine
of a new faith; but Magian influence begins to show itself in the record
of Artaxerxes II, who admits the river-goddess Anāhitā and the sun-
god Mitra, and thenceforth it grows apace. From these facts it may
be inferred that Darius I on suppressing the Magian priesthood estab-
lished genuine Zoroastrianism, the faith preached in the Gāthās, as
the state-religion, and that the Magians, unable to conquer it by force,
overcame it by peaceful penetration, insinuating themselves into it
and finally bringing it under their control and stuffing into its frame-
work most of their characteristic doctrines and practices. Thus the
later Avesta is largely under Magian influence—how largely may be
judged from the fact that the word mubad or mobed, denoting a rank
in the “Zoroastrian” hierarchy, is from magāpat, “master of Magians”
—and it represents a restoration of the religion which Zoroaster had
temporarily suppressed. He had borrowed from the ancient faith
only its antithesis of aša; druji and its supreme divinity, the Spirit
of Heaven, whom he spiritualised as Ahura-mazdā, rejecting all
other nature-powers or daēvas; and the Magians brought them back
into his system as revised by them, together with their doctrines of
sacrifice, haoma-drinking, fire-worship, etc.
A further inference, which is possible, but rather less probable,
and is not new, is that Vištāspa the father of Darius is identical with
Vištāspa the patron of Zoroaster; and thus the author arrives at the
conclusion that Zoroaster flourished c. 550 B.C.—possibly as late as
522 if we may refer Yasna 53 to the events between the usurpation
and death of the usurper Gaumāta, which does not seem to us very
likely. Dr. Hertel is still less convincing when he finds references
to the Zoroastrians in the Rgvedic terms *devanid* and *brahmadvis*, and traces of a parallel *mutatis mutandis* between the Vedic theory of *brāhma* (as understood by him, in the sense of the Divine Fire) and the *daēnā* of the Gāthās and *fravashi* of the later Avesta.

In "Die Himmelsstore" Dr. Hertel operates with his theory of *brāhma* to elucidate a number of interesting myths. The "Gates of Heaven", he maintains, are the sun and moon, the heaven being conceived by the Indo-Aryans as a stone vault illuminated within and revolving, on the walls of which the stars are openings serving as windows. This leads to a study of the various phases of the Yama-Yima legend, which, in its primitive form, seems to have explained the genesis of the next world by a story that the earth thrice became overloaded by an excess of population and had to be extended, and that when this happened for the third time, the surplus population was led away by Yama, the typical nomad, to heaven. The examination of this and kindred myths is skilfully carried out, and well illustrates the author's contention that the Avesta is the best commentary upon the Veda and *vice versa*. Incidentally, too, Dr. Hertel proves the baselessness of the theory which finds in Vendidād II an analogon to the Semitic legend of the Flood.

His study of the Munḍaka gives Dr. Hertel an opportunity to state his views on the quality of the standard texts of the Sanskrit classics. Speaking with the experience of many years of critical study, he affirms that the printed texts of Vālmiki, Kālidāsa, and other classics are lamentably corrupt; indeed, every word in them is doubtful. The native grammarians, lexicographers, and commentators, he says truly, were wholly devoid of the historical sense; to "correct" the text of an author so as to bring it into harmony with the rules of the grammars is as uncritical as it would be to alter the text of a French writer in accordance with the rules of the Académie Française and school-grammars. This is notably the case with the treatment of Prakrit. The luckily recovered fragments of Aśvaghōsa have revealed the imperfections of the Prakrit grammars, which teach Prakrit in a later stage of development. No one can say what sort of Prakrit Kālidāsa wrote. As for the plays of "Bhāsa" (it is gratifying to see that Dr. Hertel shares our scepticism as to their authorship and writes his name in quotation-marks), the Prakrit in them is in many parts older than that of the printed texts of Kālidāsa, but the Trivandum Series editions, he maintains, are uncritical and incorrect.

What then of the Munḍaka? Strange to say, Dr. Hertel's searching
critical study leaves the traditional text almost unscathed as regards verbal correctness. It is true that practically we have only the text as Śaṅkara found it; but Dr. Hertel's acumen, which has enabled him to see far behind the text of Śaṅkara's time, has detected comparatively few errors in the wording. He has, however, established with much probability that this text is conflated from two sources. The essential part of the Upaniṣad—in his view this is I, i, 3–9; ii, 3–12; II, i, entirely; III, i, 1–3; ii, 1–2, 4–8, 10–11—is dominated by the conception of Puruṣa as the highest principle, entrance into which constitutes final salvation, while Brahma is a realm of bliss subordinate to Puruṣa, and emanating from it; and into this framework have been inserted other passages, in which the ordinary Upaniṣadic doctrine of the supremacy of Brahma is asserted. That such a discrepancy of ideas exists in the Muṇḍaka is clear, and we must be grateful to Dr. Hertel for his keen analysis of it, which marks a real advance in knowledge. But here the same problem arises as with the Bhagavad-gītā: is the discrepancy due to interpolators or to the original author, who after all was a Hindu?

Besides introductory matter, the book comprises studies of the metres, language, and text of the Muṇḍaka, a critically restored text, analysis of the content of the latter, remarks on the origin and age of the Muṇḍaka and its relation to Jainism, and a facsimile of Röer's edītio princeps. With regard to the metre Dr. Hertel rightly says (p. 31) that "the poet trusts to his ear, and does not follow a conventional rule like the later courtly poets". But it follows thence that the somewhat violent measures adopted by Dr. Hertel to ensure regularity of metre—viz. a slurring of syllables and clipping of vowels—are mostly needless; for if the poet "trusted to his ear", he would not be scrupulous about such a trifling irregularity as a superfluous syllable. In the popular poetry of his age, I imagine, there must have been metres in which quantity and number of syllables were more or less free, and the chief determinant was the number of ictus-falls in the verse, as is the case with Lallā's quatrains and the older poetry of Bengal. The oldest type of Indo-Iranian poetry, I suspect, was of the latter type, consisting of groups of syllables only approximately equal in number, with an ictus on each group; this type was refined by certain schools of poets, who fixed the number of syllables more strictly (as in the Gāthās), and then proceeded to emphasise the endings of groups by more or less regular quantitatively similar cadences (as in the Rgveda1);

1 Even here irregularities in cadence still survive: e.g. I, ii, 9, ḷaṣṇaḥ ḷadhāte apasam.
then finally the schools of *kāvyayā* fixed the quantity of every syllable in most metres, thus creating the standard *varṇa-vṛtta*. Now the author of the *tristubhā* of the *Mundaka* modelled himself mainly upon the refined metres and idiom of the Vedic poets and their early successors, but he was only half-educated in them. Hence he seems to have allowed himself much metrical licence in archaic fashion, using the ictus in each section of the *tristubh* to mask his irregularity in the number of syllables. Hence beside regular lines such as

yathā sudiptat | pāvakād | visphulingāḥ (II, i, 1),

he permitted himself licences such as:

nirāñjanaḥ | pāramam | sāmyam upaiti (III, i, 3),
eteṣu yaś | cārate | bhrājamāneṣu (I, ii, 5),
imē lokā | nihītā | īlokinaś ca (II, ii, 2),
svāsti vah pārāya | tāma- | sāḥ parastāt (II, ii, 6).

The language of the *Mundaka* is as much influenced by popular usage as its metre. In many places it is not Sanskrit (I use this word in its widest sense), but sheer Prakrit: witness such monstrosities as *adreṣyam, atharvāya, ādadeyam*. Dr. Hertel justly protests against the "method" of European scholars like Boehtlingk, who have "heranskonjiziert" genuine popular forms like *jānatha* from the Upaniṣadic texts. But he himself here falls into the same error as when he makes some of his suggestions for regularising the popular metre: e.g. he accepts the alteration of the barbarous but genuine *kāmabhīḥ* (III, ii, 2), which is attested by Śaṅkara, into *karmabhīḥ*, and he changes the false reading *samdhīyate* in II, ii, 3 to *samnīdhāya*, neglecting the well attested variant *samdhayā*, which gives a good Prakrit form, and is almost certainly the true reading, being moreover supported by the Śrīvaśiṣṭa tradition (*saṃdadhīta* in Raṅga-rāmānuja’s commentary).

These criticisms on details, however, are not meant to derogate from the high value of Dr. Hertel’s work as a whole. He opens up new vistas for future studies in Indian and Iranian thought, and we await the appearance of his further researches with keenest interest.

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1 The *mātrācchandas* and *gayaacchandasa* may be omitted from consideration here, as they seem to be of Dravidian origin.


Truly the interest of the Veda would seem to be inexhaustible. For a century the learned of the West have been studying it and writing upon it with such profusion of erudition that apparently *quidquid dicendum est dictum est*, and library shelves groan under the weight of it. And now Dr. Griswold has come with a new book upon Vedic religion that is really a new book, not merely presenting an array of facts and speculations in methodical order, but illuminating them with a keenly sympathetic knowledge of the land of the Five Rivers and of Brahmāvarta which no Vedic scholar has hitherto possessed, and which lends notable force to many theories advocated by him. "Theory" means a mode of viewing things; and a view of Vedic mythography that seems forced and improbable to us in Europe may appear very different when considered in the open hills and valleys of North-Western India.

From these remarks the judicious reader will have guessed that our author is orthodox in his opinions on Vedic religion. The Vedic gods, says Dr. Griswold, "are in general personifications of natural phenomena" (p. 88), and his intimate acquaintance with the Punjab and its neighbourhood adds some effective weapons for the defence of this hypothesis. And to a certain extent it is true. But by itself it is quite inadequate to explain the character of a Great God. There is more in such a personality than man's awe at Nature's power, his delight in her bounty, and his pain at her cruelty; there is also man's experience of man. In Indra we find some marked "atmospheric" features; but the theory of his atmospheric origin is quite inadequate to explain the mass of saga clustering around him, which looks far more original. The attempt to bring Rudra into the same scheme is, I venture to think, a failure, as a study of Dr. Arbman's careful monograph will show. The subject of Vedic mythography is one upon which I have dwelt elsewhere; here I can only record my respectful dissent from Dr. Griswold on some important points.

As regards method of exposition and fullness of information, the book is very good indeed. We miss, however, reference to Johanson's valuable monograph on Dhiśañā and Arbman's "Rudra", and note a few statements of somewhat doubtful accuracy, such as the one on p. 56 that the older Brāhmaṇas were completed about 600 B.C., which slightly conflicts with the date of 800–600 B.C. assigned to the
"existing" Brāhmaṇas on p. 74. Possibly also the moral character of Varuṇa is slightly over-estimated—Johansson's view, as given in his "Dhiṣanā", is a useful corrective—and some consideration should be given to the historical theories of Mr. Pargiter's Ancient Indian Historical Tradition.


This promising series has an excellent coryphaeus in Professor Hertel, and the play that he has selected for translation is well chosen. The Matta-vilāsa, which we have already noticed elsewhere in the pages of this Bulletin (I, iii, p. 35), is a genuinely humorous farce, which is the more interesting on account of the personality of its author, the brilliant Pallava king, to whom the culture of Southern India is under an immense debt; and it loses little of its brightness in Dr. Hertel's lively translation, though naturally some of its topical interest is lost on a modern reader. In an appendix, "Einige Worte über das indische Drama," Dr. Hertel defends his well-known views on the origin of the drama and epic in India. A number of hymns in the Rgveda, according to him, are essentially dramatic dialogues; from compositions of this type arose by the addition of narrative matter the epic and by the insertion of prose dialogues the court drama; the Mahãbhãrata is still half dramatic, as it was sung by rhapsodes with separate rôles, and the popular modern plays such as the Bengali yãtrãs are in their form midway between these earlier types and the court drama. In the Suparnãdhyãya he sees a genuine drama. He now adduces a further proof for his view from the popular svãng, which is fully dramatic in character and corresponds in form exactly to the Suparnãdhyãya, and vigorously replies to the criticisms of Oldenberg, Konow, and Charpentier. Then follows a short survey of the character of the classical drama, in which he refuses to see any popular elements; even the vidûsaka is derived from court life. Dr. Hertel has made out a strong case; it will be interesting to see what Dr. Charpentier will reply to it. Meanwhile it is comforting to see that he is not disposed to accept Bhâsa as the author of the plays published under his name,
and refers, apparently with approval, to Messrs. Pisharotis's article in the *BSOS.*, vol. iii, p. 107 ff.

Herr Weller, on the other hand, is still a staunch believer in Bhāsa, and we may leave him in the enjoyment of his faith. He gives us in his introduction an ingenious theory that the hero Avimāraka was originally the spirit of the monsoon who destroys the demon of drought, which seems to us highly speculative and supported by no evidence whatever. As in his previous translation of the *Bāla-carita*, he renders the whole text throughout into verse, justifying this course by the example of Ludwig Fritze; he is convinced, he says, that metrical language is more suitable than prose for a drama that is derived from the world of legend and presents figures from the realm of spirits and gods. He is welcome to his convictions; but the Hindu dramatists (not to speak of Shakespeare and a good many other respectable writers) thought and acted differently, reserving their verse for exceptional passages where poetical emotion rose high, and elsewhere using prose of a type exactly fitted to the situation. But Herr Weller, who in his introduction discourses on the right way to appreciate the Indian drama, has chosen to turn everything, even the plainest dialect-passage, into metrical lines, which tend often to bald and dull pathos, quite unlike the lively natural style of the original prose. For the rest, his rendering is generally accurate, except in the case of Act I, verse 5, where it is quite impossible.

**Priyadārsikā, a Sanskrit Drama by Harsha, King of Northern India in the Seventh Century A.D.** Translated into English by G. K. Nariman, A. V. Williams-Jackson, Ph.D., and Charles J. Ogden, Ph.D., with an introduction and notes by the two latter, together with the text in transliteration. (Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series, vol. x.) 8vo. pp. cxi, 137. New York, 1923.

The author of the Priyadārsikā—whether he be really Harṣa or not, is immaterial—was but Μουσάων ὀλίγη τις ἀνδονίς; but his little play is pleasant reading, and has been singularly fortunate in its editors. For the present volume presents a rare and happy combination of accurate scholarship, wide literary interest, and typographic excellence. The introduction comprises studies of the life and times of Harṣa and his literary activities, an examination of this play and of its sources and its relation to other dramas ascribed to Harṣa, a comparison of it with Kālidāsa’s dramas and an estimate of the author’s position in Sanskrit literature, and an account of the style of the
play, the constitution of the text, and the metres employed, with a
contribution by Dr. G. P. Quackenbos on the names of the flowers,
trees, and shrubs mentioned, and an appendix on the author's device
of a play within a play. Then comes the text—which, though it would
not satisfy a radical critic like Dr. Hertel, is nevertheless a good working
one—and on parallel pages an accurate translation. Altogether it is
an attractive and excellent work.

Since, according to the Sage of Twickenham, the proper study of
mankind is man, it may well be that from a certain point of view not
wholly frivolous a second-rate play like the Priyadarśikā should seem
of greater interest than a solemn treatise upon the Summa Sapientia.
For the Indian metaphysician, of all the brood of Time, is the thing
nearest to perpetuum immobile: he lives in a realm of rigid abstrac-
tions, where his predecessors have dwelt generation after generation
before him, heedless of the ages passing by. For him history exists
not. But the dramatist is frankly a creature of his times. Without
anachronism his work cannot be good. For man is a creature wearing
clothes—both material garments and spiritual conventions—which
the Zeitgeist compels him ever to change; the great dramatist seizes his
contemporary man and holds him up to the gaze of all future genera-
tions, garbed in the integuments of his age, a phenomenon of deepest
historical interest. Aeschylus and Sophocles display to us Hellenic
men of the fifth century before Christ, Shakespeare English (and Welsh)
men of Elizabethan days; we realise our difference from them at the
same time as we recognize our essential kinship with them, and herein
lies the greatest charm of the drama. And this power lies not only in
the hand of the great dramatist; even a humbler talent may wield it,
if it records sincerely, with understanding and sympathy, the things of
its day.

But could the Hindu dramatist do this? He lived and worked, as
one may say, in a museum; over his art reigned stiff old conventions,
regulating his language, his thoughts, his handling of situations.
Was it not impossible for him to present the living ideals of his day
in free motion in the forms of his art? Are not the things that he
displays dead things preserved in spirits? Not so—when he had a
soul within him. In the East days are long; and although the ideal
which the true poet presented in his plays might have arisen genera-
tions before him, it was none the less alive to him and to his age. To
them it signified something vitally good and beautiful, and the con-
ventions under which it was presented were felt to be essential laws
for its existence. And though days in the East are long, they are not eternal. Times and tastes change there also; the art of Kālidāsa is not the same as the art of Bhavabhūti, and we may say that a good Hindu play is a mirror of its age, remembering always that its age is a long one.

Thus a play like the Priyadarśikā has a definite value and interest as an historical document of Indian culture. Its intrinsic merit never rises above second-class level; its plot, centring round the hackneyed theme of a princess disguised as a waiting-maid who loves and is loved by her royal master, and finally is added sans tragedy to his series of wives, is developed with but faint flashes of dramatic genius; its style is throughout uninspired. Yet it is withal a reality, the sincere expression of a finely cultured age’s artistic feelings on a certain theme. True, the theme is not a high one; but life is lived more in the plains than on the heights. ‘Ἐν μαλάχῳ τε καὶ ὑσφοδέλῳ μέγ’ ὅνειρα.

L. D. Barnett.


In his preface Professor Keith states that “the time is ripe for a fresh investigation of the origin and development of the drama in the light of new materials available”. This is true, and scholars will be grateful that Professor Keith has undertaken the investigation. Throughout, the work is personal rather than a compilation, but a wealth of references enables the reader to go direct to the opinions of many scholars, whether sharply contrasted or agreeable with those of the author. In this notice there is not room to discuss in detail the many questions raised. One of considerable importance—the authenticity and date of the plays ascribed by some to Bhāsa—has already been discussed in these pages by two of the protagonists, but a perusal of Professor Keith’s book hardly leaves the unbiassed reader with a just idea of the strength of the arguments against Bhāsa’s being the author of these plays. But so many of the problems of dates and authorship of Sanskrit literature are still so uncertainly answered that in many ways the reader cannot but be grateful for Professor Keith’s decided judgments. They at least provide him with something definite to believe or disbelieve.

To those interested in the development of the Indo-Aryan languages Professor Keith’s discussion of the languages used in the Indian
drama is particularly interesting. Occasionally, it is true, his statements may be challenged in detail. Thus it seems impossible to support his etymology (p. 30) of Modern Indian bhāt "bard, reciter", from Bhārata: Hindi bhāt, Sindhi bhaṭu come from an earlier bhatta-, but whatever the derivation of bhatta- may be, it is not from Bhārata. Again, it is true that Yavana probably meant Greek originally, and was derived from the older form of ἤδως, namely ἤδως *Iāɾ̥o̞ves, but it is more than doubtful whether, as Professor Keith implies, on p. 61, it was received by the Indians direct from the Greeks, and not rather from some such intermediary as the Persians (cf. O. Pers. yauna-). Professor Keith’s statement implies extremely early connexion between the Greeks and India. For F had disappeared in the Ionian dialects before the earliest texts. On the other hand, the Ionian form of the word for the Medes—Μηδω from Māda—with the characteristic Ionic change of ā to ə shows that communication between the Ionians and the East was probably early enough to account for the appearance of F in a Persian form of *Iāɾ̥o̞ves, since in Attic at least F disappeared after the change of ā to ə.

The reader may be grateful that Professor Keith did not follow the example of Professor Lévi in leaving out all investigation of the style of the dramatists. The book has interest not only for the Sanskrit specialist, but for a far wider circle; to the student of literature in general both the discussion of origins and the descriptive portion, particularly perhaps that chapter in which Professor Keith sums up so admirably the characteristics and achievement of the Sanskrit Drama, will greatly appeal.

The printing is what may be expected from the Clarendon Press, and misprints are very few. The following have been noticed: p. 84, Komudha for Komuda; p. 101, Kuraṅga for Kuraṅga; p. 262, l. 3, before "are" insert "both" or "they".


This is a photographic reproduction of the original edition published by Messrs. Longmans, Green and Co., in 1893. About one and a half pages of addenda and corrigenda have been inserted. Perhaps amidst such a mass of forms and diacritical marks it is not surprising that some mistakes and omissions should still remain unnoticed. For example, no accent is shown on rajāṇi, lakṣaṇa, lākṣā. Although not comparative, the dictionary is historical and etymological in its character,
as Professor Macdonell points out in his preface dated 1924. Hence it would seem regrettable that an etymology as doubtful as that of *maryādā* = giving a clear sign from √ *mar-* to shine, should still appear without further comment, when a far more probable explanation has been suggested by Professor Uhlenbeck; or that no connexion should be indicated between e.g. *luḍ-* and *lul-*, *nādā-* and *nala-*, *nṛt-* and *nat-*, *guccha-* and *grabh-*. But any slight defects of this sort are lost in the great benefit conferred by Professor Macdonell’s dictionary being again made available for beginners, at what must in these times be considered a reasonable price. To those who have struggled with the often difficult word-order of Monier Williams’ Dictionary, the strictly alphabetical order of Professor Macdonell’s is a relief, while its conciseness is better suited to the beginner. The disadvantage of reproducing the extremely awkward system of transliteration employed in the S.B.E. is to some extent discounted by the fact that each article is headed by a form in devanāgari.

R. L. Turner.

The Satsai of Bihari. Edited by Paṇḍit Padma Siṃha Śarma. Published by Kaśināth Śarma, Nayakangalā, Chandpur, Bijnor District, United Provinces. Volume I (Introduction), Rs. 2; Volume II (Commentary), Rs. 2/8.

I am indebted to Sir George Grierson for drawing my attention to this new edition of the Satsai of Bihari, and a study of the book has caused me to endorse his emphatic commendation without any reservation. The book throughout is of lively interest, even when one disagrees with the writer, who is a somewhat fierce controversialist, and it will be a matter of satisfaction when the commentary, which at present only covers 126 of the couplets, less than one-fifth of the whole Satsai, is completed. At the same time it must be acknowledged that, so far as European scholars and à fortiori European students are concerned, the work is likely to prove very little easier than the very difficult poetry, to which it forms an introduction and commentary. It is written entirely in Hindi, with a very profuse use of Sanskrit words and some admixture of Urdu words and phrases, and it abounds with quotations from Sanskrit, Hindi and Urdu poets, many of extreme interest. The scholars whose range of reading is wide enough to enable them to appreciate all these quotations and their relevancy are rare even in India among Indians, and they are naturally likely to be fewer still in England.
Almost nothing is known about Bihari Lal, the writer of the famous *Seven Centuries*, and the present editor does not attempt to give any account of his life. One of the dohās states that the poet finished the Satsai on a date corresponding to the 24th January, 1662, so he may be presumed to have flourished about the middle of the seventeenth century. The Satsai is a collection of nominally seven hundred (actually 726) couplets, each of which, like the Quatrains of ’Umar Khayyam, is detached and complete in itself. The flexibility of the language employed and the conciseness and compression of style (a dohā cannot contain more than forty-six, and may contain as few as twenty-six, syllables) render the work, as Sir George Grierson remarked in his admirable edition published in Calcutta nearly thirty years ago, one of the most difficult books in any Indian language. The result has been that few, if any, books in any Oriental language, except the Qurān, have been the genesis of so many commentaries. Sir George Grierson gives in his edition a list of seventeen commentaries, including the Lāla Chandrikā, which he edited along with the Satsai text, and the present work discloses the existence of others. Many of these exhibit the characteristic faults of commentators in an exaggerated form, suggesting difficulties where none exist, and failing to grapple with real difficulties. As an illustration of the terseness of Bihari’s style, the dohā (No. 597) used by Paṇḍit Padma Śiṅha as a motto on the cover of each volume may be cited. It runs:—

तंत्री-नाट्र विविध रस सरसराम रतिरंगः
बनवृंहे कुद्रे तरे जे बृंहे सव चंगः

This may be rendered freely: “The sound of music, the passion of poetry, emotional singing, and sensual enjoyment—those who do not understand these are lost through them, but those who yield themselves wholly to them are saved.” The literal sense of the second line is: “Those who have not sunk have sunk, those who have sunk with their whole body have crossed over.”

The first volume comprises two parts, which are paged separately, the first (248 pages) containing a critical comparison between Bihari Lal and other poets. The most interesting portion is the first three sections, which compare dohās of the poet with similar passages in three much earlier works of a similar type, the Prakrit poem of Ḥāla called the Gāthā-saptasatā, and the Sanskrit Āryā-saptasatā of Govardhana and Śataka of Amaruka. Subsequent sections compare passages in the Satsai with extracts from Sanskrit poets, from Urdu poets such as Ghālib, Saudā, Zauq, and Mir Taqi, from Hindi poets
such as Keśava, Senāpati, and Padmākar, and with selections from later Satais such as the Śṛngāra Satsai and the Vikrama Satsai. All this, which occupies 152 pages, is followed by a section dealing with eighteen selected dohās dealing with the separation of lovers (a fruitful topic of eastern poets), which are compared with verses composed by other Hindi poets, such as Gwāl, Sundar, Mati Rām, and Gang, bearing on the same subject. After this ten sections follow, designed to illustrate the poet’s knowledge of various subjects (mathematics, astronomy, etc.), and an eleventh containing a very forcible and somewhat acrimonious reply to some adverse criticisms on isolated verses of Bihari, which occur in the Hindi Navaratna, a very admirable book on Hindi poetry which appeared a few years ago. Paṇḍit Padma Simha is reluctant to admit the existence of any defects in the Satsai, and it must be granted that in nearly all cases his defence of Bihari carries conviction, though it might have been expressed with less asperity. This criticism applies with even greater force to the second part (120 pages) of this volume, which consists of nothing but a detailed criticism of a commentary on Bihari by one Paṇḍit Jwāla Prasāda, which was published in Bombay in 1903. The comments of Paṇḍit Jwāla Prasāda on thirty-two selected dohās are quoted and pulled to pieces with great severity. Thirteen pages are devoted to a reply to the commentary on the 515th dohā, in the course of which a very interesting letter, written in 1910 by the Urdu poet Alṭāf Husain Halī to the author, is quoted in full as substantiating on a minor point the author’s defence of Bihari against an attack made by an anonymous critic.

It would be premature at this stage, besides making this notice unduly long, to make more than an incidental allusion to the second volume of this book. Its 248 pages are taken up with commenting on 126 dohās, some of which have already been cited for various purposes in the first volume. Both volumes contain full indices. The printing is clear and legible, and mistakes are not numerous, चेत for चेत, p. 62; कुट्टरान for कुट्टरान, p. 119; and वराव for वराव, p. 245, in the first volume being among the few observed.

R. P. Dewhurst, I.C.S. (retd.).


The Editor has reproduced the text of the original with its unscientific transliteration of proper names. To have made alterations
would certainly have been "a laborious task", but it is not understood why this need have involved "many mistakes".

He has added many valuable historical and general notes, several succinct and informative historical appendices and genealogical tables, and prefixed an interesting memoir of the author. Historical and archaeological research to fill up the lacunae in the early annals of India has made considerable progress in the past fifty years and has thrown much light on the origin of the Rajput clans. Risley undertook the ethnological survey of India; a re-survey has since been effected in the Bombay Presidency and some of Risley's conclusions combated and refuted. The term Śaka, or Scythian, is a very vague one. The early invasions of India by the Śakas and the Yue-chi cluster round the opening centuries of the Christian era. The inrush, passing through the Panjep, Malva, and Gujarat, reached high-water mark on the confines of Nasik and the Deccan. But the flood waters soon receded and left little lasting impression on the ethnological characteristics of the submerged populations of Western India. On the contrary, the swarms of White Huns, Gurjaras, and Maitrikas which descended into the Panjep, Rajputana, Malva, and Gujarat in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D., on the decline and break-up of the Gupta Empire, clearly came to stay, and staying left their mark on the indigenous populations conquered or absorbed by them. Thus the Vallabhi Dynasty founded by Bhaṭṭarka, the Maitrika, gave rise to the premier clan of Rajputs, the Gohils of Udepur. And other clans, euphemistically said to have been born of the Agni-Kuṇḍ, or fire-pit, on Mount Abu—that is to say, foreigners admitted to Hindu rites and Ksatriya status—can be shown to be descended from or connected with the invading barbarian hordes. The Editor opines that the Nāgar Brahmins came with the Maitrikas from the Panjep. Risley is probably wrong in regarding the Nāgars as Scytho-Dravidians. The Śakas and the Yue-chi were Mongolians, originally expelled from North-West China. But the Nāgars betray no Mongolian physical characteristics. They are fair in complexion and have medium, well-shaped heads and features. They were, if not Maitrikas, possibly Persians, or Pahlavas (Parthians) of the borderland. Very significant is the Sun-worship of these foreign clans at Bhinmal, thus pointing to associations with Persia and the Mithra cult. It is dangerous, however, to push the Hun-Pahlava-Gurjara theory to extreme limits in accounting for the origin of the ujali varna of Western India. Be it remembered that Saurāstra (Kathiavad) and Aparānta (North Konkan) were among the earliest
Aryan settlements in India. It is unlikely that an exclusive caste, like the Brahmans, should not have retained a measure of Aryan or semi-Aryan purity of stock and should not be represented by their descendants to-day. The large Audich Brahman clan immigrated from Oudh at Mulraj’s invitation in the tenth century A.D. Bhrgu-Kachcha (Broach) and Panchvati (Nasik) were ancient Aryan settlements. With the Ksatriyas the case was different. Intercaste warfare, intermarriages with indigenous Kolis (Dravidians) and Bhils (? Mundas) who still form the bulk of the aboriginal population of Northern and Central Gujarat, and subsequent intermarriage with and conversion by Mahomedans to the faith of Islam, played havoc with the purity of the original Aryan or semi-Aryan stock which overran Western India in Vedic times.

So that, at the present day, the purest Rajputs are those members and scions of the Royal Houses founded by the invading Huns, Gurjaras, Maitrikas, and (?) Pahlavas, who were not Ksatriyas when they entered India.

Forbes’ account of the contest between the Solanki Bhuvad and the Châvada Chief Jai Sikhari is taken from the Ratna Mâlå. Panchâsar, where the latter ruled, was an insignificant state in a desolate country on the edge of the little Rann. It is quite possible that the bards, as was their wont, have magnified the episode of one of those border forays, so common in the annals of Gujarat, and that Bhuvad was a mere cadet of the powerful Western Châlukya (Solanki) stock of the Deccan and Northern Konkan, whose dominions included Southern Gujarat and stretched to the Narbada River. His descendants at a later date established themselves at Anhilpur-Pattan, thus finally ousting the Châvadas from Northern Gujarat.

Vol. i, pp. 355, 362. Mâhmûdâbâd is the correct name of the ruined village on the Vâtrak River. The walls of Mâhmûd Be-gâdha’s ruined park existed in 1893, when the reviewer was stationed at Kaira. Mâhmûd was called Be-gâdha (“two forts”), as he conquered Girnâr and Pâvâgadh.

Vol. ii, p. 55 n. The word is bâhyadharma, from bâhya, corrupted from (S) bâhu “arm”, and meaning (1) “arm”, (2) “help”, “assistance”, and dhara (S) “holder”; or it may be a corruption of abhayadharma (S) “guarantor of safety”. The derivation can scarcely be bân-dhara “bowman”. (Vide Gujarat-nî jumî vârtta,

1 The new village, which has sprung up round the railway station, is called Mehmadabad.
p. 214, where, however, the word is incorrectly spelt without the fleeting " h " sound.)

Vol. ii, p. 75 n. The festival is commonly called Bakri-Id.

Vol. ii, p. 97, note. Gogo has now fallen back to second place and the trade of Bhavnagar is flourishing.

Vol. ii, p. 95. What is a " pre-Hindu " deity? Bhavānī was the Śaktī, or creative energy of Bhava (Śiva) deified as a goddess. Śiva was a non-Aryan and pre-Aryan deity, whose chief emblem of worship was the phallus. In the Rg-Veda, the wrath of the Vedic Nature gods is invoked against the Śisna-deva. Bahu-charā is an epithet of Ambā-Bhavānī, or Durgā, meaning " swift-moving ". The Chārāṇi, Becharā, or Becharā, has thus been deified and her name Sanskritized.

Vol. ii, p. 235. The Yādavas could hardly have been Śakas. There is no historical record that the Śakas ever penetrated to Devgiri, the Yādava capital, and, if their chief was Kṛṣṇa, they were probably Aryans or semi-Aryans who colonized from Dvārika in Kathiavād. Kṛṣṇa’s date is circa 950 B.C. The Yādavas may have been Maitrikas, as the bards now say that they were descended from the Abu fire-pit along with the Parmār, Rāthor, Chohān, and Solanki clans.

Vol. ii, p. 395 n. The correct word is bhūva " exorcist ", not bhura.

W. DODERET.

THE HAFT PAIKAR. By NIZĀMĪ OF GANJA. Translated from the Persian, with a commentary by C. E. WILSON. Two volumes. London, 1924.

European scholars have done little for Nizāmī since 1871, when Bacher’s monograph appeared. Practically no progress has been made towards establishing a critical text of the Khamsa, though the need for it is obvious to anyone who looks into the Oriental editions; and as regards translation, Wilberforce Clarke’s version of the Sikandar-nāma-i barrī is the only work of importance. While the neglect of a poet so famous and original as Nizāmī may be partly explained by considerations which apply to Persian studies in general, there would seem to be in his genius something alien and repellent to Western taste—something that is not found, or, at least, is not strongly developed, in Firdausi, Jalālu’ddīn Rūmī, Sa’di, and Ḥāfiz. In reviewing his merits and defects, Professor Wilson remarks that the latter “ are those common to all Persian poets, who have little skill

1 Professor Wilson has also consulted several MSS. in the Library of the India Office.
in delineating character, or in inspiring a sense of the spirit of nature”,
and invites us to contrast Nizámi’s description of a garden with Shelley’s
_Sensitive Plant._ I cannot see what is gained by doing so. It would be
quite as strange to find the modern feeling for nature in a Persian poet
of the twelfth century as it would be to find meads of ambergris in
Shelley or rivulets of rose-water in Wordsworth. Persian poetical art
has its own standards, to which the poets are inevitably true; but
within these limits there is free play for individual characteristics,
and these are the differences that matter. Professor Wilson reveals
what is most characteristic of Nizámi when he says that this poet is
unconventionally obscure. “He employs images and metaphors to
which there is no key save in the possession of the poetic sense and of
sound judgment.” Hence, to European readers at any rate, his finest
passages often present a series of fascinating and exasperating riddles.
Comparing him with Firdausí, Professor Wilson writes: “His thoughts
are deeper, his expression is more trenchant, crisp, and epigrammatic,
though perhaps often more studied and artificial, and generally more
obscure and subtle. In plain narrative, he is equally flowing and
perspicuous, whilst in situations requiring exalted imagination and
dramatic force he is superior.” All this may be true as far as it goes,
but it does not go far enough. In Firdausí there is none of that elaborate
and over-subtle inventiveness of style which is the essence of Nizámi’s
art. The former’s “conceits” are simple, direct, and subordinate to
his theme; the younger poet spends the best part of his imaginative
power upon these ornaments, which are so engrained in the
fabric of his thought that they cannot with justice be described as
superfluous. But though some of the romantic episodes in the
_Sháhnáma_ have a freshness and charm beyond anything in the_Khamsa_
(it was left for Nizámí to give the fullest and richest expression to the
spirit of Persian romance. The _Síkandar-náma_ is a historical and
philosophical romance; the _Lailá ú Majnún_, the _Khusrau ú Shirín_,
and the _Haft Paikar_ are love-romances.

The _Haft Paikar_, sometimes called the _Bahrám-náma_ after its hero,
Bahrám Gúr, the imperial hunter of the wild ass, was the last work
composed by Nizámí, and derives its title from the pictures of seven
princesses whom the King afterwards marries, passing one day of the
week with each of them in turn and amusing himself with the stories
which they relate to him. Nizámí finished the poem in A.D. 1197,
and dedicated it to a certain ‘Alá’uddín (named in the rubric ‘Alá’uddín
Qizil Arslán), whose two sons, named respectively Nuşratu’ddin
Malik Muhammad Shah and Ahmad, are also mentioned honourably, the one as a renowned warrior and the other as eminent for his learning. Ethel in his Neupersische Litteratur identified the dedicatee with the Atabek 'Ala‘uddin of Maragha (Rāhatu’s-Sudur, 347), while, according to Professor Browne, the person addressed by Nizamí is the Atabek of Ádharbáiján, Nuṣratu‘ddin Abú Bakr, the nephew and successor of Qizil Arslán. Professor Wilson, in his commentary (Note 204), argues rightly, I think, that the poem is dedicated to 'Ala‘uddín Tekish Khwárazmsháh, whose recent conquests in Persia are touched upon in the course of the panegyric and would naturally inspire Nizámí to seek his patronage. As Qizil Arslán died in 1191, six years before the Haft Paikar was completed, the verses in which he is mentioned or referred to must either be spurious or belong to an early draft of the poem. The fact that Nizámí gives the title of Nuṣratu‘ddin to Muhammad Khwárazmsháh, the son of 'Ala‘uddin, raises a further difficulty; but on the whole Professor Wilson's view has more evidence in its favour than any that has been put forward hitherto.

The translation, which keeps very close to the original, is accurate and trustworthy, and, together with the same translator's version of Book II of the Mathnaví, may be recommended not only as a guide to advanced students of Persian poetry, but also as a corrective to those who have not learned that even more than a little Persian is a dangerous thing. An almost word for word translation like this cannot reproduce or adequately suggest the literary qualities of the original; and for that reason the blank verse in which it is written strikes a false note, since a translator who uses verse is expected to give a good deal besides meaning and metre. Here the metrical form adds nothing of value, and in some instances it becomes positively detrimental. Nizamí, describing the ascension of the Prophet, says:—

"The journey had brought him (Mohammed) to a point where, on account of its distance (from the earth), Gabriel received from him permission to depart,"
i.e. the Prophet left Gabriel behind and went on his way alone. Professor Wilson's rendering is:—

"The stage had brought him to a place to which from its (fit) distance Gabriel could go."

Although an esoteric sense runs through the Haft Paikar, and may at times be discerned floating in the background, it is not an element with which either the reader or the commentator has seriously to reckon. Apart from this, however, the explanation of a work so
enigmatic and full of recondite learning demands knowledge and 
acumen in no common degree. Professor Wilson’s annotations, so far 
as I have been able to test them, are satisfying, and as a rule his remarks 
on questions of language are particularly good. Larger use might have 
been made of Arabic and Persian literature for the purpose of 
illustration; if we had a more readable text of the Khamsa, Nizámí 
himself would probably furnish parallels which would clear up some 
difficulties in this poem.

I conclude with a few criticisms.

Note 160. Commenting on the words در سواد بحاري و طبري, 
Professor Wilson says: "The rendering, 'in the works of Bukhári 
and Tabari,' must, I think, be rejected, first, because Bukhári was a 
Traditionist, and the Author does not quote Traditions, and secondly, 
because both Bukhári and Tabari wrote in Arabic, whereas the 
Author says he consulted both Arabic and also Persian works.'"

Surely it is possible to derive information from Bukhári without 
quoting Traditions; and as for Tabari, may not Nizámí have read him 
in the Persian translation by Bal'amí?

Note 177. Professor Wilson can, of course, make nothing of the 
half-verse اسدی را که بود الف بنواخت as it stands, and he 
does not try to emend it. But emendation is easy and certain. Read:

اسدی را که بود دلف بنواخت

Asadí, whom Bú Dulaf patronized.

Since Firdausí is mentioned in the preceding verse, Professor 
Wilson has assumed that Nizámí is here referring to the elder Asadí, 
in which case Abú Dulaf might have been supposed to be the man 
who is described as Firdausí's ráwí (Chahár Maqála, p. 55 of the 
translation). But there is no evidence that he was Asadí’s patron, and 
such an hypothesis is in fact unnecessary, though it is not inconsistent 
with the verses cited in the same place, in which Firdausí speaks of Abú 
Dulaf as "one of the notables of the city (Tús)", and complains 
that he got nothing but fine words from him—a reproach that would 
be pointless if Abú Dulaf had not been in a position to bestow 
solid favours. We may regard it as beyond doubt that the Asadí 
mentioned in the verse which I have emended is the younger poet of 
that name, who dedicated his Karshásp-náma to Abú Dulaf, prince 
of Arrán (see Rieu, Suppl. to the Cat. of Persian MSS. in the
British Museum, p. 134, col. 2). As the *Karshásp-náma* was written in imitation of the *Sháhnáma*, the two authors are naturally associated by Nizámí.

In connexion with the elder Asadí the only reference given is to the extremely meagre article in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, supplemented by a worthless anecdote from Daulatsháh. Professor Wilson’s choice of authorities, if not extensive, is at least peculiar. He never once refers to Professor Browne’s *Literary History of Persia*. Students are told where to find a verse translation of Asadí’s celebrated *munázara* between Day and Night by Miss Costello. They are not told, and perhaps I ought not to inform them, that the same poem was translated into verse seven years earlier by a very distinguished Orientalist whose name has just been mentioned inadvertently.

Note 183. It is rather misleading to equate *parí* with fairy, as the two words, though often confused, are not related etymologically.

Note 392. Professor Wilson says that he has not seen any explicit assertion in Persian writers of the belief that the sun makes gold grow and develop in the stone of the mine; but cf. Book I of the *Mathnawí* (verses 3779–80 in my forthcoming edition):

أز ره پنهان چ که دور از حسّ ماست
آفتاب جرخ را بس راههاست
آن رهی که زر یابد قوت ازو
و آن رهی که سنگ شد یاقتُوت ازو

Note 735. The special meaning here attributed to ‘*aqd*’ is the ordinary meaning of ‘*iqd*’, which should also take the place of ‘*aqd*’ in the verse quoted from Ḥáfiz.

Note 872. For the astrological use of *kadkhudá* see the translation of *Chahár Maqála*, note xxiv, p. 132.

Note 1247. The half-verse نشدم گر هزار کارم بود بود نشدم seems to require emendation, for I do not believe that and can be taken as equivalent to conditional tenses. One might suggest دلم نشده، meaning “I did not lose consciousness:
I was active in a thousand ways". In this case it would be easy to account for the substitution of \( \text{\textdoubleslash} \) by a copyist who regarded \( \text{\textdoubleslash} \) as a verbal form.

The name \( \text{\textdoubleslash} \), which occurs many times in the story translated in vol. i, p. 157 and foll., should, of course, be represented in English by Bishr, not Bashr.

Reynold A. Nicholson.

Zulu References for Zulu Interpreters and Students. Carl Faye. With five portraits and a map. 4to. Pietermaritzburg, Natal: City Printing Works, Ltd., 1923.

This is a book whose contents are likely to appeal to a wider circle of readers than those referred to on the title-page. Mr. Faye has evidently taken much trouble in the collection and presentation of his material; and both printing and binding are all that can be desired. The system of orthography followed is that known as "conjunctive".

From an interpreter's and student's point of view it seems to us that the list of Natal magistrates (pp. 22–5) might well have included officers of former times, on whom, as pioneers and initiators, devolved duties often far more important than any present-day magistrate is ever likely to be required to perform. The older generation, therefore, are still frequently referred to by Natives in Courts of Law as well as outside them.

The want of comprehensiveness makes itself felt somewhat in the list of royal regiments. For instance, those recruited by Tshaka (the world-famous creator of the Zulu military system) have been entirely omitted, also most of those recruited by his notorious successor Dingana. A few inaccuracies have crept in on p. 45; for instance, Dhlambedhlu, recruited by Dingana, occurs after Ntabakawombe and Ntsewane, whereas, apart from the iNgcobinga cadets inherited from Tshaka (called iZinyosi by Dingana), it was unquestionably Dingana's first regiment. Then, again, neither Ntabakawombe nor Ntsewane were recruited by Dingana as supposed by Mr. Faye. The explanations given of the meanings of some of the names are very interesting.

The glossaries of selected official terms and physical features are likely to prove useful and suggestive. So far as we are aware, the
genealogical tables (pp. 106–22) have never been attempted for Zulu in so full a way, and they are at once original, lucid, and instructive.

The specimen speeches, well chosen and, as a rule, correctly translated, are also an interesting feature.

We are surprised to see that a bizarre mode of spelling the great name Tshaka has been resorted to. As all old and better-informed people in the Zulu world know, it was derived from the complaint from which, prior to his birth, the despot's mother had falsely declared herself to be suffering, viz. istryati or istryaka. These words are now obsolete, but anyone who has heard either of them authoritatively pronounced cannot have failed to detect therein the sharp "t" sound, as heard in the "ch" of our word "chant". It was because of this that scores of the earlier settlers (some of them contemporaneous with Tshaka himself, and, writing before the alphabet had assumed the now prevailing form) wrote, not Shaka but Chaka—a spelling which later generations finally converted to Tshaka, i.e. they amended not the pronunciation, but the bare form of the name as reduced to writing.

Even though Zulu months naturally do not and cannot correspond exactly with those of the English calendar, it is always possible to indicate approximately enough for all practical purposes what particular portion of the calendar is connoted by any Zulu month, especially as the phases of the moon are clearly indicated in every good almanac. As it is, the twenty-six names (pp. 52–4), in the absence of references to the English calendar, lose much of their significance for Europeans, and tend to give rise to doubt and uncertainty. For instance, anyone studying the list might easily overlook that Masingana and Ngcele are one and the same month. Mr. Faye is quite at sea as to the meaning of Ngulazibuya (p. 53), which has nothing to do with cattle "being sick" or "going homeward". Ngula is the word gulula in an abbreviated form (the n being prefixed for reasons it is not necessary now to deal with), whilst zibuya is the plural of isibuya; the meaning of the whole being—the month when the threshing-floors (or enclosures) are cleaned (in connexion with the yearly harvest).

The book is a very welcome addition to Zulu-English literature, and a distinctly creditable performance. If there are faults here and there they are more often those of omission than commission. As a whole the work bears on it the promise of even better and more substantial achievement in the future.

J. STUART.

In 1905 a catalogue of the Bengali, Oriya, and Assamese books in the library of the India Office was published. The present publication is a supplement to this catalogue, and includes only the Bengali books added to the library during the fourteen years ending with 1920. Both catalogues were compiled by the late Professor J. F. Blumhardt, who did not live to finish the revision of the proofs. A comparison of the two lists provides startling evidence of the increase of literary activity in Bengali during recent years. More Bengali printed books were added to the India Office Library during the years 1906-20 than the total number of such books contained in the library in 1905. It is true that the supplementary catalogue contains some books published earlier than 1905, but the proportion of these to later publications is very small.

It is interesting to notice the large increase in the output of books dealing with history and biography. Under the head of history one notices a great number of publications dealing with the history of special towns or districts. Considerable attention is evidently also being given to the study of local dialects of Bengali. In biography Pañdit Śivanāth Šāstri’s invaluable book on Rāmanatū Lāhiri and the Bengali society of his day, published in 1904, has served as a model for many other lives and memoirs. It is strange that the same writer’s later work, his Atmācarita, is not included in the catalogue.

The arrangement of the matter of the Supplement is a distinct improvement on that of the original catalogue. The titles of all the books are arranged in one list in alphabetical order, and in each case some indication of the contents or the nature of the work is inserted. Appended to the catalogue proper are an “Index of Persons” and a classified “Subject Index”. The system of transliteration is based on the principles adopted for Indian names in the Library of the British Museum. The result is sometimes from the Bengali point of view rather disconcerting, but for cataloguing purposes uniformity is, of course, essential.

The two catalogues—the original one of 1905 and this supplement—combined form by far the most complete guide to Bengali literature that has so far appeared, whether in this country or in India.

W. SUTTON PAGE.
NOTES AND QUERIES

ISLAMICA

I. FIRDAWSI AND "THE MARZUBAN OF HERAT"

On page 16 of Nöldeke's famous essay on Das Persische Nationalepos (Berlin and Leipzig, 1920), the question of the authors of the prose "Shāhnāma" on which Firdawsi's epic was partly at any rate based is discussed. The tradition is as follows:—

In a.H. 346 (a.d. 957–8) a certain high official named Abū Mašūr al-Ma'marī (or al Mu'ammarī)¹ caused to be collected for Abū Mašūr b. 'Abd ur-Razzāq, lord of Ţūs, a Shāh Nāma (in prose), and for this purpose employed the following men:—

(1) Ṣāḥ the Khurasānī from Herat.
(2) Yazdandākh, son of Shāpūr from Sistān.
(3) Māhōī Khurshīdī, son of Bahrām from Nishāpūr.
(4) Shādān, son of Burzūr from Ţūs.

Nöldeke points out that all these names are not Muslim but Zoroastrian. Al-Birūnī in his "Athār al-Baqiiyya" (xxxviii, 116) informs us that Abū Mašūr, the son of 'Abd ur-Razzāq of Ţūs, of whom we are told a good deal in histories between a.H. 945–60, had dedicated to him a "Shāhnāma".

Now there is a paragraph in Firdawsi's Introduction to the reign of Hormuz, son of Anūshīrwān, which tells us that a certain great man caused Parsee priests (mōbadhs) to be brought from various quarters, in order to collect the materials relating to the ancient kings of Persia for a book, which formed the basis of Firdawsi's Epic. One of these mōbedhs is thus described by Firdawsi (see Macan 1791, four lines from bottom):—

¹ Nöldeke reads Al-Ma'marī, but wherever I have come across the name in contemporary verse we must read Mu'ammarī, e.g. a hemistich in one of Qatrān's odes reads:

سرطانه بعلامبركو معمكر وگذشي را
As Nöldeke points out, the reading of the name ماح (Mākh) is quite uncertain, and it has suggested itself to me that we may have here a corruption of the name ماج, and that this Māj was the same man who served as rávī to Rūdaki (see my article ‘Rūdaki and Pseudo-Rūdaki’ in J R A S. Oct., 1924). Of course, if we are to read ماج, a variant would have to be found for the second Misra' of the line for the sake of the rhyme. However this may be, it seems quite conceivable that the man who was rávī to Rūdaki, who composed a poetic version of “Kalila and Dimna”, should be the type of man to be employed in collecting the ancient legends of Persia.

In one of the oldest Shah Nāma MSS., namely the British Museum Or. 21103, which is dated A.H. 675, the line in question reads:—

جهاندیده نام ایو بوز ماح
سخندان و بادر وبا پال وشان

Although shākh fits well with the rest of the second hemistich as given by Macan (bā barg u shākh being a common expression), it may be suggested that the word tāj would be a more suitable pendant to yāl, meaning a crest, and this would give us the required rhyme.

II. SOME RARE MSS. SEEN IN TUNIS

During a recent visit to Tunis I had the opportunity of examining a number of Arabic manuscripts then in private hands which have now become the property of my friend Baron Rodolph d'Erlanger of Sidi Bou Saïd, Tunisia. Among the more interesting were the following:—

(1) A unique astronomical work entitled
That is to say, the Zīj or astronomical tables of ar-Riqāni, known as al-Kirmāni and based on the observations of al-Battāni. The transcript was made in a.h. 489. It is in two maqālas, of 30 chapters (bābs) each. Unfortunately a few folios are missing at the beginning. It begins abruptly as follows:—

The author further explains that whereas al-Battāni took his bearings from ar-Raqqa, he himself measures from Rayy.

The bābs of Maqāla I bear the following titles:—

1. باب آ في ذكى تواريخ الثلاثة المستعملة في زماننا
2. باب ب في نقل سنى هذه التواريخ إلى الايام والايام إلى سنیها بالحساب والجدول
3. باب ج في استخراج هذه التواريخ بعضها من بعض
4. باب د في مدخل هذه التواريخ في ايام الأسبوع بالحساب والجدول
5. باب ح في استخراج الاعساط من جداولها
6. باب ح في نقل الاعساط من طول إلى طول
7. باب ز في معرفة تعديل الايام بلياليها
8. باب ط في اصول الوجات و جوهرات الكواكب
9. باب ط في تعديل ما بين سطري الجداول
باب يز

باب يح

باب يط

باب ك

باب ك

باب ك

باب ك
FACSIMILE, IN ORIGINAL SIZE, OF PARCHMENT LEAF OF BOOK DATED A.H. 265
An apparently unique MS. copied in A.H. 630 containing the correspondence in prose and in verse between the great Sūfī teacher al-Qushayirī and al-Qurṭūbī. I was unable to examine this MS. sufficiently carefully to identify "al-Qurṭūbī", but it may possibly be Othmān b. Saʻīd ad-Dānī al-Qurṭūbī who died A.H. 444. Al-Qushayirī died A.H. 465.


A history of the relatives of the Prophet by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad ad-Dūlābī, who died A.H. 320. Not dated, but the copy is in the hand of as-Sakhāwī, who died A.H. 902.

A biographical dictionary of famous men whose nisbas were identical, arranged alphabetically. The solitary volume I found contained the letters dāl to 'ayn. The copy was made by M. b. Maḥmūd al-Mahdawī (of Mahdiyya, Tunisia) in A.H. 766 in a Mashriqī hand.

(6) An early Qur'ān.

I found many leaves of early Qur'āns in private hands, and among the fragments shown me were two leaves representing the first and last folios of a Qur'ān written on stout parchment and measuring $6\frac{1}{2}\times 4\frac{1}{2}$". On one folio, which is reproduced in the accompanying plate, was written the following words:


On the other was written in the same hand:


That is to say, this Qur'ān was written during Ramazān in A.H. 275 by a woman named Fāzīl, the mawlāt of Abū Ayyūb Ahmad b. Muḥammad, and presented as waqf [to some mosque]. This is certainly one of the earliest dated documents in Cufic that have been found, though, of course, Cufic inscriptions in stone and in faience of an earlier date exist, while Arabic documents written in Naskh on papyrus take us back to the beginning of the first century of the Hijra.

In the library of the Great Mosque at Qayrawān I examined a large number of Qur'āns on parchment dating from the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries of the Hijra, and I found that many of them, like this MS. of the third century, were written by women. I was informed by local Moslems that according to their traditions it was in the early centuries of Islam considered desirable for a Tunisian girl who wished to make a good match, that she should have made at least one copy of
the Qurʾān with her own hand. This interesting tradition is fully borne out by the Qurʾāns preserved in the Great Mosque at Qayrawān. When I say "preserved" I fear I do not mean in our sense of the word, as the parchment sheets are kept unbound and tightly crammed into card boxes, where they are slowly crumbling to pieces.

E. Denison Ross.

Sir Arthur Shipley's delightful volume of Cambridge Cameos contains an essay entitled "The Hunting of the Yale", in which he shows that this semi-mythical creature, the eale of Pliny, which figures in the arms of Christ's College, probably originated in misunderstood reports of African cattle whose horns have been artificially deformed. Pliny's eale would appear to be derived (through a catena of no doubt imperfectly rendered authorities) from Herodotus' ὁπισθονυμεί βόες of the Garamantes—oxen which had to walk backwards when grazing "because their horns curve outwards in front of their heads" and would not allow them to reach the ground. Herodotus probably misunderstood some account of cattle like those of the present-day Dinka. These people, according to Dr. Seligman, treat the horns of the leading bull in every herd (by slicing away part when the horn is growing) so as to make one project forward and the other backward. Sir A. Shipley gives reproductions of some Egyptian paintings, some of which so closely resemble Dr. Seligman's photograph of the Dinka bull as to show that the practice must have come down from very ancient times. With regard to a similar practice among the Zulus, at the other end of Africa, Sir A. Shipley refers (p. 69) to a passage in Wood's Natural History which, as it stands, is somewhat confusing, and gives the impression that the information has been chiefly, if not wholly, obtained from that very doubtful authority, Le Vaillant. The passage immediately preceding this direct quotation, however, is clearly, though not quoted verbatim, derived from Shooter's Kaffirs of Natal and the Zulu Country (1857). This writer says: "Means are occasionally employed to cause one horn to bend downwards while the other remains upright" (p. 29). The fantastic variations then described and also referred to by Le Vaillant, are said to be found among the herds of the Zulu king, and I am informed by Mr. J. Stuart that the practice "was largely, if not entirely, confined to the royal herds, indulged in merely as a form of amusement. Cattle so treated were trained to take part in the dances at the royal kraal, i.e. were driven to and fro whilst the dancing was going on.
The fantastic shapes referred to by Shooter seem to me correctly
given as far as they go."

Mr. Stuart's mother saw these "strangely-horned cattle" figuring
in dances at Mpande's kraal in 1851. Shooter does not profess to
have seen them himself, but says (note on p. 393): "This description
of Pande's cattle is on the authority of Europeans who have seen
them. Horns are bent by being scraped on one side and (it is said)
softened with water."

Mr. Stuart thinks that cattle were not commonly treated in this
way before Mpande's time, as the unsettled reigns of his predecessors
would not allow of so much attention being paid to the royal herds,
but Le Vaillant's reference seems conclusive as to its existence, his
description coinciding so closely with that of later authorities, while
the date at which he wrote makes it impossible he could have borrowed
from them.

There is a reference to this custom in Andersson's Lake Ngami
(1856), but unfortunately he does not specify which African tribes
"take much pains in forming [the horns] of a certain shape. This is
effected either by sawing off the tips, splitting them, bending them
forcibly while yet tender, and so forth". If the Herero (called by
him "Damara") are meant, this would suggest that the custom was
brought from the north-east by the Hamitic immigration which has
perceptibly affected these people, and in a less degree, the Zulus.
But in that case one would have expected it to prevail also among
the Hottentots. Is any information available on this point?

A. W.

Residents in Nyasaland, and East Africa generally, are familiar with
the word machila or machira (meaning a hammock or carrying-chair—
various types are in use), which is generally accepted as Portuguese.
An interesting point is raised by the Rev. T. Cullen-Young, in his
recently published Notes on the Speech and History of the Tumbuka-
Henga Peoples. He treats machila (usually regarded as a singular)
as a plural, having the singular (li) chila (p. 61). As the Tumbuka
must have borrowed the word from the Anyanja, who seem to have
adopted it either directly or indirectly from the Portuguese, this
singular looks like an afterthought, suggested by the mistaken notion
that machila is a plural of Class 6. Yule and Burnell (s.v. muncheel,
manjeel) suggest an Indian origin: Malayalam manjil, manchal, from
the Sanskrit *mañcha*. This derivation is disputed by Monsenhor Dalgado (*Glossario Luso-Asiatico*, ii, 5, 6), who gives it an African origin. It appears that, in the dialects of Tete and the Lower Zambezi, *machira* means "cloth"—especially native-woven cotton fabrics, and the word was so used by Father Monclaio in 1569: "Andaõ todos commummente vestidos com huns panos de algodao ... os quaes eu vi tecer perto da Sena, e chamaõ-se *machiras*." This suggests that the earliest *machilas* were simply pieces of cloth slung from poles, or in other words canvas hammocks, and this seems to be confirmed by a quotation dated 1611, where the "cochos ... que em Cuama se chaman *machiras*", are said to be "concertados ao modo de redes do Brazil"—the net hammocks of the Indians. Dos Santos, writing in 1609, distinguishes between *machiras* and *androes* or palanquins; but Bocarro (1635) identifies them "... andor, a que chaman *machiras*". The conveyance most in favour among the modern Portuguese is certainly more like a carrying-chair than a hammock, and is well described by Mrs. Pringle (see quotation in Yule and Burnell, p. 596).

I have so far failed to trace any word for "cloth" at all resembling *chira*, except in the Chiswina dialect of the "Mashona" (*Karanga*) language, spoken in the Penhalonga district. The Rev. H. Buck, in the dictionary published by the S.P.C.K. (1911), gives "*jira* a cloth, *limbo*, linen, a sheet, a towel, etc." In most cognate dialects, variants of *nguo* or *nsalu* are used. Any light on this point would be welcome, as also on the question whether *chira* or *chila* is ever used in the sense of "hammock". I have never heard any form of the word but *machila*, but Father Torrend (*Gramatica do Chíseña*, p. 57) makes it a plural, with *chira* for the singular.

It is not so far clear whether the native (Sena or Karanga) word for cloth was applied to the cloth hammock except under Portuguese influence. Even if it was so used, it seems more likely that the word, bearing as it does a fairly close resemblance to *manjil*, should have been applied to the thing when first introduced under its Indian name, than that the African name should, as Monsenhor Dalgado thinks, have been carried to India.

A. Werner.
OBITUARY

Rev. W. Hopkyn Rees, D.D.

William Hopkyn Rees began his qualifications for language study and teaching by being born at Cwmavon in the Welsh speaking part of Wales. As quite a young man he decided on the ministry. Theological training in Bala and a short pastorate in Wales prepared him to go out to China under the London Missionary Society. He sailed with his wife, in the autumn of 1883, for China, travelling out on the same boat as James Gilmour of Mongolia. After learning the language in Peking, he went out into the middle of the great plain of Chihli, some 200 miles south of Peking, there to found the station near Chichou which ultimately came to be called Siaochang. The station was in the midst of the territory swept by the Boxer rising, but fortunately Hopkyn Rees had left for furlough in England a short time before.

Returning in 1901, he rendered such help to the Chinese authorities in the settlement of indemnity claims that he received the order of the "Blue Button". By this time he had established his reputation, not only as a man who knew the windings of Chinese life in their every turn, but as a Chinese scholar. He had an unusual memory for the character. It was natural, therefore, that when he was appointed to the Union Theological College in Peking, he should at the same time join in founding the Language School in Peking for missionaries and other Europeans. The magnitude to which that school has grown is some measure of the competence of its founders. He was chosen one of the board of revisers for the Mandarin Old Testament. The last stage of his work in China began in 1913, when he was appointed to the staff of the Christian Literature Society in Shanghai. In 1916 he became General Secretary, and he only resigned in 1921 because ill-health compelled it. He was responsible for the editing and translation of many books, but his greatest work was the translation of the Old Testament articles of Hastings' One Volume Bible Dictionary, while Dr. McGillivray took the New Testament. It was not possible to translate directly, many of the ideas of criticism had to be re-expressed if they were to have any relation to the stage of Biblical scholarship which the Chinese Christians in the mass had then reached, and only those who have attempted such a piece of work can realize the enormous labour which it cost. It was so successful that before publication the
first edition of 5,000 was sold out. On his resignation in 1921 he was appointed to the School of Oriental Languages in London, and of his work there someone at the school can speak. But two final and most fitting honours came to him just before he died. First the Chairmanship of the Union of Welsh Independents, and second that of the Board of the London Missionary Society. In neither case was he able to take his place as Chairman, but the honours themselves were conferred with such spontaneous appreciation that the occupancy of either chair was needless.

In all the work that he did Mrs. Rees played her part. She had a special power of understanding the Chinese mind, and in district work, above all, the two co-operated almost as one. Four of the seven children have been missionaries or the wives of missionaries.

Dr. Rees enjoyed a remarkable popularity wherever he was known, but above all in Wales. His knowledge of China and his human interest in handling what he knew in the most sympathetic way made him an unusually good speaker, and he did a great work in making large audiences understand a little more of the conditions in the Far East. As is suggested by the bare record of his appointments, he lived a life full of activity, and if the reward of longer years had been offered to him at the price of going slow, he would certainly have refused it. He was one of the most comradely and eager of friends. He gave his best in friendship without stint or reserve. He was first and foremost a Christian, and, because his religion was a complete and all round thing, he gave the impression that it was second nature. As compared with the lives many men live to-day, his period of 65 years was not long, but few men, even in a long life, have had so much of joy in realizing the best of their ambitions. In his illness over and again he gave thanks for the mercy and gladness which had marked all his career. That was characteristic of his buoyancy and courage. "Whom the gods love, die young" was pre-eminently true of Hopkyn Rees.

To this appreciation by an old friend, I wish to add a few words from one who only had the privilege of Dr. Hopkyn Rees's acquaintance during the short period he was able to serve as Reader in Chinese in our School. Dr. Rees was no longer a young man when he came to us, in 1920, but he at once entered into his duties with a keenness and vigour of which a far younger man might well be proud. For Dr. Rees all students alike were the object of his solicitous care, and the same
trouble was bestowed on the beginner as on the advanced student. His direct and practical method of instruction, coupled with his rare knowledge of spoken Mandarin, resulted in consistent and rapid progress, and his name will be gratefully remembered by numbers of students who passed through his hands in these four years. But the loss we feel here is not merely the loss of a great teacher, but in equal measure the loss of a personality which had gained the affection and respect of all his colleagues.

EDITOR.
ONE point only in Dr. Barnett's vivacious article in the last number of this Bulletin (pp. 519–22) seems to merit further examination, because it deals with an issue which is capable of definitely objective treatment, namely the reference in the Pratimāṇītaka to the Nyāyaçāstra of Medhātithi. Dr. Barnett, despite the brief refutation of his view given by me above (Vol. III, Pt. II, p. 295), still insists that the Nyāyaçāstra can only mean the Manubhāṣya, a work of the tenth century A.D.

The passage in question is one in which Rāvana, confronted with Rāma, says ātmagatam: yāvad aham api brāhmaṇasamudācāram anuṣṭhāsyāmi. Aloud he declares: "I am of the Kāvyapagotra; I study the Veda with its Āṅgas and Upāṅgas, the Mānavīya Dharmaçāstra, the Māheçvara Yogaçāstra, the Bārhaspatya Arthaçāstra, Medhātithi's Nyāyaçāstra, and the Prācetasa Črāddhakalpa." There is not the slightest possibility of doubt that the only manner in which this list can naturally be understood is to hold that each of these texts is an independent Čāstra, and any contention to the contrary requires strict proof.

Dr. Barnett asserts that the term Nyāyaçāstra signifies either a book of law or a book of logic; that in this connexion logic is quite out of place; and that, even if it were admissible, the fact remains that the only Čāstras by Medhātithi on record are the Manubhāṣya, the Śmyteiveka, and a work on astrology; of these the only one extant is the Manubhāṣya, and he therefore concludes that this is the Čāstra.
referred to in the Pratimāṇṭaka. The last conclusion is obviously a non-sequitur; if we have to choose between the Smṛti viveka and the Manubhāṣya, the choice would obviously fall on the former as presumably a general treatise, while the latter is merely a commentary; but the point is of no importance, in view of the fact that the reference is not to this Medhātithi at all, as the following arguments conclusively demonstrate.

(1) There is no evidence for the assertion that Nyāyaçāstra means a book of law. The term is a perfectly familiar one in reference to logic, and Nyāya forms part of the names of a very large number of works on that topic. On the other hand, authority for Nyāyaçāstra as a book of law is entirely lacking, and it is obviously incumbent on him who asserts such a meaning to adduce passages in its support. Even, however, were this possible, the fact would remain that the overwhelming weight of usage establishes the meaning of Nyāyaçāstra as connected with logic.

(2) The assertion that logic in this connexion is quite out of place is hardly intelligible; study of logic is a most legitimate occupation for a Brāhmaṇa; the epic, the Purāṇas, and the law books alike extol its merits,¹ and the parallel of Nārada, adduced below, is conclusive against Dr. Barnett.

(3) The view that the Manubhāṣya is meant involves the separation of the commentary from the text by the interposition of the Bārhaspatya Arthaçāstra, and this is now defended by the fact that in the Mahābhārata, xii, 201, 8, the three Vedas are enumerated, followed by the Vedāngas, “among which the Nirukta or commentary on the text comes third.” The parallel is clearly imperfect, even as presented, since the two intervening works are Vedāngas as much as the Nirukta, and not totally independent texts like the Bārhaspatya Arthaçāstra. But Dr. Barnett ignores the notorious fact that Nirukta does not mean commentary on the text, but etymology, which is a vitally different thing. Possibly the error may be due to the fact that in his Nirukta Yāska in the course of explaining the Nighantūvas does comment on a number of Vedic stanzas; but the fact at least is beyond dispute,² and with it the parallel disappears.

(4) It is obvious that the whole difficulty has arisen from Dr. Barnett’s petitio principii that Medhātithi must be the writer who

² See, e.g., Macdonell, Sanskrit Literature, p. 264; Hopkins, Great Epic, p. 7 (the term Nyāyacikṣa, wrongly rendered at p. 14, n. 4, is correctly given at p. 96).
is known as the author of the Manubhāṣya and the Smṛtiveka. Yet, surely, when we have a term like Nyāyaçāstra, which prima facie means logical science, the obvious course is to look for some author on logic of that name. The Catalogus Catalogorum, unfortunately, is silent on this head; yet, as far back as 1920 that able scholar, the late Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana, pointed out the solution, when he wrote, in view of the reference in the Pratimāṇāṭaka. “In the Māhābhārata we find that Medhātithi and Gautama were the names of the same person, one being his proper name and the other his family name,” citing the Bangavāsi edition of the Čantiparvan, 265, 45:—

Medhātithir mahāprajñā Gautamas tapasi sthitah
vimṛgya tena kālena patnyāḥ samsthāvyatikramam.

There cannot be the slightest doubt that, when the Pratimāṇāṭaka uses the phrase Medhātithi’s Nyāyaçāstra, it refers to the Nyāyaçāstra ascribed by tradition to Gautama, a sage famous in Rāma’s legendary history, and is not guilty of the absurdity of treating as existing in Rāvana’s time a commentary of the tenth century A.D. Further, the recognition of this fact gives a special point to the mention of the Kācyapagotra as that of Rāvana, for the great epic—which was admittedly one of the chief sources of inspiration for the dramatists—expressly records that the hermitage of Kācyapa was full of sages “who were versed in the Nyāyatattva (logical categories), and knew the true meaning of a proposition, objection, and conclusion”. Moreover, the epic tells us of Nārada, a model of Brahmanical conduct, that he was versed in logic (nyāyavid), in law, and the six Vedāṅgas, which affords us an excellent parallel for Rāvana here, and establishes the propriety of logical knowledge.3

Finally, it may be noted that this interpretation alone accords with the terminology employed in the other cases mentioned. The Yogaçāstra is not ascribed to Patañjali, for that would have been too obvious an anachronism, and the Čṛddhakalpa is qualified as Pracetas,4 while Manu and Brhaspati are of venerable age.

This disposes of the argument for the late date of the Pratimā derived from the mention of Medhātithi; ab uno disce omnes.

1 History of Indian Logic, p. 18.
2 i, 70, 42 ff.
3 ii, 5, 3.
4 The name may have been suggested to the author by the Pracetasabṛhat, a work well known from legal citations. It may be noted that a Čṛddhakalpa ascribed to Prajāpati exists (Calcutta Sanskrit College Catalogue, ii, 325), and that Pracetasa is a Prajāpati (Manu, i, 35). The epic (xii, 350, 65) makes Hiranyagarbha the author of Yoga.
THE WORKS OF BHĀSA

By T. GANAPATI SASTRI

In the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London, at pp. 107 to 117 of III, 1, are to be found some criticisms by Messrs. Krishna Pishārodi and Rama Pishārodi on my views of Bhāsa and his authorship of Svapna-Vāsavadatta and the connected dramas published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. Their arguments are summarized hereunder with replies thereto:

I. “Every open-minded critic must perforse admit that Pratimā-nāṭaka must come after Kālidāsa, Chārudatta after Śūdraka, and Avimāraka after Daṇḍin.”

(1) As regards Pratimā, the genealogy of Raghu’s dynasty as described therein agrees with that in the Raghuvanśa. Therefore, Pratimā-nāṭaka is based on Raghuvanśa; and it must be taken that that genealogy was the creation of Kālidāsa, because Vālmiki makes no mention of it. In Pratimā the genealogy is referred to only in passing. It is legitimate to infer from this that it had been well established, having been already described in detail elsewhere; and it is so described in Kālidāsa. So say the Pishārodis.

But it was not open to Kālidāsa any more than to Bhāsa to manufacture a new genealogy. It must necessarily be inferred that some Itihāsa other than Rāmāyaṇa served as the basis for them both. Accordingly, both Dakhshināvaranātha and Arunāchalanātha, after stating that the genealogy in Raghuvanśa follows that in Vishnu-purāṇa, quote the following passage from the Vishnu-purāṇa in commenting on 3rd Sarga, 21st stanza:

"मूलवाद्वेदै दग्धरथः, तम्भाद्र दिशीपः, तत्तव विश्वसः,\n	तम्भाश् खट्टाजिस्वरीपः, खट्टाजात्र रधुरबलद्,\n	रघोरजः, अबादु दग्धरथः।"

(Vishnu-purāṇa, Amsā 4, Adhyāya 4.)

It was only after establishing by other reasons that Bhāsa must have been the author of Pratimā that we stated in our introduction to it that Kālidāsa followed Bhāsa even in the genealogy. It was not sought by us to establish the priority of Pratimā to Kālidāsa by reason of the identity of the genealogy in the writers. And, as the authority

1 "First Mūlaka, then Daśaratha, then Dīlpa, then Viśvasaha, then Khaṭvāṅga Dīlpa. From Khaṭvāṅga Raghu, from Raghu Aja, from Aja Daśaratha.”
for the genealogy is to be found in another Itihāsa, its identity in
Pratimā and Raghuvanāśa is incapable of establishing the priority
of either in relation to the other. Therefore all discussions based
upon the fullness or otherwise of the genealogy are all futile.

(2) With reference to Chārūdatta the argument of the Pishāroḍis
is that it is an abridgment of Mṛichchhakāṭika, that the story forming
the subject matter of the six Acts, Acts V to X, was omitted for the
convenience of the actors in Kerala and to save time, that an easy
diction was adopted so that it might be easily understood, and that
Chārūdatta is a complete drama in itself.

But it is not so; because before establishing the priority of
Mṛichchhakāṭika to Chārūdatta and the connected dramas, the
Śvapna-Vāsavadatta and the rest, it is impossible to say that Mṛich-
chhakāṭika is the original of Chārūdatta and that the latter is an
adaptation of the former. For no reason has been adduced by the
other side to establish the priority of Mṛichchhakāṭika. We have,
on the other hand, established the priority of Chārūdatta by showing
that it must have been composed by the author of Śvapna-Vāsavadatta
and by other reasons; and they ought to have been met by the other
side, but they have not been. Further, the story related in Acts V–X
of the Mṛichchhakāṭika has not been omitted but retained in
Chārūdatta. For Sakāra is described in the latter as vindictive
and capable of doing harm to anyone who might do him harm; and
his anger is shown to have been roused by Vasantasenā, whom he
loves, having taken refuge in Chārūdatta’s house. And Chārūdatta
is described as of noble qualities. And in the fourth act Vasantasenā
sets out to meet her lover Chārūdatta in his house—which must
have greatly put out Sakāra. The story thus related does certainly
contemplate the fifth and the later acts. For the reader will like to
know what the several trials and troubles were to which Chārūdatta
must inevitably have been put by reason of the anger of Sakāra,
and how in keeping with his character he was saved therefrom;
and the incidents described in the later acts have to be tackled on in
order to satisfy the reader’s mind; and the drama must therefore
be incomplete without them. The easy diction admitted on the other
side is a point in favour of the priority of Chārūdatta to Mṛichchhaka-
ṭika. As for the omission of the Maṅgala śloka, to attribute it to
“the hurry of the adaptation” is highly inconsistent with the state-
ment that the compiler of Chārūdatta is a “clever playwright”.

(3) Then, coming to Avimāraka, its story is modelled on the stories
of Daśakumāra-charita; and, when the Madras Government publishes the poem called Avanti-sundāri, it is probable that we may find many verses common to it and Avimāraka. Therefore Avimāraka is merely a compilation. So say the Pishārodis.

This reasoning is surprising. Because the stories resemble each other it does not follow that one work is compiled from the other. Otherwise one might say that Mahāvira-charita and other dramas dealing with the story of Rāma must have been compilations based on one another, because the story is the same. Even if there be some verses in Avanti-sundāri in common with Avimāraka, it might be that the former adopted them from the latter, because Avimāraka is proved to be prior. Moreover, not even one such stanza has been quoted by the other side, even for illustration, from which it has to be gathered that the statement about the existence of many common verses rests not on the direct observation of the writers, but on hearsay information implicitly adopted by them.

We have thus negativated the main contentions of the other side, on which it was sought to make out that Pratimā, Chārudatta, and Avimāraka were later than Kālidāsa, Śūdraka, and Daṇḍin.

II. Then it is stated by the Pishārodis that the reference to the worship of statues in the third act of Pratimā indicates that Bhāsa, the predecessor of Kālidāsa, could not be the author of this group of dramas, because in the Śiva temple at Tiruvanchikulam, the ancient capital of the Chera kings, there is a statue dedicated to Bhāskara Ravivarman, the last of the Chera kings, and it is worshipped. In view of the connexion of this prince and of the Svapna group of dramas with the Kerala stage, it is proper to infer that the incident in the Pratimā is based on this deification.

This is erroneous. The sort of Pratimā-griha which is described in the drama is one which is mainly intended for the installation and worship of the statues of departed kings and not a temple dedicated to Vishṇu or Śiva or other deity, with a statue therein of a devotee king, the statue being put there, as in the case of other devotees, in honour of the king by his admirers. Bhāskara Ravivarman was a pious man and the last of the Chera kings, and therefore, to perpetuate his memory, his admirers had his statue installed in the temple at Tiruvanchikulam. Similar statues of kings are also found in the temples in the Pāṇḍya and Chola countries. But the sort of Pratimā-griha described in the Pratimā is to be found nowhere. Therefore the Pratimā incident in the drama has no connexion with
the installation of the statue of Bhāskara Ravivarman; for the installation of royal statues obtains in other countries as well as Kerala, and the sort of Pratimā-griha described has not the slightest trace of existence in Kerala. As for the special connexion between the Kerala actors and the Svapna group of dramas, that connexion existed with reference to other dramas as well. The Chākyar actors acted Nāgānanda, Mattavilāsa, and other dramas, as well as the Svapna group of dramas. This has been mentioned by us in our introduction to Pratimā under the heading "The popularity of the plays in the Kerala country". And it is not logical to attribute a Kerala origin to the Svapna group of dramas because they were acted by Kerala actors. Otherwise we shall have to attribute a Kerala origin to Nāgānanda, Mattavilāsa, and the rest, as they also were acted by Kerala actors.

III. In Pratimā, Act I, Sītā is described as not participating in the coronation ceremonies of Rāma. The practice in Kerala is that in the coronation the king sits alone without his consort. It has, therefore, to be inferred that Pratimā was composed in Kerala. So argue the Pishārodis.

This argument is faulty. The coronation of Rāma was only as a Yuvarāja and is of secondary importance. Moreover, Vasishṭha, Vāmadeva, and others knew beforehand that the coronation was not going to take place, but nevertheless started it in compliance with the wishes of king Daśaratha, and the ceremony was a mere farce. Thus there was nothing to be gained by making Sītā participate in the ceremonies. On the other hand, the great poet has vastly gained by not making her participate. For it was by adopting this plan of separating Sītā from Rāma that it was possible to describe how at the very time of the coronation Sītā became accidentally interested in wearing the *valkalam*, and how she actually wore it, thereby foreshadowing the forest life which there was going to be. Thus, suitably to her character as a chaste woman, Sītā was able to go along with Rāma without any delay, with the very *valkalam*, when, after relinquishing the kingdom in observance of his father's words, he was about to leave for the forest. By this plan it was also possible to arrange to present the *valkalam* to Rāma for wearing in the forest. It would have been quite impossible to weave all these striking incidents into the drama, had Sītā been by the side of Rāma at the time of the coronation. That is why the intelligent poet, with a view to enhancing

1 See Pratimā, p. 120, revised edition with commentary.
the effect, separated Sītā from Rāma at the time of the coronation. On the occasion of the main coronation of Rāma as king Sītā is mentioned as having been with him. In the 7th Act the words are, "Then enters Rāma with Sītā after coronation." 1 Even if we adopt the reading, "Then enters Rāma with his Parivāra after coronation," Sītā must also be taken to be included in the word "Parivāra". Likewise in the drama Abhisheka, on the occasion of the main coronation, the words used are, "Then enters Rāma with Sītā after coronation." So Sītā is described as having been with Rāma. Thus the surmise of the Pishārodis that some Kerala poet must have introduced the practice of his country in describing the hero’s story is without any foundation whatever. It certainly does appear to me to be surprising that the surmise aforesaid leads to this— that the poet who so erroneously adopts his local practice in describing a different hero must be deemed to be very careless or worse.

IV. Then the Pishārodis say, "The antiquity of the Sanskrit and Prakrit adduced to justify and support the Bhāsa theory is in reality only an ingenious myth."

This also is wrong. It is not shown that it is only an ingenious myth. Every person who is well acquainted with the ancient and the later Sanskrit works will unhesitatingly accept the antiquity of the Sanskrit in Bhāsa. In fact, in our introduction to Pratimā we have shown that it is more ancient than not merely Kālidāsa but also Aśvaghoṣa; and all that has not been challenged. The Pishārodis are silent on this, and merely state it as their ipse dixit that there is not that natural beauty which would prove the antiquity of this group of dramas, and they do not advance anything to establish this statement. But a mere statement is not proof of the matters stated. As for the statement that "the general tone of simplicity is easily explained when it is remembered that these dramas were produced not with a literary purpose nor to glorify a king or national event, but mainly, as we shall show later, with a view to meet the demands of a flourishing popular stage", we ask whether the adoption of a simple diction does or does not militate against the merits of the dramas as literary compositions? If it does militate, then it must be admitted that the easy diction in dramas like Śākuntala is out of place. If it does not, then the same considerations apply both to dramas like Śākuntala and the present ones. As a matter of fact, the view

1 "तत्: प्रविष्टति कतःभिषेनको रामः सह सीतया।"
of the critics is that the literary merits of a composition rise in proportion to the simplicity of the diction. That the diction in these dramas is even simpler than in Śākuntala only shows that their author excels even Kālidāsa. We will deal later on with this meeting "the demands of a flourishing popular stage". Though the Prakrit in these dramas is similar to that of Kālidāsa, that is not a point against their antiquity, as shown by us in our introduction to Pratimā under the heading "The similarity of Prakrit in Bhāsa and Kālidāsa". After establishing by independent reasons that Bhāsa must have been the author of these dramas, we stated that their Prakrit was in keeping with their antiquity. If our conclusion is to be challenged, our reasons therefor ought first to be met; and they are not met merely by stating that there is similarity between the Prakrit of these dramas and the Prakrit in Śākuntala, Subhadrā-Dhananjaya, and other later dramas. When the Prakrit of the ancient dramas came conventionally to be adopted, as has been shown by us, in the later dramas, the similarity of the Prakrit ceases to be of any significance. If in a drama written to-day Prakrit such as is found in Śākuntala is adopted, that would not take away from Śākuntala its antiquity. And further we do not argue that the Prakrit is ancient and therefore Bhāsa must be its author, but that Bhāsa is the author and the Prakrit accordingly ancient. Therefore all arguments of the other side based on the Prakrit are in vain.

V. Then the Pishārodis say that the varying merits of the dramas is another point against Bhāsa's authorship, and cite Svapna-Vāsavadatta and Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa by way of illustration.

We can only regard all this as unrestrained expressions of opinions formed by them most gratuitously. For with the object of establishing that many authors jointly compiled the dramas they boldly state it as their īpse dixit that in one drama the style is artificial and in another natural, that in the same drama the style in one act is of one kind while it is different in another act, that in the same drama the merits vary with the several acts and so on. But all these statements are left undemonstrated.

These Pishārodis freely dogmatize without logically supporting their statements. Why do they not argue in the same strain that the merits of the dramas like Vikramorvaśīya vary from act to act and that they must have been compiled by several authors?

In fact, every one of these dramas displays the same charming evolution of the plot in a setting of apt and varied incidents,
appropriate situations, and measured expression of the human sentiments as interacting with them, richness of sound and sense in consonance with the sentiments and feelings portrayed, working out of the Sandhis and Sandhyaṅgas as required, and universal flow, as it were, of the Rasas; from which it can be inferred, as in the case of Śākuntala and its connected works, that they must all have emanated from the genius of one author. The critics who read these dramas can themselves well appreciate all these qualities; they have also been set forth by us in brief and in extenso in our introductions to Pratimā and others; and they can also be grasped by reading our commentaries on Svapna-Vāsavadatta and the rest. In short, these dramas should be reckoned the very best ornaments of the Sanskrit Literature, and among them Svapna-Vāsavadatta and Pratimā the very crown jewels. So it stands.

The argument of the Pishārodis that, because the merits of the dramas vary, therefore they must have been compiled by several authors is answered by this consideration, that the difference in the Rasa and Bhāva must necessarily produce a corresponding difference in style and substance.

(2) Then the Pishārodis say that we emphasize two of the characteristics in these dramas—the statement “नामभैः ततः प्रविश्ति सृष्टिधाराः” and the use of the word Svāpanā at the end of the Prastāvanā—as distinguishing features of Bhāsa’s dramas.

From this it appears that they have not carefully read my introduction to the Svapna-Vāsavadatta. After establishing by other and unexceptionable reasons, which independently support the conclusion, that Bhāsa must have been the author of these dramas, we added that the opening of the drama with the Sūtradhāra might also be taken as a distinguishing feature. Nor does the fact that this feature, which was favoured by Bhāsa, the foremost among poets, was adopted by his later successors in any way detract from his position as the first among poets.

(3) Then it is said that in the drama called Āścharya-chūḍāmaṇi, written by Śaktibhadra of Kerala, the play begins with “नामभैः ततः प्रविश्ति सृष्टिधाराः”; in the Prastāvanā, we find the sentences “सत्य विश्वामित्रवग्ये श्रवण सूत्र, च दुःपाश्रम”, and it concludes with the word Svāpanā—features found in the Svapna group of dramas. It is also based on Kālidāsa’s works.

What is the sequitur? The only conclusion that follows from this is that Śaktibhadra of Kerala relished the Svapna group of dramas
so much that he deemed it a good fortune that his drama Āścharya-chūdāmaṇi should be modelled on them. That is a point against those who are anxious to detract from the merits of the Svapna group of dramas. The fact that that drama is based on Kālidāsa’s works only leads to this, that it must be taken to be based on these dramas as well; for Kālidāsa’s works themselves are based on these dramas. The beginning of the drama with “नामवाले तत: प्रविण्यति मूच्छार:” and the mention of Sthāpanā are conventions of ancient dramas, as witness the Bhāna called Ubbhayābhisārikā, written by the sage Vararuchi. Therefore the praise of Āścharya-chūdāmaṇi and of its author is to no purpose, and the attempt of the Pishārodis to find their argument on the Prastāvanā of that work is all of no avail.

VI. The conclusions to which the Pishārodis came, as a result of their investigation, is that these dramas are compilations made out of ancient works with a view to meet the large demands of the flourishing stage of Kerala. And they say that they are fortified in their conclusions by a hoary tradition to the effect that in ancient times there was a large amount of compilation work.

Our answer is this: We have repeatedly shown that the conclusions, so far as they are based on their own personal investigation, are incorrect. We have made it out that these dramas, possessing the requisite and full number of acts, must like Śākuntala and others have been original compositions not based on the works of others. Where then is room for now suspecting that they are only compilations? As for the tradition, that has evidently been set up by the other side so as to support its theory of compilation. For we have not come across any tradition in Kerala that Sanskrit dramas, complete with the requisite acts, were compilations. What all the Chākyar actors in Kerala did was that they selected from among the famous Sanskrit dramas such acts as they regarded as most beautiful and acted them with dress and technique after their own liking. Even now in some temples they depend on this for their livelihood. This matter has been already mentioned by us in our introduction to Pratimā under the heading “The Popularity of Bhāsa’s plays in Kerala”. Even assuming that there is such a tradition as the Pishārodis would have us believe, there is no evidence that these particular dramas were so compiled from other dramas. But from this Svapna group of dramas some acts of surpassing beauty were selected by these Chākyars, appropriately named and acted by them. They appear even in the list furnished by the Pishārodis (at page 112) of dramas
stated to have been acted hereditarily in some Chākyar family, in the Āṭṭaparakāra. That list ought to be thus transcribed:—

1. Tapatī-Saṃvaraṇa.
2. Dhanaṇjaya.
   Both works of Kulaśekhara Varma.
4. Āścharya-chūḍāmaṇi of Śaktibhadra.
5. Kalyāṇa-Saugandhika of Nilakaṇṭha.¹
6. Śrīkṛishṇa-charita (not available).
7. Vichchhinnābhisheka (being the first act of Pratimā).
8. Śephālikāṇka and Svapnāṅka (they are the fourth and fifth acts of Svapna-Vāsavadatta).
10. Mallāṅka (being the fourth act of Bāla-charita).
11. Mantrāṅka (being the third act of Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa).

In the above list the Pishārodis have written, instead of 8 to 11 as given herein, Svapna-Vāsavadatta, Abhisheka, Bāla-charita, and Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa, and the reason for this misdescription is not clear. Vichchhinnābhisheka is the first act of Pratimā, in the same manner as Śephālikāṅka, Svapnāṅka, and the like. Now the Pishārodis proceed as if it were an original and independent drama and ascribe its authorship to Bhaskara Ravivarman, and for this tradition is quoted as authority. But this tradition is known only to them and is of the same species as the other tradition mentioned before; and it is a convenient device to support the other side in its conclusions, which lack every foundation. It is unnecessary to further expatiate on this, as it is impossible to attribute the authorship of Vichchhinnābhisheka, which really means Pratimā, to any writer who is not older than Kālidāsa.

VII. (a) The Pishārodis further say that the omission of the poet’s name in the Prastāvana is not due to the convention of those days,

¹ The Pishārodis say that the name of the author of Kalyāṇa-Saugandhika is unknown. Evidently they have had no access to a complete copy of this single-act drama, which is well known and can be obtained everywhere in Kerala. In the Sthāpanā the author’s name is mentioned. It is, therefore, surprising that persons who take so much interest in Kerala dramas should be ignorant of even the author’s name.
but to the fact that it was impossible to ascribe to any one poet’s authorship the dramas which were compiled piecemeal by several authors.

This has been answered in repelling the theory that the several acts of these dramas were severally composed. And, while the Pishārodis have made mighty efforts to establish that, in the dramas extending over a plurality of acts, there has been a plurality of authorship, none such has been shown as regards the single-act dramas like Madhyama-vyāyoga, such as that the various stanzas and sentences were composed by distinct authors. And thus, it being established that they were the works of one hand, why was the author’s name, which ought surely to have been there mentioned, omitted? What is the answer of the Pishārodis to this? They have, however reluctantly, to admit that the dramas like Madhyama-vyāyoga must have been composed before the practice arose of mentioning the author’s name in the prologue. And, when we come so far, it is but proper to admit that the connected Svapna group of dramas exhibiting the like qualities are also of the same authorship. This convention of not mentioning the author’s name is also seen elsewhere in a drama anterior to Kālidāsa. That is the Bhāṇa called Udbhābhīśārika, written by the sage Vararuchi. There neither the name of the poet nor of the drama is mentioned in the Sthāpanā, but at the end of the work is to be found written, “Thus ends the Bhāṇa called Udbhābhīśārikā, composed by the sage Vararuchi.”¹ In our plays the name of the dramas is written at the end, but not the author’s name. That is the only difference. From this it is easy to see how the name of the poet who wrote these dramas came to be forgotten and how he must be older than even the sage Vararuchi.

(b) The next argument of the Pishārodis is this: In the Lochana of Abhinavaguptāchārya the verse “स्तितपञ्चकवार्त नयन” is quoted as from Svapna-Vāsavadatta, and it is not found in the Svapna-Vāsavadatta comprised in this group of dramas. This argues the existence of another Svapna-Vāsavadatta, which may be the original of the present drama.

We ask—is this so-called original Svapna-Vāsavadatta of the same story and plot as the present Svapna-Vāsavadatta or of a different story and plot, describing mainly the marriage of Vāsavadattā? On the first view this stanza, describing as it does the first stages of love freshly

¹ “रति वर्तमानिनीतिस्भयाभिसारिका नाम भाषा; समासः।”
formed towards the king, could not find place even in the so-called original Svapna-Vāsavadatta, as has been pointed out by us in our introduction to Svapna-Vāsavadatta.¹ On the second view, even though such a stanza could find a place in a Svapna-Vāsavadatta of a different kind, that drama cannot, for that very reason, be the basis of the present one. In either view, therefore, this theory of a suppositional original Svapna-Vāsavadatta must be given up by the Pishārodis.

Thus the very Svapna-Vāsavadatta found in this group of dramas must be the composition of sage Bhāsa. It is not correct to postulate the existence of another Svapna-Vāsavadatta. If a stanza or two be quoted as from Svapna-Vāsavadatta and be not found here, then, if they cannot fit in with the context, it must be supposed that the person who so quoted made a mistake in the name of the work, because the stanza cannot possibly be there; but, if it can fit in with the context, then we must suppose that there must be clerical² omission in the manuscripts by reason of their not having been current for a long time—and this because it is a certainty that they must have been there. When we find some portions missing in the manuscripts even of widely read works,³ is it surprising that this should occur in works which have long ceased to be in vogue? This, then, is the most satisfactory position and one unattended by any difficulties and which will commend itself to all right-minded and learned men. The foregoing also disproves the contention of Dr. Barnett, who accepts the theory of the two Pishārodis.

As a result of all these discussions, the conclusion becomes firmly established that Bhāsa must have been the author of Svapna-Vāsavadatta found in this group of dramas and that likewise he must have been the author of the other connected dramas as well.

¹ See p. 6, Edition with Commentary.
² Vide pp. 76 and 113 of the Svapna-Vāsavadatta with commentary (3rd ed.).
³ For instance, the stanzas "न खच्चु न खच्चु वाण: सम्प्राक्वोऽयमक्षिनः" "कृष्याळोभवः पवनचण्डः" in Sākuntala (1st act) are not found in the Nirṇayasagar Edition.
SVAPNA-VASAVADATTA AND BHAVA-PRAKASA

By K. Rama Pisharodi

In support of his view that the drama published by him under the title Svapna-vāsavadatta in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series (to which I shall henceforth refer as "the TSS. play") is the work of Bhāsa, Mahāmahopādhyāya Gaṅapatī Śāstri cites in J.R.A.S., Oct. 1924, p. 668, a passage from the unpublished Bhāva-prakāśa of Śāradātana. I have examined three MSS. of the latter work. It nowhere ascribes the play to Bhāsa; but the context of the quotation and the observations on nāṇḍī throw some light on the Bhāsa-problem.

After commenting on the fact that the nāṭaka and trōṭaka are not different, the author says: Subandhur nāṭakasyāsa lakṣaṇam prāha pañcadhāḥ | pūrṇam caiva praśāntam ca bhāsvaram lalitaṁ tathā | samagām iti vijñeyā nāṭakē pañca jātayāḥ | pūrṇasya nāṭakasyāsa mukhādyāḥ pañca sandhayāḥ | udāhāraṇam ētasya Kṛtyāravāṇam ucyatē | prāśāntarasabhūyīstham praśāntam nāma nāṭakam | nyāsō nyāsasamudbhēdo bijōktir bijādarśanāt | tatō 'nuddiṣṭasamhāraḥ praśāntē pañca sandhayāḥ | sātvati vṛttir atra syād iti Drāhūhinīr abravīt | Svapnavāsavaddattākhyaṃ udāhāraṇaṃ atra tu | ācchidya bhūpāt samyak sā dēvī Māgadhikākarē | nyāstā yatas tatō nyāsō mukhasandhir ayam bhavīt | nyāsasya ca pratimukhāṃ samudbhēda udāhṛtaḥ | Padmāvatyā mukham viśkṣaya vīśēsakaviḥūṣitaṁ | jīvaty Avantikēti [-ēty ētaj?] jūnām bhūmibhuḥ yathāḥ | utkaṇṭhitēna sōdvēgāṃ bijōktir nāma kirtanām | ēhi Vāsavaddattēti kva yāsityādi drāyātē | sabhāvasthitayōr [? sahāva-] ēkaprāptyānasya gavēṣanām | darśanasparśanādibhir [-ālāpāir?] ētāt syād bijādarśanam | ciraṃ絮 Sahāpruthal kāmi mē viṁyā prati- bōdhitaḥ | tāṃ tu dēvīm na paśyāmi yasyā Ghōṣavati priyā | kim te bhūyāḥ priyām kāryam iti vāg atra nocyatē | tad anuddiṣṭaṃ samhāram ity āhūr Bharatādayāḥ

This quotation shows that in Śāradātana's time a drama named Svapna-vāsavadatta was current, which had much in common with the TSS. play. But it is evident that they are not identical. Thus the king's exclamation "Vāsavaddattā lives!" on seeing Padmāvatī adorned with a beautiful tīlaka, Padmāvatī's thus adorning herself, and the king's ravings, "Come, Vāsavaddattā! whither goest thou?" are not found in the TSS. play.
Śāradātana, in his comments on prstḥpanā, says that the kathā-sūtradhāra enters only after the nāndī-sūtradhāra has left the stage, but never mentions a drama opened by the former. He details the various items which ought to be mentioned in the prologue, but points out no exceptions to the general rule, or deviations from it. He remarks that prstḥpanā and āmukha are the same, but does not suggest stḥpanā as an alternative. The absence of reference by him to the peculiar prologue found in the TSS. play confirms the view that the latter is not identical with Svapna-vāsavadatta. Hence it is that the verses quoted as from Svapna-vāsavadatta in Lōcana and Nātya-darpāna are not found in the TSS. play.

The TSS. play, then, appears to me to be a stage-adaptation of the original—a conclusion at which I arrived in the article “Bhāsa’s Works—Are they genuine?” The local manuscripts containing the text of the TSS. play uniformly read in their colophons either Svapna Nāṭakam or Vāsavadattā-nāṭakam, but never, so far as I have seen, Svapna-vāsavadatta(m). In the light of the conclusion here arrived at, this reading is quite explicable and rational. The playwright never wished that the original should be confused with the adaptation.

The statement of Śārvānanda in his Amara-fikā sareaseva (Trivandrum ed., i, p. 147) also confirms the same view, provided we interpret it naturally. It runs thus: Ādyō yathā Nandayantyām brāhmaṇa-bhōjanam; dvitiyāḥ svadīśam ātmāśātkartum Udayanasya Padmāvatiparīṇayō ‘ṛthasṛṅgāraḥ; tṛtiyāḥ Svapna-vāsavadattē tasyāива Vāsavadattāparīṇayāḥ kāmaśṛṅgāraḥ.” This is quite clear, and needs no editorial pruning. Yet the learned editor suggests in his footnote the transposition of the word tṛtiyāḥ from its real position, and reads the sentence thus: Padmāvatiparīṇayō ‘ṛthasṛṅgāraḥ Svapna-vāsavadattē; tṛtiyāḥ tasyāива, etc. One cannot endorse this suggestion, unless he is blinded by a theory. A natural interpretation of the sentence suggests that this Svapna-vāsavadatta contained the incident of Udayana’s wooing and marriage of Vāsavadattā. This incident is not found described in the TSS. play.

Hence the legitimate conclusion is that the genuine Svapna-vāsavadatta mentioned by ancient Ālaṃkārikas has yet to be discovered, and that the TSS. play is only a stage-adaptation of it. The necessity for the adaptation lay in the growing demands of the once very popular stage in Kērala.

This view is confirmed by the following facts. Firstly, the two-
manuscripts Nos. 98 and 298 of the local Manuscripts Library, containing this drama, contain only such dramas as are commonly staged here. Secondly, a manuscript now in the possession of my friend Mr. A. K. Pisharodi, of Trivandrum, which contains numerous scenes selected from many dramas, to be staged successively for twenty-eight days in a temple in Travancore, mentions Śēphālikāṇkam, and quotes a portion of the act. As this is Act IV of the TSS. play, we have here proof that this drama is popular on the stage. The other acts of the drama also have each a vernacular name given by the professional actors. Thus the first act is called Brahmacāriyāṇkam, “the Brahmacāri Act”; the second, Pantāṭṭāṇkam, “the Ball-play Act”; the third, Pāttudāṇkam, “the Flower-cleaning Act”; the fourth, Śēphālikāṇkam; the fifth, Swapnāṇkam, “the Dream Act”; the sixth, Citraphalakāṇkam, “the Picture-board Act.” This verbal testimony of the Cākyārs, three of whom I consulted, is also borne out by colophon readings in the MS. No. 98 mentioned above. This is evidence enough to show that the TSS. play is a stage-adaptation.

Before concluding, I wish to advert to one peculiar practice of Cākyārs, which will throw some light to explain the peculiar nature of the prologues of the dramas included in the Bhāsa-nāṭaka-cakra. The Cākyārs never act a drama in full, but only selected scenes now from one drama, now from another, especially when the performance runs on for a number of days. But when they change from one drama to another, convention has greatly simplified their work by demanding of them not a repetition of the full and regular nāndī, but only a general announcement of the scene to be staged, as much as is required to enable the audience to follow the acting. For every act that they stage they have, they say, their set introduction or “Interlogue”, if I may so term it. The opening verse of the “Interlogue” to announce the change to Śēphālikāṇkam runs as follows: Śrīvatsarājadyutiśālivakṣa namasyayā Vāsavadattayādhyā | vasanta-kālendusamānavaktram Padmāvati putu Harēs tanur vah ||

Such “Interlogues”, my Cākyār friend tells me, are numerous. For the acts they are trained to act are many, as many as there are in all the dramas given below put together: the thirteen dramas published as Bhāsa’s, Samvarāṇa, Dhanamjaya, Cūḍāmani, Nāgānanda, Matta-vilāsa, Bhagavadajjukīya, Kālyāna-sāugandhika, etc. He has promised to give me at least some of these as early as possible. In view of the existence of such “Interlogues”, the prologues of the
dramas assigned to Bhāsa may after all be not regular prologues but only actors’ “Interlogues”.

The author of the Bhāva-prakāśa is Śāradātanaya, son of Bhaṭṭa Gopāla, whose grandfather wrote a Vēda-bhāṣya named Vēda-bhūṣaṇa. A resident of Benares, he was like his father a staunch devotee of the goddess Śāradāmā. During one Cāitra festival he happened to witness thirty different kinds of plays staged. Being then moved by a desire to study Nāṭya-vēda, he became a disciple of one Divākara, the then master of the concert-hall, and studied under him all the ancient works on dramaturgy, by Śiva, by Gāuri, by Brahmā, by Nārada, by Hanumān, and by Bharata and his disciples. Then he wrote for the guidance of actors Bhāva-prakāśa, which purports to contain the essence of all the works on the subject. The book is divided into ten chapters, and a cursory glance through it has enabled me to come across the names of certain unknown dramaturgists, such as Kōhala, Drāhuhi, Mātrgupta, Sākuka, and Hāsyakṛt (?), and of some hitherto unrecorded dramas such as Mārīca-vāṇcita, in five acts; Nāta-vikrama, in eight acts; Dēvi-parinaya, in nine acts; Mēnakā-nahusa, in nine acts; Madalēkhā, in eight acts; Stambhitarambhaka, in seven acts; Rāmānanda; Siṭāpaharana; Kṛtyā-rāvaṇa; Gāurī-grha—all regular nāṭakas. Amongst prahasanas are mentioned Sāubhadrika, Sāgara-kāumudī, and Kali-kēlī; amongst ṃimas, Tripura-dāha, Vṛtroddharaṇa, and Tārakodharaṇa. Other names of works and persons also there are in the work which shall be set forth on a future occasion. It is written throughout in verse, simple and elegant, and touches upon every department of dramaturgy. Since the author quotes from Mammaṭa (?), he cannot be earlier than the twelfth century. Probably he may have to be brought down to a still later age.
ORIENTAL STUDIES IN PETROGRAD BETWEEN 1918 AND 1922

Translated by M. KASANIN

THE following is a brief digest of a pamphlet published by the Committee of Orientalists in Petrograd early in 1924. The publication was by order of the Academy of Sciences and is compiled and edited by M. V. Kotvich.

LEARNED INSTITUTIONS AND SOCIETIES

1. Russian Academy of Sciences.


   Periodical Publications: Isvestia of the RAS. devoted most space to the Orient. Until 1894 all articles on the East were united under the heading "Mélanges Asiatiques". This practice was resumed in 1918. Sapiski of the Division of History and Philology of the RAS. has published a number of articles, also the Commission for the Study of the Peoples of Russia and the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (6 vols.).


   Serial publications: Bibliotheca Buddhica (1897, 21 vols.), The

Single publications: V. A. Zhukovsky, Materials for the Study of Persian Dialects (vol. ii, i, and vol. iii, i); I. A. Orbeli, "The question and solutions of the Vardapet Anania Thiraktsa, the Armenian Mathematician of the Seventh Century, 1918; N. D. Mironov, Catalogue of the Indian Manuscripts of the Public Library of Russia, 1918.

2. The Russian Academy of the History of Material Civilization. (Marble Palace.)

President: A. A. Vasilyev. Vice-President: S. N. Troinitsky. Learned Secretary: B. V. Farmakovskiy. The former Archaeological Commission took this name and was reorganized by order of the Government of 18th April, 1918.

The archaeological division includes departments: (1) of archaeology and art of the ancient East; (2) of archaeology and art of the early Christian, Oriental-Christian, and Byzantine world; (3) archaeology of the Caucasus and of the Japhetic world; (4) Archaeology and Art of India and of the Far East; (5) Archaeology and arts of Central Asia; (6) Archaeology and Arts of the Moslem World, and (7) archaeology and arts of the Armenians and Georgians. A permanent commission on numismatics and glyptics exists, as well as an Institute of Archaeological Technology. In summer, 1921, an expedition was sent to Turkestan for the study of archaeological monuments (Samarkand Mosque), and many public lectures were delivered.

3. The Russian Institute of the History of Art. (5 Isaack Place.)

Established 1912. President: V. P. Subov. Since autumn of 1922 the Institute reinstated regular courses of three to four years for the training of experts. Publications: Annual, fasc. i appeared in April, 1921, ii and iii are in print and contain articles on Oriental studies, including "The Paintings and Statuary of the Tun-Huang Caves," by S. F. Oldenburg.
4. Vesselovsky Institute for the Comparative Study of the Oriental and Occidental Languages and Literatures. (11 University Embankment.)

Established in autumn, 1921. Director: D. K. Petrov. Among its six sections there is one—Oriental.

5. Japhetic Institute of the RAS. (Vassilyevsky Island, 2 Seventh Liniya.)

Established 1921. Director: N. Y. Marr.


6. The Russian Committee for the Study of Central and Eastern Asia.

(3 University Embankment.)

Established 1903. President (until his death in 1918): V. V. Radlov; now, S. F. Oldenburg. Was organized as a local Committee for Russia under the decisions of the Twelfth and Thirteenth World Congresses of Orientalists in Rome (1899) and Hamburg (1902), and formed a branch of the "Association Internationale pour l'exploration historique, archéologique, linguistique et ethnographique de l'Asie Centrale at de l'Extrême Orient". Organized a number of expeditions to Russian and Chinese Turkestan, Mongolia, and to the Siberian tribes.

7. The Oriental Department of the "World Literature" Series. (36 Mokhovaya.)

Established 1918. President: S. F. Oldenburg. Published a number of standard translations from Oriental languages, also articles on the literature of the Orient and catalogues. The Vostok magazine, the first number of which appeared in August, 1922, is also published by this institution.

8. The Committee of Orientalists, Asiatic Museum of the RAS.

(5 University Embankment.)

Established 15th May, 1921. President: N. Y. Marr. Vice-President: S. F. Oldenburg. Number of members: 44. Mainly a consulting body for reference and information for the various needs of persons and institutions concerned with the study of the Orient. Publishers of the present pamphlet.
9. **Russian Archaeological Society.** (34 Fontanka.)


Publications: *Sapiskii and Trudi of the Oriental Division.* Two divisions are chiefly concerned with the study of the Orient: the Oriental Division and the Numismatic Division. On the occasion of the Centenary of the "Société Asiatique" the RAS. published *The Archaeological Expedition of 1916 to Van. The excavations of two niches in the Van rock and the inscriptions of Sardur II from the excavation of the Western niche.* By N. Marr and I. Orbeli.

10. **The Oriental Division (of the Russian Archaeological Society).**

Although only a division of the above-mentioned Society it is, in fact, one of the central institutions which serves for the Russian studies of Asia.

Director: V. V. Bartold. Secretary: B. Y. Vladimirtsov.

In 1921 the xxvth volume of its *Sapiskii* appeared (for 1917–20). Since 1st January, 1921, many papers have been read during the sittings which have taken place in the study of the Permanent Secretary of the Academy of Sciences.

11. **The Russian Geographical Society.** (*sa Demidov per.*)

Established 1845. President: Y. M. Shokalsky. Vice-President: G. E. Grum-Gzzhimailo. Secretary: V. I. Komarov. The Society has no special division for the Orient, but the Departments both of physical geography and ethnography have been very active in the study of different countries of Asia. The Society has sent out many expeditions to the Orient, especially to Central Asia, and has published their results. Very important are the local branches: in Tiflis, Tashkent, Orenburg, Omsk, Barnaul, Semipalatinsk, Irkutsk, Krasnoyarsk, Chita, Yakutsk, Habarovsk, Troitskosavsk, and Vladivostok. The Society possesses a special library of over 150,000 volumes and archives of unpublished works and materials, chiefly on ethnology. Librarian and Keeper of the Archives: I. P. Mursin. Publications: *Ivestia*, liv, i, published in 1919; *Sapiskii*; and also *Zhivaya Starina*, xxv, iv, appeared in 1917.

12. **Russian Palestine Society.** (10 Mitninskaya.)

Established 1882. Number of members, 47. President: F. I. Uspensky, Fell. Russ. Ac. of Sc. The Library contains about 30,000 books published before 1900 concerning Palestine and the Christian
Oriental Studies in Petrograd between 1918 and 1922

Oriental in general. Judging from the selection of books it must be one of the few notable collections in the world. A printed catalogue in 2 volumes and supplements has been published.

13. The Jewish Historical-Ethnographical Society. (Vassilievsky Island, 50, 5th Liniya.)

14. The Society for Diffusion of Education among the Jews. (23 Sagorodny Prospect.)
   Established 1863. President: Y. B. Eiger. Secretary: S. A. Kamenetsky. The Library contains about 50,000 volumes in fifteen languages on all questions regarding the Jews; also rare old printed books and manuscripts. In 1919 the valuable collection of books and manuscripts of A. Y. Garkavi was added to the Library. Librarian: I. I. Ravrebe. There are also archives on the history of the public education of Jews in Russia mostly during the twenty years prior to the Revolution. Publications: Evreyskaya Misl, edited by S. M. Gintsburg, Petrograd, 1922.

15. The Neophilological Society of the University of Petrograd.
   Established 1885, the object being the study of literatures and languages of the East and the West. President: D. K. Petrov. Secretary: B. A. Krzhevsky.

   Papers on questions concerning the Orient are also read during the meetings of the sections. They are indicated in the Sapiiski (eight volumes covering the period between 1888–1915 have appeared).

   Between 1920–2 the following papers were read: I. Y. Krachkovsky, "The Literature of the Arabic Emigrants in America"; B. Y. Vladimirtsov, "On the question of the mixture of languages" (two mixed languages in Western Mongolia); V. M. Alexeev, "The Chinese Theatre and the Chinese performer."

Schools

The State University of Petrograd. (Vassilyevsky Island, 7 University Liniya.)

The Faculty of Oriental Studies was established in 1855. Now amalgamated with the Faculty of Social Sciences. The following were the courses announced for 1922–3:

   Elementary Arabic (Sokolov).
   Arabic Texts (historical, poetry, Koran, etc.) (Krachkovsky).
Persian literature (Romaskevich).
Iranic philology (Middle Persian and Grammar of Modern Persian) (Freiman).
Turkish Philology (Samoilovich).
Turkish-Tartarian dialects (Samoilovich).
Mongolian Philology (Vladimirtsov).
Manchurian (Kotvich).
Chinese (Ivanov and Alexeev).
Japanese (Nevsky and Conrad).
Indian (Oldenburg and Shcherbatskoy).
Egyptian (Struve).
Semitic (Kokovtsov).
Hebrew (Kokovtsov and Sokolov).
Japhetic (Marr).
Ancient Iranian Philology (Freiman).
Syriac Philology (Alyavdin).
Armenian-Georgian Philology (Marr).
Epigraphy, and Antiquities (Orbeli).
Byzantine Philology (Vassilyev).
General Linguistics (Shcherba).
Ethnology (Sternberg).
Japhetic Linguistics (Marr and Orbeli).
Paleoasiatic Linguistics (Bogoras).
Religion of the Near East and of the Christians (Andreyev).
History of Islam (Bartold).
Byzantium (Vassilyev).
Ancient History of Hebrews (Krasny-Admony).
Modern History of the Far East (Posdnee).
Social and Political Conditions in the Near East (Sokolov).
The Art of the Orient (Kotov).
Classic Orient (Flittner).
The Petrograd Institute of Living Oriental Languages. (Petrogrodskaya Storona, 17/1 Tserkovnaya Str.).
Established in autumn, 1920. Rector: Professor A. N. Samoilovich. Designed for practical purposes but has the standing equal to that of a University College. The following subjects are taught: Arabic, Persian, Turkish-Osmanic, Sartic-Uzbek, Mongolian, Indian, Armenian, Georgian, Japanese, also geography and modern history of the respective countries, history of literature and economics, and also for the persons studying in the Moslem division—Moslem
Law. English, French, and German are taught and an introduction of modern Greek is intended, as this is widely used in the Near East. From 1921 geography of Central Asia and linguistics became special courses. Regular course, three years, including trips to the Oriental countries. Number of students in 1922, 125.

*Hebrew Institute* (former Petrograd Hebrew University). (14 Troitskaya Str.)

Established 1918. President: S. G. Losinsky. Regular course, three years. Students may be of non-Jewish nationality. Number of students, 200.

*Archaeological Institute* (now Archaeological Division of the Faculty of Social Sciences of the Petr. Univ.).

Established 1878. In 1918 transformed into a school. Regular course, three years, the object being scientific training of experts in archaeology and archaeography. Rector: S. F. Platonov. On 1st July, 1922, the Institute was amalgamated with the University.

*Geographical Institute.* (122 Moyka.)

Established 1916. Regular course, four years (eight trimestres being theoretical studies and four practical work). Publications: *Isvestia* and *Geographical Vestnik*.

*Practical School of Economics.* (58 Sagorodny Prospect.)

The Oriental Society and the Practical Oriental Academy organized by it in 1900, was closed down in 1918 and all its property handed over to the School of Economics. This school has an Oriental Economic Seminary where the study of the economics of the Orient is being carried on.

*Petrograd Theological Institute.* (3 Troitskaya Str.)

Established 1919. Acting Director: I. P. Shcherbov. Objects: (1) Theological training required for practical purposes and for the officiating at the divine service; (2) scientific study of theological questions. Following courses which concern the Orient are held: (1) The history of the Greek Catholic Church from the Schism to modern times, including the history of the church in Georgia; (2) history of the Preaching of Christianity in the Far East; and (3) Hebrew.

**Libraries**

*The Asiatic Museum of the Russ. Ac. of Sc.* (5 University Embankment.)


The Library of the University of Petrograd. (5 University Embankment.)

Established 1819. Director: I. P. Mursin. Head of the Oriental Division: S. V. Larionov. This, as well as the Asiatic Museum, has recently considerably augmented the number of its valuable books through wills and bequests as well as through the transfer of treasures nationalized by the state, especially Chinese and Mongolian, including nine volumes of the famous encyclopedia *Yun-lo-ta-tien*.

The Public Library of Russia. (37 Nevsky.)

Chief of the Oriental Division: I. G. Troitsky. New acquisitions have been published in periodical reports of the Library and their supplements. A separate printed catalogue exists only for Indian manuscripts, published by the Academy of Sciences, Petrograd, 1918.

Professor V. V. Rosen Seminary of Oriental Languages of the University of Petrograd.

This Library was founded in 1910. It contains more than 5,000 works. Keeper: A. A. Romaskevich.

MUSEUMS

National Hermitage. (35 Millionaya St.)

Established 1735 by the Empress Catherine II. Director: S. N. Troinitisky. Objects of interest for Orientalists are kept in following departments: 1. Department of Antiquities: (a) Classic Orient; (b) Oriental Christian; (c) Moslem and Caucasian antiquities. 2. Department of Applied Art: (a) Middle Ages; (b) arsenal; and 3. Department of Numismatics and Glyptic: (a) Oriental coins; (b) various Oriental stones.

Russian Museum. (4 Inzhenernaya, Mikhailovsky Palace.)

Established 1895. Object, to represent the arts and life of the peoples of Russia and of the neighbouring countries. The nations of the Orient are represented in the ethnographical division of the museum, in its third department of Caucasus and Central Asia and in the fourth of Siberia and of the Far East (including the section of Buddhism). Director: N. P. Sichov.

Recent acquisitions: (1) Ukhtomsky Collection of Buddhistic objects, described by Professor Grünwedel. (2) Collections of objects of the Far Eastern Art of A. V. Vereshchagin, Maxim Gorky, and also
of the Winter Palace, Smolny, etc.; and (3) Koslov Hara-hoto antiquities excavated in 1908–9.

*Anthropological and Ethnographical Museum of the Russian Academy of Sc.* (3 University Embankment.)


*Museum of Applied Arts, Academy of Arts* (the former Stiglitz School).

(9 Solianoy Per.)

Established 1881. Two departments of the Museum are devoted to the applied arts of the Orient, viz.: (1) The Oriental Department (rugs, tissues, ceramics, and tiles of Central Asia); and (2) the Far Eastern (tissues, ceramics, bronzes, jade, lacquer). Director: E. K. Kverfeld.

*Oriental Museum of the University of Petrograd.*

Established 1855. Numismatic collection and also objects of Buddhistic cults, arms, utensils, etc. Keeper: I. A. Orbeli.

*Museum of Antiquities, University of Petrograd.*

Established 1819. Includes specimens of the Egyptian and Mesopotamian civilizations in originals and casts and a library. Director: B. V. Farmakovsky.

**Exhibitions**

2. The Exhibition of the Worship of the Dead in Ancient Egypt. Held August–October, 1919.
3. The Exhibition of Sassanian Antiquities. Held on the premises of the Hermitage in November, 1922, and consisted of objects mainly belonging to the collections of the Hermitage, also to those of A. A. Bobrinsky and of Stroganov. Also objects were exhibited which were found outside the empire of the Sassanides, but represent their chief characteristics. In this connexion should be mentioned golden and silver wares found in Perm and Viatka districts and bronze pitchers, figures, and kettles, supported by several legs, found in Dagestan. A special feature of the Exhibition was the Sassanian cut stones and coins.

See *The Provisional Exhibition of Sassanian Antiquities, Petrograd, 1922*, by I. A. Orbeli.

**Anniversaries**

1. In memory of the birthday of the Russian Sinologist, V. P. Vassiliev, a special sitting of the Academy of Sciences was held on 3rd March, 1918. For speeches see *Ivesvija of the RAS.*, 1918.

3. The Centenary of the Deciphering of the Egyptian Hieroglyphs by François Champollion. Celebrated on 27th September, 1922, in a joint sitting of learned societies concerned with the study of Egypt.

4. The Bi-centenary of the Persian Campaign of Peter the Great.
Two hundred years ago Peter the Great on his march to Persia visited the ruins of the settlements of the Volga Bulgars and gave orders for them to be kept and investigated, which gave the stimulus to archæological work in Russia. Celebrated in joint sitting of learned societies on 30th August, 1922.

MONUMENTS AND PUBLIC BUILDINGS

1. Egyptian Sphynxes.
   Excavated on the site of the ancient Thebes, Egypt, and brought to St. Petersburg in 1832. Installed on the embankment of the Neva right in front of the Academy of Arts. According to the inscriptions they represent the Pharaoh Amenophis III of the eighteenth dynasty (1419–1383 B.C.). For detailed description see Sapiski of the Classic Div. of the R. Arch. Soc., vii, 20–51.

2. Chinese Lions.
   Also on the embankment of the Neva in front of “Peter the Great’s House”. These two granite lions were taken from Girin, Manchuria, by General Grodekov after the Boxer Rebellion and brought to St. Petersburg in 1907.

3. Mosque. (7 Kronversky Prospect.)
   Foundation stone laid on 18th February, 1906, the first divine service held in 1910. In a few small details the construction is not yet complete. Built from the funds supplied by Russian Moslems and by the Emir of Bokhara. It represents more or less closely one of the Samarkand Mosques, in which Timur’s sepulchre stands.

4. Buddhist Temple. (Staraya Derevnya, Blagoveshchensky Str.)
   Built in strictly Tibetan style from funds partly given by Dalai-lama, partly collected among Russian buryats and kalmiks. A group of Russian students of Buddhism also co-operated with the constructors.

5. Synagogues.
   One, 2 Lermontovsky Prospect, opened in 1893.
   Another, in Preobrajensky Cemetery, opened in 1911.
LIST OF PETROGRAD ORIENTALISTS

The birth dates are indicated according to the old Russian (Julian) calendar. The Georgian dates may be calculated by adding thirteen days. Professor invariably means Professor of the University of Petrograd. Each person in this list is engaged in work in one or several of scientific institutions listed above.

Alexeeva (Diakonova), N. M. (b. 14th March, 1890, Derpt). Egyptology.
Alyavdin, A. P. (b. 3rd December, 1885, N. Usad, Pensa District). Syriac language and letters.
Barannikov, A. P. (b. 9th March, 1890, Solotonosha, Poltava District). Sanskrit.
Bartold, V. V., Professor (b. 3rd November, 1869, Petrograd). History of the Orient (chiefly Moslem).
Bogoras (Jan), V. G., Professor (b. 15th April, 1863, Mariupol). Paleoasiatic languages (chukchi).
Vassilyev, A. A., Professor (b. 22nd April, 1867, Petrograd). Byzantine studies and Arabic.
Vassilyev, B. A. (b. 8th December, 1899, Petrograd). Chinese philology (confucianism and poetry).
Viner, S. E. (b. 13th June, 1860, Borisov, Minsk District). Hebrew Bible and letters.
Vladimirtsov, B. Y., Professor (b. 20th July, 1884, Kaluga). Mongolian philology, Tibetan and Altaic linguistics.
Genko, A. N. (b. 4th November, 1896, Petrograd). Caucasian (Georgian and Armenian) languages.
Dondua, K. D. (b. 13th October, 1890, Kutais). Georgian and Armenian languages.
Ernststedt, P. V. (b. 22nd June, 1890, Gatchina). Sanskrit and Coptic.
Sarubin, I. I. (b. 10th October, 1887, Simperopol).Iranic dialectology and ethnography.
Ivanov, A. I., Professor (b. 18th March, 1877, Petrograd). Chinese philology (philosophy).
Inostrantsev, K. A. (b. 5th March, 1876, Petrograd). The Ancient History of the Near East.

Kokovtsov, P. K., Professor (b. 19th June, 1861, Pavlovsk). Semitic philology and Hebrew literature.


Kotvich, V. L., Professor (b. 20th March, 1872, Ossovo, Vilna District). Manchurian and Mongolian Philology, Tungusian dialects.

Krachkovsky, I. Y., Professor (b. 4th March, 1883, Vilna). Arabic philology.


Markon, I. Y. (b. 28th February, 1875, Molodechno, Vilna District). Hebrew history and letters and Semitic philology.

Marr, N. Y., Professor (b. 25th December, 1864, Kutias). Languages and civilization of the Caucasian peoples, Japhetidology.


Orbeli, I. A., Professor (b. 8th March, 1887, Kutais). History and arts of Caucasia and neighbouring countries, Kurdish.

Pekarsky, E. K. (b. 13th October, 1858, Piotrovichi, Minsk District). Yakut.


Poppe, N. N. (b. 9th August, 1897, Cheefoo, China). Mongolian philology and Uralo-Altaic linguistics.

Ravrebe, I. I. (b. 18th April, 1883, Baranovka, Volin District). Hebrew.


Romaskevich, A. A., Professor (b. 16th August, 1885, Odessa). Persian philology.

Samoilovich, A. N., Professor (b. 17th December, 1880, N.-Novgorod). Turkology.

Smikalov, G. Ph. (b. 13th April, 1877, Verno, Semirechensky District). Chinese.
Sokolov, M. N. (b. 19th June, 1890, Moscow). Hebrew language and letters.

Struve, V. V., Professor (b. 21st January, 1889, Smolensk). History of classic Orient (Egyptology).

Tikhaya (Tseretelli), M. G. (b. 23rd April, 1890, Kutais). Georgian language and literature.

Troitsky, I. G. (b. 23rd June, 1858, Volgapino, Yaroslav District). Hebrew and biblical archaeology.

Tubiansky, M. T. (b. 17th October, 1893, Petrograd). Indian philology (philosophy and Bengali).

Fasmer, R. R. (b. 22nd October, 1888, Petrograd). Moslem Numismatics.


Freiman, A. A., Professor (b. 23th August, 1879, Warsaw). Iranian philology.

Shileiko, V. K. (b. 3rd April, 1891, Petrograd). Assyriology.

Sternberg, L. Y., Professor (b. 18th April, 1861, Zhytomir). Ethnography, Gilyac.

Shcherbatskoy, F. I., Professor (b. 19th September, 1866, Keltsi). Sanskrit, Indian philology, and Tibetan.


List of Petrograd Orientalists residing elsewhere

Adonts, N. G. (b. 10th January, 1871). Armenian philology. West Europe.

Baradiyn, B. B. (b. 16th June, 1878, Transbaikal District). Mongolian, Tibetan, and Buddhistic studies. Aga, Transbaikal District.

Dzhavakhov, T. A. (b. 11th April, 1876). History of Georgia. Tiflis.


Mironov, N. D. Indian philology. Manchuria.
Hashchab, A. Ph. (b. 10th November, 1874, Tripoli). Arabic and Persian. Teheran.

LIST OF DECEASED ORIENTALISTS

The birth dates are indicated according to the Julian, the death dates according to Georgian Calendar. In some cases references are added as to where complete biographies, lists of works, or obituary notices are to be found.


Volkov, I. M. (b. 1882, Sayachy Gori, Tver District; †16th October, 1919, ib.). Egyptology. Publications: The Laws of the Babylonian King Hammurabi (Moscow, 1914); Aramaic Documents of the Jewish Colony on Elephantine in the Fifth Century B.C. (Moscow, 1915); The Ancient Egyptian God Sebek (Petrograd, 1917).

Harkavi, A. Y. (b. 1837, Novogrudok, Minsk District; †March, 1919, Petrograd). Hebrew Philology.

Gesse, F. F. (b. 2nd November, 1895, Petrograd; †22nd September, 1922, ib.). Archeology and art of the ancient Orient and Egyptology.


Kipshidse, I. A. (b. 25th August, 1885; †1918, Tiflis). Georgian philology.

Krotkov, N. N. (b. 1st December, 1869, Simbirsk; †in spring, 1919 Petrograd). Manchurian philology.

Kusmin, I. P. (b. 9th January, 1893; Petrograd; †28th May, 1922, ib.). Arabic philology and Islamic studies.
Kurono Yosibumi, N. (b. 1859, Tokyo; †8th December, 1918, Gatchino). Japanese.

Lemm, O. E. (b. 5th September, 1856, Petrograd; †3rd June, 1918, ib.). Ancient Egyptian philology, Coptic language, and letters. See *Isvestia of the R. Ac. of Sc.*, 1918, and also *Christian Orient*, vi.


Mednikov, N. A. (b. 2nd March, 1855, Petrograd; †26th October, 1918, Staruy Krim). Arabic philology. See *Sapiski of the O.D. of the R. Arch. Soc.*, xxv.

Posdneev, A. M. (b. 27th September, 1851, Orel District; †17th September, 1920, Rostov-on-Don). Mongolian and Kalmik philology and Manchurian language. For list of publications see *Mongolia and Mongolians*, i, and *Russian Borderlands*, 1911, No. 18.


Rosenberg, O. O. (b. 7th July, 1888, Friedrichstadt; †26th November, 1919). Japanese philology and Buddhist philosophy.

Smirnov, V. D. (b. 28th July, 1846, Astrakhan; †25th May, 1922, Petrograd). Osmanic philology.

Smirnov, Y. I. (b. 15th April, 1869, Irkutsk; †23rd November, 1918, Petrograd). The art of the Near East.

Turayev, B. A. (b. 24th July, 1868; †23rd July, 1920, Petrograd). History of the Ancient East, Egyptology, Coptic, Ethiopic studies. See *Isv. of the R. Ac. of Sc.*, 1920; for list of publications see ib., 1918.

Falev, P. A. (b. 8th December, 1888, Petrograd; †3rd August, 1922, ib.). Turkology.
THE WORD-TONE OF THE STANDARD JAPANESE LANGUAGE

By K. Jimbo

THE problem of "accent" in the Japanese language has attracted the attention of a few Japanese scholars for some hundred years. In recent years more writers, both native and foreign, on the Japanese language have touched upon this problem. For instance, B. H. Chamberlain, A Handbook of Colloquial Japanese, 3rd ed., 1898, pp. 19-20; R. Lange, Lehrbuch der japanischen Umgangssprache, 1906, ss. xxvii–viii; E. R. Edwards, Étude phonétique de la langue japonaise, 1903, § 142 f., § 159.¹ Native writers: S. Izawa, Kokutei Tokuhon Seidokuhō (The Orthoepy of the State Text Books); B. Yamada, Nihon Daijiten (Japanese Grand Dictionary); T. Takahashi, Hatsuon Jiten (Pronouncing Dictionary). Yet the results attained by these writers have not been quite satisfactory, as, for instance, Lange considers the Japanese "accent" to be that of stress, while Izawa thinks it is the delicate difference of length of speech-sounds. Yamada, Takahashi, etc., while they were right in thinking it to be difference of pitch, could not make out the pitch relations of the syllabic units of each word, and their method of indicating the "accent" was quite misleading.

In 1919 the Department of Education of the Japanese Government appointed a committee of five for the purpose of investigating and standardizing the Japanese word-tone. The appointment was a part of the work of the Educational Department, which has been undertaking for many years the investigation of many problems both theoretical and educational relating to the Japanese language. The members of the committee are: K. Hoshina (chairman), Professor of the Japanese language in the Imperial University of Tokyo; M. Andō, Professor of Linguistics and the Japanese Language in Wased University, Tokyo; K. Jimbō, Professor of Linguistics in the Higher Normal College of Tokyo; K. Sakuma, author of two books (written in Japanese), The Accent of the Japanese Language, and The Pronunciation and Accent of the Japanese Language; M. Tōjō, Japanese dialectologist.

The work of the committee has been as follows: (1) The investigation of the nature of the Japanese word-tone, and of the forms or types

of the word-tone in the vocabulary contained in the elementary school textbooks compiled by the Educational Department. The results of this were published in a pamphlet, *Akente tova Naniaka?* ("What is accent?"). (2) The holding of summer courses on the Japanese word-tone for elementary school-teachers throughout the country.

The following is the brief summary of the facts ascertained by the members of the Committee.

At present the dialect spoken by the educated people of Tokyo, the capital of Japan, is considered the standard speech in the matter of vocabulary and syntax, and is adopted in the Government textbooks. But in matters of pronunciation and accent, they are not yet so fully standardized as vocabulary and syntax owing to the less advanced state of study. Of course, in this respect also the pronunciation of the Tokyo speech may reasonably be taken as standard, and is actually being so considered by the majority of the Japanese people. The appointment of the Committee is the first step towards this object.

**Some Peculiarities of Japanese Pronunciation**

As it is not the aim of this article to discuss the speech-sounds of Japanese in detail, only those points are indicated which are necessary in the description of word-tone.

(1) *Vowels.*—(a) There are five standard vowels, a, i, u, e, o, of which u is more strictly to be written ur because of the absence of lip-rounding. In this article u will be used as it is the more familiar symbol. (b) The distinction of short and long vowels is "significant" in Japanese, e.g. toru (take), tooru (pass through); itai (painful), ittai (want to say); jukata (bath-gown), jukatai (evening). N.B.—The ordinary method of indicating length as ā, ē, etc., is avoided in this article for the reasons to be given later. (c) Devocalization of vowels is a rule between two voiceless consonants, e.g. kita (north), kī (shore). In the case of u it may be called to drop off entirely, e.g. kusa or ka (grass); suki or ski (being fond of); tsutī or tsū (earth); sukai or skai (deep). Also after j, ū, the dropping off of i is usual, e.g. jīta or jī (tongue); jīkara or jūkara (power, strength). The vowels a, e, and o are very often devocalized in rapid speech between two voiceless consonants, e.g. kakanai (do not write); kasanai (do not...
extinguish); koko (here, this place). But in slow careful speech they are fully pronounced.

(2) Consonants.—(a) The one to be noted in connexion with word-tone is the consonant which the present writer proposes to represent by ŋ. It is a nasal very much like η, only the closure between the soft palate and the back of the tongue is incomplete. Purely from the point of view of articulation, this sound might be called a sort of nasalized vowel ñ or ũ, but according to the function it has in expressing meaning, it is a variety of η, for in Japanese m, n, ŋ are only varieties of one "unit of sound", e.g. sando (three times), samurai (three sheets [of paper, etc.]), sanben (three houses), sajen (three yen). In the last two examples, if one tries to pronounce them with the nose-passage closed, one will get something like saggeo instead of sanben, while in trying to pronounce sajen in like manner, one can feel the air coming through the opening left between the palate and the tongue. (b) "Double" consonants. They are often significant. Examples: kata (shoulder), katta (conquered); kasai (destructive fire), kassai (cheers) or (applause in speech); ijo (a will), ijjo (together).

"SYLLABIC UNITS"

The term "syllabic unit" is here used as a translation of the Japanese term onsetsu. on means sound, setsu means section or division—in German "Glied". In a majority of cases in Japanese the combination [one consonant + one vowel] is used as recurring units, e.g. ha-na-nu-sa-ku (flowers open); ha-sa-mi (scissors); na-ŋa-ku (long); so that in the consciousness of ordinary Japanese people—that is to say, people who have little technical knowledge about speech-sounds—this combination is considered as one unit. Moreover, this subjective fact may be tested by objective experiments: each combination [consonant + vowel] is pronounced in approximately the same length of time. The present writer has made a few experiments at the laboratory of the Phonetic Department at University College, London, and the same thing can be observed in the reproductions given in Mr. Sakuma’s books from the tracings made by him at the psychological laboratory of the Tokyo Imperial University. With this fact in view, the above-mentioned Committee have adopted the term onsetsu as the name of a kind of unit in Japanese speech-sounds.

In like manner each of the following sounds is "felt" by the Japanese to be of the same value as one syllabic unit, and the
Committee also treat them as so many onsetsu (syllabic units). (a) Simple vowels. Examples: a-i (love)—2 units; a-o-i (blue)—3 units; ko-e (voice)—2 units. (b) Long vowels. Ex.: o-o-ki-i (big)—4 units; o-ka-a-sa-η (mother)—5 units; ne-e-sa-η (elder sister)—4 units. This is one of the reasons why “long” vowels like these are better written oo, ii, aa, etc. (c) Devocalized vowels. Ex.: ki-ta (north)—2 units; yi-ka-ra (strength)—3 units; ru-ka-i (deep)—3 units. (d) Double consonants. Ex.: ka-t-ta (conquered)—3 units; i-jo-o-ke-m-me-i (with utmost effort)—8 units. (e) Nasal consonants. Ex.: ko-n-do (this time)—3 units; ji-m-bu-η (newspaper)—4 units; sa-η-e-η (3 yen)—4 units.

**Word-tone**

By the word-tone of Japanese we mean the fixed relative difference of pitch of each syllabic unit in a word. Sometimes the term “accent” is used to denote the high pitch, for instance we say “In this word the accent is on the first syllabic unit, etc.” This word-tone is fixed with each word—that is to say, in a given community (e.g. the educated class of Tokyo people) the same distribution of high and low pitch is observed in the same word pronounced by any person of the community under any circumstance whatever. Therefore it is to be noted that word-tone differs from the absolute pitch or so-called speech-intonation, for children and women have naturally high absolute pitch of voice, and adult men low pitch. Again, the same person may vary in the pitch of his voice in different occasions, and also the actual difference of pitch in any given speech of an individual may be various from sound to sound and may be different from that of the same speech pronounced under different circumstances.

Now there are three degrees of pitch in Japanese, which may be called high, middle, and low. For example, in the word hana (flower), the first syllabic unit ha is low and the second syllabic unit na is high. We can represent this as:

\[
\text{hana or } \quad \text{ha na}
\]

In the word hana (nose), the first syllabic unit ha is low, the second na is middle. We can represent this as:

\[
\text{hana or } \quad \text{ha na}
\]
Again, in the word *hana* (beginning), the first syllabic unit *ha* is high, the second *na* is low, or in connected speech, *na* may come down to the "middle" pitch. We can represent this as:

\[ \overline{\text{hana}} \text{ or } \text{hana} \text{ or } \overline{\text{ha}} \overline{\text{na}} \text{ or } \text{ha } \text{na} \]

In the second example *hana* (nose), the difference in pitch between the two syllables is very slight, so that for simplicity we may regard the pitch of the whole word as level. Consequently, of the three degrees, the distinction of the middle and low may be abolished and only high and low need be retained. The Educational Department Committee have adopted this two-degree scheme on the assumption that in "even word-tone" the first syllabic unit is really a little lower than the second. This is more simple and convenient for teaching purposes. So the above examples are marked respectively *hana*, *hana*, and *hana*.

The observation of a certain number of Japanese words as to their word-tone has revealed the fact that there are definite types of pitch-distribution according to the number of syllabic units in words. These "types" are as follows:

(i) Of words with two syllabic units. *hana* (beginning), *aki* (autumn), *ame* (rain), etc., are of the same type, to be classed together under one formula *ōō*, where *o* represents one syllabic unit. *hana* (flower), *kami* (paper), *jama* (mountain), etc., are of the same type, to be classed together under the formula *ōō*. *hana* (nose), *ame* (kind of jelly), *sake* (liquor made from rice), etc., are of the same type, to be classed together under the formula *ōo*. Thus we have three formulae or types: *ōo*, *ōō*, and *ōo*.

(ii) Of words with three syllabic units, there are four types:—

(a) *ōoo*. Ex.: *karasu* (crow), *teki* (weather), *megane* (eye-glass).
(b) *ōōo*. Ex.: *kakoro* (mind), *ama* (egg), *kakine* (fence).
(c) *ō̄̄o*. Ex.: *atama* (head), *otoko* (man), *hanasi* (story).
(d) *ō̄ōo*. Ex.: *usa* (rabbit), *kimono* (clothes), *minami* (south).

Theoretically possible types such as *ōoo*, *ōōō* do not exist in the standard Tokyo speech, although in some dialects *ōōō* type seems to exist.
(iii) Of words with four syllabic units, there are five types:

(a) おおお。Ex.: あいさつ (salutation), おおき (wolf), こんにち (to-day).

(b) おおお。Ex.: うちす (thrush), こねずみ (small rat), なかじみ (middle-finger).

(c) おおお。Ex.: あおぞら (blue sky), おおめ (heavy rain), きたかぜ (north wind).

(d) おおお。Ex.: きもの (younger sister), かまなり (thunder), ほばじみ (mast of a ship).

(e) おおお。Ex.: えんぴつ (pencil), せんたく (laundry), じゅうかた (evening).

Of words with five or more syllabic units we can formulate the types in the same way, but here they are omitted.

Of these types given above, those not marked [oo, ooo, oooo, etc.] form a class distinct from other types, which contain at least one low-pitched unit and at least one high-pitched unit. We call the former "even-pitch class" へいばん-じき and the latter, "rising-falling class" きふく-じき, no matter how many syllabic units there are in the word. This division into two classes has some significance in the change of word-tone types in compound words, in conjugation forms of verbs, and in syntactical combinations of words.

We can formulate a few general laws of word-tone in the standard Tokyo speech as follows:

1. If the first syllabic unit is of high pitch, the second syllabic unit is invariably low. Such a type as おお, while it can be observed in certain dialects, never exists in the Tokyo speech.

2. If the first syllabic unit is low, the second syllabic unit is invariably raised. This may seem inapplicable to "even-pitch class", but if we remember that the so-called even pitch is really a low-middle type, we can confirm this law by observing that even in this class the second unit is invariably raised to the middle pitch.

There are a few remarks to be made in supplement to the above statement. (1) In describing the word-tone types, such forms as おお or おお were given. This would seem to mean that the voice keeps the same pitch during one syllabic unit and then suddenly jumps up or

1 Here is another reason for writing "long vowels" as おお etc., instead of お: etc.
down to the next. As a matter of fact, such a thing is almost impossible, and in actual pronunciation the voice goes up and down gradually, though very rapidly, from one pitch to another, and even within a unit itself the voice may fluctuate up and down. Only those salient parts of this fluctuation which catch our attention in hearing are schematized in our mind, and make up the idea of high or low pitch. (2) In words like afūta (to-morrow), the second syllabic unit ふ is devocalized, a fact which may seem to be in contradiction with the second law given above. Speaking purely objectively, the sound in which no voice takes part cannot be called high or low in voice-pitch. But subjectively we think that the second syllabic unit ought to be high in analogy with thousands of other examples, and we make efforts to raise the voice at the second unit, and actual tension of the vocal chords for producing high pitch seems to take place. Besides, in a very slow speech or in "song-song" reading of a text when we recover the voice, the pitch is invariably raised. (3) It may be asked, how can we distinguish the low-middle type ご, ごっ, etc., from low-high type ご, ごず, etc.? It is an interesting fact that if we take the same words followed by what is called in Japanese grammar "post-positions" (which corresponds to English preposition in grammatical function), the distinction comes out very clear. Take, for instance, atama (head), and kimono (clothes), and put after each the post-position な, which denotes the nominative case. The former is accentuated atamanaga, while the latter kimonoya. In the speech idea of the Japanese, the distinction of these two types is quite clear, but if these words are pronounced in isolation they may sound nearly alike and be very difficult to discriminate by objective listening only. (4) The same kind of remark as the preceding can be made of the so-called monosyllabic words, such as え, き, ほ, etc. If these are pronounced by themselves, the listener can never tell whether they are high or low, simply because there are no other sounds to compare them with. Yet in the consciousness of the Japanese, え meaning "picture", has high pitch, つ meaning "handle" [of a knife, etc.] has low pitch; き (tree) has high pitch, き (spirit, mind) has low pitch; ほ (ear [of wheat, rice, etc.]) has high pitch, ほ (sail) has low pitch. This distinction is due to the fact that when post-positions な, わ, お, に, etc., are added, they are pronounced えな, えな; きわ, きわ; ほお, ほお, etc.
THE RELATION OF WORD-TONE TO SPEECH-INTONATION

As stated above, the word-tone is the relative difference of pitch fixed in each word. In other words, in a given speech-community the same word is always pronounced with the same distribution of high and low pitch no matter who the speaker or what the circumstances may be. So that the people of the speech-community can recall a word from memory and tell at once what type of word-tone that word has. On the contrary, in actual speaking there are infinite varieties of pitch-modulation differing with persons and circumstances. This latter is what the Committee have preferred to call by the name of speech-intonation. Of course, one may sometimes be able to observe that in a certain number of cases a certain type of intonation is used, for instance, such and such intonation is generally used when asking questions, etc. But if one recalls from memory a word, phrase, or a sentence by itself, one cannot tell at once what intonation it has, except that one could say such and such intonation is generally used in such and such occasions.

As the word-tone and speech-intonation are both matters relating to the pitch of voice, the question of their relations to each other becomes necessarily an important one. These relations may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. While intonation of our speech is, on the one hand, relatively fixed conventionally in each word in what we call word-tone, it comes out, on the other hand, as the direct expression of the emotional side of our consciousness. When people are excited or speaking under stress of any emotion, their voice acquires a much greater range of pitch than when they are calm. Likewise when people put emphasis on any word of their sentence, the word is generally pronounced with a higher pitch together with greater stress or force. In Japanese this occasional high pitch is placed on the higher part of the word-tone. While usage requires that certain syllabic units shall always be higher or lower than other syllabic units, nevertheless, there is in connected speech a sentence-intonation which may increase or diminish the intervals between the pitches. Sentence-intonation can never cause an inherent high-pitch to become lower than a neighbouring lower pitch, or vice versa.

2. Another phenomenon of intonation to be noticed is observed at the end of a "sense-group" or at the end of a sentence. There are roughly speaking three kinds of terminal intonation, rising, even, and falling. They are quite independent of word-tone types, for a sentence
e.g. ひとつ く る (a man is coming) may be pronounced rising, even, or falling at the end, according to the circumstances under which it is spoken. Generally speaking, it is pronounced rising when used interrogatively, and falling when the fact is asserted. As for the word-tone, ひとつ belongs to the even-pitch class, and る belongs to rising-falling class. Now we have here an interesting fact. That is the relation between the terminal intonation and the tone of the word that happens to come at the end. For example, in such a word-group as これ はな (this flower), that word はな has the high pitch in the last syllabic unit. If the terminal intonation is rising, that rising comes out simply as bringing the high-pitched unit to a considerable height. If the terminal intonation is not rising, the last unit は is brought to a slightly high pitch. It may be observed that if this intonation is recorded in a machine, there is actually the falling of voice at the end of な, yet this な is never pronounced lower than the preceding は, which would entirely upset the tone-type of the word, and make it into some other meaning or into nonsense. Again, if the last word is such as ある "is, are", where ある is high and する is low, the falling terminal intonation will simply make the last syllabic unit する low pitch, whereas if the terminal intonation is rising the voice first falls from ある to する, then again rises at the end of する.
THE INSCRIPTION OF STHIRATATTVA AT KHAJURI

By L. D. Barnett

KHAJURI, in Sanskrit Kharjūrikā, is the name of \textit{(inter alia)} a small village about 2 miles to the west of Guḍā (Gooda), and some 44 miles to the west of Indargārh, in Rajputana. Among its ruins is the inscription which I now edit from an estampage recently sent to me by Pandit Gopāl Lāl Vyās, the learned and energetic Curator of the Darbar Archaeological Museum at Jhalrapatan, who has also very kindly supplied me with some notes on the topography.

The old village is now utterly ruined and deserted. On the north of it is a dense forest, in which, at a distance of about a mile, stand four or five old temples. These have lost nearly all their statuary; in one of them, however—that of Kaṅkālī Mātā, I understand—there is an image of Śiva lying on the ground. The present inscription is engraved on the stones of one of these temples. To the same building is attached a row of eight well-carved columns, in the midst of which is a stone image of Kārttikeya. At the foot of the latter is the following inscription, in \textit{deva-nāgarī} characters, \( \frac{3}{10} \) to \( \frac{2}{5} \) in. in height:

\[
|| \text{ū[ṛn]} \text{Śvāmī-Kārttikeya Acale-} \\
|| \text{svara-yogi-prasādātum [sic!] || seva-} \\
|| \text{ka Thiratatva-jogi mūrti sthā-} \\
|| \text{pite jātatha (?) || śubhaṃ bhavatu ||}
\]

This tells us that the image was set up by Sthira-tattva or Thirratattva, the hero of the inscription printed below. In the central temple is a stone image of Gorakṣanātha, with the legend: \( \text{ūṃ śri-} \text{Gorkhanātha-prasādāya.} \) Near these buildings are some small houses, all but one of them in ruins; these in former times were the hermitage of Kharjūrikā, the home of Sthira-tattva, to which our record below refers, and lie about ten miles from the border of Bundi State.

Our record, which is in good \textit{deva-nāgarī} letters, mostly a little under \( \frac{1}{2} \) in. in height, has a somewhat unusual feature: it consists of a Sanskrit text followed by a vernacular summary. The Sanskrit text comprises sixteen verses, of which Nos. 1, 2, 14–16 are in the \textit{anuṣṭubh} metre, 3, 4, 8, and 13 \textit{vasantatilakā}, 5 \textit{aupercchandasika}, 6, 11, and 12 \textit{sālinī}, 7 \textit{sārdulavikṛidita}, and 9 and 10 \textit{pṛthvī}. The only noteworthy feature about the language in these is the relative pronoun \textit{yakaḥ} (v. 9). Verses 1 and 2 present adoration to Brahma and Śiva.
respectively. Verses 3–16 narrate in florid style that there was a saintly Śaiva Yogi of the Jāleśvara sanctuary named Maheśvara-tattva; his disciple was Bhramara-tattva, who resided in Gargāranya and by the Mānasa-saras; his disciple was Vicāra-tattva; his disciple was Dharma-tattva; and his disciple is the Yogi Sthira-tattva, a resident in Kharjūrikā (Khajuri), who is favoured by the Cāhumāna chieftain Goda of Ghṛtaghāṭacala and the prince (kumāra) Mādhava, who at Dhundhumāra on the Gajendra-giri is always received with reverence by Narmada, the lord of Śatpura, and the prince (kumāra) Candrasena, and who is venerated by Sūrya-malla, the lord of Vṛndavatikā (Bundi). This Sthira-tattva has built a temple to Śiva-Kapileśvara and another to Bhairava, with a pond full of lotuses and a garden, and these temples were consecrated in the month Tapas (Māgha) of Vikrama-Samvat 1563. Govinda the architect (sūtradhāra) composed this record, and it was engraved by the mason Sāṅga.

The remainder of the record is in the local dialect. For the most part it is a plain prose summary of the Sanskrit verses preceding it. It gives the location of the Jāleśvara sanctuary as in the Utpalāranya, and presents the vernacular forms of the names of the persons and places previously mentioned. Thus Gargāranya now appears as Gāguraṇa; Mānasa-saras as Māna-sarovera; Ghṛtaghāṭacala as Ghīhaḍa-parvata; Kharjūrikā as Kharjurī; Goda-vibhu as Šhākura Hāro Rāūta ¹ Godo; Dhundhumāra as Dhundhali; Narmada, lord of Śatpura, as Šhākura Rāūi Narabada of Śatakaḍa; and Vṛndavatikā as Būndī. Bhairava appears with the fuller title of Kāla-bhairava. Then follows a statement that the pond was dedicated in Vikrama-Samvat 1561 (elapsed), the 13th of Vaiśākha badi, a Monday, and that the phalus of the Kapileśvara temple was consecrated on a Wednesday, the 2nd, the rest of the date being lost. Some names, only partially preserved, are appended.

The most important of the persons mentioned is Sūrya-malla of Vṛndavatikā, i.e. the famous Sūraj Mall, Rao of Bundi, who ascended the throne in Samvat 1590; his history is narrated in Tod’s Annals, i, p. 359, iii, p. 1476 of Crooke’s edition. It follows that the inscription was probably written and engraved some years after that date. The Jāleśvara sanctuary is perhaps to be located in or near Jalor. Gargāranya or Gāguraṇa is now Gāgrun (“Gagraun” according to Tod, ut supra, i, p. 15), in Kotah State, some 4 miles north from Jhalawar, on the border of a deep forest, about 60 miles north-east

¹ Rāūta seems to be derived from rājaputra (Epigr. Ind., xi, p. 35).
of Khajuri. The lake mentioned may perhaps be the Mānsarowar near Chitor (Tod, ut supra, ii, p. 919). Saṭpura or Saṭakaḍa is now known as Khaṭkā; it lies nearly 12 miles to the east of Bundi State and some 32 miles to the north of Kotah.

The following conspectus, in which the numbers refer to the lines of the inscription, shows the chief features of the dialect of the second part, which is apparently something between Marwari and old Gujarati 1:


(2) Instrumental: sing., thākure, 26; plur., (?) yogīśtare, 23.


Feminine Nouns.—(1) Nomin., vāvi, 26, vadi, 26, pratiśthā, 28, sthāpana, 28; (2) Accus., sevā, 21, etc., bhagati, 25; (3) Genit., bhagati-ro, 22.

Pronouns.—(1) Instrumental sing., jinaim, 22, tī, 26; (2) Dative sing., (?) jie-nāṃ, 26; (3) Genitive sing., tī-ro, 19–21, jie-rī, 24–5.


(2) Present Participle: nomin. karato, 21, loc. absol. karate thakai, 23.

(3) Past Medio-passive Participle: masc. sing., hūu, 19–20, pāmo, 24; femin. sing., hū, 29, kidhi, 28; masc.-neut. oblique base, caḥodyan, 26 (?) 2; causal stem, karavyam, 28 (apparently fem. plur.).

(4) Gerund: kare, 26, jāmne, 23 (unless this is a mistake for jāṃnate, loc. absol.).

1 Professor R. L. Turner, who has kindly examined these notes, writes to me: “I daresay it might be the local dialect of the time. But to-day W. Marwāri of that district, though it has gen. postposition ro, has hüm, ‘I am.’ On the other hand, the Bhill dialect immediately to the west has chu. It is curious that though many Rājasthāni dialects have ro and many have chu, none apparently have both ro and chu except Bikanēri, which is of course far removed from Khajuri. Perhaps, however, ro belongs to Govinda the architect, and chāi to Sāgā the mason!”

2 This word is puzzling. Professor Turner suggests that it may be an adjective in the oblique plural agreeing with plur. dhana, “from their ample riches,” comparing Guj. coḍā and H. caṇī, “wide, ample”; but he pertinently points out that if it be so the y is mysterious.

The ṛ in the name Hāro (l. 24) is written very like the n of Gupta inscriptions, except that the tail at the bottom is rather angular instead of being rounded; the ḍ is quite normal. In Marwari, on the contrary, the former character (with a more curled tail) is used to denote the ḍ, while the normal character for ḍ is used to express ṛ (Ling. Surv. India, ix, ii, p. 20).

The date given in l. 28, Vikrama-Samvat 1561, Vaiśākha bādi 13, Soma, must be Monday, the 24th April, A.D. 1503. Mr. Sewell, who has kindly examined the data, has pointed out to me that by the Sūrya-siddhānta, according to which a second Caitra was intercalated in V.S. 1561 current, the given tīthi must have fallen on a Tuesday for V.S. 1561 current, and on a Sunday for 1561 expired. The First Ārya-siddhānta, which intercalates a Vaiśākha in V.S. 1561 current, would make the tīthi coincide with a Monday of adhika-Vaiśākha in that year, and with a Sunday in V.S. 1561 expired. It would, therefore, appear that the date was calculated by the Ārya-siddhānta, and referred to adhika-Vaiśākha of V.S. 1561 current.

[1] Om 1 namaḥ Śivāya || Ānāṃdāyāprameyāya sarvāya paramātmāne | cidai 2 'nāṃtāya nityāya satyāya Brahmaṇe namaḥ || 1 3
Namaḥ Śivāya gurave sa-

[2] rggasthityaṃṭahetave | apāratarasamsārasāgarottārasetave || 2
Āsid amamdtarayogamahohvibhinnaṃsāsāramtamasarāśīr udārā-
satvaḥ 4 | Jāle-

[3] śvarāśramānabāhāvitaṣuddhahodhasāmṛājyabhāg iha Mahē-
svaratatvayogi 5 || 3 Śisyo 'bhavad Bhramaratatva 6 ihāṣya Gārgā-
rayāgyraMānasasaraḥsavidhāśra-

[4] masthaḥ | aṣṭāngayogaśaraṇād Acalesvarasya prāpya
prasādam agamat paramam padam yaḥ || 4 Atha tasya Vicāra-
tatvasaṃjñō 7 viṣayagṛmavirinjrjai-

[5] kadhīraḥ | prayatas tapasābhavad vineyo 'khilatirthāśraya-
viśruto mahātmā || 5 Śisyo 'musya śreyasā bhāsamāno jñānārcis-
maddagdhakarmā-

1 Preceded by a symbol.
2 Read cide.
3 The numeral has been omitted, and then added above the line.
4 Read "satvaḥ.
5 Read "tattvayogī.
6 Read "tattva.
7 Read "tattva."
[6] bhyudirte | buddhāvā bhāvān naśvarān muktasamgo Brahmap dvaitam samśrito Dharmatatvah || 6 Tacchīṣyāḥ Sthiratattva 2 eṣa jayati prodyattapaḥsambhūrī javna-
[7] noddhūtataṃstatiḥ śrita-Sahvadhyānānatiḥ sadgatiḥ | īṣṭā-
pūrttavinirmitipraśmaṃsreyastatiḥ samyati 3 Brahmapānḍaratarī maho-
[8] dayamatir yogamcitavonmatiḥ || 7 Kharjjuśrākṣaramaraṭaḥ pariśīlayate 'sau yogiśvaro Gṛṣṭhaghatācalanāyakeṇa | bhaktena 4
[9] GodavibhunonnataCāhumānaṃvaṃṣyena Mādhavakumār-
samanvitena || 8 Gajendra-girisamśrayam śrayati Dhunḍhumāraṃ yakaḥ sa
[10] Śaṭpuranaśadhīpo namati Narmado yaṃ sadā | kumāra iha bhaktibhīr bhajati Camdrasenaḥ punaḥ sa Vṛmavatikāvibhūḥ śrayati Śūryama-
[11] llo 'pi ca || 9 Apārakarunāpaśā rakalajiva vaṃśvīdha stuṃṣitaṃpathaśasanair avirataṃ pavitrāśayaḥ | anekanaranāyakair a-
[12] bhisamarpitāḥ sampadāḥ prakalpayati pātrasād amalakarma kāmam vinā || 10 Ākhyātāni śrīVirūpāksamukhyair eṣa jñātvā yo-
[13] gatamvāni 5 dhīraḥ | yumjan yogam sāṃgam unnidramuraṃ nādālīnaḥ kāṃkṣati Brahmapbhūyaṃ || 11 Niḥsaṃgo 'pi Brahmasam-
saktacitto 'py āta-
[14] nvānaḥ śaivyagīśabhaktim | devāgaṃ bhaktiyogenā ramyaṃ nirmāti sma smeramūrdhdeśmdūndaeleḥ || 12 Prāsādam unnatataraṃ Kapileśvarasya śrī-
[15] Bhairavasya ca tayoḥ snapanāya pūnyāṃ | vāpīm apāraka-
malāṃ Kamalālayāyāḥ kṛdāspadam punar acikaraṇ eṣa vātīm || 13 Vikramārkasya
[16] sama[ye] khyāte paṃcadaśe śate | triṣaṣṭyā sahite 'bdānām māṣe Tapasi suṃdare || prāśadayoḥ pratiṣṭhāsūd vāpyām upavane 'pi ca || 14 ||
[17] Sūtradhāraḥ kaladhiṅgo Goviṇḍo muktitaṃstravit | sthir-
praśastim akarod imaṃ yogīsasauhrdāt || 15 Anavadyair varaiḥ padyaiḥ sa evāli-
[18] khad uttamāṃ śilāyāṃ tām udakirat Sāmghāśilpavidām

1 Read ⁰tattvaḥ.
2 Read ⁰tattva.
3 Read samyati.
4 On the left margin is written Śrī-Sivadāsa, the first three syllables being a little below the level of l. 8 and the last two below them.
5 Read ⁰tāṃtrāṇī.
varah || 16 || Atha bhāṣayā praśastisambamḥdo likhyate || Śrī-Utpalāranya-māhe Mam-  
[19] . . . karadurgasamīpi śrī-Jāleśvara-Śivāyatana-sannidhāni jñāna-yoga-sampūrṇa āśīسا Mahesvara-tatva-yogāḥ 1 hūu | tie-ro celu āśīsa Bhramarata-  
[20] tva Gāgurāṇi tathā Mānasarvari Acaleśvara-sannidhāni hūu | tie-ro celo dharmā-vicāra-ro jānaṇahāra āśīsa Vicāratatva hūu | tie-ro celu āśīsa  
[21] Gharmatatva 2 dharma-ro ācaraṇahāra tapa-ro karaṇahāra bhūmanḍalī aneka-tūrtha-sevā karato rahaī chaī || tie-ro celu āśīsa Thiratvatva aṣṭāṁga-yoga-pravi-  
[22] na aneka-sāstra-nipuṇa sakala-kalā-paripūrṇa asanḍa 3 -tapa- ro ācaraṇahāra śrī-Mahādeva-ri bhagati-ro karaṇahāra pravarttaī chaī || jiṇāṁ śrī-Go-  
[23] rakṣanāṭha-pramukha-yogīśvare ki . . . m . . . [śā]stra jāṃpe anaī dasā-mudrā-sahita aṣṭāṁga-yogābhyaśa karate thakaī nādānu-saṃdhāna-laya pāmyo ||  
[26] . . . . . . jie-nāṁ sadā sevāi | bijā hi thākura ghanā sevāṁ | tī thākure bhagati kare cahodyāṁ dhana-tye prāśāda vāvī vādī  
[27] . . . . . . . kai śrī-Mahādeva-rā bhakti-yoga-re arthi śrī-Kapileśvara-ro prāśāda tathā śrī-Kāla-bhairava-ro prāśāda thira vāvī thira vā-  
[28] [dr] . . . . . . . tti (?!) karāvyām || Śrī-Vikramāka- samayāṭīta-saṃvat 1561 varṣe Vaisākha-vadī 13 Some vāpī-pratīṣṭhā kidhi  
[29] . . . . . . . di 2 Budhe śrī-Kapileśvara-prāśāda- li[m]ga-sthāpanā hūī || Sa° Ratanasī-suta sā° Devā sā° ||  
[30] Paṭala Maganā 5

1 Read "yogī".  
2 Read Dharma".  
3 Read akhaṇḍa".  
4 The letters within the bracket are purely conjectural.  
5 These letters are somewhat uncertain, as the paper of the estampage has been cut off through the middle of them.
HISTORY OF THE MISSION OF THE FATHERS OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS, ESTABLISHED IN PERSIA BY THE REVEREND FATHER ALEXANDER OF RHODES

Contributed by Sir Arnold T. Wilson


PREFACE

I have noted in former years that certain narratives which I have given to the public, of the same nature as this present one, have not failed entirely either to bring comfort to virtuous souls or to give pleasure to those who took the trouble to read them.

For this reason I venture to hope that this present one, which treats of the Mission of our Society recently established in Persia, and others still to come, dealing with the East and West Indies, Syria, and Greece, will be no less successful in producing these effects. This is my sole object in undertaking the work of compiling and publishing these records.

In order, however, still further to justify these short works, which are devoted primarily to the propagation of our holy Faith among unbelievers, I must ask the reader to remember that they are founded on examples left both in ancient and modern times by great Saints which the Church bids us honour as being especially favoured by God, and imitate as models of all perfection.

In ancient times we notice that St. Paul in several of his incomparable epistles introduces edifying tales such as these, and seeks to interest the early Christians with accounts of his labours and of the blessings which God deigned to bestow on them.

St. Luke, too, writes on this subject in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts with reference to the same great apostle and to St. Barnabas, saying: Narrantes conversionem gentium faciebant gaudium magnum

¹ Note by Translator. The compiler's name is Father Jacques de Machault, see Du Mans, *Estat de la Perse en 1660*, Schefer, Paris, 1890.
Fratribus—"declaring the conversion of the Gentiles" to the early Christians, whom they address as brethren because of the perfect charity which bound them all together in that golden age of the Church. "They caused great joy unto all the brethren."

In the same passage the story again records that these two great men on arriving in Jerusalem declared to the Apostles and to all the company of the Faithful, Quanta Deus fecisset cum illis—the excellent marvels which God had wrought by their hands in the preaching of the Gospel. In the preceding chapter also, we read that these same two Apostles when they were among the Christians at Antioch "rehearsed all that God had done with them, and how He had opened the door of faith unto the Gentiles".

We see then from these repeated instances—passing over several others of a like nature—that St. Paul earnestly desired that the story of the spreading of the Christian religion should be told to the Faithful and considered that this was a means of benefiting their souls, not only through the sacred joy caused to them thereby, but also inasmuch as it strengthened their veneration for the Faith by relating to them its glorious triumphs.

Nothing can be more true than the precept of the Angel on this subject, namely, that it is good to keep close the secret of a king, but honourable to reveal the works of God—Sacramentum Regis abscondere, opera autem Dei revelare et confiteri honorificum est.

As to the examples in recent times, I will content myself with quoting those of St. Ignatius the founder of our Society, and St. Francis Xavier his most illustrious companion in the work of saving souls.

In the life of the former we read that among his most usual subjects of discourse, both with our members and with people outside, were the singular graces which God had bestowed on the labours of the Brethren whom he himself had already sent to all parts of the world to win for God the heretics and infidels—in a word all sinners, for the winning of every soul was the only limit to his zeal. And as regards the great Apostle of the Indies, his letters, so angelic in tone, are adorned in divers places with saintly discourses which tell of the great favours conferred by Heaven on the works of his Mission. Narratives of this kind seem to him to be so beneficial to his fellow-men that he entreats those to whom the letters are addressed to tell them to his friends, in particular to certain ones noted both for their virtue and for their knowledge of philosophy—to which subject he had devoted himself at the University.
of Paris, both as a student and a teacher. He was convinced indeed that these narratives would prove a powerful means of attracting minds to the pursuit of virtue, as also of awakening a zeal for saving souls.

It is true, also, that those who read these accounts of the sudden yet perfect conversion of so many heathen, after long years lost in vice and total ignorance of God, should be inspired with dread lest their continual refusal of grace will draw on them the curse pronounced by the Son of God against the Jews—*Ausseretur a vobis regnum Dei, et dabitur genti faciunt fructus ejus*, "The Kingdom of God shall be taken from you and given to a people which shall bring forth fruits worthy of it."

Those whom God has called to this Society will, moreover, acquire a special power for service. For the zeal which, as will be seen by this narrative, prompts in these days so many of our French brethren—to say nothing of those from other countries—to devote themselves to the saving of souls in New France, in the East and West Indies, Turkey and Persia—in a word, in all quarters of the globe—this zeal, I say, is a very sure testimony and valued pledge, assuring them that the original spirit which inspired our Society from the beginning, is still alive in all its purity and strength. For this zeal is the spirit, is its life and only purpose.

Moreover, this history of the Mission to the Kingdom of Persia is the first to be given to the public, for the reason that the records were the first to reach me; besides which it is the most famous among the undertakings of our Society in recent years. I know also that several distinguished people are eagerly awaiting it, desiring to learn about the beginnings of the enterprise which seem to be the most interesting part. The other histories will, however, follow as soon as possible.

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History of the Mission of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, established in the Kingdom of Persia by Father Alexander of Rhodes

Chapter I

Special Honour due to the Mission in Persia

This account of the Mission of the Society of Jesus in the Kingdom of Persia cannot be begun in a more fitting manner than by quoting the well-known comment uttered by St. John Chrysostom when treating of St. Matthew’s Gospel, with reference to the Mystery of the Adoration of the Kings (Hom. 6. in Matt.). According to this statement, the Incarnate Word, on coming into the world, gave to Persia, in the persons of the Magi, the first manifestations of His mercy and light; for from this kingdom (so says our great writer) he called them—the first of all the Gentiles—to a knowledge of Himself; so that the Jews themselves (he adds) learned from the mouths of Persians the birth of their Messiah, which they would not learn from the writings of the Prophets—Persico sermone didicerunt, quae Prophetis nuntiantibus discere noluerunt.

If, therefore, the Saviour of the world loved this Kingdom so much as to honour it with the earliest of His favours, it is certain that those whom He deigns, in His mercy, to associate with the great work for which He became man—namely the salvation of men—and to number among the labourers of His Gospel, cannot better win the approval of their Master and further His original desires than by directing their zeal
and devoting the missionary life to which they are dedicated towards regaining, for His service, through the power of their preaching, this flourishing Monarchy which—so this same great Doctor tells us—the Magi had already conquered.

Chapter II

The French Brethren of the Society of Jesus called to the Mission in Persia

The Brethren of the Society of Jesus, who bear this sacred name for no other purpose than to sacrifice themselves, according to their peculiar Missionary vows, as victims in the cause of Salvation, being prepared to face labours, trials, even death itself, as did Jesus their divine Head, would seem to be particularly suitable for this glorious enterprise.

Many years ago, moreover, the Holy See assigned this field to our Society, when it commanded our Fathers in the town of Goa (from whence it is easy to reach Persia by way of the Persian Gulf) to go and carry on their work in Isfahan, the capital of that country. The Fathers undertook this task with a firm resolution to carry it through in a worthy manner. Certain events occurred, however, which obliged them to postpone the execution of their plan.

The purposes which God has framed and established in His Eternity cannot be frustrated in their effects, but must, sooner or later, find fulfilment; and so, having called the French Brethren of our Society to the Mission in Persia—as the trend of events has amply proved—His divine Providence has enabled this task to be successfully performed in our own days, through means as wonderful as they are concealed. As God, nevertheless, makes use of secondary causes for the fulfilment of His designs, so He had recourse to this usual method of His divine Providence to set this particular plan in motion.

I read first of all in the records of our Mission at Aleppo that, when the Bishop of Babylon was in that town with our members, observing our activities and the diligence and energy shown by the Fathers in helping souls, he first intimated to them the resolution which he had formed of having some of our members with him in Persia—"for I shall do more," he said, "with a couple of Jesuits than with many other workers," and he thereupon bade them prepare themselves.

The Mission was furthered in the second place by the most illustrious Queen of Poland. This lady, of noble French lineage, who brought to her new realm all the finest qualities of a soul of royal degree, which qualities lend more lustre to her crown than do all the precious stones
which she possesses—this princess, whose heroic courage, during the revolutions in her country, is the admiration of all Europe, evinced so pious and generous a zeal for conquering Persia for Jesus Christ that, in order to start so glorious an enterprise she gave from her own funds a considerable sum of money to be devoted to the maintenance of the Missionaries called to this work. Moreover, many other virtuous and influential persons who by charitable actions are furthering, according to their ability, the work of salvation and acquiring in the sight of God the merit of apostles, since they give the alms whereby many good workers are maintained in the performances of their apostolic labours among the heretics and unbelievers—these gentlemen, and ladies, too (for the latter share with men the glory of this sacred zeal), have devoted themselves so wholeheartedly to the Mission in Persia, that we have been obliged to accept their help and send some of our Brethren to found this Mission, in spite of the fact that many others exist in New France, the islands of America, Greece, Syria—to say nothing of the Indies—so many, indeed, that the Superiors can scarcely find the necessary workers for them all.

Chapter III

Father Alexander of Rhodes appointed Superior of the Mission in Persia

It was necessary to find a capable and experienced head for this Mission, which is a particularly important one, owing to the size and population of the country, also to the fact that the inhabitants are cultured and highly intellectual people although brought up in Muhammadanism and strongly attached to this sect, which is so antagonistic to the religion of Jesus Christ.

Father Alexander of Rhodes, a leading light in this apostolic Ministry, in which he has laboured conscientiously and with success for more than thirty years in the Missions of China, Cochin-China, Tongking, and several others in the Indies, has therefore been chosen from among our Superiors to take control of this one, and to guide it in its early stages—for, as a rule, it is in these early stages that the seeds and foundations are laid, out of which spring and develop the successful achievements of the noblest enterprises.

I will first of all give an account of his voyage to that country. Many distinguished persons who hold him in esteem and affection will be glad to hear the details, which are not without interest, seeing that his journey was hindered by various incidents of a distressing nature. It is not unreasonable to believe that these incidents were
planned by the malice of Satan, who wished to prevent the good works which this Mission would be able to perform, for the glory of God, when aided by the wisdom and piety of so worthy a Superior. I shall afterwards describe the state of the Mission and certain things which have happened since he took charge of it, which ought to be made known, as should also the first fruits already being reaped in this field.

Chapter IV

Journey of Father Alexander of Rhodes to the Mission in Persia and what befell him as far as Malta

After he had been appointed Superior of the Mission in Persia by the Reverend Father General, Father Alexander of Rhodes embarked at Marseilles on the 16th November, 1654, with another Father and a Brother, all three being bound for the same destination.

Their voyage was at first very rough owing to excessively heavy seas. They were therefore all three ill, and the Father of Rhodes more seriously so than the other two. A furious gust of the storm which took him unawares threw him so violently on to some woodwork that he thought his back was broken. In order to remedy this mishap as quickly as possible, it was necessary to bleed him at once, and his sufferings continued to be very acute as far as Malta, for the entire five days which covered this first section of the journey. Moreover, a corsair of Barbary pursued them determinedly for three whole days, keeping them in perpetual alarm and distressing fear; but in the end it pleased God to deliver them from it and to bring them safely to the port of this famous island.

No sooner had the Father arrived at the College (which belongs to our Order) than he had to be attended by doctors and surgeons. These, however, on discovering that there was nothing broken but merely a violent shock to the nerves, applied the necessary remedies so promptly that in three days he was again able to say Mass. And on the Feast of St. Francis Xavier, the great Apostle of the Indies, which falls on the 2nd of December, he was so far recovered that he was even required to give the customary address in praise of this Saint, and this he did in Italian, which he has spoken well for several years. All the Fathers of the College and many notable persons from outside had urged him to give this address. The congregation was numerous and most distinguished: the Grand Master himself was there with members of the Grand Cross from all Nations and a large assembly of Knights. They were all delighted with the Father’s preaching—notwithstanding
the fact that the captain of his ship had been anxious to depart since the morning in order to have the company of another ship which was going the same way. The Grand Master commanded the harbour-master not to let any vessel leave until after midday, and by that time the sermon was finished and the ship amply loaded with provisions through the munificence of the Grand Master himself, who wished by this generosity to give proof of his esteem for the Father. The latter departed that same afternoon and was scarcely able to find words in which to express, either to the Fathers of our Order or to the Knights, his appreciation of the kindness which he had received from them all during his nine days’ stay on their island.

Chapter V

Continuation of the journey through Sidon and Urfa and what happened in these two places

After continuing their journey successfully for nine more days, they arrived safely at Sidon in Syria on the 11th December, where Father Poiresson, Superior of the Missions in that country, made them welcome and treated them with extraordinary kindness.

As the Father of Rhodes was expecting certain letters from France, which he required to enable him to enter Persia and gain an easier access to the Court of that country, he postponed any further advance for a few days, in the hope of receiving them at this port of Sidon, which has fairly frequent communication with Marseilles. Yet he did not wish to be entirely idle and thought that he could not better employ this period of waiting than by visiting the Holy Places in Palestine, to which the distance was only three or four days’ journey. So he spent the Christmas festival there and immediately afterwards found a convenient caravan and travelled by this means to Aleppo.

Eight days’ journey from that place brought him to the town of Urfa, which is the ancient Edessa. There the Brother who accompanied him was seized with a violent sickness from which they thought he would die and, if he had not had the courage to bleed himself, he would certainly not have recovered. This mishap was most distressing to the Father, who was thus for a considerable time threatened with the loss of a help most necessary to him in the difficulties of this arduous journey.

God sent them comfort, however, in that they met the Patriarch of the Christian Sect called Jacobites, who, although a Schismatic, treated them with great consideration. In the first place he gave them
lodging near his Church and, besides this, he visited them frequently and, moreover, brought remedies and other refreshments for the invalid.

In return for these kind offices, the Father tried on his part to serve him in the manner most profitable to his salvation and, in several discussions which they had together, urged him, together with his Bishops, to seek reunion with the Catholic Church. There are, indeed, a number of Bishops subordinate to him—for he is styled Patriarch of Antioch—and these used to be present at the discussions. He prevailed on them to give heed to his instructions and actually persuaded them to send one of their members to Rome, in order to recognize the Pope as Universal Head of the Church, and to render him the homage due on behalf of them all. The representative chosen for this commission was an intelligent man and, at his request, the Father provided him with letters of recommendation.

The Turks showed them a place near Urfa where the Patriarch Abraham is supposed to have been thrown into the fire and delivered by a miracle—a great fountain springing from the earth at that moment. This fountain may be seen to-day and is full of fish which nobody dares to touch, through superstitious dread.

The Armenians also showed them an ancient Church of theirs, to which St. Alexis withdrew for a long time. His dwelling-place is still to be seen, and is very like the one shown in his Church at Rome, which latter was under a staircase in his father's house.

Chapter VI

The Father's Companion taken from him by a Turkish nobleman, to serve as doctor

In the meantime, the Brother who was accompanying the Father, after being ill for a month and a half, began to recover, and actually gave in charity certain remedies (of which he had some knowledge) to sick people in the country who came to consult him from all parts. The success of certain notable cures achieved through these remedies attracted so many patients to him that he became tired out and required treatment himself, which, however, failed to relieve him.

His fame even spread to Diarbekr, the capital of Mesopotamia, so that the Governor of that city sent a special envoy with a large retinue in order to carry off the Brother, just as if he had been some celebrated doctor from France—so far did rumour improve on the real state of affairs! But the worst was that they forced him to depart
at once, although he was not yet strong nor recovered from his illness. This fell as a fresh misfortune on the Father who was unable to go with him, being in charge of certain Church furniture, books, and other things destined for the Mission, and who was thus losing not only his companion—the separation from whom was very bitter and caused him many tears—but was also being deprived of his interpreter.

Being thus alone and unable to speak or communicate with other people he placed his trust entirely in God and set himself to the performance of spiritual offices, namely long and frequent prayers, in order that God in His mercy should send him help and protection in his sore distress. During his retreat his main comfort was to receive in faith the most holy Sacrament, which was indeed the only solace of his utter loneliness.

At last the Father recognized, through experience, the truth of the promise which God, in the words of the Psalmist, makes to His servants: *Cum ipso sum in tribulatione*—"I am with him in his trouble." For, at the end of his retreat, his misfortunes were changed to a state of peace and joy, since an opportunity was offered him to travel to Diarbekr, which he did in six days and subsequently recovered his companion, as we shall presently relate.

**Chapter VII**

*The Father rejoins his Companion at Diarbekr and what he did there*

The Father found his companion in the best of health and they embraced each other with such joy as only those can feel who love, and their recent separation enhanced the joy and satisfaction of this meeting. He was very well received at the house where the Brother was staying as a doctor, in which capacity he was assisting the master of that house. The latter was one of the chief noblemen of the city and a great friend of the Governor of the Province, who had arranged to have the Brother brought there for him, as has been related.

They were obliged to remain there two months, partly on account of the sick nobleman, who had to be attended to until he was completely recovered, and partly on account of the great heat, which in that country is a source of considerable danger.

The town of Diarbekr is large and thickly populated, its inhabitants being said to number some twenty thousand Turks and thirty thousand Christians. These last are all Schismatics of different sects, the three most numerous being Armenians, Jacobites, and Nestorians. It would seem to be a promising field for enterprise if we had a Mission
established there with workers who could speak Turkish or Armenian, the two languages most commonly spoken in that country.

The Father of Rhodes was on friendly terms and had several conversations with the three Bishops of these sects, on the mysteries of our Faith, with which their tenets do not agree. He found them, on the whole, most agreeable and willing to learn the truth; for, to use his own words—

*longe abesse a regno Dei*—they shewed themselves not far from the Kingdom of God. There they met a Franciscan Father, a man of great virtue and knowledge, who does a considerable amount of missionary work there; he, however, can only speak Arabic, which is understood by few. Five or six good missionaries could be well employed in any part of Mesopotamia, which is a fine well-populated country, where there are innumerable Schismatics who could easily be persuaded to join the Catholic Church, if some enthusiastic and discreet preachers were to show them the truth.

**Chapter VIII**

*End of the Father’s journey and his arrival in Persia*

At last, after the Feast of the Assumption, when the heat was less intense, the Father left Diarbekr with his companion. He had sent in advance, from Urfa, a Polish Father who was also destined for the Mission in Persia, in order to warn the Fathers there of his impending arrival, to arrange matters and to facilitate his entry into the country.

His journey through the further Provinces of Turkey, which lasted until nearly the end of September, was pursued in constant danger of his life—though he was preserved by God’s special protection. He and his friend were, however, obliged to submit at various stages to extortion and robbery, by which they lost most of what the virtuous people, anxious for the welfare of the Missions, had given them; it was a marvel indeed that they escaped with their lives from the clutches of these harpies.

They finally reached Persia at the beginning of October, and the remembrance of dangers so recently passed heightened their appreciation of the treatment they received after crossing the frontiers of this great kingdom, so full of kindness and courtesy. The first town through which they passed was Tabriz, the ancient Ecbatana of Scriptural fame, the second city of this powerful monarchy. It is a beautiful, well populated place, where a good Mission will one day
be able to do great things; up to the present, however, no missionaries of the Gospel have worked there.

There they found the relatives of a recent martyr of Cochin-China, an Armenian by nationality. This man had travelled through India to Cochin-China, so far from his own country, and had embraced the Catholic Faith, abjuring his Schismatic creed, thanks to some of our Fathers who work for the conversion of these unbelievers; then, devoting himself to the Fathers, by aiding them in their sacred labours, he finally carried off the palm of a glorious martyrdom.

As, however, the most important concern of the Mission was its establishment in the capital, the Father stayed only a short time at Tabriz and set out again as soon as possible with his companion. Though handicapped by serious ill-health, yet he would not delay, but continued his journey bravely for another month until, at the beginning of November, they arrived at Isfahan the Royal City. They found the Fathers there in good health, busily engaged in studying the language of the country and delighted to see their new Superior.

Chapter IX

**Founding of the Mission at Isfahan by Father Aymé Chezaud, who was well versed in the Persian language and taught it to the other Fathers**

It was Father Aymé Chezaud who laid the first foundations of the Mission of our Society in the Kingdom of Persia. This worthy missionary had previously proved his zeal for many years in our Missions in Syria and notably in the one at Aleppo, of which he was Superior, where he had achieved amazing works amidst unusual hardships. Having acquired an excellent knowledge of the languages of those regions, he had now learned Persian and was absolutely familiar with it.

Now this zealous worker for the Faith had long contemplated a journey to Persia in order to bring there the light of the Gospel and to gain souls for Jesus Christ, through his own labours and those of our Brethren who were to follow him in this glorious enterprise. For this purpose he had compiled a Persian dictionary, as well as various other books in this language, which were most useful to the Mission.

He arrived in Persia in the year 1652, and began to work there at once and has continued to do so until this day. He has won a high reputation for his character and capability throughout the city of Isfahan, as well as at the Court, where he is held in great esteem by the nobility and by the King himself, as will be seen by certain memorable
events which we are going to relate. When the Father of Rhodes took charge of our Mission, it consisted of three members, two Fathers and a Brother, and he and his companion brought the number up to five. It was a very small number for such a great undertaking. As a knowledge of the language was the first and absolutely essential consideration before attempting anything else, they all set to work to study it, under the direction of Father Chezaud. He proved such a helpful instructor that they made remarkable progress in very short time; some, indeed, obtained such proficiency in the language, after two or three months, that they were able to give religious instruction in it, both by catechism and otherwise.

CHAPTER X

*Liberty allowed in Persia for discussing matters of Religion*

It may be said in general that this country presents a great opportunity for the propagation of the Faith, in that it may be taught here without constraint. Most of the inhabitants, it is true, profess Muhammadanism, which is the religion of the King and his Court; but, as they follow an interpretation of the Koran different from that adhered to by the Turks, they allow complete liberty for religious controversy to all who wish to indulge therein. There is no law here, forbidding it on pain of torture or death, as there is among the Turks, the extreme rigour of whose law makes it almost impossible for anyone to convert them from their false doctrine.

CHAPTER XI

*Baptism of dying children; first fruits of the Mission*

The first and most important fruits won in early days by our missionaries in this promising field was the Baptism of a number of small children on the point of death. This could be done easily, as the parents themselves often brought them, in the hope of procuring some bodily remedy for them; when, however, the case was so serious that the Fathers judged that there was no hope of recovery, they secured Eternal Life for these children by means of Baptism. I am told, indeed, that a certain Brother of the Barefooted Carmelites baptized, during one year, more than three thousand children, whom Heaven took to itself forthwith by a peaceful death.

The harvest of these innocent souls is all the more abundant since the number of children in this country who die young is considerable.
It is estimated that, in one year alone, the children who died in Isfahan numbered forty thousand at least; and one Father, moreover, baptized five or six in a day. This was a safe harvest, in no danger of being lost. But the more there are in Heaven of these little angels the more intercessors there will be to pray to God for their country, that its conversion may be assured.

Our workers are encouraged in this hope by occurrences of which the Father of Rhodes professes to have been an eyewitness, when he was working among the pioneers of the Mission at Tongking. He declares that, at the very beginning of the Mission, they baptized a few small children who were dying of disease, and that these opened the way to a great multitude of heathen who very soon afterwards adopted the Faith, the number of converts amounting to at least two or three hundred thousand.

I am obliged to mention here the particular generosity of a certain French Duchess, a lady whose piety is no less illustrious than her lineage is most exalted. On the occasion of the illness of one of her sons, she promised that, should he recover, a perpetual donation of fifty écus should be devoted each year to the maintenance of those of our missionaries among the heathen to whom the special task of baptizing small children would be allotted. And for the sake of these poor innocent souls, which are so precious to Him that angels from His Paradise are assigned to them as guardians, God graciously allowed this young nobleman to recover perfect health. So worthy an action ought most certainly to be imitated, and I pray that the Holy Spirit may inspire the wills of many other persons to do the same. I know that many persons of high rank and virtue are in favour of this and, only by increased alms-giving, will they increase the number of labourers for the Gospel. In these early stages, the less you exact from the heathen the more readily they yield themselves and listen to you. In a word, pure and disinterested charity is the key which opens all hearts. Missionaries should take for their motto the beautiful saying of our Saviour: *Beatius est magis dare quam accipere,* "It is more blessed to give than to receive" (Acts xx, 35). Moreover, when preparing His Apostles for the Mission of the whole world, He gave them this noble teaching: *Gratis accipistis, gratis date,* "Freely ye have received, freely give."
Chapter XII

The Truths of our Holy Faith propounded in public; second fruits of the Mission

The second fruit, which followed on the first and which may be considered as the beginning of the mercies obtained from our Lord by the Holy Innocents of whom we have just spoken, is rendered the more remarkable by its rareness, which enhances its value. The like of it was probably never seen or heard in Persia during all the preceding ages. For the mysteries of our Holy Religion were frequently proclaimed and their truth received with all the respect that could be possibly desired, in the most illustrious and the most learned assemblies of the Kingdom.

The Muhammadans, of the Sect predominant here, have the merit, as I have said before, of being willing to discuss their religion and to listen equally to the teaching of others. And so, when it became known at the Court that Father Aymé Chezaud was capable of demonstrating clearly and forcibly the truth of the Articles of our Faith and, in particular, the two principal ones, namely that of the Most Holy Trinity and of the Incarnation of the Word—the Son of God—the Prime Minister of the State, who is called Itimad ud Daula (which means "hope of prosperity"), was commanded by the King to assemble the most learned of the Muhammadan doctors, in order to confer and argue with the said Father, who, because of his perfect mastery of the language, is the only one able worthily to uphold the truth.

These discussions have taken place several times in the palace of the said Minister, in the presence of all the most exalted Court officials, always with the most brilliant success as regards the furtherance of the good cause. It may, indeed, be said that our Lord, according to His promise (Luke xii, 12), gave to Father Chezaud, during these conferences, utterance and wisdom which his opponents could neither contradict nor resist. And yet he was there as a poor stranger, defending and attacking alone in these intellectual contests against all the most select and famous of the Muhammadan doctors, who fell one after the other, like so many raw recruits, before this solitary Frankish doctor, as they called the Father.

Chapter XIII

First Conference on the Articles of our Faith, held with the Muhammadan doctors

As these matters will be more interesting if reported in detail, I shall relate all the minute particulars of these discussions, deriving
them from letters written by the Father of Rhodes who was there on
the spot, and by Father Chezaud who was responsible for the whole
proceeding; also by Father Vabois, Superior of our settlement in
Smyrna, who wrote to me according to information received from
persons actually at Isfahan at the time. The testimony of these three
witnesses may undoubtedly be accepted, seeing that they are of trust-
worthy and irreproachable character. The circumstance which gave
rise to these conferences was that Father Chezaud wrote, in Persian,
a book demonstrating the truth of the two principal mysteries of our
Holy Faith, and presented it to this nobleman, who, as I have said,
is the first Minister at the Court, favoured by the King and all-powerful
with him, and holding absolute and undisputed authority throughout
the Kingdom—which gives proof of his ability and prudence. He is in
truth a person of sound judgment, subtle intellect and most kindly
disposition, ready to listen to reason, and with whom it is a pleasure
to confer. Moreover, he takes pleasure in beautiful things and shows
a keen interest in the particular developments of our sciences, having
a perfect knowledge of those in repute among his own people.

He received the book with expressions of pleasure and gratitude
and promised that a reply should be made to it. He thereupon called
together the most distinguished of the Muhammadan doctors and
caused the first discussion to be opened in his presence. At first he
gave little praise to the Father, possibly in order not to discourage those
of his own sect, or perhaps in order not to show him too much favour
in public. Nevertheless, when he had heard him argue alone against
a score of his own doctors, and perceived that his discourse was based
on solid reason, and that he was defending the truth with such
boldness, he several times took the Father's side—although himself
a Muhammadan; for, being a man of sense, capable of grasping and
discerning arguments put forward and, moreover, a clear reasoner,
he was convinced by the truth and let it dominate his mind.

Among the doctors was one who had been a Jewish Rabbi and
become a Muhammadan. This man had come to the dispute armed with
a Bible in Hebrew, thinking thereby to gain some signal point. His
intention was to show that the Old Testament spoke with respect of
Muhammad and, in order to prove this, he quoted a Hebrew word which
somewhat resembles this name, and which means "much" or "very",
like the Latin adverb valde. The Father, however, who knew Hebrew
as well as he did, instantly refuted him by pointing out that, in the
chapter in question, the same word appeared in conjunction with a
Hebrew word meaning *malus*, i.e. "bad" or "wicked"—the sense being "very wicked". He inferred, therefore, that, if slightly earlier in the same chapter, this word meant "Muhammad", it would still have the same meaning afterwards, with the epithet *malus*, so that the sense would be that Muhammad was very wicked. When Ittimad ud Daula perceived the stupid mistake of this Rabbi, he blamed him and advised him to produce something better and more reasonable, since that passage was by no means to the point. The doctor remained confused and silent and was unable to make any reply.

This first discussion lasted from midday until nightfall and then the Muhammadans, who required rest and refreshment, betook themselves to supper. As the day was Friday, the Father was not able to partake of their meat. Besides this, he had been summoned to the discussion early in the day, before he had had time to take anything, so that he was obliged to remain fasting the whole day and night until the morrow, notwithstanding which he had to keep his mind alert and ready for the difficulties which his opponents hurled at him incessantly, scarcely giving him time to breathe.

**Chapter XIV**

*Two other Conferences on the same subject and their success*

The Muhammadan doctors had scarcely finished supper when, arming themselves once more with their wretched tenets, they renewed the contest by a second discussion. As they had become heated over their meal and had had wine into the bargain, their excitement was the more intense, their voices louder, and the noise more deafening. Their discourses were so confused that they could scarcely follow the trend of their own arguments and, thus entangled in their own pitfalls, they prolonged the conference until well after midnight. As to the Father, he still remained fresh and with the same presence of mind, manipulating with force and skill the armour of our strength (to use the words of the Apostle)—strong in the power of God, and destroying thereby all the force of their reasoning and all the machinations with which they imagined they could oppose the truths of the Faith, until at last these proud spirits were compelled, willing or not, to capitulate and submit to him. They could not avoid owning themselves vanquished, though their pride forbade them to do so orally, and the Father came out of this second struggle with great triumph. The minds of his opponents were convinced and subjugated by the force of his reasoning; yet obstinacy still dominated their wills, and
it was only owing to the freedom of will that they persisted in withstanding so great a luminary. It cannot, indeed, be wondered that this freedom will not yield to man, since it dares to resist God Himself.

A few days later, the Father was summoned to a third discussion, which was again held at the palace of this royal favourite. It began in the evening and lasted nearly the whole night. The doctors who took part appeared to be quite different from the previous ones. It seemed as if they were a specially chosen body, a reserve force held in readiness for a final effort, to fight a decisive battle; in a word, these doctors were more learned and better trained than the first protagonists. There was also more of orderliness and even of modesty in their procedure, and they maintained throughout the discussion a manner of speaking which was more orderly and in accordance with the rules of dialectic.

The chief subject of the conference was the Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, which the Father undertook to prove by passages in the Gospels. It should be mentioned here that numerous Muhammadans refuse to recognize the Gospels which we possess, as the words of God. They maintain that these are not the true Gospels, basing this theory on a still more ridiculous and false idea, namely, that our Lord, when ascending into Heaven, took up with Him the genuine Gospels. There are, however, other Muhammadans who reject this absurd and fabulous view and agree with us that the Gospels are, undoubtedly, the words of God.

Itimad ud Daula, without either denying this belief or accepting it, wished to hear how the Father would prove from the Gospels that our Lord was true God.

The Father set forth this proof in such an orderly manner, followed it up with such clear reasoning, and brought it to such an emphatic conclusion that the Minister, carried away, as it were, by the truth, could not refrain from saying before the whole assembly that the Father was a veritable mine of information—such abundance of knowledge had he displayed on a most edifying subject.

Moreover, being particularly charmed with his discourse, the nobleman bade him formulate in writing all his conclusions, and then accorded him a second mark of the esteem in which he held him. This was that he intimated to him, in most kind and civil words, that he feared to inconvenience him by summoning him so often to his house, and said that he would no longer take the liberty of so doing, but that the Father himself should choose the times which suited him best, and
come as often and whenever he pleased. As to the Muhammadan doctors, Itimad ud Daula bade them go and seek the Father in his own house if they wished to continue their discussions with him. This they did several times but, as the Father’s dwelling was not large enough to receive or hold all the doctors who came in large numbers from all parts, they themselves, at the Father’s request, found another place which was larger and more spacious, and there they still continued their meetings.

The Father, in the meantime, drew up the document for which the nobleman had asked. When he brought it to him, the latter stated that he did not dare receive it without first knowing the wishes of the King on this subject, and asked the Father to hold it in readiness until he had learned whether His Majesty was willing that further public discussions should take place at his house. They still await the King’s command in this matter, but, from time to time, the Father holds his conferences with the principal people of the town, as also with some of the most exalted members of the Court who have the honour of attending the King himself.

Although the fruit of these discussions, in which our holy religion wins such glorious victories over error, is not yet perceptible—and, indeed, too rapid a harvest might prove transient and not lasting—nevertheless we hope that God, qui de tenebris facit lumen splendescere, "who" (as Saint Paul says) "makes a light to shine in darkness"—the darkness, namely, in which this kingdom is engulfed—will show forth His glory here at the time ordained by the wisdom of His divine Providence. Who can doubt as to the result of our prayers—they are the arms to which everything must yield and which carry all before them. Good souls cannot employ them in a more worthy cause. Never did the arms of the Macedonian conqueror who subjugated this vast Persian Empire to his rule, undertake such an exploit. For, after all, these sanguinary battles of his only resulted in ravished wealth, conquered subjects—in fact, a little more land gained; whilst the prize won by the bloodless battles of prayer is the saving of souls, the winning of Heaven—indeed, of God Himself, with all the benefits of His Eternity for the immortal souls of men.

Chapter XV

Views of Armenian Schismatics with regard to these discussions

If the discussions which we have described have not yet shaken the intellects of the Muhammadans—characterized as these are by
obstinate adherence to their long-implanted errors—they have, nevertheless, had a powerful effect on some of the most influential of the Armenian Schismatics, who are to be found in large numbers in this country. The signs of this effect appeared in their assembling together after the report of these conferences, and of their brilliant success as regards the Christian religion, had spread through the town. Further, they complained bitterly of the ignorance of the bishops and priests, who are incapable of making a reasonable justification of their faith to the Muhammadans. Their discontent went to such lengths that they took counsel together to induce their Patriarch to bring about the union of all the Armenians with the Church of Rome, since a single priest of that Church had been able to stand up to all the Muhammadan doctors and vindicate with such honour the truth of the Faith of Jesus Christ.

This fruit, the outcome of the said discussions, must not be considered as slight or negligible, for it may by degrees open the way to a much greater one, namely the bringing about of this union. It has been ascertained, moreover, that certain of these Armenian Schismatical priests got wind of the complaints formulated against them. Fearing, so it was said, that we should take up our abode among the members of their sect, they attempted to gain the support of some of their people in order to make a stand against us and prevent us from establishing ourselves in that place. They found this by no means easy, for their own people, rejecting their entreaties, told them that they ought to be the first to make eager efforts to induce us to dwell among them, since (so they said) it was solely owing to the vigorous defence of Religion by the Roman Brethren that they had not already become Muhammadans. Also (and this deserves particular notice) the Armenian Patriarch himself offered his thanks in person to Father Chezand, for having upheld the cause of religion in such a worthy manner, and also for having always spoken in their favour to Itimad ud Daula (as he had heard from reliable sources). Indeed, the Father would never discuss, with the nobles of the Court, the difference between ourselves and the Armenians, nor reveal their rank errors concerning the mysteries of our belief, even when the nobles questioned him with much curiosity and subtlety on this subject. The favourite of the King even spoke to him of the low esteem in which he held the Armenians, and told him of a scheme, under consideration at the Court, of subjecting them to the same treatment meted out recently to all the Jews in the Kingdom, who had been compelled to become
Mussulmans, i.e. Muhammadans, and to renounce entirely their Jewish faith. This ill-advised action, which reduced these poor creatures to extreme misery, is worth relating here in greater detail, from the beginning. I must add that the Christians shared, if not in the evil treatment, at any rate, in the fear of being subjected to it themselves.

Chapter XVI

The Jews in Persia compelled to become Muhammadans and the Christians delivered from the fear of a like evil

The Jews had spread themselves all over Persia in far greater numbers than might be supposed, and were leading a most peaceable existence without any suspicion of the terrible misfortune which was hanging over their heads. It came as an unexpected blow and threw them into dreadful consternation when, all of a sudden, an edict from the King was issued and published in every place in Persia commanding them, on pain of death, to abjure the Jewish religion and profess, thenceforth, that of Muhammad.

The terror and consternation recorded in Scripture (Esther iii and iv), which the ancestors of this most unhappy nation suffered long ago, when Haman, their cruel enemy, caused the fatal decree obtained from the King against them to be proclaimed throughout this same kingdom, may be taken as a picture of the fear and anguish experienced by these, their descendants, at the first news of this edict.

As regards the reason for this action, it should be known that, for the last thirty years, these poor wretches had been chattering incessantly about the imminent coming of their Messiah, and boasting, with a flourish of words no less insolent than vain, of his power and magnificence, which were to surpass those of any ruler on earth. As the Court was annoyed by this rumour, the Jews were compelled to make a public promise to the effect that if, before the expiry of thirty more years, their Messiah failed to appear in accordance with their declarations repeated each day with the most incredible audacity, they should then all become Muhammadans. They were held to their word; and, as they had so often and so long deceived the people and abused their credulity, the resolution was formed not to let their falsehood pass unpunished this time, but to hold them to the strict fulfilment of their promise.

As the prescribed period of thirty years had expired without their Messiah appearing—any more than he had done on the previous occasions when impunity had been the prop and stay and, so to speak,
the safe-conduct of these frequent deceptions, and when their lying had
brought about its own exposure and conviction—the King and all
his Court would no longer give countenance to such deceivers; they
were compelled by the edict to keep their promise, and could find
no means either of escaping it or of reducing its hardship.

Nevertheless, as it is well-known that their minds are mercenary,
eager for money and ready to comply with anything in the hope
of some temporal advantage, the King, the more kindly to induce
the Jews to obey the edict, gave thirty piastres to each man and fifteen
to each woman of that sect. All the Jewish sacred books were, however,
taken away from them, and they were forbidden to frequent their
synagogues and commanded only to attend mosques, to which the
Muhammadan officials had express orders to conduct them.

As this accursed race is cowardly and entirely attached to the
earth, and seeing, too, that their religion, which has become obsolete
since the rise of Christianity, is incapable of giving them the strength
to defend it, they all obeyed the edict and submitted themselves
to Muhammadanism.

The Christians of the country, observing this strange and sudden
procedure, were at first somewhat apprehensive lest a similar outrage
should be inflicted on them. They had, however, given no cause for
this, and events soon made plain to them that no such idea had even
been considered. Nevertheless, the treatment accorded to them, after
the enforcing of the edict against the Jews, caused them unceasing
distress. The King commanded them to leave the dwellings which they
had established in various quarters on either side of the city of Isfahan,
and to live all together in a place nearby, which had been assigned to
them for that purpose. The object of this novel and, therefore,
disturbing scheme is still unknown, and the King has shown no other
signs of disfavour or ill-will towards the Christians. In fine, the
decision was formulated and passed with extreme secrecy, for politics at
this Court are conducted with all the prudence characteristic of the
period, so that there are no means or access whereby to discover the
motives of its schemes.

God, in whom alone is their trust, will save these Christians—if
it so please Him—from worse mishap, by the same protection with
which He has graciously favoured them in the past, in other imminent
perils which have threatened them at divers times.

After all, if this order of the King seemed hard on the Christians
as concerning their temporal well-being, the fact of their accepting
it willingly was advantageous to their principal welfare—namely, that of their souls; for, thanks to their isolation, neither they nor their children will have so much trade or personal intercourse with the Muhammadans, and will consequently be less exposed to contagion by their corrupt manner of living.

Chapter XVII

Permission granted to us by the King of Persia, in deference to His Most Christian Majesty, to establish ourselves in Isfahan

We now come to the events directly connected with our establishment in Isfahan, the capital of Persia. It pleased God to show us a means to this end as honourable as it was efficacious. The Father of Rhodes, who had taken certain preliminary steps for this object before his departure from Paris, had been awaiting the result of these for more than fifteen months; for the trade routes between France and Persia, besides being very long, are also difficult and very uncertain, so that, out of five or six letters written from either end, only one perhaps will reach its destination. At last, towards the month of May, 1657, after this weary time of waiting, the arrival of two of our Brethren relieved the Father of his anxiety, for they brought, and handed to him, letters and presents sent by our King to the King of Persia. When the Father offered these, the latter received them with all the sentiments of esteem due to so great a Monarch, whose incomparable virtues are known and lauded throughout the Universe. Further, the King made known to all his Court, by public declaration, that he was no less charmed than honoured by these attentions. And, although other potentates of Europe had already written to him on behalf of this Mission, yet the dispatches from His Most Christian Majesty were so highly considered by him that, immediately after receiving them, he graciously accorded us full permission to establish a fixed and permanent abode near his palace and to build a church there.

Meanwhile, another event occurred which served to strengthen and facilitate the carrying into effect of this permission. The letters of Father Chezaud, written in January, 1658, give the following account of it:

"The Muhammadan doctors had raised several objections against our holy religion in their intercourse with an Armenian of the town of Julfa, whom the King desired to become Muhammadan. He replied that he would do so unless I could give a satisfactory answer to all their objections against our holy Faith. I do not hesitate to blame the
imprudence of this man who was thus compromising the truth of our religion, which ought under no circumstances to be brought into question. His offer was accepted and I was summoned by Itimad ud Daula, the Prime Minister, to his residence, and found there the principal Muhammadan doctors, together with this Armenian from Julfa, and many other inhabitants of the same place. The objections were presented to me one after the other. I answered them as the grace of God inspired me, with such boldness and assurance, that the nobleman showed himself entirely satisfied, and dismissed the Armenian, free to practise the Christian religion without being further molested on that account.

"Although I consider that the principal result of that conference was the saving of this man for the Faith, another result ensued, namely, that the Prime Minister ratified the permission already granted us by the King to buy a suitable and convenient house for our activities. His kindness went further even, for, of his own free will, he offered to obtain the necessary sum from the King to enable us to pay for it.

"In view of the present poverty of our Mission and the absence of any possible hope of assistance from this country, I might have been tempted, and perhaps rightly so, to accept this offer; yet our Lord deigned to inspire me with thoughts more generous and more worthy of the dignity of our holy religion.

"Therefore, after humbly thanking the Minister for his obliging offer, I told him that I neither desired nor expected any temporal gift from the King, but only wished that His Majesty would grant me one favour, namely, to accept a book which I had composed expressly to have the honour of presenting it to him, in order to justify to him the cause of our holy Faith. I also added that, in defence thereof, I would fear nothing that might be inflicted on me. The nobleman signified his approval of my request and my resolution, and I thereupon retired, after reiterating my humble expressions of gratitude." Such were the main contents of the Father's letter.

As to the house where the Fathers established their Mission, it is situated in a fine part of the city near the King's palace and, although small, is amply large for those who at present live in it. When the number of Missionaries increases, it can easily be enlarged. There is already a fine chapel, beautifully decorated, and even the Christians are beginning to frequent it.

There was no lack of opposition, as is always the case where new religious establishments are concerned, when the spirit of evil can
easily raise it through his agencies; obstacles were, however, all
removed by the authority of Itimad ud Daula.

CHAPTER XVIII

Monsieur de la Chappelle, a gentleman of Normandy, increases the fame
of our Missionaries by his discourses in their favour

Apart from the esteem in which this great nobleman held
Father Chezaud, as I have already related, God also raised up an ally
whom the Fathers never expected. This latter assisted greatly in their
advancement in the good graces of the Prime Minister, on whom the
well-being of our Mission most of all depends, since he is able to
influence the mind of the King in any way he pleases. This ally is
Monsieur de la Chappelle, an honest gentleman of Normandy, whose
excellent qualities have secured him a favourable reception at this
Court, and free access to the nobleman who holds entire sway over
the country.

This worthy gentleman gave him full and detailed information
regarding our Society, telling him how it professes all sciences, divine
and human, in order to render service to all sorts and conditions of men,
and how, for this purpose, its Brethren make their way to all countries
of the earth, gladly exposing themselves to hardships in life and perils
of death, and how many had, indeed, met their death, in different parts
of the world, midst iron and flame, in order to bring souls to the
true God.

Thanks then to his estimate of the capability of Father Chezaud and
of his knowledge of all the finest and most erudite sciences, Itimad
ud Daula was induced to regard the Father with even greater favour,
hoping, indeed, that he would impart to him some of his choicest and
most rare knowledge. Indeed, since the discourses of this honest French
gentleman, on behalf of our Society (for which the Mission is deeply
indebted), he has been far more eager to receive Father Chezaud.
He asked the Father to compose certain books for him, on matters other
than the Faith and, the Father having complied with this desire, he
was most pleased with the first ones presented, which were on
mathematics, interspersed with rare information of a most attractive
and ingenious nature. And being, moreover, industrious and clever
with his hands, the Father made some interesting models illustrating
the same science, which the other received with admiration and
pleasure.

By means of these allurements, the Father also won over another
nobleman, nephew of the Prime Minister and greatly influenced by him, a young man of excellent intelligence and very much interested in our sciences, and who already holds an important position in the country. Indeed, when the news of the death of the Great Mogul and of his son’s accession in his place was received at this Court, this young nobleman was appointed to an important Embassy which was sent to secure peace with the new King, in order to preserve the profound tranquillity which the kingdom of Persia has enjoyed and which the Prime Minister endeavours, above all, to maintain.

This young nobleman has a special friendship with the Father and often converses with him, taking singular pleasure in hearing him talk on our sciences and in being instructed in them.

May it please God that the prophecy of Isaiah—*In doctrinis glorificate Dominum*: “Ye shall praise God with the understanding”—may be fulfilled here, that these natural truths may prove a blessing to the minds of the Persian noblemen, disposing them to receive the supernatural truths of Faith and their own salvation. It is for this end alone that our Society studies and professes these sciences.

**Chapter XIX**

*The Armenians rescued from difficulties in a discussion*

To return, however, to the frequent religious discussions which have been taking place here recently, and which are unlike anything ever seen or heard of before, the same Father is always singled out among all the “Frankish” Brethren to officiate at these meetings. A short time ago he arrived most opportunely at one of them, where a large number of people were assembled. Scarcely had he appeared, when his presence served to reassure certain Armenian notables, whom the others were trying to induce to become Muhammadans. These poor people were so utterly confused, by the specious arguments put forward and urged with great vehemence by their opponents, that they could scarcely extricate themselves. When the Father appeared on the scene, they could make no better reply than by saying that they would refer their case to him in the presence of Itimad ud Daula.

This latter thereupon stated that he was aware that an essential difference existed between ourselves and the Armenians, and that their *vartapads* (i.e. doctors) would not agree in what the Father taught. When, therefore, the Father himself began to speak, he first quickly covered the ignorance of the Armenians. He next cleared away the objections put forward, as easily as if they had been
so many cobwebs—for only feeble minds would have been caught or entangled by them; and, finally, he brought these Armenians safely through the contest and delivered them from the misery into which they had been plunged. They were afterwards so grateful, that they, and other members of their sect who knew what had happened, came and thanked the Father at his house.

The Fathers have reason to hope that the King will soon give them a house at Julfa, a town nearby, which is full of Armenians. If this takes place, a wide field will be opened for the preaching of the Gospel, especially if the project entertained and assiduously aimed at by the founders of the Mission—namely, the general reunion of the Armenians in this Kingdom with the Church of Rome—is realized. The heads among the Armenians are decidedly in favour of this, partly in order to protect themselves from insults which they receive owing to their ignorance of the truths of the Faith which they profess in common with us, and partly in order to strengthen themselves against temptations to apostasy, by which they are often assailed, with great danger of succumbing.

As regards the Persians, the Father of Rhodes tells us in his writings that he considers these religious discussions as the happy foreshadowings of benefits which God in His mercy has assuredly in store for this fortunate country. He is right in describing them as the flowers which are beginning to appear and to bloom. *Flores appuruerunt in terra nostra*, says this wise and experienced Missionary, and adding *Dominus dabit benigntatem et terra nostra dabit fructum suum*.

He joins these two passages of scripture together, in order that they may serve as a consoling text to encourage the Mission in its present labours and anxieties, which are by no means small, and alleviate their bitterness with the hope of abundant fruit in the future. "The flowers," he says, "have appeared in our land; God shall bless us and our land shall bring forth her increase."

**Chapter XX**

*The King of Persia desires to learn about the Mysteries of the Faith, but is prevented from doing so*

Among these frequent discussions, the opportunity occurred for one which caused greater satisfaction to the Fathers than all the previous ones, on account of the hope which they had of its producing excellent results. On this occasion, Itimad ud Daula brought the Father to discourse on our Mysteries in the presence of the King, in his palace.
God, who holds in His hands the hearts of Kings, and guides them as He pleases, in accordance with the wisdom of His Holy Spirit, had doubtless inspired him with this desire, so beneficial to himself and his whole state. Moreover, this desire came to him spontaneously, and not through the inducement of any other person, for he himself commanded the Prime Minister to bring the Father to him, in order that he might learn about the truths of our religion.

But there arose, I know not how, an unfortunate circumstance which prevented him from doing so, brought about doubtless by the evil one, fearful of the good results which this conference might produce; for it occurred at the very moment when the Father arrived, and it held the King’s mind so strongly pre-occupied that he no longer had any desire to hear the Father. And, what is more vexing, it is said that various artifices have since been employed in order to divert him from his intention. So important is it to make good use of the first signs of favour, the moment they are offered to a man.

God, who knocked this first time at the door of the King’s heart, is too faithful in His goodness to be turned away by this refusal. May He then knock so loud and so often that, at last, this great Monarch will open the door to Him, and receive Him in his heart as well as in his kingdom. By so doing he will gain a still greater Kingdom in Heaven, when death obliges him to quit the earthly one over which he reigns.

LAST CHAPTER

XXI

Obstacles encountered by the Mission in Persia and its hopes of success

The greatest obstacle in the way of saving souls in this country consists, it seems, in the high degree of temporal prosperity which it now enjoys. The entire Court, which is one of the most sumptuous and magnificent in existence, is so absorbed in luxury and pleasure, that the sole thought and occupation of the nobles belonging to it is how to enjoy themselves and gratify their senses. It can therefore be imagined what the position of the King, who holds absolute sovereignty with power to exact anything he wishes from his subjects, who revere him as a Divinity on earth, must be.

What the Gospel preaches first and foremost is nothing short of repentance; the Cross is its first principle, and the mortification of the senses its chief precept. Yet nothing is impossible with God, and His all-powerful grace triumphs over all. By shedding the light of Faith on the most sensual hearts, this grace will cause them to love the Cross
and strive after mortification, as ardently as corrupt nature and bad habit caused them at first to shun these things. This is the very miracle which the early Church witnessed in the conversion of the Corinthians, a people censured, even by other heathens, for their extreme sensual depravity. Has it not also been witnessed in recent centuries in the conversion of so many people in the New World, who were formerly most corrupt? And why should it not occur again in our own time by the conversion of Persia to Jesus Christ?

It is, moreover, as Wisdom tells us, in the nature of God to supply His children with hope whereby they gain courage to stand firm in all difficulties. Besides, He delights in accomplishing, by this means, what the entreaties and industry of men fail to accomplish or even attempt.

In spite of all these obstacles, the Father of Rhodes has such great hopes of the Mission, of which our Lord has appointed him Head, that he is approaching our Reverend Father General with the request that two further Missionaries, capable primarily of learning the languages most widely spoken in the country, shall be sent out. One would learn Persian and the other Armenian; and they must, moreover, be well versed in divinity and the humanities, a knowledge of both being essential here. The first is necessary in order to give solid teaching on the truths of our religion, and to refute effectively the objections raised by adversaries, many of whom are as ingenious and clever as they are malicious and obstinate. The second is required in order to conciliate and win over intellectual people through the attraction of rare and interesting knowledge. I have just learned that two Fathers of the Province of Lyons, both excellent workers and well endowed with the qualities mentioned, have been nominated for this work. So zealous and enthusiastic is our Society for the Glory of God and the propagation of His Church.

As to our success, that depends on Heaven, in which the Mission places its entire trust. *Sicut fuerit voluntas in coelo, sic fiat*—let it be according to the will of Heaven. What is required of a Missionary worker is, not that he shall cure souls, but he shall care for them: *Curam exigeris*, says St. Bernard, *non curationem*.

For how many centuries has the Angel of the Kingdom of Persia, mentioned in Scripture (Daniel x), been working for this end, together with the other Guardian Angels? They are still working without cessation or rest. All work undertaken for God ultimately attains success, for He Himself is our exceeding Great Reward. *Ego ero merces tua magna nimirum.*

**VOL. III. PART IV.**
I shall conclude this narrative with the most recent information I have received in a letter, written on 30th October, 1658, by the Father Superior of the settlement in Smyrna, which town has fairly frequent communication with Persia. He writes of having seen a French Brother recently arrived from Persia, who assures him that Father Aymé Chezaud is still in high favour with that great nobleman of whom we have so often spoken. He himself, in speaking of the Father, asked this Brother: "Can there be three other men like him in the whole of France?" These are the words of a stranger who does not know how rich our country is in great men of every description.

We have still great hopes, and it often seems as if our efforts would bring forth fruit—*sed non est virtus pariendi*—yet up to the present they have not been able to do so. The time is not yet ripe and we must wait in patience until the moment when God shall reveal His power.

Thus far, we have at least baptized small children, who are going on before, and gaining Heaven in large numbers, by their prayers to plead the cause of their parents and, through God's mercy, to obtain their conversion. If they are the last in age, they are, nevertheless, the first in Heaven. *Erunt novissimi primi,* may, indeed, be said of them; and may it please our Lord to bring the rest of this saying of His to pass—*et erunt primi novissimi*—that the first in age may be, at any rate, the last in the Kingdom of Heaven, *fiat, fiat,* Amen—so be it.

Father Chezaud intends to go to the country where the Ark of Noah is supposed to have rested, about thirty days' journey from Isfahan, in order to found a Mission there, as a favourable opportunity has presented itself. There are, however, powerful opponents of this scheme, so active and vigilant, that we can scarcely write letters to him without their being intercepted either by these people or their emissaries. To quote the words of the Apostle who long ago encountered the same opposition in his preaching of the Gospel: "I would they were even cut off which trouble" the workers of the Cross (Galatians v, 12). And, since it is Satan who secretly moves the springs of these pernicious machinations against man's salvation, let us say with the same Apostle: the God of Peace shall shortly bruise this evil one under the feet of His Preachers (Romans xvi, 20), so that, through their ministry, this great Monarchy may embrace our Holy Faith and become obedient to Jesus, the King of Kings.

In order to omit nothing which may cause satisfaction to the readers
of this narrative, I will add that I have just read a letter from Father Alexander of Rhodes, dated 20th May of last year, 1658. It confirms all that we have stated here concerning these discussions between Father Chezaud and the Muhammadan doctors. He still carries them on with considerable success, and great hopes are entertained both of bringing back the Armenian Schismatics to the Church of Rome, and even of converting Muhammadans to the Faith.

I shall add further that the Prime Minister of this country, whom we have mentioned so often and with such great respect, has renewed his promises to the Fathers to the effect that he will use his influence with the King, in order to obtain a second house for them in the quarter where the Armenian Christians live—about a league distant from Isfahan. This will facilitate our relations with them and the realization of the scheme which they themselves seem to favour, namely, that they shall renounce their schism, and become united once more to the Catholic Church.

The same Father has also made such a thorough study of the Persian language, that, notwithstanding its difficulty and the fact that he himself is well advanced in years, he has acquired such a perfect knowledge of it that he is able to use it readily both in preaching and confession. Who will deny that he deserves greater praise for this study than did the learned Roman who, in his old age, set himself to learn the Greek language, since the latter was only prompted by vain mental curiosity, whilst the Father aimed at the solid fruit of saving souls?

The Father likewise holds Missions in the suburbs and villages near Isfahan, where he sows the first seeds of the Gospel. Above all, he seeks out dying children who are beyond hope of recovery, in order, through Baptism, to open the gate of heaven to their souls the moment these leave their bodies. Thanks to his vigilant care and kindly acts, many have already obtained this happiness; and he pursues this good work with much zeal, promising himself that their holy Guardian Angels will join with these happy children in their powerful intercession in Heaven, for the conversion of their country, and will obtain this through the goodness of God. Indeed, if our Saviour in the Gospel assures us that, when two of His servants join together in asking for any particular blessing, His Father will freely grant it to them, what, then, may not be obtained, through His mercy, by the united prayers of so many thousands of innocent souls and blessed Spirits?

Let us now conclude this history in the same way as we began it,
with a remark referring especially to Persia. The Incarnate Word, Who claims to be the Truth, and is so, in virtue of His origin and the Source of His Being, is able, if He please, to win so many souls away from error and induce them to receive the truth of the Gospel, that the exclamations of joy and praise,—which once resounded in the Court of an ancient Persian King, on the decision of the ingenious problems recorded by Esdras (see 1 Esdras, iv)—may be heard again in these days in the Court and throughout the Empire of the present mighty Monarch, and in the same words: Benedictus Deus veritatis, et magna est veritas, et prævalet super omnia, "Blessed be the God of Truth, Great is Truth, and mighty above all things." Truth beareth away the Victory.

THE END

Sanction by the Reverend Father Provincial

I, Jacques Renault, Provincial of the Society of Jesus, in the Province of France, in accordance with the privilege granted to us by their Most Christian Majesties Henri III, Henri IV, Louis XIII, and Louis XIV, at present reigning, hereby permit Jean Henault, bookseller of Paris, to print, or cause to be printed, by any printers he shall think fit, a book entitled "History of the Mission in the Kingdom of Persia, etc.," by Father Alexander of Rhodes, edited by Father Jacques de Machault, both of the Society of Jesus, and approved by three Brethren of the same Society.

In witness whereof I have affixed my signature hereto.

PARIS.
15th March, 1659.

Jacques Renault.

Summary of the Royal Warrant

By the grace and privilege of the King, granted at Paris, the 28th day of March, 1659, Signed Fillacier.

Jean Henault, bookseller of Paris, is permitted to print, or cause to be printed, to sell or retail a book entitled "History of the Mission in the Kingdom of Persia", by Father Alexander of Rhodes, etc., for the space of five consecutive years; all other booksellers and printers being forbidden to print, or cause to be printed, to sell or retail the said book without the consent of the aforesaid M. Henault, under penalty of a fine of five hundred pounds and confiscation of the volumes, as is stated more fully in the warrant above mentioned.

First issue, 1st April, 1659.

Copies are now available.
THE RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIAN PAINTING
AND CULTURE

A Lecture delivered at the School of Oriental Studies, London, on
10th November, 1924

By HERMANN GOETZ

THERE is an old and widespread opinion that India is the "Country without a History". And this idea is one of the reasons of its having become wrapped in that veil of mystic twilight in which the Romantic Period of the last century saw it, given up only to religious and philosophical speculation. Perhaps this veil has not yet fallen from the whole of its antiquity. It is true research has enabled us to attain some knowledge of the history of many dynasties, wars and social revolutions, religious struggles and literary feuds; nevertheless, all this seems to be merely a ripple on the surface, a waving of billows above the calm depth of a population that never changes its manner of life. Again and again we are told that much of the oldest tradition has survived in India up to the present day. And this is certainly true, for there is no land so fitted to serve as a place of refuge for past forms of civilization and culture as this country is, great as a small continent, with all its contrasts of plains, deserts, and sultry jungle, of mild hill climate and exuberant tropical vegetation. But this statement evades the essential facts. In every country, side by side with the latest forms of civilization, its oldest traditions are still alive, and though they may be of interest to the folklorist, it is not the task of the historian to trace cultural developments in their atavist remains, but in the beginnings and the culminating points of their evolution; and these have always been supported by the leading classes, and the history of them has been more or less that of the reigning civilization of their time.

Now it is an unfortunate fact that we know so little of Indian history; and no stronger proof of this fact can be adduced than the work of the late Mr. Vincent Smith, the first real History of India from its oldest times to the present day, to show how shadowy and fragmentary our knowledge of India's past is. An objection may be raised, and it may be said that there are only a few countries in which

tradition goes back to such a remote antiquity as in India. True, but what is the nature of these traditions? Putting aside religious and poetical writings or religious monuments in stone, are there any documents older than the beginning of our millennium? I fear almost none.1 And, nevertheless, they must have existed, since Chinese reports and references in later works often make mention of them;2 there must have been ancient chronicles, official papers and documents, family traditions, novels, etc., and also there must have been monuments made of wood or stucco or clay which have not been preserved on account of their secular, transitory purpose. The Indian climate, so destructive on account of its damp, hot, rainy seasons, and the heat of its summers, has destroyed all that had not yet been annihilated by wars and disasters.3 Consequently, there has been preserved only that which could excite interest even in times of decay and barbarity, to be saved from oblivion and the murderous accidents of life in many widespread and often repeated copies—a privilege only enjoyed by holy religious books and the poetical works of classical authors.4 Thus, our knowledge of India’s past will probably always remain fragmentary and one-sided, on the one hand meagre, insufficient

1 The finds of Sir Marc Aurel Stein in Khotan, and those of Marshall in Taxila, are almost the only exceptions; and here only documents of political life and secular art have been excavated. Of course, there are many copper-plate grants and inscriptions on stone; but, though they are the most important source of our knowledge of Hindu history, their contents are very meagre, never to be compared with similar monuments from Ancient Greece or Rome. Finally, the character of the Dharma- and Arthaśāstras is too scientific to show the real changes and types in Hindu public life, in spite of their enormous value as theoretic systematizations of the ideal of their time.

2 Yuan Chwang, who visited India in the seventh century, tells us that there had been detailed annals in every town. And all the chronicles since the eleventh century cite older sources, of which the earliest belong to the eighth century. But none of these early annals have come down to us, and the documents of the Gupta times were unknown even to the historians of the eleventh century. See my article “Die Stellung der indischen Chroniken im Rahmen der indischen Geschichte” (Zeitschrift für Buddhismus, vi, pp. 139–59, 1924).

3 Therefore, only in those countries of Hindu civilization which belong to the Central Asiatic region of arid plains and deserts (Eastern and Western Turkestan, Eastern Persia, Sistan, or Panjāb), as Khotan and Taxila, ephemeral monuments have survived.

4 It is almost the same case with the documents of the Mediterranean cultures. During the Middle Ages there have been preserved only the early Christian scriptures and those heathen authors who had become classics or were very popular, as the historians Cornelius Nepos, Livius, etc., whereas the learned works of Varro, etc., have been lost. Of course, the conditions for the preservation of monuments have been far better in Europe than in India, and, nevertheless, our knowledge of the institutions of life in the Hellenistic kingdoms and the Roman Empire has been very incomplete until the discovery of the enormous numbers of papyri in the dry soil of Egypt.
remains of historical tradition and worldly culture, on the other, the immense treasures of religious scriptures and art, and the mass of poetical works, alas! too detached from real life to be used for historical investigations without great reserve. There is no hope that this situation will ever change, and even the most careful compilation of all traditions may not succeed in a reconstruction of the history of India's civilization.

Yet there is perhaps another way of achieving our end. Comparative history shows that everywhere in the world certain typical lines of evolution are always repeated, that notwithstanding the great differences in the aspect of the various forms of civilization, the evolution of the great phases of social, economic and intellectual life comes back again with a regularity almost absolute. It may be worth our while to inquire whether there are in the civilization of India also such periodic phases of evolution; in this investigation it will be necessary, of course, to avoid any forcible construction of purely imaginary phases. And, further, we must consider all periods of its history with the same care, and not put aside whole periods as "not classical" or "decadent", without examination of them, as is done even now by some scholars. History knows no periods that can be leaped over; even times without apparent cultural accomplishments are invisibly working at the roots out of which will grow new blossoming periods of social life. Among such periods we must include also those of foreign government and domination; for they do not necessarily imply also the dominance of foreign civilization; not seldom two different civilizations may go on side by side hardly mingling at all, and it often happens that they produce most important fresh developments when they do mix. Therefore we shall not discard these epochs, which in the midst of chaotic troubles form the new conditions of life for coming centuries, but we shall face them, the turning points in India's history.

While speaking about these problems I am quite aware of their difficulty, and I shall propose a way of getting nearer to them, not wholly unknown, but yet very seldom adopted. We shall start from the monuments of art, in particular from painting. Why from just this kind of documents? Certainly, they will not be the richest and

1 Compare the works of Vierkandt, Spengler, Bücher, etc.
2 There have been some scholars who have already proceeded in this way of investigation: A. Foucher, "The Six-Tusked Elephant" (Beginnings of Buddhist Art, London, 1917, p. 185 ff.); and Sir Thomas W. Arnold, "Indian Painting and Muhammadan Culture" (Journal of the Royal Society of Arts, lxx, p. 617 ff., 1922).
most fertile source for our knowledge, but perhaps they are the simplest, clearest, and least corrupted. Religious documents have always and everywhere altered truth in majorem Dei gloriām, and poetry has done the same by imitating famous models or revelling in fancy dreams. They may be very useful for the historian, but they cannot give him reliable guidance through the puzzling network of life. And painting? Yes, the painters, too, have copied and forged. But they were least of all concerned with religious precepts,¹ their work depicted more than any other the life of their own days, without being so much entangled in a net of aesthetic theories as that of the poets. But, what is of the greatest importance, there is something in their work that they never could have anticipated, which reveals their innermost feelings and character, and here we shall begin our examination. This is not what they depicted, but how they did it: the style of painting and the conception of man in it.

But how may we attain our end in this way? You all know the scheme of Sociology and National Economy: The development of nations in the continued rhythm swinging between Absolutism and Democracy, the breaking up of Monarchy into Oligarchy and Democracy, at last to return slowly to the dictatorship of one single faction and thence to Absolutism again. You know also the double course of this evolution in history which we call the Middle Ages and Modern Times. You know also, how closely these phases of political evolution are connected with the forms of economic life. Everywhere you see Monarchy grow up out of the Imperium, but the older phase is built up on a basis of natural economy, the later one on that of capitalism. The inner development is that of a regroupment from clan association to economic association. The decay of the great economic units of clan and village into smaller ones at the same time creates the feudal forms of government; the continued break-up of these units and the exchange of goods caused by it develops the centres of traffic, the towns and cities, and therewith the democratic and at last the socialistic forms of constitution, till at last capital, scheming in the greatest possible measures of space and means, builds up a new dictatorship and at last a new Absolutism. In ancient Greece the feudalism of Homeric times changes

¹ None of the Śilpaśāstras are very old, in every case not earlier than the eleventh century. And on the other hand, Indian miniature painting of the Mughal and Rājput type has never been guided by religious precepts. Only the Tibetan and late Nepalese, Bengali-Buddhist, Singhalese, and early Jain pictures show a distinct hieratic character.
into the bourgeoisie of the city-states of Athens, Corinth, Sparta, and Thebes: the government at first aristocratic becomes at last socialistic till the empire of the Great Macedonian devours all these petty poleis. And it is just the same in Rome, from the kingdom of Tarquin to the Consulate of Brutus, the quarrels between the patricii and the plebs, till after the "red" dictatorship of Marius, Caesar and Octavian found the new principatus. It is the same in the whole of Europe during the Middle Ages up to the Renaissance, and again to Modern times. And it is virtually the same in the East also. Though, in the Orient, monarchy has not been overthrown until recently, nevertheless there is here, too, a rhythmical change of dictatorial, feudal, and bureaucratic government, corresponding to the change of aristocratic and civil administration of the kingdom.

But each of these revolutions implies in the same degree also a change in the character of men and their ideals. And this no accidental change, but a slow, yet steady changing of human nature, a progressive refinement—not necessarily an improvement—of the leading classes. The barbarian grows up into the heroic type of man with all his ideals, and as intellectual life develops to the mediæval knight. It is the progress from the berserkers of the Edda to the heroes of the Nibelung poem, and at last to the knights of King Arthur. Then the spirituality of knighthood becomes more and more mystical, and later philosophical, till the bourgeois ideal is formed; the Humanitas, the Sophrosyne of the Greeks. Finally, the last ideal, the ideal of Decadence, the well-educated, aesthetic, nervous cavalier and mondaine. For this change of ideals has deeper roots, the breaking up, not only of state and economic unity, but also of family life, from the tribe and family to the free individuum, the change from the relation of the sexes for the purpose of a well-bred offspring to personal love and at last to voluptuous pleasure.

This change of thought and feeling is most clearly reflected in art, and it is that element, so difficult to define, which we call style, and it is that which finds its expression in the change of the ideal type of man in pictorial art.

The greater part of the monuments of early Indian Painting that have survived are the frescoes in the cave-temples of Ajantā ¹ and

Bâgh, in Central India, and in the passages of the hill-fortress Sîgiriya, in Ceylon (time of the Gupta Emperors and their immediate successors, i.e. fifth to seventh century). After a gap of several centuries there follow the few Buddhist manuscripts of the time of the Pāla kings of Bengal, the eleventh and twelfth century, the Jaina manuscripts from Gujarât and Râjâsthân (thirteenth to fifteenth century), and it is not until the middle of the sixteenth century that there begins in the whole of Northern and Central India the development of an enormous mass of well-painted miniatures and frescoes.

The curious, the special feature of the history of this art, is that there is no consistent process of evolution. The art of Ajantâ was highly developed and comparatively naturalistic, with rich composition and good perspective, while the art of the sixteenth century is quite a primitive style. Just as in the relieves of Ancient Egypt and of Early China, the frescoes of Knossos and the carvings of Sumer, the art of the sixteenth century builds up its figures, limb by limb, each presented in its best view, for example the eyes from in front but the face in profile, the breast from in front but the arms and feet from the side. And, nevertheless, both styles of art belong to one another; for those few manuscripts painted between the times of Ajantâ and the sixteenth century show the development of the primitive miniature style out of the high art of Ajantâ in a process of slow decay.

How can we explain this? In Europe the same decay of art, in quite the same manner, is to be found at the threshold of the transition from the Ancient World to the Middle Ages. May it be possible that there exists a similar Medieval Period in India? Vincent Smith dates the beginning of such a period from the breakdown of the Gupta

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Empire and its culture about A.D. 700. But he does not give a satisfactory explanation of his reasons for so doing. But perhaps we shall be able to prove that he was right, that not only the difference of political condition, but also the whole structure of this period obliges us to regard it in fact as a kind of Middle Ages from the philosophical point of view. Therefore let us analyse the historical facts one by one; with the paintings as our guide, let us study the phenomena contemporaneous with them.

The art of Ajantā is not isolated. It has its contemporaries in the East, that of the Chinese Empire of the T'ang; in the West that of the late Roman Empire. And it itself is the outcome of the Indian Empire of the Guptas. Further investigations will show this relationship to be still closer. Everybody who knows the painted mummy-portraits from the Fayûm and Middle Egypt will find here the same naturalism as in Ajantā, the same over-ripeness and sensuousness. And still more! Compare the figures, the men and women! These men, most tender, weak people, with intelligent faces that reveal that they have had experience of all the world. And these women! These are the grand mondaines, and if not, they look as though they like to affect such a character. The Hellenistic and Roman women with their artificial, well-curled hair, and their enlarged, pointed eyes—that is the Roman world of the emperors, the Rome of Decadence! And in Ajantā? Are these men, these ladies in any way different? Here again we see the same tired looks, the same mondaine feeling. How swing the hips of these ladies, how coquettish are their eyes, how refined the endless confusion of little curls and flowers round the face, how refined the round neck, arms, and hips, the jewellery, modelled out of many little filigree-links, how refined the clothes, thin as a cobweb, revealing all their beauty and grace. What a culture is this? Its great poets are Kālidāsa and Dandin, Amaru and Bhartrihari. And these authors use quite the same artistic expedients as the painters. How much more artistic is their language in comparison with, for example, that of Aśvaghosha or even the poets of Buddha’s times! And further! The beauty of this wonderful poetry is nothing but one single great suggestion, a thrill of wonderful pictures, hunting each other in a melodious whirl, each well-painted, each so sweet, and the

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2 For an analysis of the “decadence” compare Eckart von Sydow, *Die Kultur der Dekadenz*, Dresden, 1922. There are, of course, some variations according to time and country, but the essential facts are everywhere almost the same.
throng of them has the effect of an hashish-dream. Their enchanting charm is not derived from the vigour of the characters described, not from the skill of building up their poems, but from this tender chiselled work of a most artistic style full of melody and brilliant similes. If we should seek for Western analogies we may find them only in the poetry of Oscar Wilde and Baudelaire, of Flaubert, Mallarmé and Aubervilly, or in the art of Beardsley. And such is also the character of the society. The heroes of the Daśakumāraracitām ¹ are cavaliers, intriguers and Don Juans, and their heroism is only a gallant pose. And the ladies are grand amoureuses, giving away their favours only too soon. Nothing is more significant than the morals of these ladies: Frivolity and sentimentality; and an honourable man would only be the aim of public derision. Hail to the Ganikā! These are the morals of the Gupta times.

These are the last beautiful, but poisonous flowers of a late civilization, symptoms of a decadence, as we know them in the Rome of the Cæsars, the Rokoko and Fin de siècle; and all the other phenomena too of the life in these times are in harmony with this aspect. The Gupta Empire was an universal imperium, reigning over the greater part of India, whose relations extended over the whole of the known world, to China and Japan, to Turkestan and Rome, to Cambodia and Java, an empire governed by a central administration of royal officials. Its commerce and traffic were flourishing; not the aristocracy, not the peasants, not the workmen, but the great merchants, the bankers and industrials were the leading classes, and this monde élégante took rank immediately after the king and the priests, and was also almost the only subject matter of dramas and novels so far as they do not deal with myths and legends.

Nevertheless, this seeming splendour was already rotten in its innermost kernel. When the Huns first invaded India, they were beaten only with the greatest exertion; and under their second assault the empire crumbled down amid flames and streams of blood. The mighty hand of King Harshavardhana of Thanesar and Kanauj succeeded in re-establishing the empire again. But it is only a loose feudal state, and after his death the dream of Indian might and

¹ I have restricted my citations to this work, as it is one of the few works of Sanskrit literature whose date we know quite accurately and where we need not fear that too much may be only copied from earlier models; but the characteristics described may be found also in the works of Kalidasa and the other poets of these times. May I repeat it, that from the historical point of view the term "decadence" does not mean a period of decay, but a time of hypercivilization of the greatest splendour.
Indian culture vanished for many, many centuries. Petty territorial lords are quarrelling for what is left of the empire, their power, too, vanishing more and more before the influence of a growing feudal aristocracy. The whole of Northern and Middle India falls into the hands of new lords, for the greater part nomadic tribes from the north-western frontier, following with their fortified carriages the Huns on their triumphant progress through the plains of the Indus and the Ganges. They found kingdoms in the Panjāb, in Gujarāt, and Rājasthān, other ones in Bengal, Hindustān, Bundelkhand and the Himālayas. These are the Rājput clans. Everywhere prevails barbarism; the history of these times remains gloomy and uncertain; religion sinks into sorcery and brutal mysticism, and the few poets complain of the ferociousness and the lack of interest shown by the kings. Architecture alone retains its former splendour. For the power of the hierarchy increases more and more, and none of the many princes neglects to win the favour of the Brahmans and Buddhist panditas by rich Agrahāras and donations of temples to secure the salvation of his soul in the next world.

This is the condition of India up to the beginning of the second millennium A.D. Then a new ascent of its civilization begins, at first by imitating the olden times. Just as in Europe, art and Latin literature flourish for a short time under the reign of the Carolingian and Ottonian Emperors before their own national individuality comes to full development, similarly there is growing up a new Sanskrit literature, philosophy, and historiography, but they never attain the high standard of the Gupta period. Thus grows up a new architecture, building the temples and their sculptures in a sort of Barock style in the finest, most luxurious, and pathetic shapes. What the cathedrals of Rheims and Chartres are to the West, are perhaps to India the Sikharas of the Orissan and Chandel temples. The painting of this time imitates the great examples of Ajantā; but where the latter create

1 Tāranātha describes the history of this time in Bengal: "Lalitadhandra was the last king of the Chandra Dynasty. There was no ruler, although many Kshatriyas of the Chandra-clan have lived since his death. In the five Eastern countries, Bhangala, Odivisa, and the other ones, every Kshatriya, chief, Brahman, and chief-merchant was king in his own house, but there was no king to govern the country." Transl. Schiefner, Petersburg, 1869, p. 197.

2 In Buddhism as well as in Hinduism, Tantrism was then at its height.

3 See Bihāna's complaints on the rudeness of the Rājpūts of the famous kingdom of Anhilvād (Vikramānkaravacarita, ed. Bühler, Bombay, 1875, pp. 14, 19). Kalhana's Chronicle of Kashmir, too, is full of bitter remarks about the neglect of literature by the kings.
large frescoes of rich composition, here there have remained only small miniatures in the manuscripts of Buddhist Sūtras in honour of the primeval mother Prajñāparamitā, small pictures of gods, goddesses, and saints, as much drawn after traditional patterns, as the sculpture of the temples is forming even the simplest details according to the rule of the Śilpaśāstras.

Therefore this period of flourishing civilization was very short-lived. When the power of the great feudal lords went on diminishing more and more, just like that of the Emperors of Byzantium or of the "Holy Roman Empire", when the Thākurs and Rānās became more and more independent, the splendour of this courtly art faded away. The scholars continue to write also later on in this Sanskrit language sacred to them, but beside it a new rich literature in the vernaculars is growing up, whereas architecture, sculpture, and painting are falling to the lowest degree of imitation and copying.

It is in the sixteenth century that this lifeless barbarian art is filled with new vitality and feeling. The primitive style will continue to last, but its rough colours become harmonious, its figures begin to live a life of violent, ardent emotions. What is the meaning of this change? What is the character of these men? What is this new world of feelings and ideals? Grave and awkward these people are, they stand like statues, they sit like idols. These men are heavy, stout warriors with fierce looks. These ladies coyly bow their veiled heads. As she goes to her sweetheart the damsel hides her head in shame, and her friend has to guide her. And, further, their dresses! Long gowns come down to the knees or even the ankles, in simple, great lines, with long sleeves and sometimes also trousers; and the ladies wrap themselves in delicate shawls, laid over the head, and the hair

1 Ashtasāhasrikāprajñāparamitā-Sūtra und Vajracchedika-Sūtra.
2 Compare the early Rāgmālā manuscripts from Rājāstān of the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, or the Pahārī miniatures from Jammū, belonging to the seventeenth century. Coomaraswamy, Rajput Painting, Oxford, 1921; India Office, London, Johnson Album, xiii; British Museum, 1922-12-14-05 to 1922-12-14-07 (Bihār, seventeenth century), 1923-7-01-013, 1923-2-13-04, 1923-7-16-015; State Library, Berlin, libr. pict. A 11, Ethnographical Museum, Munich, 13-92-7, 13-92-13, 13-92-6 (Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst, xiii, p. 61 ff., 1923). In the later miniatures as well as in the Mughal paintings there are to be found quite the same characteristics, but here they are mixed up with other elements, originating in the new development of the Mughal times, or imported from Persia or Europe.
3 This characteristic attitude is to be found also in Italian pictures of the trecento and quattrocento.
is braided in long tresses. Do you know such people? Do you know the heroes of the Nibelung Epic, how straightforwardly and open-mindedly they sacrifice their lives for those to whom they have vowed fidelity. And how tenderly and respectfully these warriors worship these coy and proud ladies? What is the tale of the songs of Hammir Deb, Rajä of Ranthambhór (about 1300)?

He and all his people are killed in defending a foreigner, to whom they have promised shelter against the vengeance of Sultan Alâ-ad-Din Khilji of Delhi. And in Malik Muhammad Jaisi’s epic of Padumavati, Queen of Chitör. To save her honour a whole Rajput clan is exterminated, the warriors are killed in battle fighting even when dying. Padumavati leaps into the flames of a great funeral pile, with all her ladies, to preserve the honour of her family, the fame of whose pedigree had been known for many centuries, and to follow her husband, Ratan Sen, to the next world. No man, no lady, of Gupta times would have done so, but—it was also the unwritten code of honour of our Middle Ages. Here, also, is a world of castles and hillforts (garh, kot, drug), a world of knighthood and chivalry. And just as the knight worshipped his lady, so the Rajput the woman who had given him the Rakhi.

Therefore, in India also during this period, woman and love became a heavenly revelation, and just as Western mysticism when dealing with the Holy Virgin and the Lord Christ had one of its roots in the love songs of the minstrels, so the Indian mysticism of the Middle Ages developed out of human love. In its older forms the basis of this mysticism in the carnal union may be very well perceived, but with its evolution it becomes severely ascetic and sublime. Love in its various spiritual forms, Bhakti, thus becomes the essential element of both the cult of Kâli-Durgâ and those of Râma and Krishna. Durgâ,

1 There is also a great resemblance in the fashions of the Rajput dresses to the early Italian ones, as depicted by Giotto or Pietro da Rimini and others.
2 Coomaraswamy, Rajput Painting, i, 63; "Brajanâtha Bandyopâdhyâya, Hammir Râsâ, or a History of Hamir prince of Rântâmbhôr" (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 48, c. 186, 1879); Nayacandra Sûri, Hammirakârâya, ed. by N. J. Kirtone, Bombay, 1879.
3 Th. Pavie, "La Légende de Padmani, reine de Chitör, d'après les textes hindis et hindouis" (Journal Asiatique, 5me série, tome vii, pp. 5 fl., 89 fl., 315 fl., 1856); G. A. Grierson and M. S. Dvivedi, The Padumavati of Malik Muhammad Jaisi, Calcutta, 1911. But there exists a great number of similar romances and historical accounts, for example the defence of Chitör by Jaimal against the Mughal Emperor Akbar in 1567, or in modern times the conquest of Bali in Indonesia by the Dutch in 1906.
4 Pictures of such Jauhar ceremonies: Akbar-Nâmah, South Kensington, No. 69; Bâbur-Nâmah, British Museum, MS. Or. 3714, fol. 4688.
5 Dinesh Chandra Sen, History of Bengali Language and Literature, Calcutta, 1911.
the Virgin (Kumārī) and divine mother (Pārvatī), takes the position of our Madonna, Kālī, the almost naked dancer in the fields of dead corpses incorporates "the devilish in woman's nature"—to speak in the terms of Strindberg, that side of her character that Christianity has never acknowledged, but has well known in its Mediaeval Walpurgis-night.  

This whole world of darkness haunts Indian speculation also, besides Kālī there are the Mātris and Dākinis, the witches of Hindu and late Buddhist folklore, and some of the rites of the Vāmī Śākta cult are said to have a great resemblance to our Black Masses.

On the other hand, in the cult of Krishna the sweet and tender exaltations of love predominate. The poems on the love and bridal union of the soul with Christ composed by the nun Mechtilde of Magdeburg, whom some authors believe to be the Matilda of Dante’s Divina Comedia, the dances of the saints with the heavenly angels in Paradise, as depicted in the charming frescoes of Fra Angelico, all these are conceptions quite familiar to the Krishnaites mystics. The Rāsa-Lilā dance unites the crowd of ecstatical souls with the heavenly bridegroom, Krishna, in holy bliss on the flowery banks of the Jumna. And the songs of the Vishnuite pada-poets paint all the phases of love between Rādhā and Krishna, between the soul and god in the tenderest and most thrilling manner. Rādhā, loving and hoping, stumbling and repenting, Rādhā in glee and in mournfulness, these are the exaltations of mystic raptures. And Krishna’s demand of the delivery of herself, all those similes of her repudiation in the Brindā grove, of the vision of the heavenly city of paradise, of the Dānālilā, what else is this than the parting with the earthly self taught by all Catholic mystics? Even more! Rādhā, deified as the symbol of heavenly love and mercy (prema), whose eternal working guides the

1 In later times Kālī-Durgā lost most of her terrible aspect and become the sweet mother of the Universe. But in earlier times her character shows the typical features of all Mother-goddesses, the many-sided aspect of woman’s nature: good and bad, placed above and below man: the mother and the mistress, the virgin and the harlot: Isis the mother and goddess of the netherworld, Hathor the virgin, the goddess of prostitution and of war; Ishtar the mother, the goddess of war and of harlots, the chained woman in Hades; Kybele, the Great Mother, and the goddesses of Eleusis, Demeter and Kore, the virgin and wife of the Lord of Darkness. Thus Kālī-Durgā, too, is the Kumārī and the mother (Siva’s wife Pārvatī-Umā), is the mistress of death and war, and the mistress of unchaste rites. This in her original character as goddess of the jungle tribes of the olden times, her association with Siva and the speculations of Hindu philosophy are the next stages to her final aspect as the benignant mother of the Universe.

2 H. H. Wilson, Religious Sects of the Hindus (Works I, p. 254 ff.).
MINIATURE. KÄNGRÄ STYLE. ABOUT 1800
souls to God, how similar is this conception to that of Dante's Beatrice?

It is very interesting to see how in Europe under the influence of these religious movements painting develops again to a great and wonderful art: St. Francis and Giotto. And how in India it is a similar movement that delivers painting out of the fetters of dead imitation. How this world of mystic thought pervades all Indian miniature painting, how the myth of Rādhā and Krishna becomes the most familiar subject of all pictures made at the courts of the Rājput princes, in all its variations, as illustrations of the legend in the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, as also the Rāgāmāla and the Nāyakā descriptions.

In a similar manner we might go on and show, how under the influence of the international Mughal empire painting is secularized, how personality begins to come to the foreground, in the many portraits as well as in the signatures of the artists, how most of the movements of the Renaissance are to be found here again, though in a less developed form, later also those of the Baroque and Rococo, the change of style from the linear to the picturesque in the time of the last great Mughal Emperors, ending here also in a gracious and lofty, playful-romantic fashionable art in the last decades of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. And so on. But for such investigations there is no time. Yet you have seen how behind the contrast of the ancient Indian fresco style and the late miniature painting there unveils itself the greater one of two worlds of civilization, antiquity, and the Middle Ages, the late antique hyper-civilization, and the Mediaeval Romanticism. The great curves in the evolution of civilization are everywhere the same, and herein the East follows the same laws as Europe. The invariability of the Orient is only a seeming appearance, and the belief in it is not older than the industrial evolution of Europe in the last 150 years. But even when this illusion disappears India will not lose its charm. All the exuberant multitude of the forms of civilization and culture that it has produced will be revealed to us on the basis of a historical point of view, and the great laws of nature, though they may never change, hide themselves in every place, in every period, in endless, ever new forms of expression, and the particular individuality of India manifests itself in quite a different way to that of European civilization and culture.

1 So in the teachings of Chaitanya.
A NOTE ON THE PRONUNCIATION OF HAUSA

By A. LLOYD JAMES, Department of Phonetics, University College, London, and G. P. BARGERY, Superintendent of Education, Northern Provinces, Nigeria

The following remarks on the pronunciation of Hausa are the result of observations extending over a period of two months made by the writers upon the speech of some of the Hausa-speaking natives employed at the Wembley Exhibition.

For the greater part of the time the subject was Inuwa, a native of Kano, an intelligent metal-worker of about twenty-four years of age, a pupil at the Kano Arts and Crafts School. Some preliminary work was done with two other pupils of this school.

Considerable help was given by Mr. E.W. Nicholson, of the Education Department, Northern Provinces, Nigeria, and by Mr. C. K. Meek, of the Political Department, Nigeria.

Valuable assistance was obtained from the Magaji of Katsina and another member of the Emir of Katsina's suite during their visit to England.

Owing to the limited time at the disposal of the writers and the fact that the observations were confined to so few natives, the following remarks are made tentatively in the hope that they will serve as a basis of criticism, but at the same time it is also hoped that they may be of service to those interested in the language.

VOWELS

The following diagram illustrates the position of the vowels with reference to the cardinal vowels, as recognized by the Phonetics Department of University College, London, and as recorded on H.M.V. Gramophone Record No. B. 804.

Examples of these vowels will be found in the following words:—

1:  
$\text{fi}: \text{k}^a = \text{eye tooth or fang.}$  
$\text{fi}: \text{t}^o = \text{whistling.}$  
$\text{bi}: \text{k}^o = \text{going after a runaway wife to persuade her to return.}$

1 $\text{fit}^o = \text{come out.}$  
$\text{biki} = \text{a feast.}$
e: bare:wa = red-fronted gazelle.
   re:ma = rock coney.

 e arewa = north.

 a: ra:na = sun or day.
   ra:d'i = breadth.
   ra:ra = begin.
   ta:ri = cough.

 a = very like Eng. a.
   rari = white.
   gaddama = squabble.
   patাকa = florin.
   radāmā = marsh.

o: to: = sign of agreement, assent.
   dō: do: = taking back a thing given.
   do: dō: = something that causes fear.
   s'o: ho: = an old man or thing.

 o taro = threepenny-bit.
   ingleton = take hold! here!

   k'ū:na: = burn, burning heat.
u  bunū = black cloth.
kunū = gruel.
ar  aïkɔ = work.
    maŋ = owner of, possessor.
au  kauri = thickness.
    k'auri = smell of burning.
    aure = marriage.

Consonants

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<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labio Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
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<td>Plosive</td>
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<td>[c]</td>
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</tbody>
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Plosive Consonants

t and k are slightly aspirated.
b, d, g, not fully voiced in initial position.
c, ʃ. These consonants are subordinate members of the k and g phonemes respectively, and occur before front vowels, especially i, e.g.
dɔːki = dɔːci = horse. The on-glide of these palatal consonants is very audible, resulting almost in dɔːci. It is also audible after consonants, e.g. särki = särçi = chief. dʃirgi = dʃirji = a boat.

Implosive

ɓ and ɗ, usually represented in European script by b and d, are in reality Implosive consonants. They are not made, as has been previously supposed, with simultaneous glottal closure. Voiced consonants cannot be so made, for there can be no vibration of the vocal chords
if the glottis is closed. It is impossible to see what is happening, but it would appear that the glottis, with vocal chords in the position of voice, is drawn down through the air column. When the point of oral contact is released, the external air is drawn into the mouth.

\[ \text{\textit{d}} \text{ and } \textit{d} \text{ are of frequent occurrence, e.g.} \]

Compare—\textit{dari} = miscarriage
and \textit{bari} = to leave off.
\[ \textit{s\ddot{a}ne} = \text{estrangement} \]
and \textit{ba:be} = grasshopper.
\[ \textit{d\ddot{o}:ki} = \text{longing, rejoicing.} \]
\[ \textit{d\ddot{o}:ki} = \text{horse.} \]
\[ \textit{d\ddot{a}ka} = \text{inside of house.} \]
\[ \textit{d\ddot{a}ka} = \text{pounding.} \]

**EJECTIVES**

These are the consonants made with simultaneous glottal closure, the glottal closure being released after the oral closure. Of these, possibly the one that is most striking and does not appear to have been previously recognized is \textit{s'}, usually represented in European script by \textit{ts}. The sound used by all the Kano subjects under observation was \textit{s'}, but the Emir of Katsina and the members of his suite, whom we heard on one occasion only, used \textit{ts'} or something approaching almost \( \ddot{\text{s}}'. \)

Compare—\textit{s'\ddot{o}:ro} = fear
and \textit{so:ro} = mud ceiling.
\[ \textit{s\'ara} = \text{contemporary.} \]
\[ \textit{s\'ara} = \text{cut down, chop.} \]
\[ \textit{s'os'o} = \text{suck.} \]
\[ \textit{soso} = \text{loofah.} \]
\[ \textit{t'} \quad \textit{t\ddot{a}b\ddot{u}ja} = \text{custom.} \]
\[ \textit{s\ddot{a}t\ddot{a}n} = \text{Satan.} \]

These are Katsina pronunciations of the Kano forms \textit{s'\ddot{a}b\ddot{u}ja} and \textit{s\ddot{a}s\ddot{a}n}.

\( \text{k'} \) Compare—\textit{k\ddot{a}:k\ddot{a}} = how?
\[ \textit{k\ddot{a}:ka} = \text{harvest time.} \]
\[ \textit{k\ddot{a}:ra} = \text{an accusation.} \]
\[ \textit{k\ddot{a}:ra} = \text{increase.} \]
\[ \text{kar\ddot{a}} = \text{ignoring a fault.} \]
Rolled Consonants

The existence of two distinctive \( r \) sounds has been generally noticed. We endeavoured to investigate for the purpose of this article the distribution of these two sounds, and have tested each Hausa speaker very carefully on this point. The conclusion that we have arrived at is that these two sounds are members of the same phoneme. This means that there will never be in Hausa two words which are differentiated from each other only by the fact that one has the first \( r \) sound and the other has the second. We find that before the vowels \( a, o, u \) the ordinary trilled lingual \( r \), which may have one tap or even more, is general. Before front vowels \( i, e \) and before the palatal consonant \( j \), and before the palatal \( e \) (which is the pronunciation of \( k \) before \( i \) and \( e \)), we find the other \( r \) sound, represented in the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association by \( l \). This is a one-tapped \( r \) slightly—often completely—lateralized. The acoustic effect is that of a very \( l \)-like sound. The only other African language in which this sound has previously been observed is the Bantu language, the name of which is pronounced \( pelr \).

Consequently, in our transcriptions, it must be remembered that the symbol \( r \), when used in the positions defined above, has the value of \( l \), e.g. \( ri\text{ga} = \text{gown} \) is pronounced \( li\text{ga} \); \( sar\text{ki} = \text{chief} \) is pronounced \( sal\text{er} \), but \( k\text{a}\text{r}e\text{ko} = \text{addition} \) is pronounced \( k\text{a}\text{r}e\text{ko} \).

Fricatives

The bilabial fricative \( r \) and the bilabial plosive \( p \) seem to be used almost indiscriminately one for the other. For example: \( p\text{af}i \) and \( p\text{af}i \) are common pronunciations, but the same speaker does not seem to use both. We have no means of defining the distribution of the two sounds. The three Kano speakers whom we tested invariably used \( r \).

Length

It will have been noticed, from examples given in the paragraph dealing with vowels, that every vowel may be long or short. There is a difference in quality between the long and the corresponding short vowel. Possibly this is most apparent in the case of \( a \), for the short \( a \) has a distinctively \( a \)-like quality. In view of this fact it is of the greatest importance that any system of orthography that is adopted for Hausa should be able to indicate this distinction. Length is also important in certain consonants.
Compare—babà: = indigo
and babà: = big.
la:le = welcome.
lake = certainly.

Tone

The following remarks can in no way be regarded as final. They are the result of limited observation, and are set forth to serve merely as a starting-point for further investigation.

We suggest that Hausa is not a tone language to the same degree as Yoruba, for example. It would appear advisable to divide tone languages into two classes, viz.:

1. Those in which a monosyllable may have various meanings depending upon its pitch or tone.
2. Those in which monosyllables have only one tone.

In both cases words of more than one syllable may have various meanings according to the distribution of tones.

An example of the first class of language is furnished by Yoruba, where nearly every monosyllable may be pronounced on three different tones with three different meanings, e.g.:

(High tone) bo = to drop; to be free.
(Middle tone) bo = to worship.
(Low tone) bo = to boil; to return.

This is not the case in Hausa, as far as we have observed.

Possibly it might be advisable to restrict the term tone language to languages of the former class, and to regard those of the latter class as possessing a musical accent. There appear to be in Hausa two tones, a high and a low, and every syllable bears one of these. We have indicated throughout this article the high tone by ', the low by .

On monotone words we have placed no tone mark. It may be that in addition to these two tones there is a third intermediate tone, but we have not discovered sufficient evidence to support this. The following are examples of the significance of the musical accent:

do:do: = taking back something given.
doo:do = something that causes fear.
k'ara = an accusation.
k'ara = increase.
dāura = adjoining.
daurā = Daura.
ri:ga = a cloak.
ri:ga = sift.
mararaki = sieve.
máraraki = professional cadgers.

Apart from this tone, which for want of clear definition we might refer to as semantic tone, there is also evident a system of syntactic tone, e.g.:—

kà ta:ri = go! (imperative)
but ka:ta:ri? = did you go?

kà:wò dó:ki = bring the horse (imperative singular)
but ku kà:wò dó:ki = imperative plural.

Similarly sà:jé fi = tuck it under your arm (imperative singular)
but ku sà:jé fi = imperative plural.

Compare fìgà gidà = enter the compound (sing.).
kùfìgà gidà = imperative plural.

The modification of the tone in the plural imperative in the first two cases was regularly made by each native on every occasion.

Certain distinctions of tense seem to depend entirely on tone, e.g.:

kà:dè: kò: bà kà dè: bà:?
Did you go or did you not?

Whereas

kà:dè: kò: bà kà:dè: bà:?
Will you go or will you not go?

With these, compare:—

ìn kà dè: ní mà nà:dè.
If you go, I’ll go too.

And

nnà so: kà dè.
I want you to go.

In these cases we meet for the first time with a falling tone, indicated when high by ‘ and when low by ‘.

The treatment of verbs in this connexion is not uniform, but seems to depend upon some principle that we have not yet elucidated.

Compare the tones of the verbs in the following cases:—

Did you bring it or didn’t you?

kà: kà:mà kò: bà kà kà:mà: bà:?
Did you catch it or didn’t you?

kà: fìgà gidà kò: bà kà fìgà bà:?
Did you enter the compound or not?
kā: tāri kō: bā kā tāri bā:?
Did you go or didn’t you?

The above sentences are all interrogative. Compare the following:—

Whether you brought it or whether you did not.

kō: kā: kā:mā kō: bā kā kā:mā bā:
Whether you caught it or whether you didn’t.

kō: kā: jīgā gīdā kō: bā kā jīgā bā:
Whether you entered the compound or whether you didn’t.

kō: kā tāri kō: bā kā tāri bā:
Whether you went or whether you didn’t.

We give a transcription of the story of the “North Wind and the Sun”. The story was told by Mr. Nicholson to Inuwa, who afterwards gave it to us in his own way.

da mukūmuku da rāna sukā ī gād:amā wata rāna, part. wind part. sun they made quarrel one day, wanē:ne jā ri k’arři atšikinsu. aře:!

which it exceeds strength amongst them. Behold, it happened, ga wani maitarija jānā u:tje:wə, ja rure dqikinsə behold a traveller he was passing by, he had covered his body

da zanē majkāürī. sukā jerdā’ da dqūna, wandā ja with cloth stout. They agreed with each other who he

sā: maitarijan nānj ja tū:šə zānān nān, jī zai should cause traveller this he take off cloth this he should

zama māři k’arři.
to:, mukūmuku become the owner of the exceeding of strength. Very well, wind

ga i ta bu:sə da k’arvinsə, amā du:də ja i it set about blowing with its strength, but for all that it bu:sə, maitarija ja k’arqə daurə zanə ga dqikinsə.

blew, traveller he increased securing of his cloth to his body.

sai rāna ta rito ta bigə jī da k’arvinta. sai
Then sun it came out it beat him with its strength. Then

maitarija ja tū:šə zanə. don hakə sukə jerdə rāna ta traveller he stripped off cloth. Therefore they agreed sun it

ri k’arrrı atšikinsu.

exceeds in strength amongst them.
KAHENA, QUEEN OF THE BERBERS
A SKETCH OF THE ARAB INVASION OF IFRIKIYA IN THE FIRST CENTURY OF THE HIJRA

By Francis Rodd

WITHIN twenty years of the flight of the Prophet Muhammad from Mecca to Medina, and only ten years after his death, the recently persecuted adherents of the new Faith embarked on a series of conquests which distinguish the spread of Islam as one of the most important, if not the most important, historical period of the last two thousand years. The conquest of Egypt by the Khalifa Omar was hardly complete in A.D. 641, when the Arabs turned westward along the southern shore of the Mediterranean and became involved in a series of adventures which were destined to menace Europe at a most critical time in its history. The people of Arabia had begun to make another bid for world power which the European branches of Western Man eventually achieved, at their expense.

The Arab invasions of the North African littoral, though perhaps less known, are not less important than the parallel movements which were in progress along the eastern shores of the Mediterranean at the same period. It is sometimes forgotten that the credit which Europe has given to the Crusaders for their actions in Syria is not wholly justified; it was not by them alone that the Muslimin were held in check. We owe a greater measure of gratitude to the inhabitants of North Africa for their vigorous opposition in the first century of the Hijra; the failure of the Arabs in Tunisia and Algeria at this time contributed directly to the success of the crusades which encountered them after the first glow of religious enthusiasm had passed away and Europe was in a better position to withstand their advance.

The origin of the people of North Africa is so disputed that it would be out of place even to indicate the many theories which are current. They have been called Northern Hamites, or a branch of the Mediterranean Race, or simply Libyans. They are not Semitic in the ordinary sense of the word, though their original home may be sought in the east, unless the view is accepted that the cradle of their race was in Africa itself. Their own historians, basing themselves
on traditions current among the people, refer to a migration into Africa from Syria; while this may be correct, it would be a mistake to follow them in placing such an event in historical times.

The parts in which the Berbers, as these people are usually called, survive in the purest state are more especially to the west of Tunisia. In the centre of the littoral they have been much more in contact with foreign races ever since their first arrival. The Carthaginians established colonies only along the coast, but their historical successors, the Romans, penetrated into the interior. The latter remained at variance with the Berbers throughout their occupation; they did not so much conquer the countries of North Africa, as establish a modus vivendi, disturbed by interludes like the Jugurthine wars. The Berbers appear to have retained their own tribal administration under the supervision of military posts interspersed with civic "coloniae" which sprang up to contain the mixed population and foreign immigrants. In the early part of the fifth century A.D. the Vandals of Gaiseric arrived to complicate the ethnology of the country, and finally Belisarius came with a Byzantine Army to reconquer it. Under the Emperor Heraclius, many Berbers are said to have adopted some form of Christianity. They had already for some time previously become accustomed to absorb certain elements of the various civilizations with which they had come into contact. One of their most interesting characteristics has always been the faculty for retaining extraneous influences without allowing them to detract from, or enfeeble, their own national traits. Much of the art and architecture of North Africa, and for that matter of Spain as well, is not Arab, but Berber evolved under the influence of Islam. In the course of the campaigns which followed one another in rapid succession during the seventh and eighth centuries A.D., it was the Berbers who absorbed the Arabs, and not vice versa, as so many people have assumed. A study of the influences which went to make up the so-called Arab civilization more especially in the West would go far to show how little, apart from the energy and vitality then inherent in Islam, did the conquerors really contribute. Moreover, it was only much later than the period referred to, that the Arabs became sufficiently numerous in North Africa to have any effect on the racial type in these countries.

In the 22nd or 23rd years after the Flight of Muhammad, corresponding approximately to the year A.D. 642, Ibn el Asi set out from Egypt for Tripoli. Barca, which is known to-day as Cyrenaica,
a name in classical times applied only to one part of the country near the town of Cyrene, had been occupied by the Arabs in the preceding year. Cyrene was pillaged for the second time in twenty-five years. Its capture in 616 by Chosroes the Persian in the course of his wars against the Byzantine Empire, and the devastation of what in classical times had been a prosperous country, contributed to the ease with which the Arabs were able to undertake the invasion of Africa beyond the Nile. Had the subsequent revolts of the Berbers against the Arabs taken the form of organized resistance in Barca as early as 641 or 642, the burden of the fighting would have fallen to a lesser extent on the people of the West. The early effects of the Arab movement would have been proportionately weakened, and if the nearness to complete success achieved by the later campaigns of Koseila and Kahena be considered, the subsequent development of Islam might have been very different.

Speculation on the "might-have-beens" of history, however, is an idle pastime. Ibn el Asi captured Tripoli and the neighbouring important town of Sabratha, which is near the modern village of Agilat, a few miles further west along the coast. Tunisia was at this time known as Ifrikiya; it was inhabited by Berbers and Franks, which is the best name for the people whom the Arabs called Rumi. The changing significance of the latter word is curious. The Byzantine Empire styled itself "Roman", as the Greek orthodox Church in the East sometimes still affects to do. But contrasted with the Empire of the West, Byzantium was Greek rather than Latin. When the Muslimin conquered Syria they referred to their enemies as Rumi, from the name which they knew the latter applied to themselves. Thus, after meaning "Roman" the word in Arabic came to have the sense of "Greek". It is still used in this sense, though the term Levantine would now be more nearly its equivalent. When the Arabs reached Tunisia they called all the non-Berber people there Rumi, as their friends had named the non-Semitic elements in Syria; yet in North Africa the people in question were probably more Latin than Greek; in order to avoid confusion they are therefore best called Franks.

The Berbers and Franks of Ifrikiya were living in unhappy relationship under the rule of a Byzantine adventurer, or more properly speaking, traitor, by name Count Gregory, who had seceded from his government, and assumed the Purple. He had set up his capital at Sufetula, a site, known to-day as Sbeitla, and marked by the ruins
of a Roman town, in whose previous history the only noteworthy fact which is recorded, is that it achieved the civic distinction of becoming a "colonia" after being a "municipium". The Arabs under Ibn el Asi joined battle with the Franks and Berbers, most probably in the neighbourhood of the town. They were completely victorious; Count Gregory was killed and his daughter fell as a prize of war to Ibn el Asi. In a vain attempt to pacify the country the conqueror offered the Berbers favourable terms and proceeded to occupy the land which appeared to have been most successfully reduced.

In A.H. 34 Muawiya ibn Hodeij set out to conquer Maghreb el Aksa, or the "Furthest West", including what are now certain parts of Algeria as well as Morocco. He disputes with his successor Okba the claim to have founded Kairuan. Lack of information regarding Muawiya’s exploits, taken in conjunction with the information that only eleven years later was a "serious attempt" made to annex the West, appear to show how little the first campaign in this direction achieved. The enterprise must have been far from happy. Revolts broke out behind his back among the Berbers, and one of their chiefs, Ibn Abi Yezzid, at this juncture commenced his brilliant career of no less than twelve apostasies from Islam whenever a propitious moment presented itself in Maghreb or Ifrikiya. For in these days to embrace Islam was a sign of submission to the conquerors; to deny the Prophet signified rebellion, independence, and freedom. Ibn Abi Yezzid was only finally "converted" under the Emirate of Musa Ibn Naseir, some thirty years later.

Internal dissensions among the Arabs prevented any serious steps being taken to restore the situation until A.H. 45 or 46, when Muawiya ibn Hodeij was appointed Emir of Ifrikiya and a large expedition was dispatched from Egypt under Okba ibn Nafe' to extend the conquests of the Arabs along the southern shore of the Mediterranean in a more definite manner than had hitherto been attempted.

On his way to Ifrikiya, Okba made a very remarkable expedition from Cyrenaica into the Fezzan on the borders of the Central Deserts to the south of Tripolitania. Not only did he succeed in reducing the country in the face of the almost unsurmountable military obstacles presented by the desert nature of the area, but he also penetrated a long way down the important caravan road, which runs from Cyrenaica and Tripoli to Lake Chad; he reached the Kawar oases in the twentieth degree of northern latitude. Rejoining his army which had been left in charge of Zoheir ibn Kais, Okba installed
Muawiya in office as Viceroy of Ifrikiya and marched into the Maghreb. He defeated the combined forces of the Franks and Berbers in the "sea province of Edjem" despite the assistance rendered to them by a fleet which had been sent from Constantinople to support the Christians.

Returning to Ifrikiya, in about 50 A.H. Okba assumed the Emirate of North Africa himself, and set up his capital at Kairuan. If he did not actually found the city, he was at least responsible for raising it to be the principal centre of the West, a position which it retained until the great Berber cities of Morocco began to dispute its pre-eminence several centuries later. Kairuan is graced by some of the finest examples of North African Moslem architecture. The Great Mosque with its arcaded court facing the many pillared shrine constructed from the loot of Roman temples, dates from the Aglabite Dynasty of the third century of the Hijra (ninth century A.D.). But the name by which it is known, The Mosque of My Lord Okba, perpetuates the memory of the great Arab leader, who had dedicated a simple prayer enclosure on the site. The other notable monuments of Kairuan also represent later achievements of the Berbers created under the influence of Islam. The Arabs of the seventh century had but little to teach them, for, if the few who retained some traces of eastern civilizations such as the Yemenite, be excepted, they were mainly simple nomads of Western Arabia. Despite the misleading association of words, the Arabs were more barbarian than the Berbers.

The definite split between the Franks and the Berbers dates from the conclusion of Okba's first campaign in the west. The Berbers returned to their fields and villages, the Franks to their parasitic life in the "strong places" which had not yet been occupied by the Arabs. It was no doubt the normal state of affairs which had prevailed in the land before the arrival of the Arab invaders. The respite was not destined to survive for long the appointment of Abu el Muhajer as Emir of Africa in A.H. 55. Weary of their association with the Franks, the Berbers began to take their own part under a leader of their own race, named Koseila, the son of Lemezm, chief of the Aureba and Beranes divisions of the people. Both Koseila and his Lieutenant, Sekerdid ibn Rumi ibn Mazet, like most of their folk, were originally Christians; only the Tuareg or Veiled People of the Desert, who are usually, but perhaps wrongly, also regarded as Berbers, were reputed to be still heathen, though the statement is
considered doubtful by certain modern authorities. Koseila and Sekerdid had been obliged by Okba to embrace Islam; their conversion only lasted until the advent of a propitious moment when they revolted against the Emir Abu el Muhajer and renounced the faith of their enemies. Their insurrection was partially checked by the defeat and capture of Koseila at Tlemcen in Algeria. Coupled with the widespread disaffection throughout the country and the activities of Ibn Abi Yezid, who needless to say had also taken the opportunity of denouncing Islam, the rising was nevertheless sufficient to bring about the fall of the Emir. The Khalifa considered that he had not displayed sufficient energy. The situation, indeed, became so serious that in a.H. 62 he was replaced as Viceroy by Okba, who was obliged to set about reconquering the land afresh. In his second term of office Okba was again successful. He nearly met with disaster in the Atlas Mountains, but defeated the Berbers and Franks under Count Julian. He recommenced to convert, or in other words, to subjugate, the inhabitants wherever he went.

Okba reached the furthest limits of the country where the deserts begin, and there undertook a rapid expedition against the Tuareg in an area called Sus between the Atlas and Anti-Atlas, followed by a second raid into the Messufa country to the south of Morocco, now called Mauretania by the French. The two expeditions are very interesting. In the first place they indicate the presence of the Tuareg in a district which is very much further north than the deserts over which they now roam, thereby confirming their own traditions of a gradual migration from the Mediterranean into the Central Sahara: and in the second place they show how well Okba understood the military necessity of not leaving unconquered raiders and hostile but intangible groups of people on the borders of settled countries. And this, if anyone should be sufficiently interested to examine the question, is the ultimate reason why the French in modern times have had to penetrate further and further into the desert as a result of their military occupation of Southern Algeria and Morocco, until they have ended by occupying the whole of the Sahara. "Trans-Saharan trade" and "the responsibilities of a civilized people to administer the nomads of the desert" are romantic fictions invented by politicians to pacify their electors. Such a solution of the problem must have appealed as little to Okba in the seventh century as it does to-day to those Frenchmen who have experience of the conditions prevailing in this economically useless area.
Since his defeat at Tlemcen by Abu el Muhajer, Koseila had been kept a prisoner by the Arabs. He seems to have been held as a hostage for the good behaviour of his people and of the Berber auxiliaries whom the Arabs were using in their western campaigns. For more than seven years Okba kept Koseila near his own person "treat him with every indignity"; and Koseila bided his time and bowed his head as so many Tuareg and Berbers have done since his day. But he neither forgave nor submitted; he remained in continuous communication with his own tribes and reported all Okba’s movements which were closely followed and watched. So successfully and secretly was the work done, that in spite of the lessons which Abu el Muhajer’s misplaced leniency should have taught them, the suspicions of the Arabs were allayed. Returning from the Sus and Messufa expeditions, Okba sent the bulk of his army back to Kairuan and remained behind with only a small retinue to proceed at a more leisurely pace on what would now be termed an administrative inspection of the occupied territories. But the country was still hostile, and Koseila and his people leaped at the opportunity to rebel. Okba was ambushed hurrying back to Kairuan. He was killed with his followers at Tehuda, and Koseila reigned over North Africa in his stead.

As soon as news of the disaster reached Kairuan, Zoheir ibn Kais, who had been Okba’s lieutenant since the early days, precipitately abandoned the capital, leaving the place free for Koseila. Zoheir fled to Barca with a panic-stricken army and there awaited reinforcements from Egypt. To have spread with such rapidity, the revolt must have been well prepared during all the years of Koseila’s captivity. It inspired terror among the Arabs: Koseila’s treatment of them, however, was remarkable for its magnanimity. He pardoned all those who had fought against him and it may be presumed did not force them in retaliation to become Christians. He is said to have established his position firmly in a very short time and to have ruled with wisdom and authority over an area extending certainly as far west as Central Morocco and perhaps to the Atlantic, and including in all probability Tripolitania in the east since Zoheir had found it necessary to retreat as far as Cyrenaica. Koseila’s policy contrasted so favourably with the treatment he had experienced at the hands of Okba, that when five years later he was again fighting for his life, the Franks threw in their lot with him and even accepted him as their leader.
Okba had only reigned a year when he was killed in A.H. 63. Internal strife among the Arabs in the east and the situation consequent upon the murder of the Khalifa Muawiya in Syria made it impossible for any assistance to be sent to Zoheir until A.H. 67 when the new Khalifa Abd el Melek commissioned him to avenge Okba and provided him with the necessary reinforcements. Zoheir re-entered Ifrikiya and the Arabs and Berbers met at Mems near Kairuan, where a great battle ensued. After severe fighting, the Berbers were driven back and Koseila was killed. The remnants of his army broke in flight and were pursued as far as the valley of the Moluwiya in Morocco. With the destruction of the flower of the Berber army, the influence of the Franks was also broken; henceforth they only play a minor part in the history of North Africa.

Zoheir had hardly turned his back on Ifrikiya in order to chastise the heathen of Barca from whom he had experienced trouble during his sojourn there with depleted forces after his evacuation of Kairuan four years previously, when the Berbers of the west, hearing that he had been killed in the course of these operations, once again broke out, in spite of the loss of their leaders and the absence of any organization. The Khalifa Abd el Melek thereupon appointed Hassan ibn Noman, the Governor of Egypt, to take the place of Zoheir and directed him—it becomes monotonous through constant repetition—to reconquer Ifrikiya. It was the fifth attempt in less than fifty years.

The dating of events now becomes somewhat confused on account of the efforts of Arab writers to crowd the history of the next few years into as brief a space as possible. According to El Bekri, Hassan set out from Egypt in A.H. 68, or in 69 according to Ibn Khaldun. Ibn el Athir gives 74 as the date, while another author gives A.H. 78; Ibn Abd el Hakim states that it occurred in 76 or 77. The date, as will be seen, is of some importance: on the whole, 68 or 69 is the most probable year. The later dates which have been mentioned no doubt refer to events in the subsequent part of Hassan’s campaigns when he re-entered Ifrikiya for the second time. The effect, if they were applied to the initial expedition from Egypt, would be to make the protagonist of the Berbers too old to have played the part for which this story is remarkable.

Hassan ibn Noman marched into Ifrikiya by the traditional road along the coast from Tripoli and, after some fighting, captured Kairuan and Carthage by assault. The Berbers had not recovered from the disorganization which had set in after the death of Koseila.
The early Arab successes had the effect of driving the Franks, disheartened by the defeats of Mems and the Moluiya two years before, out of Africa altogether to find new homes in Sicily and in Spain. They did not, however, all depart as Ibn Khaldun states, for some of them are again heard of a few years later playing a most unsavoury part; but they must have been emigrating throughout this period in increasing numbers. Following the example of his predecessors, Hassan set out for the West as soon as he had dealt with Ifrikiya.

He had made inquiries with a view to ascertain the most prominent Berber chief from whom, or around whose person, resistance might be expected. Having anticipated serious difficulties in his reconquest, he had been surprised to encounter so little opposition due, apparently, to the absence of any personage fitted to fill Koseila’s place. He was astounded to learn that the robe of authority of paramount chief of the Berbers had fallen on the unwilling shoulders of a woman. The whole period following the defeat and death of Koseila had been very disheartening for the Berbers. Their prompt rebellion after Zoheir met his death in Barca had been rather futile and had not damaged the Arabs; the rapid reconquest of Kairuan and the manner in which the Franks had given up the struggle made many hesitate to resume hostilities. But a woman conceived it to be her duty at this most critical period to attempt what no man was willing to risk. And so it came to pass that the Queen Kahena stepped down into the arena and took up the challenge of Hassan ibn Noman.

In Algeria to the south of the tourist ridden Biskra and Timgad lies a mass of mountains with peaks higher than 7,000 feet. Deep narrow valleys divide the massif into parallel crests, like the ridges and folds of a piece of stuff that has been pulled from opposite corners. There is every gradation of vegetation from cedars on the hills to groves of date palms in the valleys. To the south of the mountains lies the desert. In this limestone group which is called the Aures lie the homes of perhaps the most interesting of all the Berbers. Their constant wars and love of independence have driven them to build villages on inaccessible cliffs, with places of refuge and grain stores on the remotest and most inaccessible crags. The French entered the country in 1845, but the tribes, true to their traditions, continued to give trouble for five years until reprisals were taken by the destruction of Nara on the Wadi Abter. The unequal struggle did not even end there, and further military operations were necessary in 1859 and again in 1879.
These curious people are among the purest of the Berbers. By a trait in their character, common but less pronounced in other branches of the race, they acquired, and are almost the last people to retain, some knowledge of Arab science. But not uninfluenced by the culture of others, they kept their own ideals. The civilization of Rome, for instance, permeated them sufficiently for a number of Latin words, including the names of the months, to survive in their dialect. Even their later association with Islam did not efface these recollections. The instruments which they possess and the medical operations which they perform, especially those connected with trepanning the skull, have attracted considerable attention. Their skill is as remarkable as is the survival of knowledge at so distant a date from the time when the Arabs, who have long since forgotten it, were practising the art. Among the Aures Berbers, the faculty of learning from others more fortunately situated than themselves, and at the same time their jealous maintenance of freedom and independence are intensely interesting in combination with one another. Their receptiveness and retentiveness render it probable that at the time of Hassan ibn Noman’s campaign they were possessed of a certain degree of Roman culture.

It is interesting to consider the value of Ibn Khaldun’s statement that the noblest tribes of the Aures people, the Jerawa, professed the Jewish faith, whereas the other Berbers of North Africa were Christians. Christianity here as elsewhere during this period was not of the purest. The Donatist dispute had given rise to many struggles; in so far as the Berbers were concerned it represented a nationalistic rather than a religious movement. Heterodoxy among them became an expression of the desire to be rid of the Byzantines, of the influence, in other words, of foreigners who had come from the eastern shores of the Mediterranean to a land already inhabited by a conscious national entity. It is curious that when the Berbers eventually for better or for worse accepted Islam, many of them continued to manifest their independence by practising the Abadite heresy; from being heterodox Christians they became heterodox Moslems. This was especially the case in the Tripolitan mountains where the Donatist persuasion had formerly been particularly prevalent.

That the Berbers should have adopted Christianity seems natural in so receptive a people with no alternative between paganism in a crude form and this religion, or some type of Greek philosophy
for which they were temperamentally unsuited. The statement, however, that a non-Semitic people became converted to Judaism needs much evidence to be convincing. Judaism is a profoundly nationalist religion, but nationalist for the Jews in particular, or at the most for the Semites in general, and not for the Berbers. The point hardly requires labouring. Among this people the statement made by Ibn Khaldun probably does not mean more than that the Jerawa had adopted some form of monotheism. In the light of their history it is inconceivable that this people should have worshipped the Lord God of Israel—the One True God they may have come to believe in, but not under the name of the Lord Jehovah.

The Berber historians explain the Judaism of the Jerawa by the traditional migration of the whole race from Syria at a time coeval with Goliath, who had been one of their kings; they parted company from the Philistines and the Canaanites to found new homes in Africa. The empiric ethnology of Ibn Khaldun, however, hardly stands the test of serious inquiry. The origin of the Libyans may, and perhaps must be looked for in the east, unless we are prepared to accept the view that the Sahara was the cradle of the race. But if they came to Africa from that direction the movement must have taken place at a time considerably anterior to the evolution of anthropomorphic monotheism as a religious conception in Syria or Arabia; and even if the Jerawa did in fact belong to the Jewish faith, it is unnecessary to presuppose an ethnological connexion with Syria at a comparatively recent date, when contact with the very ancient Jewish agricultural colonies all over North Africa is sufficient to explain the phenomenon.

The origin of the latter would form the subject of a very interesting study, but the question is too complicated to discuss in this essay. It seems easier to assume that the Jerawa, instead of becoming Christians with all their heresies and schisms, simply adopted a monotheistic belief in the place of the more primitive creeds which they had outgrown. It would be more pertinent to consider whether their monotheism was of local growth or indirectly due to the spread of such beliefs from the east.

The woman who took up the challenge of Hassan ibn Noman was known to the Arabs as Dihyat el Kahena. She was the daughter of Tabeta, the son of Tifan of the Jerawa tribe, which had always provided the kings of the Abter division, one of the two main divisions of the Berbers in Ifrikiya. When Hassan marched out against her on his way to reconquer the west, he found the Queen ready. She
did not await his coming to defend herself in her mountains but advanced to meet him.

Hassan may be supposed from various indications to have marched directly towards the Aures from his capital at Kairuan. On his road lay Tebessa, the Roman military station of Theveste and the city of Saint Augustin. The place had been the headquarters of the IIIrd (Augusta) Legion during the whole of the first century A.D. before its removal to Lambessa where it was stationed for two centuries more. Both Theveste and Lambessa were military posts strategically situated for watching the turbulent semi-nomads and mountaineers of the Aures and neighbouring massifs. Lambessa, at the N.W. corner of the Aures, was otherwise important as the guardian of the north-western approaches to the massif where access is perhaps easiest from the Maghreb; it also happened to lie in the gap by which the desert people could find a comparatively easy road into the more settled districts of Algeria. It served both to defend the gateway of the desert and the western approaches to the Aures and Tunisia. So important is the site that in modern times the French have established a military post for precisely the same motives at Batna in the immediate vicinity.

The reasons which induced Hassan to march in this direction are therefore patent. From Theveste he was no doubt making for Lambessa itself, which was under the domination of the people of the Aures; to hold this place was necessary for a further advance westwards. He seems to have been proceeding round the northern slopes of the mountains when Kahena emerged from the fastness and obliged him to prepare for battle on the Miskiana River. She had assumed the offensive and pursued her advantage by attacking the Arab position. A hard battle ensued with considerable carnage; it terminated in the complete defeat of the Arabs, who were turned in headlong flight. Kahena pursued them eastwards out of the country and into Tripolitania. Hassan betook himself to Tripoli where he received peremptory orders from the Khalifa Abd el Melek to establish himself and await reinforcements which were promised should be sent from Egypt.

The various accounts which we have of this campaign are not entirely clear. El Bekri states that Kahena had attacked Hassan's vanguard directly he enter Ifrikiya and apparently before the assault on Kairuan and Carthage; her advanced troops were commanded by one of Koseila's generals, and Hassan was driven out of the country
to consolidate himself behind the Qsur Hassan in Tripolitania. From this we may infer that when the Arabs re-entered Tunisia in A.H. 68 they were immediately confronted by the light troops of the Berber army which scored some slight initial successes. But Ibn Khaldun and El Noweiri’s accounts of the fall of Kairuan and Carthage and the subsequent battle on the Miskiana River are sufficiently circumstantial to be regarded as the true sequence of events; El Bekri was engaged in giving a geographical rather than a historical description of the country. This authority states that Hassan built two forts at a point where there are a few gardens and some brackish water, to the west of Tripoli on the road to Ifrikiya, possibly at the place known as El Hassa on the present Franco-Italian boundary. Ibn Khaldun, however, also mentions the Qsur Hassan, and in accepting his version of the story it may legitimately be concluded that after the battle of the Miskiana River, there occurred the further events which included another reverse involving the Arab rearguard in disaster. It was in the course of this pursuit of Hassan’s defeated army that one of his generals was killed and many prisoners were taken near Gabes. This fighting accelerated his rout and rendered his withdrawal as far east as Tripoli inevitable. He only succeeded with difficulty in consolidating his position there by building the advanced posts at the point described by El Bekri.

Kahena had been completely successful. She had achieved more than her predecessors. Even Koseila had only chosen a favourable moment to rebel, whereas Kahena had deliberately challenged a fresh and victorious Arab army in open battle, and had routed it utterly and absolutely.

It is unfortunate that we know so little of the early part of Kahena’s life. She had been the leader of her own tribe and ipso facto nominal chief of the Aures if not of the whole Abter division of Berbers, since before the advent of the Arabs to Ifrikiya in A.H. 27. After the death of Koseila she actually became the principal personage among the Berbers. She only assumed an active rôle, however, as military leader when the country was again endangered by the advance of Hassan ibn Noman. If he had left Egypt in 68 this would have occurred in about 69 or 70. She must already have lost her father Tabetta when she assumed the leadership of the Jerawa in 27; her mother also had probably died, or the responsible position which she acquired would hardly have fallen to her lot among a people living under a matriarchal system whereby honour and authority are given to the senior women
of princely families. But Kahena can hardly have been less than about 15 years old when she became the head of her tribe, so that her age must have been at least 57 in the year of the battle of the Miskiana. Such activity at the early age of 15 and as late in life as 60 is not unusual among the women of North Africa, where they grow up quickly, remain beautiful in the flower of their lives for only a short time, but continue for many years in wisdom and authority. Survivals of the matriarchal system are sufficient to explain her position among the Berbers. It would not have been extraordinary or very unusual.

In her lonely and responsible life she had two sons of her own, but the name of her husband is not recorded. The little that is told of her personality is tantalizing. During the battle of the Miskiana River she captured a number of Arab prisoners, including one Khaled ibn Yezid, or Yezid ibn Khaled, el Kaisi. His name suggests a connexion with the friend of Okba, Zohair ibn Kais, who was killed in Barca; he is spoken of as a person of importance, but his origin is obscure. Khaled, we are told, was saved by Kahena, who "adopted him as her son". It is a curious story of which we would like to know more. Why did the Queen, who was fighting the Arabs with all her strength, adopt one of the enemy as her son? She had two sons of her own who were old enough to command detachments of her army. If, as is probable, Kahena had married when she was young, they would have been between 40 and 50 years old. But Khaled was not a child; nor, in the light of after events, was he even a young man. What was this affection which prompted her to incure a risk that she must have foreseen might turn out so terribly badly, as indeed it did? Her action implies that outwardly, at least, she must have shown some devotion for the queen; their relationship implied his conscious assent. But in an age where the fate of prisoners in war was more usually death, he displayed his gratitude by playing the part of a spy. He reported the queen's every movement to Hassan ibn Noman at Tripoli, and continued in his disloyalty for six years until he committed his final act of treachery. It is inconceivable that he should have succeeded in carrying on his disloyal correspondence for so long without Kahena hearing of his activities. The country was hostile to his intentions, and to his race. He must inevitably have been the object of jealous suspicion and surveillance on the part of the Berbers surrounding the queen. She did not believe what she must have been told. She neither drove him out nor rewarded him with the punishment he deserved, and when the end came she gave him his life; more than that, she ensured his personal safety. Kahena
lost her kingdom, her country, and her life, but Khaled ibn Yezid was saved by her.

The Arabs, as her name implies, attributed to Kahena divine inspiration, or the gift of seeing into the future. The familiar spirits foretold her destiny; they were after all perhaps nothing more than the wisdom and understanding which she possessed, for intuition and foresight have ever been esteemed as prophecy among people of grosser capacity. As soon as the campaign had been brought to a close, she returned to organize the government of Ifrikiya through the tribal chiefs of all those people who recognized her authority. That she should have ruled from Kairuan, as Koseila did before her, is inherently probable and the supposition is borne out by certain scraps of evidence. The site of her last battle against the Arabs is said to have been near Kairuan; it is quite likely to have occurred near the Roman amphitheatre of El Jem, which is known to have been her fortress, some 40 miles to the south-east near the coast. Although there are few indications of the period during her wars when it was used as a military work, the fact that her first campaign began on the Miskiana River and terminated in a running fight on the frontiers of Tripolitania, point to her having fortified the amphitheatre during the second and last campaign against Hassan ibn Noman. If the accounts which have been given are in any sense true, the fighting in 69 was hardly of such a nature as to require the provision of strong points by the Berbers, nor had she by then exercised her authority as far east as Kairuan.

Of the Franks there still remained a certain number in the country, in the old Roman coloniae. These also submitted to the Queen. Her kingdom extended over a vast area from the borders of Tripolitania as far as, and including Morocco. It stretched down into the desert to Ghadames on the southern spurs of the Tripolitan mountains where the great road from the Mediterranean runs to Central Africa by way of Ghat and the mountains of Air. In Ghadames, the entrepot of caravans, her memory was preserved long after her death in the name given to a number of underground structures which in the days of El Bekri were called the Prisons of Kahena. Elsewhere her kingdom skirted the desert to the south of the Aures mountains and along the steppes of Algeria. Though she herself has become nameless in the lapse of years, her legend has survived among the Veiled People of the Desert in Air; they have heard of the Great Queen who fought the Arabs and resisted the conquerors of the Noble People in the country of the north.

Following her own inclinations and the accepted tradition of the
Berbers, she forgave the Arabs who had fought against her and released the prisoners taken in battle. And there was peace in the land for five years.

At length Hassan ibn Noman received the reinforcements which had been promised from Egypt and in a.h. 74, or perhaps even later, returned to Ifrikiya to fight Kahena. The queen foresaw the magnitude of the struggle in which she would be involved, but her lack of initiative during the five years’ truce is difficult to explain; it was responsible for her downfall. She may have been misled by Khaled ibn Yezid; she was certainly placed at a disadvantage by losing the liberty of offensive action. Even if she had not attacked Hassan in Tripolitania while he was recuperating, and driven him further east, she should at least have taken the field directly when he approached Ifrikiya. Instead, she adopted a policy which was magnificent but fatal among people who lacked her own strength of mind and determination. She ordered the systematic destruction of her country in front of the Arabs in order to delay their advance, and stultify their conquest. Her short rule had been prosperous and successful; but she made ready to destroy the wealth of the land which she had rebuilt, after fighting to maintain its freedom. The execution of her orders provoked intense dissatisfaction. That they were executed at all is remarkable in itself. Traditionally the denudation of Tunisia has been attributed to the queen, but the accusation is probably unjust, for the century long misrule of the Arabs is sufficient to account for the poverty of the country. Until the advent of the French in quite modern times it did not recover sufficiently to compare in any way with the picture which we have in classical times of a land covered with happy towns and villages. Even now there are only bare rocks and dry watercourses around many of the ruined sites. Both the severity of her orders and their execution are characteristic; Ibn Khaldun says that “the land from Tripoli to Tangier with its crowded villages showed naught but ruins”.

The Franks made indecent haste to secure their own terms by going over to Arabs. Many of the dissatisfied Berbers, represented by the bastardized sedentaries of the coastal districts, who certainly had more to lose than the semi-nomads of the mountains and interior, followed suit. They were induced to desert their leader by the promises of Hassan, who felt it politic to announce a general amnesty to all who would embrace Islam. It was perhaps natural that they should do so. They had often done so in the past with the mental reservation
that when a propitious moment arrived they could always rebel once more. The leniency of Hassan’s terms and his preparatory intrigues which savoured almost of compromise with the enemies of his faith, prove how serious a task he anticipated.

Kahena at last apprehended the danger of the situation, or as the Arabs said, her divine counsellors foretold that the end was not far off. She must at this time have been nearer 70 than 60 years old. Frankish treachery and Berber faint-heartedness surrendered Gabes, in the south of Tunisia, directly Hassan advanced. Nefzawa and Castilia were occupied shortly afterwards. As he moved northward, Kahena sent her two sons in charge of Khaled ibn Yezid to make their terms with the conqueror. Hassan accorded them mercy and made them honourable prisoners of war in charge of his officers. To compensate him for his services, Khaled was offered command of a detachment of the invading army and directed to attack his lady. He accepted the task with alacrity, and was engaged in the last battle which Kahena was ever to fight. The treachery of the Franks and of Khaled and the weakening of the Berbers in the towns had undermined the resistance of the population.

Near to the coast, and about two days’ march from Kairuan, is the Roman amphitheatre of El Jem. It is only a little smaller than the Colosseum at Rome and of the same design. It stands nearly perfect, overshadowing a small Arab village which has been built from a tiny part of its stones. The site is that of the Roman town of Thydrus, but except for the circus the place has disappeared. The olive yards which surrounded the prosperous colonia of the third century A.D., where Gordian had been proclaimed Emperor in 283, were ordered by Kahena to be cut down. The plains all about are now interminable and bare. The amphitheatre looms up as a splendid landmark for miles in every direction. There are hardly any trees or gardens or vegetation near. The monument stands alone, overpowering in its size and solitude.

Here Dihiyat el Kahena made her castle. Here, I think, she fought her last battle, deserted by her sons, betrayed by Khaled ibn Yezid, and abandoned by all save her own loyal tribes from the Aures. She was attacked by the Arabs, who were victorious.

There is little to add. Hassan called upon the Berbers to surrender, and proclaimed the amnesty which he had promised to all who would accept the True Faith. He demanded 12,000 auxiliaries for his army from among the people, and placed Kahena’s two sons in command.
But the Queen herself he failed to conquer. She had given no thought to safety or surrender for herself. She had expected to fall in battle, but her tribes fought too well. They broke through the Arab forces and escaped with the old queen. She made her way with the loyal remnants of her army to the mountains 300 miles away to the west. The Arabs finally came up in pursuit, and the vision of her familiar spirit came true. She was killed in a last fight with the invaders at a place which thereafter was called the Well of Kahena in the Mountains of Aures. In all her 70 years she never gave in. Had she escaped right into the mountains which were her home I am sure she would have fought for her people again.

The monument of her life is the fortress circus of El Jem, which stands alone and huge on the arid plains of Ifrikiya near the borders of the country that she had ruled and defended so well against an alien people. The monument of her death is a well in the Valleys of Aures, which divide the Desert from the Sown.
THE DATE OF ZOROASTER

BY JARL CHARPENTIER

IN a review of Professor Hertel's recent little book Die Zeit Zoroasters, to be published in the JRAS., I have said that for his very wide-reaching conclusions concerning the date of Zoroaster there seems in reality to be no evidence at all. A renewed investigation of the facts which seem to bear on this intricate question has only corroborated this opinion; and as there could be no room for a detailed refutation of Professor Hertel's arguments in a short review, I feel it a duty to set forth, in somewhat fuller detail, the main points which speak, as far as I understand, against his new theory.

Professor Hertel's general conclusion is (p. 47) that Zoroaster must have been alive in 522 B.C., and probably after that date also. This, I venture to think, would be somewhat the same thing as to assume that Anquetil Duperron was right in trying to fix his dates between 589 and 512 B.C., tradition unanimously telling us that at his death the Prophet of Iran was seventy-seven years old. This is slightly later than the traditional date: for the revelation of Zoroaster, according to the Bündahišn, Zát-sparam, and Ardá-Viráf, took place either 272 years before the death of Alexander (323 B.C.), or just 300 years before the great conqueror dealt his blow to the religion—an event which is generally believed to have taken place in 330 B.C., the year after the decisive battle of Gaugamela. This would mean that the revelation took place in 630 B.C.; as according to tradition Zoroaster was, at the date when he first reached spiritual insight, thirty years old, his life should either have fallen between 660-583 B.C.—the dates suggested by West and Professor Jackson—or between 625-548 B.C.

The utter worthlessness of this Pahlavi tradition has been strongly underlined by that great historian, Eduard Meyer, and Professor Hertel seems to be quite prepared to subscribe to this authoritative

1 I prefer this form of the name for several reasons, amongst which one is that the late lamented Dr. Gauthiot and Professor Andreas have undoubtedly proved that the man's original name was not Zarabuśtra, but something like Zarabuśtra; cf. Mémoires Soc. Ling., xvi, 318 seq.; Sitzungsber. Berl. Akad., 1910, p. 872; Goetting, Nachrichten, 1911, p. 9.
2 Cf. Zend-Avesta, Tome i, ii, p. 60 seq.
3 Cf. Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung, xlii, 1, n. 2.
opinion (p. 22). But notwithstanding this, he would fain assume that this miserable tradition is fairly right when it comes to fixing the date of Zoroaster. How this is possible I leave to Professor Hertel to explain. He himself apparently thinks the date of Zoroaster to be the central point of Pahlavi traditional chronology (p. 23); but if, after all, the most important date in a tradition, the date on which it really bases its chronological system, be fairly right, how could such a tradition be wholly without value?

I now take up the main points of Professor Hertel’s argumentation in order to find out how far it may hold good when treated in a somewhat critical way.

1. Professor Hertel first of all draws our attention to the discrepancy between the Gāthās of Zoroaster and the well-known description of Persian religion given us by Herodotus (i, 131–40). In this connexion the Professor’s contention that Herodotus “bereiste das Perserreich” must be somewhat modified: Herodotus very probably never went to the east of Babylon, which in reality means that he never came into any personal touch with Iran proper; moreover, his interpretation of Persian names shows that he knew absolutely nothing of the Iranian languages. These are somewhat important observations to be taken into consideration before we start upon a close comparison between the Gāthās and the History of Herodotus.

The Gāthās are the inspired preachings of a great Prophet, in which he tells us of the eternal war waged between the Good and the Evil Spirit, and of his own visions of the Almighty and His archangels; in which, above all, he complains, of the fury and cruelty of the kine-slaughtering unbelievers and—much like Muḥammad—utters gloomy prophecies of their future life in the abode of darkness and tortures, while his own faithful adherents will, after a time of pain and oppression, get their reward of glorious and everlasting bliss. Is it quite fair to expect that in these magnificent hymns we should find those regulations concerning the disposal of the dead, the extirpation of obnoxious creatures, etc., mentioned by Herodotus? Do the Psalms of the Old Testament contain the ceremonial law of Moses? Do the Varuṇa hymns of the Rigveda contain the minute regulations of the later ritualists?

Herodotus, on the other hand, was a scientific and keen-sighted traveller and investigator who described in detail what he saw and what he learnt through his interpreters—mainly in an admirably correct way, but with numerous slight inexactitudes. He does not
mention Zoroaster nor his Gāthās; nor does he tell us about the lofty system of eternal dualism preached in these hymns. The argumentum ex silentio is that he never heard of all these things; though such arguments must be applied with due care, I am quite prepared to think that it holds good, and the reason is that I can see no necessity whatsoever for Herodotus to have heard of such things.  

2. Professor Hertel has not found it worth his while to consult the excellent work of Professor Carl Clemen, Die Griechischen und Lateinischen Nachrichten über die Persische Religion, and one of the consequences of this is that he has treated with negligence classical evidence of first-rate importance. Xanthus of Lydia, an older contemporary of Herodotus, wrote about the middle of the fifth century B.C. his Λυδιακά, of which only fragments have been preserved. Their genuineness has been doubted, but the very highest authorities are at one in rejecting those doubts as wholly unfounded. Now, Diogenes Laërtius, Proem. 2, has preserved the following notice from this Xanthus: Ξάνθος δὲ ο Λυδός εἰς τὴν Ξέρξου διάβασιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ζωροαστρου ἔξακοςκλιά φησι. This Xanthus, who was, according to Ephoros, somewhat older than Herodotus, must have been a grown man at the date of the descent of Xerxes upon Greece (480 B.C.), and he must, if Professor Hertel were right, have been born at a date within ten years from the death of Zoroaster, or possibly even in his lifetime. Is it possible that a native of Asia Minor, a subject of the Great King, could have ascribed to a man who had lived and preached very nearly within his own lifetime a wholly mythical date of some 6,000 years previous to his own? Credo quia absurdum.

3. If we now keep together these two sets of evidence: the one the description of Herodotus of what seems to be mainly the old Aryan religion and his complete ignorance of Zoroaster and his doctrines, and the other the suggestion of his older contemporary, Xanthus of Lydia, that Zoroaster’s real date was something like 6480 B.C., what is then the legitimate inference that we can draw from this? Professor Hertel has himself pointed out the right way

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1 There is, however, a strange coincidence between the words of Herodotus (i. 131), ἰὸν κίδων πᾶντα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Δία καλῶντες, and the expression in Yasnā xxx, 5, that Ahura Mazda "dresses himself in the firmest heavens". But this is a common Iranian idea.
2 Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten, xvii, 1 (Giessen, 1920).
3 Cf. Clemen, loc. cit., p. 23.
4 Athen, Deipnosophistae, xii, 515 D.
when he remarks that there is little Zoroastrianism in the later Avesta because the Magi had put their older religion into it; but he has failed to draw the correct conclusion. The testimonies of Herodotus and Xanthus taken together show that Zoroaster had lived centuries before their time, and that the religion observed and described by Herodotus was simply that of the later Avesta.\footnote{Professor Hertel himself points to the coincidence between Herodotus, i, 140: οἱ δὲ Μάγοι αὐτόχωροι πάντα πλὴν κυνὸς καὶ ἀνθρώπου κτείνοντας, καὶ ἀγώνισμα μέγα τούτο ποιεῖται κτείνοντες ὀμαίως μυρμηκάς τε καὶ ὀσίς καὶ τάλα ἔρπεται καὶ πνεύμα, and certain regulations in the Vendidad (cf. Die Zeit Zoroasters, p. 51); but not even this has made him hesitate. Those same regulations apparently prevailed amongst the Iranian Kambojas according to Játaka vi, 208, 27 seq. (cf. E. Kuhn, Avesta Studies in Honour of Peshotanjī, p. 214; Nariman, JRAS., 1912, p. 255 seq.; Charpentier, Zeitscr. für Indologie, ii, p. 145).}

4. Professor Hertel seems to lay stress on the fact (p. 16) that Cyrus, in a Babylonian inscription, calls himself King of Babylon and worships Marduk as the highest god, while he makes no mention of Ahura Mazda. Unfortunately, this proves absolutely nothing. Cyrus conquered Babylon and with it the Babylonian gods, amongst whom Marduk was the supreme one; as King of Babylon he had, of course, to worship the gods of that city—i.e. if he was wise and tolerant, and nothing seems to prove that in religious matters he was not. It has escaped Professor Hertel that with the extension of Achaemenian power over Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Asia Minor began that period of syncretism, which resulted in the most important religious movements of the Near East before, during, and after the beginning of our era.

For the original religion of Cyrus his worship of Marduk proves nothing. We may even, in this connexion, remember the notice of Strabo, Geogr. xv, 3, 6, according to which Cyrus was earlier called 'Αγραδάτης, i.e. Ahuradāta, a Zoroastrian name. This notice may be late and without value, though it is curious enough; but we are reminded here of the arguments of Professor Andreas according to which Kūruš or Kūras is not an Aryan name. It may have been a name—or even a title—taken by the conqueror at a later date as a substitute for the original Ahuradāta. This would tally well with what I have tried to prove elsewhere, viz. that the Achaemenians—and other Iranian princes as well—had sometimes double names, one of which was in reality a title.

5. Professor Hertel repeatedly contends that Viṣṭāspa, the protector of Zoroaster, must be identical with Viṣṭāspa (Hystaspes),
the father of Darius I. If that were the case, Zoroaster must, of course, needs be an older contemporary of Darius. The whole of the Professor’s latest book, *Achaemeniden und Kayaniden*¹ (1924), goes to prove that same thing, and he apparently believes himself to have established this fact beyond any possible doubt.

I take it for granted that Professor Hertel has succeeded, with immense energy, in proving the non-existence of a Kayanian dynasty in ancient Iran; this work is certainly a meritorious one, though I was not aware that those old “Kayaniants” had many faithful believers nowadays, especially as they have never been very useful for chronological purposes. But it should always be observed that if also, as Professor Hertel says, the word *Kavi* always means “king, monarch” in the Avesta, there is no absolute impossibility that it could also have been the proper name of an old dynasty. This, however, is beside the main question. What is far more important is that Professor Hertel has in no wise succeeded in proving the “Kayaniants” to be wholly identical with the Achaemenians—quite the opposite: for to everyone who looks at them with an unprepossessed mind it is quite obvious that they are not. Nor has Professor Hertel adduced even a shadow of proof for the identity of the Kavi Vištāspa with Hystaspes, the father of Darius; to him, as to older upholders of this theory, the proof is in the identity of the names, and it must be confessed that this is far less than is needed in order to establish this vital identity. Moreover, what Professor Hertel says¹ about Hutaosā (*Atoσσα*) is wholly fanciful: the historical Atossa was the daughter of the great Cyrus and the wife of Cambyses, Pseudo-Smerdis, and Darius I; the Hutaosā of the Avesta, whosoever she was, is meant in the text at least to be the wife of Vištāspa. Where, one may well ask, is the point of comparison between these two? That the tradition—also in the Avesta—unanimously calls the father of Vištāspa *A(u)rwat-aspa* (Lührasp), while the father of Hystaspes was, according to the inscriptions and Herodotus, called *Aršāma* (*Aροσάμης*), is well known to Professor Hertel; but he does not offer a single sound reason to explain this all-important fact.

6. If with Professor Hertel we should believe that Zoroaster was still alive in 522 B.C. and lived perhaps some—let us say ten—years longer, he ought, according to tradition, to have been sixty-seven at that date. As he was already forty-two when he succeeded in converting Vištāspa, this must have happened about 547 B.C.,

¹ *Achaemeniden und Kayaniden*, p. 80 seq.
i.e. twenty-five years before the date in which, following Hertel, the 53rd Yasna, the Vahištô isti Gâthâ, was composed. This Gâthâ was, according to tradition, recited at the wedding of Jâmâspa with the Prophet’s youngest daughter, Pourucístâ. Now, if I am able to follow Professor Hertel correctly, Vîštâspa would in 522 B.C. have been a man of about sixty, and his faithful minister Jâmâspa, who was with him already when Zoroaster came to him the first time, and who was, moreover, one of the first converts, must certainly have been a man of about that same age. Does it seem very probable that at the age of about sixty and some twenty-five years after his conversion he should have married the youngest daughter of his spiritual teacher?

This argument, I admit, is somewhat on the lines of Professor Hertel himself. But it holds just as good as, or better, than his argumentation concerning the date of composition of the 53rd Yasna. 1

7. Professor Hertel seems quite willing to admit that the god Ahura Mazda is a creation of Zoroaster himself, that he did not exist—at least not with that name—before the time of the Prophet. With this I heartily concur. But when he goes on to say (loc. cit., p. 18) that we have no historical testimony of Ahura Mazda’s existence earlier than the Bûsûtûn inscription of Darius I, I must protest just as vigorously. Professor Hertel seems to have wholly forgotten the word Assara Mazâs brought to light long ago by Hommel 2 from a clay tablet of Assurbanipal, king of Assyria (668–626 B.C.), which cannot well be anything but another form of the name of the great Iranian god, 3 and brings him back at least to the middle of the seventh century B.C.

But we have still older evidence, which Professor Hertel has tried in vain to invalidate. 4 This is found in a clay prism first discovered

1 Cf. Die Zeit Zoroasters, p. 44 seq.
3 In this connexion a word of protest should be laid against the conclusions which Dr. H. Sköld has tried, in JRAS., 1924, p. 265 seq. (recently repeated in Finnic-Ugrische Forsch., xvi, 277 seq.), to found upon this Assara Mazâs. Of course, we know nothing about the time when the name became familiar to the Assyrians. What we really know is this: (1) In the famous text from Boghaz-köi, dating from the early fourteenth century B.C., we have a form Nu-ša-at-li-ia, i.e. Nîsatu with preserved -s-; this form can neither be “Indian” (I leave it to Dr. Hüsing and others to believe that the rulers of the Mitani were Hindus) nor “Indo-Iranian.” It belongs, of course, to the Iranian invaders from Media, and shows that at this time -s- was still preserved in Iranian dialects. (2) The Gâthâs, the oldest literary document in an Iranian language, have throughout altered -s- to -h-; they may well date from about 1000 B.C., though they were, of course, written down much later. This is all so far.
4 Cf. Die Zeit Zoroasters, p. 36 seq.
and published by George Smith, which contains a list of twenty-three Median princelings conquered by Sargon (722–705) during his Median campaign in 715–713 B.C. Amongst these names are two very notable ones; viz. Ma-as-da-ku = Mazdaku and Ma-as-tak-ku = Maztaku. Professor Eduard Meyer, several years ago, laid great stress upon these names, and quite correctly pointed out that they must be derived from (Ahura) Mazda and thus proved him to be a god worshipped by the Medians in the eighth century B.C. If, as is highly probable, the religion of Zoroaster was first preached in Bactria, it must have taken some time before it spread to Media and found converts amongst its warrior-princelings.

Professor Hertel thinks that these conclusions are fallacious; but his reasons are very weak indeed. His philological argumentation is of a sort that one is somewhat astonished to meet with in a scientific work, and I shall pass it over in silence; but when he says that it is a priori improbable that these names should be derivations of (Ahura) Mazda because they would then be the only “theophore” names in this list, something must be said of such a method of arguing. First of all, if these names are the only ones in this list derived from the names of a deity, what does it matter? And further: is it not quite probable that the bearers of these names were true Zoroastrians, whose highest—and in one sense only—deity was (Ahura) Mazda, and who, consequently, took names only from him and not from obscure godlings? And does it seem to Professor Hertel that in the older stages of Iranian history and languages—as we find them before us in the Gāthās of the Avesta, the Achemenian inscriptions, and Herodotus—there is any great abundance of “theophore” names? That is scarcely my own impression; and I suppose that their rarity is due to the Zoroastrian reform which substituted for the ancient polytheism the religion of Ahura Mazda, the One, Eternal, Almighty God. At a somewhat later period, when the old gods began to re-assume their positions, such names—especially those of the type Miθradāta (Μιθραδάτης), etc.—became more common.

There are several other objections to the method and results of Professor Hertel that I should like to raise here; but what has already been said seems to me quite sufficient to prove that his theories concerning Zoroaster rest on crumbling foundations. Professor Hertel’s contributions to our knowledge of the Pañcatantra and the Indian fable-literature in general are far greater than those of any

other living scholar, and have been read with admiration and gratitude by all; his recent works, on the other hand, seem to show that he is not in the same degree an eminent historian as a great philologist, and his ways of argumentation very often betray a lack of sound historical method and sense. I should like to sum up my short objections to his arguments with the following questions.

1. If, as he suggests, Zoroaster was still alive in 522 B.C. and somewhat later, and was on the very closest terms of intimacy with Vištāspa (Hystaspes), the father of Darius I; and if this Darius was a fervent Zoroastrian—as seems to be shown by his frequent references to Ahura Mazda—how is it possible that his inscriptions are absolutely silent as well concerning the founder as concerning the chief doctrines of his paternal religion?

2. If Professor Hertel admits that Ahura Mazda is a creation of Zoroaster, how does he explain the occurrence of Assara Mazāš in the seventh century B.C., and what valid objections has he to raise to Eduard Meyer's explanation of the name Mazdaku, Maztaku, occurring in Media in the late eighth century B.C.?

3. How does Professor Hertel combine the narrative of Herodotus with the notice preserved from Xanthus of Lydia in a way so as to refute the combination suggested by me under section 3 above?

So much for Professor Hertel. If, on the other hand, we hold with Eduard Meyer, Andreas, Clemen, Bartholomae, and others, that the date of Zoroaster is to be fixed somewhere in the neighbourhood of 1000-900 B.C.—or perhaps even somewhat earlier—one crucial point becomes clearer which so far has not been touched by Professor Hertel, viz. the interrelation of the language of the Gāthās with that of the Veda. I That they are closely connected no one has so far doubted. Now the Rāgveda, if we look away from the exorbitant dates suggested by Professor Jacobi and the late B. G. Tilak, may in its oldest parts very well belong to the centuries following close upon the Aryan invasion in India, which may have taken place about or soon after 2000 B.C. The metal spoken of in the Rāgveda as

1 I learn from Achamaniden und Kayaniden, p. 10, that the Professor thinks the greater part of the Rāgveda to have been composed outside India proper in post-Zoroastrian times—i.e. according to the same authority, after 500 B.C. These ideas are so bold that no one can take them into account without some sort of evidence.

2 We know quite well that an Aryan emigration went westwards to Media and Mesopotamia from Bactria and Sogdiana soon after 2000 B.C., and the invasion of India may well belong to the same period.
ayas is almost certainly, for linguistic and archæological reasons, "copper"; but šyāma or šyāmam ayāḥ, which makes its entry in the later Vedas, means undoubtedly "iron". As the later metal seems to have begun to be used—as a rather precious and expensive material—somewhere about 1300–1200 B.C. and to have come into more common use in India as well as in Mesopotamia about 1000 B.C., it seems possible to conclude that the Yajurvedas which speak of "iron" may have been codified at some period about that same date. That the Gāthās should belong to that same period seems from philological reasons fairly probable.

Until new and decisive evidence becomes available—if ever it will—I think we had better hold to the opinion that Zoroaster was a religious reformer who preached the religion of Ahura Mazda in Bactria at some time about the beginning of the first millennium B.C. and at the court of a certain princeling called Vištāspa. At what exact date writing was introduced into Iran escapes me, but that can at any rate scarcely have been later than about 600 B.C., and it came, of course, first to the West of Iran, Media, and Persia. From what has been said above it seems clear that the Mazda religion flourished in Media at least about 700 B.C. Is there anything unnatural in the idea that the worshippers of Mazda may have kept the tradition concerning the founder of their religion and his royal patron and may have begun to preserve it in writing even before the time of the great Achāemenians?
THE INFLUENCE OF "HLONI PA"¹ ON THE ZULU CLICKS

By C. U. FAYE


Bryant, p. 9 of the preface: "... it will be found that the hloni pa speech of the Zulu women has preserved words of the ancient Zulu language now quite obsolete, as well as many other words brought along by them from alien tribes from whom the men in remoter times had taken wives, and which words will now provide much elucidation for the ethnologist when tracing the origin and ancient history of these Zulu people."

2. When a Zulu word has to be hloni pa'ed, this can be done in three ways (Wg. KG., pp. 143-4):--

3. A synonym may be substituted for the word to be hloni pa'ed. If a man's name is U-Phepha (from Z. ili-Phepha, "paper," from English "paper"), his wife may use, to indicate "paper," the word ili-Khasi, "a leaf," instead of ili-Phepha.

4. A word may be made up to take the place of the word to be hloni pa'ed. For is-Andhla, "hand," may be substituted is-Amu'kelo, literally "that which receives," from Amu'kela, "to receive."

In this category of hloni pa words may be put the argot of crime and sorcery. I-nQola yom-Lilo, "fire wagon," is used for "revolver"; cf. English, or, rather, American "smoke wagon."² Ili-Phumalimi (ili, prefix; phuma, "go out"; li, prefix; mi from ma, verb, "stand") = ("the beast" or "game") "that goes out standing up" is used in the language of sorcerers to denote Europeans, because the houses of white men have doors which enable one to go out upright, while one must go in and out of native huts on all fours.

5. The word to be hloni pa'ed, after having suffered a phonetic change, may be used for its unchanged form—generally another

¹ The spelling used throughout this paper is that adopted by Bryant in his Zulu Dictionary. Hlonipa should properly be written hlonipa (the p being aspirated), but the word being already in some degree familiar to English readers, I have thought it better to retain the more usual form.

² See the Literary Digest, 19th August, 1916, p. 424, under the heading "Do you speak 'Yeg'?"
consonant is substituted for the first consonant of the stem, for instance: *tshona* may be used as the *hlonipa* variant of *bona*.

6. As it seemed that the *hlonipa* words of this third category might throw some light on certain click words in the Zulu language, I have picked out the words of this category from the "Vocabulary of the Hlonipa Language of the Zulu Women", in *Bt D.*, p. 738 f., and arranged them as follows:—

(a) A non-click for a non-click.
(b) A click for a non-click (for the inclusion of *rr* among the clicks, see below, § 27).
(c) A click for a click.
(d) A non-click for a click.

In each case the word, together with its *hlonipa* variant (or variants), is separated from the next one by a semi-colon. The first word given is the word used in the general language, and the following word (or words) the *hlonipa* variant (or variants).

For the (?) after some words, see below, § 12.

7. Non-click for non-click

*b* for non-click:—

*hlakanihipha: ba'kanhipha; um-Lotha, iNgqumathi, i-Ngqubathi; um-Ntwana: um-Bana.*

*b* plus another change (or other changes) for non-click:—

*i-nDhlela: i-Nyatu'ko, i-mBhanu'ko.*

*p* or *ph* plus another change (or other changes) for non-click:—

*Dhlula: Phunda; Name'ka: Phaqe'ka.*

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1 Bryant (p. 738) explicitly states that his vocabulary of *hlonipa* words is not complete. It is, however, quite complete enough to exhibit the characteristics of the three categories of *hlonipa* words. In the lists, herewith appended, it has been attempted to include all words of the third category to be found in Bt's vocabulary. Some I may have omitted, because the phonetic change in the *hlonipa* form may have so modified it that I did not recognize it as being a mere phonetic variant of the word to be tabooed; an example of a disguised form is *Qeda*, which is etymologically identical with *Feza* (§ 15). Again, it is possible that I have included in my lists synonyms (§ 3) whose form, happening to be similar to that of the tabooed word, has deluded me into thinking that they were formed according to the third method (§ 5).

The word *i-nDali*, for instance, sometimes used as the *hlonipa* variant of *i-Mali*, is not formed from *i-Mali*, but is derived from Du. *vendutie* (or *vendusie*), see under *i-nDali*. The proportion of error, however, should not be so great as to prevent the lists from correctly exhibiting the general characteristics of the third category of *hlonipa* words; hence, such errors as there may be, should not vitiate the value of the lists as being, on the whole, a tolerably stable foundation for the conclusions drawn at the end of this paper.
THE INFLUENCE OF "HLonipa" ON THE ZULU CLICKS 759

t or th for non-click:—
Khulu: Thulu; i-nKunzi: i-nZe'ka, i-nZetha; 'kwakhe: 'kwate; 'kwakho: 'kwato; 'kwami: 'kwati; shona: tona.
nt for non-click:—
Fa: Nta.

g for z:—

g plus another change (or other changes) for non-click, generally z:—
is-i-Nene: isi-Gege; izolo: igoco; ama-Zolo: ama-Goco (igoco and ama-Goco have c instead of l to avoid confusion with igolo (=ili-Golo) and its pl. ama-Golo).

k and kh for non-click (owing to Bt's spelling there may be some instances of 'k here, which have escaped my attention—
I am not certain of the pronunciation of all the words given.
Bt uses k for both k and 'k):—

k and kh plus another change (or other changes) for non-click:—
Bulala: Khilala (i substituted for u, probably to prevent confusion with Kuhlula); Buya: Khiya; Diliiza: Khithiza; Fumana: Khaphana; Hosha: Khokha; Lila: Khica; um-Sizi: um-Kigi.

nk for non-click, often s or nts:—
i-nDhlu: i-Matshe'ko, i-nKatshe'ko; Esaba: Enkaba; hle: nke; 'kithi: 'kinki; 'kwenu: 'kwenku; Sala: Nkala; ulu-Sebe: ulu-Nkebe; ili-Sela: ili-Nkela; ili-Sele; ili-Nkele; Senga: Nkenga; ubu-Senge: ubu-Nkenge; ulu-Si: ulu-Nki; sibe'kela: Nkibe'kela; Si'ka: Nki'ka; isi-Sila: isi-Nkila; Sina: Nkina; Sinda: Nkinda; ulu-Singa: ulu-Nkinga; Sitha: Nkitha; Sombuhlul'ka: Nkombhulu'ka; Sondela: Nkondela; ili-Su: ili-Nku; ili-Sundu: ili-Nkundu; Thi: Nki; Thwasa: Entshesa, Enkesa; i-nTsele: i-nKele; i-nTsimbhi: i-nKimbhi; i-nTsumpa: i-nKumpa; u-Yise: u-Yinke.

nk plus another change (or other changes) for non-click:—
Hle'ka: Netsha, Nkesha; ntambhama: nkazama; Siza: Nki'ka; ulu-Sizi: ulu-Nku'ki.
v for non-click:—
ili-Va: ili-Bangulo, ili-Vangulo.

f for non-click:—
um-Hla'kuva: um-Hlafluthwa.

h for non-click:—
Banga: Hanga; Duma: Huma; Fa'ka: Ha'ka; Fana: Hana; Khanu'ka: Hanu'ka.

h plus another change (or other changes) for non-click:—
Dabu'ka: Hantsu'ka; Fudumeza: Hadameza; Funa: Hana; Kaka: Haqa; i-mVu'kuzi: ili-Hunguzi.

j for bh:—
Bhala: Jala; ili-Bhamuza: ili-Jamuza; um-Bhaqanga: um-Jaqanga; Bheda: Jeda; ili-Bheshu: ili-Jeshu; Bhidhli'ka: Jidhi'ka; Bhina: Jina; Bhoboza: Joboza; ili-Bhodhlela: ili-Jodhlela; ulu-Bho'ko: ulu-Jo'ko; ili-Bhulu'kwe: ili-Julu'kwe; Bhuqa: Juqa.

j plus another change (or other changes) for bh:—
Bhebha: Jeja; ulu-Bhici: ulu-Jixhi; Bbobhoza: Jojoza; Bhubha: Juja; isí-Bhumbe: isi-Junje.

_tsh for b:—
ili-Bandhla: ili-Tshandhla; um-Bani: um-Tshani; banzi: tshanzi; Bingelela: Tshingelela; Bona: Tshona; Bona'kala: Tshona'kala; Bonga: Tshonga; isi-Bongo: isi-Tshongo; ub-Oya: utsh-Oya; Bu'ka: Tshu'ka; Buna: Tshuna; Bunga: Tshunga; Busa: Tshusa; Butha: Tshutha; ili-Butho: ili-Tshutho; obula: otshula; 'kwabo: 'kwatsho; yebo: yetsho.

_tsh plus another change for b:—
ul-Baba: u-Tshatsha.

ntsh for b:—
am-Bomo: ama-Ntshomu.

nj for mbh:—
Ambhula: Anjula; i-mBhabala: i-nJabala; i-mBhobo: i-nJobo; i-mbhongolo: i-nJongolo; i-mBhube: i-nJube; i-Mbho: i-Njo; Mbhoza: Njoza.

sh for ph:—
Aphula: Ashula; lapha-ya: lasha-ya; Ophula: Oshula; Pha: Sha; ulu-Phahla: ulu-Shahla; Pha'ka: Sha'ka; Pha'kama: Sha'kama; phandhle: shandhle; Phanye'ka: Shanye'ka; Phela: Shela; Pheza: Sheza; Phila: Shila; Phoqa: Shoqa; Phosa: Shosa.
THE INFLUENCE OF "HLONIPA" ON THE ZULU CLICKS 761

*sh* plus another change (or other changes) for *ph*:

Phambhana: Shanjana; phambhili: shanjili; Phaphama: Shashama; ulu-Phaphe: ulu-Shashe; Phinda: Shinga.

*tsh* for *ph*:

pha'kathi: tsha'kathi; Pehla: Tshehla.

*ntsh* for *ph*:

Opha: Ontsha.

*ntsh* for *mp*:

impela: intshela; i-mPahla: i-ntShahla; i-mPandhla: i-ntShandhla; i-mPethu: i-ntShethu.

*j* for *g*:

ili-Gade: ili-Jade; ili-Goda: ili-Joda; Godhla: Jodhla; Godu'ka: Jogu'ka; ili-Golo: ili-Jolo.

*j* plus another change for *h*:

Hambha: Janga.

*nj* for non-click:

i-nGozi: i-nJosi; ubu-Longwe: ubu-Name'ko, ubu-Njame'ko.

*nj* plus another change for non-click:

i-nDoda: i-nJonga; i-nKonkoni: i-nJongoni.

*sh* for *kh*:


*sh* for *th*:

'kwethu: 'kweshu; Phuza: Matha, Masha; Thembha: Eshembha; isi-Thembhu: isi-Shembhu; Thola: Shola; Thuma: Shuma; ulu-Thuthu: ulu-Shushu.

*sh* plus another change (or other changes) for non-click:

Amu'ka: Ashuxa (?); ili-Khanka: ili-Shantsha; Khipha: Shisha; Khokha: Shosha; Lingana: Shi'kana.

*tsh* for *kh*:


*tsh* for *k*:

u-Makoti: u-Matshoti.
tsh for th:
thina: tshina; Thu’ka: Tshu’ka; Thula: Tshula.

ntsh for non-click:
is-Adhla: is-Atsha; Hleba: Tsheba; ili-Liba: ili-Tshiba.

del: ntshwe; edwa: entshwa; Hila: Hintsha; i-nKala: i-nTshala; Kholipa: Ntshalipa; Khokha: Ntshokha; Kholwa: Ntsholwa; Khule’ka: Ntshule’ka; Kholmhula: Ntshumbhula; k’lodwa: k’ontshwa; i-nKosana: i-nTshosana; i-nKosi: i-nTshosi; lodwa: lontshwa; mpofu: ntshofu; ngedwa: ngentshwa; odwa: ontshwa; The’kela: Entshe’kela; Thena: Ntshena; Tho’koza: Ntsho’koza; Thusa: Ntshusa; i-nTo: i-nTsho; wedwa: wentshwa; Xabana: Hingana, Hintshana; yedwa: yentshwa.

ntsh plus another change (or other changes) for non-click:
u-Kholoho: u-Ntshothsho; i-nKonkonki: i-nTshontshoni; u-Nkona: u-Ntshontsha; i-nTethe: i-nTsheshe; isi-Thwatha: isi-Ntshwantsha.

m for ng:
i-nGane: i-Mane; ’kanga’ka: ’kama’ka; um-Ngoma: um-Moma.

m plus another change for non-click:
i-nKonkonki: i-Moboni; nga’ka: masha.

n for non-click:

n with another change (or other changes) for non-click:
i-mBabala: i-Nantshala; Bambha: Nanga; ulu-Bambho: ulu-Nango; Hle’ka: Netsha; Joja: Nona; u-Kholoho: u-Nono; Mamatha’ka: Nanashe’ka; Sebenza: Nebenda; Shesha: Nena; i-nTliziyi: i-Ningiyi; ili-Tshe’ketshe: ili-Ne’kene; ili-Vezamanzi: ili-Nezimada; Zuza: Nuna.
ne for non-click:
ny for non-click:
i-nDebe: i-nTshezo, i-Nyezo; isi-Godhlo: isi-Nyodhlo; Hambha: Nyambha; ulu-Khambha: ulu-Nyambha; i-Mambha: i-Nyambha.
ny with another change (or other changes) for non-click:
u-Dade: u-Nyaze; Hlabelela: Nyibelela.
y for non-click:
Bona: Yona; Bona'kala: Yona'kala; um-Fazi: um-Yazi; Funda: Yunda; Thezu'ka: Yezu'ka; um-Thezu'ka: um-Yezu'ka.
y with another change for hl:

8. Click for non-click
c and ch for non-click:
Ahl'kana: Acu'kana; Ahlula: Acula; Ala: Aca; Alu'ka: Acu'ka; Alusa: Aluca; ili-Bhantshi: ili-Cantshi; Binglelela:
Cingelela; Bonda: Conda; Elama: Ecama; Elapha: Ecapha; Ele'ka: Ece'ka; Ena: Echa; Ene'ka: Ece'ka; Eyisa: Ecisa;
Fa'kaza: Ca'kaza; Fe'ketha: Ce'ketha; Fisa: Cisa; ili-Fu: ili-Cu; Fudumeza: Hadameza, Chadameza; Fu'kamela:
Cu'kamela; Fulathela: Culathela; Fulela: Culela; Funda:
Cunda; Funga: Cunga; Fuphi: Cuphi; Futhi: Chuthi, Cuthi; Furya: Cuya; ili-Catsha: ili-Natsha, ili-Naca; Gijima:
Gicima; Hlafuna: Cafuna; Hla'kaza: Ca'kaza; um-Hla'kuva:
um-Ca'kuva; ulu-Hlangothi: ulu-Cangothi; isi-Hlava: isi-Cava;
Hlawula: Cawula; Hleba: Ceba; ili-Hlobo: ili-Coba; isi-Hlobo:
isi-Coba; Hlola: Cola; Hloma: Choma; ulu-Hlomo: ulu-Chomo;
Hlubu'ka: Cubu'ka; Hluma: Cuma; ubu-Hlungu: ubu-Cungu;
Hlupha: Cupha; Hluphe'ka: Cuphe'ka; ulu-Hlupho: ulu-Cupho;
Huba: Cuba; hlwa: cwa; ulu-Hlwayi: ulu-Cwai; kusihlwa:
kusicwa; ulu-La'ka: ulu-Ca'ka; Lala: Giyama, Ciyaama; isi-
Lalo: isi-Giyamo, isi-Ciyamo; um-Lamu: um-Camu; Landela:
Candela; Lawula: Cawula; ulu-Lembhu: ulu-Lembhu; Lenga:
Cenga; Letha: Cetha; Libala: Cibala; Linga: Cinga; um-
Lobo'kazi: um-Cobo'kazi; um-Lozi: um-Cozi; Lunga: Cunga;
ili-Lunga: ili-Cunga; Lwa: Cwa; isi-Lwana'kazana: isi-Cana-
kazana; Mangala: Cangala; mmene: mhene; u-Mona: u-Moca;
Na'ka: Cha'ka; i-Nala: i-Chala; Namathela: Chamathela;
i-Nanzi: i-Canzi; isi-Nene: isi-Chene; Nenga: Cenga; Netha:
Chetha; Ni'ka: Chi'ka; u-Nina: u-China; i-Ningizimu: i-Chingizimu; um-Nini: um-Chini; Nona: Chona; ili-Noni: ili-Choni; ili-Nono: ili-Chono; Notha: Chotha; Ntula: Chula; um-Numzana: um-Chumzana; umu-Nwe: umu-Chwe; ulu-Nya: ula-Cha; i-Nya'katho: i-Cha'katho; u-Nyawothi: u-Chawothi; nye: chwe; isi-Nye: isi-Che; Ona: Ocha; Ozel: Ocela; pha'kathi: cha'kathi; Phela: Chela; Pheza: Cheza; ili-Sela: ili-Cela; ulu-Selwa: ulu-Celwa; Shu'ka: Cu'ka; ili-So'ka: ili-Co'ka; ulu-Su: ulu-Cu; Sula: Cula; Sutha: Cutha; Swela: Cwela; Thoba: Choba; ili-Thwabi: ili-Chwabi; Tshela: Cela; Vuma: Chuma; Ye'ka: Che'ka; um-Yeni: um-Cheni; Yovula: Chovula; Zuza: Cuca.

c and ch plus another change (or other changes) for a non-click:—


gc for non-click:—

ulu-Bhish: ulu-Gcish: Du'ka: Geu'ka; endhle: ege; umu-Hla: umu-Gca; um-Hlola: um-Geola; umu-Nga: umu-Gca; Vama: Gcama; Veza: Gcega; Vunda: Geunda; Vuthwa: Geuthwa; Zonda: Geonda.

gc plus another change for non-click:—

Donda: Geongca; u-Zagiga: u-Zagcigea.

nc for non-click:—

Biza: Longa, Neonga; Enda: Enca; im-Fene: i-Ncene; ili-Fu: ili-Neu; i-mFuyo: i-Neuyo; Fuza: Neuza; isi-Ga: isi-Nca; isi-Khathi: isi-Neathi; Khononda: Neononda; Khonza: Neonza; um-Khovu: um-Neovu; um-Khumbhi: um-Ncumbi; isi-Khwama; isi-Newama; Shona: Neona; Shumayela: Neumayela; ili-Thumbhi: ili-Ncumbhu; i-nTlanzi: i-nCwambhi, i-nCanzi; i-nTloni: i-nConi; i-nTlonze: i-nConze; i-nThunu: i-nCunu; i-mVubu: i-nCubu.

nc plus another change (or other changes) for non-click:—

Babaza: Ncamaza; isi-Dwaba: isi-Newasha; ili-Dwala: ili-Newasha; i-mFene: i-nDangala, i-nCa'kala; i-nTothviyane: i-nCocoviyane.
ngc for non-click:
Anda, Angea; Azi: Angci; Dhla: Ngca; Dhlala: Ngcala;
Dumaza: Ngceumaza; u’kw-Indhla: u’kw-Ingea; i-mPi: i-Ngei;
Shaya: Ngceaya; um-Shayo: um-Ngcayo; Shinga: Ngcinga;
Vutha: Ngceutha; i-mVuzi: i-nGeuzi.
ngc plus another change (or other changes) for non-click:
Da’kwa: Ngeashwa; Dela: Ngceasha; um-Khuhlane: um-
Nyimbhane, um-Ngeishane; i-nTlahla: i-nGcagca.
q, qh, nq, and ngq for non-click:
Dhlula: Ngqula; Du’ka: Nqu’ka; Hlangana: Qingana;
Pha’kama: Qo’kama; Phe’ka: Nitha, Qitha; Thimula: Qhimula;
Thinta: Qinqa; i-nTuthu: i-nTunqa.
x, xh, gx, for non-click:
ili-Bhanga: ili-Xhanga; um-Bango: um-Xhango; ili-Bhotwe:
ili-Xhotwe; Hluza: Xua; Hona: Xona; umu-Hlwa: umu-Xwa;
Jabha: Gxabha; Jabula: Gxabula; Jwayela: Exwayela; Phezu:
Xhezu.
x with another change for j:
Jwayela: xwabela.
nx or nqx for nj:
i-nDoda: i-nJeza, i-Nxeza; njalo: ngxalo; njani: ngxani;
nje: ngxe; njenga: ngxenga.
rr for ḷ (rr is not a click, but see below, § 27):
Dweba: Rrrwebha.

9. Click substituted for non-click in addition to the first substitution
The words in this section will be found above, in § 7, in the proper
place for the first substitution.
c (plus first substitution) for non-click:
isi-Hlobo: isi-Yoco; izolo: igoco; Lila: Khica; isi-Lilo:
isi-Khico; ama-Zolo: ama-Goco.
q (plus first substitution) for non-click:
Kaka: Haqa; Name’ka: Phaqe’ka.
x (plus first substitution) for non-click:
Amu’ka: Ashuxa.

10. Click for Click
c for q:
Bo’ka: Qitha, Citha; ili-Nqe: ili-Che; isi-Nqe: isi-Che;
Nqena: Chena; i-Nqulu: i-Chulu.


\[ xh, ngx \text{ for } c, nc : \]
ulu-Bhici : ulu-Jixhi (see above, § 7, under “\( j \) plus another change (or other changes) for bh”); Ncenga : Nxengsen; Ncinda : Nxinda; Ncinza : Nixinza.

\[ x, qx, xh, ngx \text{ for } q, gg, qh, ng, ngq : \]

11. Non-click for click (for the words followed by (?) see § 12 below)

\[ b \text{ for } q : \]
isi-Qunga : isi-Bunga; Nqunu : Bhshu.

\[ p \text{ for } q : \]
Name’ka : Phaqe’ka (see above, § 7, under “\( ph \) plus another change (or other changes) for non-click”).

\[ ng \text{ for } ngc : \]
i-ngcosana : i-nGosana.

\[ tsh \text{ for } c : \]
Ceba : Tsheba (?); Cwe : Tshew.

\[ n \text{ for } c : \]
is-Angco’kolo : is-Ano’kolo; Chuma : Numa; ulu-Cingo; ulu-Ningo (?); isi-Chotho : isi-Nontshe; isi-Coco : isi-Nono; Cwazimula : Nazimula (?); Cweba : Nentsha; Cwenga : Nwenga (?); i-Nce’ku : i-Ne’ku.

\[ n \text{ for } q, gg, qh : \]
is-Gqo’ko : isi-No’ko; Qaphela : Naphela; Qephula : Nephula (?); ili-Qhawe : ili-Nawe; Qholisa : Nothisa; Qhuba : Nuba; Qumbha : Numbha.

\[ n \text{ for } x : \]
Xe’ka : Ne’ka; Xhuma : Numa (?); Xova : Nova; um-Xu’ku : um-Nu’ku; Xwaya : Nwaya.

12. The clicks are foreign elements in Z. The click words in § 11, having a non-click hlonipa variant, may, then, be:

(a) Click words borrowed from the Hottentot-Bushman languages, or
(b) Click *hlonipa* words which have usurped the place of the original word and then are *hlonipa*’ed by the original non-click word, or by a non-click *hlonipa* variant of the original word, or, possibly, by a non-click *hlonipa* variant of the click word; it is improbable that there would be many cases of the last possibility, for § 10 has shown the prevalence of click *hlonipa* variants for click words. The following may explain some of the forms with a (?) above:

The original both of Ceba and Tsheba is *Hleba*.

*Ulu-Cingo*, from “*Ur-Bantu*” *linga* (Mf HLW., p. 729)—the “*Ur-Bantu*” form is not now found in Z. *Ulu-Ningo* may as well be the *hlonipa* variant of the original word as of the click word.

*Cwazimula* took as a *hlonipa* word the place of *Nyazimula* or *Phazimula*, meaning “to lighten”; then its meaning became differentiated from that of *Nyazimula* and changed to “to shine”. *Nyazimula*, then, may be the *hlonipa* variant either of the original *Phazimula* or of *Cwazimula* in its present sense. [Cf. Nyanja *nj'azimira* (*nazimira*)].

The original both of *Qephula* and *Nephula* is *Hlepula* (probably from *Dabula*, see *Dabuka*, § 15).

*Xhuma* means “to jump”. I do not know whether it has any etymological connexion with *zuma* or *juma*, which means “to take by surprise”—as by springing upon an enemy from an ambush.

13. The *hlonipa* word, as to meaning, is synonymous with the original word, with this reservation: the original word means something, the *hlonipa* word means that same something plus the implication that the speaker has such an attitude to the original word that he dare not, or does not wish, to utter it. Besides such *hlonipa* click words as those given above in § 9, which yield priority to the original word, there are other click words which are like the *hlonipa* click words in that they have substituted a click for a non-click in the original word, but are unlike the *hlonipa* click words in that either they have usurped the place of the non-click word, or they subsist beside it, with a differentiated meaning. Jn (Jn CS., v. ii, p. 90) cannot explain how the clicks came into the Z. language. Mf gives on p. 729 of Mf HLW. instances of words whose clicks he cannot account for. (See also Wr LF., p. 129.) Nearly all the Kafir (Xosa) words whose clicks Mf cannot explain, are also found in Z. I think that the clicks

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1 In "*Ur-Bantu*" the form, denuded of prefix and suffixes, is given in Mf L., p. 222, as *ali* or *ngali*. B. *ng* became Z. *ny* (Mf HLW., p. 739), and B. *li* became Z. *zi* (Mf HLW., p. 744).
came into these particular words for *klonipa* purposes (§ 21). In the following, instances of click words, which have come into the language as *klonipa variants* of the third category (§ 5), are given. All those given by Mf (Mf *HLW.*, p. 729), which I have recognized as being also Z. words, I have included, putting (Mf) before them. I have divided them into the two classes indicated above: those which have usurped the place of the non-click word, and those which persist beside the non-click word with a differentiated meaning.

14. Click words which have usurped the place of the non-click word

With the click c:

(Mf) *Cima*, same as "Ur-Bantu" *lima* (ndima), Mf *HLW.*, p. 729.
(Mf) *Consa* from *Thonsa* (Mf *HLW.*, p. 729). The verb *Thonsa* is now obsolete in Z., but the stem is found in the noun *ili-Thonsi*.
(Mf) *Cwazimula*, see above, § 12.
(Mf) *Cafuna*, see above, § 8.
(Mf) *ulu-Cingo*, see above, § 12.
(Mf) um-Cebi, noun from Ceba, see § 12.
(Mf) *Cwila* has supplanted *Gwila* (Mf *HLW.*, p. 729). *Gwila* is not found in Z. now.

_isi-Catulo*, "shoe," connected with *Nyathela*, "to tread." Found also in Xosa as (Mf) *isi-Qathulo*.

With the click q:

(Mf) *ili-Qanda*, same as Swahili *ganda* (Mf *HLW.*, p. 729).
(Mf) *Nga'ka*, same as Swahili *nyaka* (Mf *HLW.*, p. 729).
(Mf) *Qongqotha*, same as Swahili *gogota* (Mf *HLW.*, p. 729).

_Qhota*, same as Herero *kota* (Bt D.), found also in Xosa with suffix: (Mf) *qotama*, same as Herero *kotama* (Mf *HLW.*, p. 729) and Z. *Kothama*.

*ili-Qiniso*, "truth," has supplanted *i-Nyaniso*, now obsolete (but see § 25). *i-Nyaniso* is not found in Bt *D.* and Sa. *D.*, but it is given in Co. *D.* and Dh. *D.* The literal meaning of the verb *u'ku-Qina* is "to be hard, fast"; hence the Z. idea of "truth", as expressed in *ili-Qiniso*, may be compared with that of the Hebrews, as expressed in "Amen".

*ili-Qhvea*, "ice," has supplanted a form which may have been *ili-Kheva*.

With the click x:

(Mf) *Xhophe* connected with *ulu-Khophe* (Mf *HLW.*, p. 729).
(Mf) *Xhapazela*, same as *Kaphaza* plus suffix (Mf *HLW.*, p. 729). *Kaphaza* is now obsolete in Zulu.
Xosha, same as Ganda Goba (Bt D.). B often becomes sh.

With rr:—

Rraya, same as Congo Kaya (Bt D.).

Rrela, same as the obsolete verb Hela, from which the noun ili-Hele is formed.

15. Click words subsisting, with a differentiated meaning, beside the original non-click words.

(Mf) Gevalisa, "to fill up." Zalisa, "to cause to bear children," causative form of Zala, "to bear children."¹

isi-Chuthe, "one whose ear lobes have not been pierced." Isi-Putha, "a dull-witted person whose ears are closed to reason." See under isi-Chuthe.

Chela, "to pour ceremonially, to asperse." Thela, "to pour."

Qala, "to begin." Da'la, "to create."

Qeda, "finish." This must be formed from the Lala feda. The Z. form of feda is feza (Wg. KG., p. 643, Z. z = Lala t). Feza means "to complete." Qeda may be used of finishing anything: a plate of porridge, a task—anything. Feza could be used of completing a task, but not of finishing a plate of porridge. It is clear that the click word, qeda, was adopted from the Lala tongue. This word can be used to support the contention that the Zulus got the clicks, not immediately from the H.-B., but mediately through other B.

Qhuma, "to pop, explode." Duma, "to thunder, reverberate."

The variants of Dabuk'ka are interesting:—

Dabuk'ka, "to get torn, as a garment; crack, as an earthen vessel; be torn with grief; get broken out into being, spring forth into life, as new grass; originate, as a tribe" (Bt D.).

Hlephu'ka, "to be or get chipped, cut; have a portion separated off or otherwise removed, as an earthen pot, piece of cloth, land, herd of cattle, etc." (Bt D.).

Gqabu'ka, "get broken, as a string or similar object by pulling; get broken off, as anything like a button, affixed by strings... expire, breathe one's last" (the lungs being supposed to get broken off from their place and so breathing to cease) (Bt D.).

Gqashu'ka, same as gqabu'ka.

¹ These words are possibly connected, but I am inclined to think that zala, "bring forth," and zala, "be full," are distinct roots. The former is in Swahili zaan, the latter jaa. Meinhold suggests as the original forms Vyala (cf. Mombasa Swahili vyaa) and Yala respectively. One might be inclined to suppose that the form gevala (the more usual in Zulu) gained currency through a desire to distinguish it from the other zala.—A. W.
Qashu'ka, same as ggabu'ka.
Gqibu'ka, same as ggabu'ka.
Qabu'ka, “have the first experience of anything” (see the last meaning of Dabu'ka).
Rrebu'ka, “get torn or rent, as a piece of cloth.”
Xebu'ka, “get stripped or peeled off, as plaster from a wall or bark from a tree.”
Xephu'ka, same as Rrebu'ka.

The c click is also used with the stem of this word:—
isi-Cephu, “a small sitting mat,” is formed from isi-Hlephu (see Hlephu'ka above), meaning “anything from which a portion has been removed”. Presumably isi-Cephu came to be used of a small sitting mat in the manner as a short man is sometimes vulgarly called “a sawed-off specimen of humanity”.

16. Conclusions relative to “hlonipa” words

The words cited in the following paragraphs will be found in Bt D., either in the list of hlonipa words at the end (p. 738 f.) or in the body of the Dictionary.

17. General conclusions as to “hlonipa” words.—In the above lists, hlonipa words of the third category (§ 5) only have been treated. Though words of this category are the ones most frequently used, it must be remembered that words of the first (§ 3) and second (§ 4) categories also are regularly used.

A Zulu word may have more than one hlonipa variant (see Bt D., p. 738 f.), and the variants may be of the same or different categories. Bt D., p. 744, gives ten hlonipa variants for ama-Nzi, “water”—these ten do not exhaust the list. Enda has the variant Enca (§ 8, under nc) of the third category, and the synonym, Gana, of the first category. Ili-Khala, “nose,” has the variant ili-Tshala, of the third category (§ 7, under tsh for kh), and also a variant of the second category: i-mPumulo, from Phuma, “to go out” = “that which sticks out.”

18. Foreign words, after adoption, are treated like native words: they may be hlonipa'ed, or they may be used for hlonipaing other words.

Examples of foreign words “hlonipa’ed”

Ili-Bhantshi, “coat,” from Du. baatje, is hlonipa’ed by ili-Cantschi (§ 8, under c and ch for non-click).
ili-Bhulu'kwe, "trousers," from Du. broek, is hlonipa'ed by ili-Julu'kwe (§ 7, under j for bh).

**Examples of foreign words used as "hlonipa" words**

i-nDali, from Du. vendutie, is used as hlonipa variant of i-Mali. The natives began to use it thus, probably because it sounded like a third-category variant of i-Mali.

um-Miliso, from the South African (Du. and Eng.) word for "maize",¹ spelled "mealies" in Eng. This word is used to hlonipa the Z. u-Mbhila, "maize." Probably popular etymology connected it with the verb Mila, "to grow"; hence um-Miliso = "that which has been caused to grow, crops." The staple crop is maize. To the best of my knowledge um-Miliso is used solely of "maize", and never as an exact equivalent of "crops". A Zulu unacquainted with the Du. or Eng. word would think um-Miliso was a hlonipa word of the second category.

19. **The form of "hlonipa" words of the third category**

(a) A word may be hlonipa'ed by more than one non-click word of the third category—this is not usual. Khuluma has as variants Nuluma and Shuluma (§ 7, under "n for non-click" and "sh for kh").

(b) A word may be hlonipa'ed by a non-click as well as by a click word of the third category—this is not infrequent.

Azi is hlonipa'ed by Agi (§ 7) and by Angi (§ 8).

Jabha is hlonipa'ed by Nabha (§ 7) and by Gzabha (§ 8).

(c) A word may be hlonipa'ed by more than one click word of the third category. Du'ka is hlonipa'ed by Gcu'ka and Ngu'ka (§ 8).

The Zulu negative particle nga, "not," was, perhaps, formerly used like the English "No". Old-fashioned Zulus still use the plural of this particle, ama-Nga,² for "No". The words now in use for "No", Qha and Cha, came into being, I think, as hlonipa variants of Nga. Xha is now used as the hlonipa form. If all these click forms are variants originating from Nga, then Nga is ultimately responsible for three click variants: Cha, Qha, and Xha.

But D., under Qha: "... qha is probably only a variation of the adverb nga, 'not.' " Here, among similar forms from other languages, is given the Yao nga. Mf VG., p. 79, gives ka, nka as a negative particle in "Ur-Bantu". Jn CS., v. ii, p. 517: "Negation is indicated... by Ka-(Ga-) with its variants..."

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¹ Originally from Portuguese milho.
² Is the noun ama-nga, meaning "a lie", a secondary use of this word?—A. W.
Dabu'ka, with its many click hlonipa variants (§ 15), may also be cited as an instance of a word hlonipa'ed by several click words of the third category.

20. Concerning the substitutions in the third category of "hlonipa" words, Bt D., under Hlonipa, has:

"... For there are not only a very large number of fixed and distinct hlonipa words, but, by certain universally accepted rules of transmutation, any word in the language may be so changed in its prohibited particle as to lose all identity with the 'respected' name and so become itself a hlonipa word. Thus alusa may become axusa; or komba, nomba..." (Italics mine.)

According to Mf HLW., p. 743, B. k became h, which under certain circumstances became s; this change appears to have been quite regular with B. γ, which almost always became z.1 (Cf. Jn CS., v. ii, p. 91.) In many hlonipa substitutions this is reversed: z, s, nts, in the ordinary word, become g, 'k, k, kh, nk, in the hlonipa variants, see § 7. Hence the original B. consonant may be found in the hlonipa variant of the ordinary word. In some cases the change might make the hlonipa word resemble the B. word more closely than the ordinary word does; in other cases it might not do so. The point, however, is that there has remained in the linguistic consciousness (or subconsciousness—if I may so express myself) a feeling that the consonants in question are interchangeable.

The favourite substitutions in present day Z.—or to be quite accurate, during the period of more than twelve years during which Bt collected the material for his Dictionary (Bt D., p. 5 of preface), published in 1905—are:

g, 'k, kh, k, nk, for z, s, nts.
j, tsh, nj, sh, ntsh for bh, b, mb(h), ph, mp(h), d, th, 'k, kh.

n seemingly for any consonant.

Clicks:

c, in various combinations, seemingly for any consonant.
g is used less than the other clicks.

rr seems now to have dropped out of the ranks of hlonipa substitutes. For its inclusion among the clicks, see § 26.

1 This seems to be somewhat over-stated, if meant to apply to Zulu, as we have endhle, indhlela, indhlela, indhlela (it is true that dhl, which here represents Meinhof's γ, appears in other Bantu languages as z), and also inyoka, anya, ingongo, inyoni, etc. See Meinhof, Lauteleke, pp. 221–3.—A. W.
$x$ is used generally to *hlonipa* other clicks.
$c$ is used seldom to *hlonipa* other clicks.
$q$ is used not at all to *hlonipa* other clicks.

The use of non-clicks for clicks is negligible except in the case of $n$, of the use of which, as a substitute for a click, there are several instances (§ 11).

*Hlonipa* words of the third category are usually formed by substituting another consonant for a consonant in the ordinary word. Usually the first consonant of the stem of the word to be tabooed is changed. Sometimes other changes take place as well. If the consonant suffering change is repeated in the following syllable, the change is generally repeated—thus both the $b$'s in *u-Baba* become *tsh*, its *hlonipa* variant being *u-Tshatsha*.

21. *The survival of “hlonipa” words.*—What is to be tabooed is the distinctive sound, usually, in the name of a superior, the stem. Inferiors *hlonipa* the name of a superior by avoiding the utterance of this sound, and sometimes even of sounds like it (see below, § 23, in the discussion of the name *Shaka*). As generally women are the inferiors, the custom affects them most, particularly the married women, who have to *hlonipa* also their husbands and certain of their husbands' relatives. “... Among the Zulus” the *hlonipa* custom “touches mainly the married women, although as exceptional cases, the men, or indeed the whole tribe indiscriminately, may *hlonipa* the name of a renowned chief or ancestor ...” (Bt D., under *Hlonipa*).

The position, with regard to the survival of *hlonipa* words, is succinctly stated in *J. L.*, p. 431:—

“... There was another reason for the richness of the vocabulary of primitive man: his superstition about words, which made him avoid the use of certain words under certain circumstances ... Accordingly, in many cases he had two or more sets of words for exactly the same notions, of which later generations as a rule preserved only one, unless they differentiated these words by utilizing them to discriminate objects that were similar but not identical.” (Italics mine.)

That is to say, a *hlonipa* word may survive in two ways:—

1. It may take the place of the original word—that is if it survives as an exact synonym; or
2. It may survive beside the original word, in which case the meanings will be differentiated.

As *hlonipa* words of the first two categories already have their own meanings—which they are not likely to exchange for that of the word
they are variants of—this discussion applies chiefly to words of the third category.

22. The hlonipa variants themselves may become taboo, then they, too, are hlonipa'ed. It sometimes happens that those hlonipasing a hlonipa variant will use the original word—thus bringing it to life again. See quotation from Bt D., above, § 1.

23. "Hlonip'a" words that supersede the original words.—These are of two kinds: (a) such as supersede the original word, because the original word is universally taboo; (b) such as supersede the original word presumably because they are more convenient.

(a) A universally taboo word superseded.—A good example of a universally taboo word is Shaka (pronounced Sha'ka), the name of the great Z. conqueror. The B. all over south-eastern Africa dared not utter words similar in sound to Shaka's name. Until about a generation ago, a Zulu would not say Shayaa, "hit," but used the Xosa Beta instead. Shaka has been so hlonipa'ed that it has apparently been impossible to be sure of its etymology—to-day it is not certainly known what it means, nor which word or words are the hlonipa variants which took its place in the language.

Words hlonipa'ed by the Z. nation alone were the names: Dingana, Shaka's brother and successor; Mpende, another brother of Shaka and Dingana's successor; and, to a less extent, Nandi, Shaka's mother; Ndhlala, a councillor of both Dingana and Mpende; and Nkobe, Ndhlala's father. The hlonipa variants are: Suela or Ntula (first category) for Dinga, "to need, be in lack of"; i-nGzabo (first category) for i-mPande, "root"; mToti (first category) for mNandi, "sweet, agreeable to the taste"; i-Nyatu'ko (second category) for i-nDhlela, "path"; izi-mPothulo, pl. (probably of the second category), for the pl. izi-nKobe, "boiled maize." I grew up in Zululand. I remember that when I, for the first time, heard Dinga for "to need" and i-mPande for "root", these words sounded foreign to me—I was accustomed to the hlonipa variants. The names of the two kings, Dingana and Mpende, were not, like Shaka's name, hlonipa'ed all over south-eastern Africa. The whites already had a foothold in Natal; only those living north of the Tukela owed allegiance to the Zulu kings, and their names were hlonipa'ed only by the Zulus proper. Nandi, Ndhlala, and Nkobe also were hlonipa'ed in Zululand, but not so much as the names of the kings. In my childhood I was familiar both with words formed from the stems -Nandi, -Dhlela, and -Kobe, and with their hlonipa variants. To-day, even in Zululand, they are being hlonipa'ed less and less (§ 29, below).
Cetshwayo, conquered by the British in 1879, seems to have inspired the least terror. As far as I know, he is hlonipa’ed only by his own clan, and by certain royalists, who, in spite of everything, have, in their hearts, remained faithful to the old regime. The word ili-Kweatha was used to hlonipa ili-Cebo, but “it has already fallen into disuse” (Bt D., under ili-Kwata).

(b) “Hlonipa” words superseding the original word because more convenient.—I cannot prove that the hlonipa forms are more convenient, but, unless they should belong to the (a) class above, the only reason I can offer for their survival is that they are more convenient than the word they have superseded. Among these may be instanced (see §13):—

Cha and Qha for Nga (§19 (c)).
ili-Qinis for i-Nyaniso, which seems obsolescent.
Xhopha, “to hurt the eye” (for more exact definition see Bt D.), is probably the hlonipa variant of an obsolete verb Khopha—the Zulu for “eyelash” is ulu-Khophe (§14).

There may be click variants of words, where the click form has survived on account of being onomatopoeic. The following appear to be such cases:—

Qhuma, “to pop, explode,” from Duma, see §15.
Rrebula, “to tear, as cloth,” and Rrebu’ka, “to become torn,” see under Dabu’ka, §15.
Rruebha, “scratch,” from Dveba, “draw, as a line” (see Bt D.).
Xhapha, “to boil,” from the obsolete Kapha, surviving in the form with the suffix, Kaphaza, see §14 and Bt D. under Kapaza.

If the original of the surviving hlonipa variant has become obsolete, it is hard to trace it, unless it is found in related languages or in cognate words in the same language.

24. “Hlonipa” words surviving, with a differentiated meaning, beside the original words.—In §15 there is a list of such click words. Non-click words of this kind (the third category) do not seem common. I cannot think of any. Dabu’ka, with its many variants, is interesting. The original word, Dabu’ka, appears to have a general signification, including most of the special meanings, while the variants have special meanings only.

25. Conclusions as to the survival of “hlonipa” words.—It is clear that the chances are against a hlonipa word entirely usurping the place of the original word, and surviving alone. In the first place, either it must be a hlonipa variant of a universally tabooed word—such words
are very few (to the best of my knowledge there has been only one such, Shaka, during the last hundred years)—or it must, for some reason or other, be more convenient than the original word. In the second place, besides ousting the original word, it has also to drive off the field all other competing hlonipa variants. Again, though a hlonipa word may be easy for the speaker to pronounce, it may be hard for the hearer to understand: it may be understood only in a certain locality; the original word is understood everywhere by everybody. The only hlonipa words, which, as it were, carry their meaning with them, are onomatopoeic ones (§ 23 (b)) and words which, owing to an accidental resemblance, are connected with a stem of a similar meaning, of i-nDali and um-Miliso (§ 18). It must also be remembered that the hlonipa variant, besides being confined to certain persons (to a sex, a family, or a tribe), is also confined in time: the married daughter’s set of hlonipa words only partially coincides with her mother’s set. For every generation there is a new adjustment of the hlonipa vocabulary. While the hlonipa vocabularies undergo changes from generation to generation, the original words stand relatively firm. Finally, the “hlonipa” word itself may have to be hlonipa’ed, then, if the original word has not entirely disappeared, it is very often resuscitated as a hlonipa word, and from the hlonipa vocabulary steps into its original place (§ 22). But, in his list of hlonipa words, has marked several with a star to indicate that they are “genuine Zulu words” (But D., p. 738). Ili-Qiniso appears to have superseded i-Nyaniso, which seems to be coming to life again.

It is reasonable, then, to assume that the hlonipa custom is responsible for the death of no words in the Z. language, or very few. The probabilities for the survival of hlonipa words with differentiated meanings are greater.

While not exaggerating the importance of the hlonipa custom (for it is unlikely to have caused the death of more than an extremely small number of Z. words), still we must not ignore its influence in increasing the vocabulary, for it is responsible for the formation of new words, some of which survive, with differentiated meanings, in the language.

26. Was the contact of the Zulus with the H.-B. direct or indirect?—It is generally assumed that the clicks came into the Hottentot language by being borrowed from the Bushmen,¹ and that the Bantu languages which have the clicks got them from the Hottentot—and perhaps a

¹ See Pettman, Africanderisms, p. 5; Meinhof, HLW., p. 727; Theal, South Africa (Story of the Nations Series), p. 7.
few Bushman—women captured in war. It may be that other Bantu, not Zulus, came first into contact with the H.-B. and passed the clicks on to the Zulus, without the Zulus coming into direct contact with the H.-B. Several facts support this idea. The Tekeza inhabited Zululand before the Zulus. Since the Bantu drove the H.-B. southward and westward, it seems reasonable to assume that the Tekeza, who were in Zululand before the Zulus, got into closer contact with the H.-B. than the Zulus did. It has been shown that the clicks must have been in the Zulu language certainly before 1560, and that direct H.-B. influence on Zulu must have ceased not later than 1650. It would then, at the present time, be hard or impossible to prove anything from click words, borrowed by Zulu from other Bantu languages. It could not be shown that the clicks were brought into the language through the adoption of these words, for the clicks have been in the language for centuries, and it is not easy to determine the date of the adoption of the click words in question. When the Tekeza click word, Qeda, for instance, came into the Zulu language, is not known (§ 15). Several click words have been adopted from Xosa in modern times, i-nQola, "wagon," a corruption of the Xosa i-nQuvelo, is an instance.

The geographical position of the Z. language to-day is that it is surrounded by other B. languages, and it has been so surrounded since 1650 at the latest. It may well be that the Zulus have never been in the van of the B. who drove the H.-B. before them, it may be that they have always had some other B. between them and the H.-B.

It is remarkable that there is no Z. word for Hottentot—I have found none. If the Zulus had come into direct contact with the Hottentots, one would expect that they would at least have had a word in their language to designate them. Ili-Lave, which is not a Zulu word, but borrowed from the Xosa, is used to denote "Hottentot, or similar yellow coloured half-breed, as Griquas" (Bt D.). The Hottentots in the Cape Province, whether of mixed or of pure blood—if there are any of pure blood left—now speak Dutch, and are separated from the Zulus by other B. The Nama Hottentots in what used to be German South-West Africa are too far away to have any influence on Z. The word ili-Hhotentoti (from Du. Hottentot) is now coming into the Z. language through being used in the schools, that is through the use of English textbooks on history, which mention the Hottentots.

1 The name of Qwabe (who, according to Zulu tradition, must have been born before 1560) proves that Zulus must already have been able to pronounce clicks. It is also certain that, by 1650, other Bantu tribes occupied the country between the Zulus and the nearest section of the Hottentots.
There is a Z. word for Bushman, *umu-Thwa*, pl. *aba-Thwa*. Of this word Bt D. says: "... The name aba-Thwa, or its cognates, is the almost universal designation among the Bantu tribes for the Bushmen and Pygmy-Bushmen ..." Mf L., p. 251, gives as the " Ur-Bantu" form *umu-tua*. The *aba-Thwa* have a place in Z. folk-lore, as presumably they do in the folk-lore of other B. We cannot from the presence of this word, *umu-Thwa*, in Z., argue that the Zulus borrowed the clicks *directly* from the Bushmen. Many B. languages have the word *umu-Twa*, but have no clicks. [The Pokomo use the name Wa-hwa (the phonetic equivalent of *Aba-twa*) for the Wasanye—a people in some respects similar to the Bushmen. Cf. the Batwa in Urundi and Ruanda, who, if not exactly Pygmies, are probably descended from them.]

27. *Which foreign sounds in Z. are to be ascribed to H.-B. influence?* In addition to the clicks, I think the sound *rr*¹ must be ascribed to H.-B. influence, for, as far as I can make out, it is not found in any languages remote from this influence.

Wr *LF.*, p. 126: "... three of them"—the clicks—"(the 'dental', 'cerebral', and 'lateral') have passed from either Bushman or Hottentot into Zulu and Xosa ..."

p. 55: "The 'laterals' (usually written *hl, dhl, tl, tlh*) are also peculiar to the southern group of languages, and there are a few other sounds of limited range which need not be discussed here ..."

In this paper I confine myself to a discussion of how the clicks (*c, q, x*) and *rr* came into the language. I have not made any investigations with regard to the laterals.

28. *How did the clicks and rr come into the language?*—The words borrowed from H.-B. present little difficulty.² The B. who were in direct contact with the H.-B. borrowed them directly, and those who were not in direct contact with them must have got them through the B. between them and the H.-B.

What has been puzzling is to account for the clicks in B. words. I think the examples given above (§ 8 f.) throw some light on the question.

It is reasonable to suppose that, among the B. in direct contact with the H.-B., the first persons to substitute clicks for other consonants in Bantu words were H.-B. women captured in war. If

¹ The "ejective uvular affricate". See Bulletin, ii, iv, p. 706.
² There is a list of such words in Mf *HLW*. 
they were not the first, they must have taught their children H.-B. click words, and then the children, having learned to pronounce the clicks, were the first to use them as substitutes for consonants in B. words. I am inclined to think that women first made use of this substitution. Why women? Women are more affected than men by the hlonipa custom, see § 21. When it was desirable to hlonipa words, the clicks came in handy for the formation of hlonipa variants of the third category. A native consonant might change the word into another word already in the language, while the click, being a foreign sound, would not do so. This would apply also to such Bantu as have the clicks without having been in direct contact with the H.-B. as, perhaps, the Zulus. They would, through intermarriage and other contact with neighbouring click-using B., come to use the clicks as their neighbours did—for hlonipa purposes.

Which click (or clicks) would be used for hlonipa purposes, and why that particular click (or those particular clicks)? I cannot answer this definitely.

Turning to the examples given above, we find:

(a) That all the clicks have been used as substitutes (§ 20);

(b) That, in Z., c is a common substitute for a non-click, and x for another click; and

(c) That, in Lala, we find c and q substituted respectively for the Z. q and c (Wg. KG., p. 643). In Xosa the same substitution sometimes takes place, see examples above in § 10, for instance: isi-Catulo for Xosa isi-Qatulo, and also Mf HLW., p. 729.

To cover these facts I assume the following. At a certain time and in a certain locality a certain click would be the regular hlonipa substitute for one or more consonants—at other times and places other clicks might be the regular substitutes. All this would be going on among people who spoke the same language. Finally, in this language, one click would become the regular substitute, but vestiges of the former state of affairs would appear in words surviving with other click substitutes. This is what appears to have happened in Zulu: c being the regular substitute for non-clicks, and x for clicks. There are to be found words with other click substitutes; these words may be survivals from a time before the supremacy of the present regular click substitute, or they may be loan words from another B. language or dialect.

Further investigation of B. words containing clicks may necessitate modification of my theory, but I venture to think it might provide
a reasonable explanation of some of the facts; and that, at least, it would not prove fruitless to use it as a working hypothesis.

I have been unable to investigate words with a medial click and onomatopoeic click words. The latter would seem to be self-explanatory in most cases. For onomatopoeic click substitutes, see § 23 b.

29. The present condition of "hlonipa" as it affects the Z. language.—The influence of Christian civilization is seen in the religious poem Lilya by the Icelandic monk Eystein Ásgrimsson (died 1361). In this poem there appear to be no kenningar, though they were lavishly employed in earlier Norse poetry. Heiti and Kenningar may be likened to hlonipa variants of the first and second categories. Here may also be mentioned—though not exactly of the same nature—descriptive titles or added names, such as: (John) Lackland, (Frederick) Barbarossa, (Svein) Tjugeskjaeg, (Scipio) Africanus, etc. The chief function of the Zulu bards was to make poems praising their kings and great men. After their death these poems would be used in worshipping these heroes. The praise-poems would be full of substitutions of the same nature as the Kenningar were, and would have as their aim to give a poetical picture of the hero’s character and great deeds.1 Often a striking phrase in these praises, separated from its context, would become an added name and be used like Lackland, Barbarossa, etc. Converted Christians have even attempted to make praise-poems in honour of the Saviour, Jesus Christ. Christian sentiment has, however, rightly or wrongly, frowned upon poetic outbursts of this nature—and Christian Zulu poetry is either translation or imitation of European hymns.

The civilization brought by the whites has also had a disintegrating effect upon the hlonipa custom proper. Europeans, unwittingly or wittingly, continually break the custom—horses and dogs, for instance, have been given the names of Zulu kings. School teachers demand that lessons shall be repeated in ipsissimis verbis, even when this entails a breach of hlonipa. The same is sometimes demanded in law courts, in the case of witnesses who have to repeat conversations they have heard. The custom, once broken, steadily loses its peculiar power over the person breaking it.

1 Wg. KG., pp. 651-2, gives the praise-poems (or praise-names) of Ndaba and Sentzangakona, and Sa. D., pp. x–xxii, those of Cetshwayo, Dinuzulu, and Solomon—all members of the Zulu Royal Family; see genealogy in Wg. KG., p. vi. [A number of these are also given in Mr. J. Stuart’s Zulu Readers.]
From the summary already given we see that—
(a) \(rr\) seems to have ceased being used as a *hloni*pa substitute;
(b) \(q\) is seldom used as a *hloni*pa substitute;
(c) \(c\) is the regular click substitute for non-click consonants;
(d) \(x\) is the regular click substitute for click consonants.

From this it may be deduced that if the *hloni*pa custom should continue developing unchecked, only two clicks, \(c\) and \(x\), would remain, and ultimately \(x\) would supersedc \(c\) and be the sole surviving click. Since \(n\) can be substituted for clicks (§§ 11, 20), it would not be impossible for the clicks eventually to be *hloni*pa'ed out of the language. In Jn CS., i, p. 38, we read: "Zulu-Kafir will become the second language of South Africa if its exponents are wise enough to eliminate the silly clicks which at present mar its phonology..." This tempts one to remark that English, which employs, as interjections, the click \(c\) (usually spelled *tut-tut*) and the click \(x\) (used in urging a horse), is, nevertheless, probably the most widely used language in the world; and the English *th* (voiced and unvoiced), though a comparatively peculiar sound, has not hindered the spread of English over the earth.

Whether the clicks would be *hloni*pa'ed out of the language if the whites had not come is difficult to decide. Now that they have come, it seems certain that it will not happen. The language is reduced to writing—the written word changes less than the spoken. The influence of the still active *hloni*pa custom, though even to-day great, is steadily decreasing.

The language must find new words for new ideas. New *hloni*pa words (as shown above, § 14) often supplied the desired words. New words can still be made in the same manner as *hloni*pa variants of the first category (synonyms) and of the second category (words formed by derivation and composition), but the number of such words coming into the language, through *hloni*pa, is decreasing. As words of the third category are made for *hloni*pa purposes only, they will cease coming into the language if *hloni*pa dies—this source of new words appears to be gradually drying up. It seems a legitimate conclusion, then, that the influence of European civilization, by decreasing the number of new words of the third category of *hloni*pa variants, is correspondingly increasing the number of new words from other sources: words formed by derivation, composition, onomatopoeia, and words borrowed from other languages. It must be noted that this is happening at a time when the contact with European civilization has produced a great demand for new words.
REFERENCES

For Taboo in general:—
Encyc. Brit., under Taboo.
Hasting's Encyc. of Religion and Ethics, under Tabu.
Frazer, The Golden Bough, v. iii, Taboo and the Perils of the Soul; use also the Index for all the volumes. The work is also published in a one volume edition.

For the influence of Taboo on language:—
“ukuhlonipa,” p. 43 f.
Gabelentz, Die Sprachwissenschaft, look up TabuweSEN in the Index.
Oertel, Lectures on the Study of Language, p. 304.
J. L., p. 239 f. and p. 431.
Frazer, see above, v. iii, chapter vi. In the one volume edition, chapter xxii.
Portengen, De Oudgermaansche diëckertaal in haar ethnologisch verband, p. 78 f.
For the influence of Taboo (or hlonipa) on the Bantu languages in general and Zulu in particular:—
Mf Die moderne Sprachforschung in Afrika, p. 120.
Jn CS., v. i. p. 29; v. ii. p. 120.
Th. HE., v. i. p. 72.
Th. The Yellow and Dark-skinned People of Africa South of the Zambesi, pp. 170-255.
Bt D., pp. 8-9 of the Preface, under Hlonipa in the body of the Dictionary. On p. 738 f. there is a “Vocabulary of the Hlonipa Language of the Zulu Women”.
Wanger, Konversations-Grammatik der Zulu-Sprache (look up “Hlonipa-Wesen” in the Index).

ABBREVIATIONS

B. = Bantu.
Bt D. = Bryant, Zulu Dictionary.
Du. = Dutch (i.e. “Afrikaans”).
H.-B. = Hottentot-Bushman.
J. L. = Jespersen, Language (1923).
Mf HLW. = Meinhof, Hottentottische Laute u. Lehnuorte im Kafir (ZDMG., Iviii, lix).
Mf L. = "Laulehre der Bantusprachen.
Mf VG. = "Vergleichende Grammatik der Bantusprachen.
Th. SSA. = Theal, South Africa (Story of the Nations Series).
Wg. KG. = Wanger, Konversations-Grammatik der Zulu-Sprache.
W. LF. = Werner, Language-Families of Africa.
Z. = Zulu, Zulus.
A GUJARĀTI-ENGLISH VOCABULARY

By W. Doderet

FOREWORD

This vocabulary of over 800 words has been compiled with a view to supplying some omissions in Belsare's Dictionary, published in 1895. Belsare based his work on the valuable Narmakoṣa of the poet Narmadāśankara, of date 1873. The Gujarāṭī language has in the latter half of the past and in the present century been enriched by the addition of many Sanskrit tātsamas, and of Persian or Arabic words. On the one hand, eminent modern poets such as Govardhānārāma and Narsinharao, and present century dramatists such as Dolatrāma Kṛparāma Paṇḍya (a Sanskrit purist), are responsible for the use of many tātsamas. On the other hand, the advance of science and the more intimate acquaintance with the writings of English authors and poets have necessitated recourse to the classical language for expressing abstract ideas and terms, in which the vernacular is clearly deficient. This must be the excuse for introducing so many tātsamas into this vocabulary. It is unavailing nowadays to reject some as "pressed into service to gratify the vanity of a writer", which is the reason why Belsare omits them. Yet it is not apparent why he excluded the oft-recurring word विरङ्क (blue lotus), while he inserts the rarer बुध (desirous of salvation).

Again, several Persian and Arabic words, employed by such famous present-day poets as Manilāla Nabhubhāi in his poems modelled on Persian gajhals, or Bālāsankara Ullāsārāma, who was engaged in the translation of Persian poetry when death overtook him, take the place of valuable and pleasing synonyms (e.g. आयुष्यवर्तमान for विनय, pearl).

Provincialisms, poetical corruptions, and anachronisms have been omitted from this vocabulary.

Anusvāra has been written throughout, to the exclusion of the more skilled method of writing such obsolete nasals as ढ and ण, following in this respect the common practice, sanctioned by correct writers, such as Navalarāma Lakṣmirāma, and others. For the many
words which do not find a place in this vocabulary, and for poetical
corruptions and obsolete words, the student is referred to the
vocabulary attached to such works as the Kāvyā Dohana, Bṛhat
Kāvyā Dohana, Kāvyā Mādhurya, etc.

The numbers enclosed in parentheses before the meanings of words
indicate additional significations not found in Belsare.

अभ्यस्न (m.) mysticism.
अगेन्द्र (f.) daughter.
अग्रिम (adj.) chief, foremost, first.
अद्धि (adj.) (2) difficult.
अद्धिवाक्यि (m. pl.) fondling, fuss over.
अद्धि (m.) (2) Brahmā ("the unborn").
अद्धि (f.) कुत्तेकरि "to make one's self at home" (अद्धि = अद्धि, कुत्तेकरि
Dvārīkā in Kāthiāvad).
अद्धि (adj.) immovable, staunch, brave (कुत्ते to totter).
अद्धिवाक्यि प्रस्तुि (m.) a big stone for pounding अद्धि (a pulse).
अद्धिवाक्यि (m.) enmity.
अद्धिवाक्यस्ति (adj.) subjective (S. चन्त, inward).
अद्धिपि (adv.) instantaneously (अवधि completeness).
अद्धिवाक्यस्ति (f.) Pārvatī ("the maid of the mountain").
अद्धिपर (m.) erroneous idea.
अद्धिपर (m.) road, path.
अद्धिपर (adj.) innumerable, unlimited.
अद्धिपरि निर्मानि (adj.) ignorant, strange.
अद्धिपरि (m.) a low-caste, a Dheda.
अद्धिपरि (adj.) not struck, "divine"
अद्धिपरि (वाक्य)
अद्धिपरि (f.) sleeplessness.
अद्धिपरि (adj.) perpetual, continuous.
अद्धि (m.) follower, servant (S. अनु + गमिव to go).
अद्धिपरि (adj.) illiberal, ungenerous.
अद्धिपरि (adj.) daily.
अद्धिपरि (m.) humble entreaty (S. अनु + गमिव, to lead).
अद्धिपरि (adj.) complete (S. अनु + गमिव, less).
अद्धिपरि (f.) (2) inference.
अद्धिपरि to consent, support.
अद्धिपरि (adj.) different, another.
अद्धिपरि (f.) stepmother.
अद्धिपरि (m.) Plato.
अद्धि (adj.) vast, extensive.
अद्धिपरि (adj.) unbreakable, firm, eternal.
अद्धिपरि (m.) sorcerer, magician.
अद्धिपरि (n.) deep knowledge, full particulars.
अद्धिपरि (f.) full manifestation.
अद्धिपरि (adj.) anointed, consecrated (S. अनु + सिंधु, sprinkle).
अद्धिपरि (f.) (1) desired (noun) a
अद्धिपरि (f.) lover, dear one.
अद्धिपरि (n.) false accusation.
अद्धिपरि (m.) शिवि ("husband of the
goddess Ambā").
अद्धिपरि (m.) joy.
अद्धिपरि (n.) acidity of the stomach.
अद्धिपरि (f.) (1) god-like, divine.
अद्धिपरि (f.) come here!
अद्धिपरि (n.) lotus.
अद्धि (adj.) soft, delicate (अद्धि, अद्धि).
अद्धिपरि (adj.) rosy, beautiful in colour.
अद्धिपरि (n.) interpretation (S. यह,
take, seize).
अद्धिपरि (n.) child.
अद्धिपरि (adj.) inconceivable (the
Deity); also the beggar's cry
असुष्ठ (adj.) ill-at-ease, troubled, unwell.
असेव (f.) existence, life.
असुर (m.) the unfathomable Deity.
असुरद (m.) Ormazd, the spirit of goodness (Zoroaster).
असुर (f.) serpent.
असुरधवली (m.) the Sun ("lord of the day").
असुर (adj.) mischievous.
असुरध (m.) husked rice (adj.) unbroken, whole.
असुरदिन (adj.) free from anger, calm (S. जोभिन, angered).

असुरध इंद्र Indra ("destroyer of enemies", चा + खण्ड to break).
असुरध (m.) an iron door-bolt.
असुरर (n.) clarified butter.
असुरयो (f.) obstruction, enclosure.
असुर (m.) sunshine, fierce heat.
असुरित (adj.) one's own.
असुरितधार (f.) capital, stock in hand.
असुरितध (m.) mirror (2) pattern, example.
असुर (adj.) wet.
असुर (n.) (2) the soul's form, the soul.
असुर (n.) individuality.
असुरतिथिः (adj.) authorized, accepted.
असुरित (adv.) spontaneously.
असुरितध (n.) pearl (P. असुरव, water, lustre).
असुरितधधी (f.) nectar, elixir of life (P. असुरव + धी).
असुरितधधी (n.) noble birth, nobility.
असुरितधधी (m.) expansion, extent.
असुरितध (adj.) bewildered, surprised.
असुरितध (n.) meat, flesh.
असुर (m.) mango, mango-tree.
असुरध (f.) strength, endurance (2) regard, consideration for.
असुर (n.) life-span.
अरेळशाति (adj.) very big, magnificent (P).
अलमेशित (f.) to draw a picture.
अलेष्टित (adj.) welcome.
अलेष्टिता (m.) embrace.
अलेष्टित (n.) face.
अलेष्टिताद्या (n.) basin for water round a tree’s roots.

d-मङ्गल (f.) religious trance (emancipation from Māyā and absorption in the Divinity).
द-पार (m.) river-bank, shore.
द-पारा (m.) destruction, accident.
द-पार (n.) establishing, proving.
द-पारा (n.) fasting.
द-पारा (m.) bye-play.
द-पारा (m.) rest (especially by renouncing worldly cares).
द-पारा (m.) synonym.
द-पारा (m.) tranquillity (S. शां, to be calm).
द-पार (m.) goods and chattels.
द-पार (m.) present, gift.
द-पार (f.) to indicate, suggest.
द-पार (f.) to arise.
द-पारा (adj.) prosperous.
द-पार (m.) breast.
द-पारा (f.) to hang, droop.
द-पार (n.) mortar, pestle.

dे-मणि (f.) agreement, concord.
देव (f.) to supply, join, establish.

dे-मणि (m.) mundane.

dे-मणि (m.) uttering the mystic syllable Om.
दे-मणि (n. pl.) earrings.
दे-मणि (m.) lap (देव्य).
दे-मणि (f.) (2) power, strength.
दे-मणि (m.) (3) a stoop.
दे-मणि (m.) (3) way, passage.
दे-मणि (f.) (3) safeguarding.

dे (S.) (m.) hair (दे).
दे (दे) (m.) a bird (Gracula religiosa).
સ્લંગ (f.) slander, idle gossip (S. કચખ, to tell).
એરુજ (m.) a couch.
ભરીય (adj.) attractive, beautiful.
બ્રાહ્મ (m.) Brahmā ("seated on a lotus").
બ્રાહ્મન (m.) Brahmā ("born from a lotus").
રેખિય (m.) a sweetmeat made of bajrī flour.
રેખિય (m.) collected rays of light (વરણ + આકાર).
રકસલ (f.) restlessness, sadness.
રક્ષાશાલી (m.) adverse and favourable winds (ક + ન + સ + એલ).
ર્રશ્ચા (1) to rust (2) to be tried by sorrow, to undergo a difficult task, to endure.
રાજા (m.) assemblage, multitude.
રાજિર (m.) peacock (રાજિ peacock's expanded tail).
રામ (m. n.) worm.
રામ (m.) the Cross of Christ.
રામવા (m.) (3) swelling in the throat.
રામિર (f.) a cowrie.
રામિર (2) (f.) indentation.
રામ (adj.) beautiful.
રામિ (adj.) cruel.
રામિ (m.) beggar.
રામવાદિ (f.) reasoning power.
રામન (m.) a lake.
રામનાદિ (m.) anachronism.
રામાવાલુ (n.) banishment, transportation.
રામાનંદુ to be very pleased.
રામ (S.) but (conjunction).
રામરિ (S. કિર્ણત, a diadem, a crest).
રામિ સ્વરૂ (n.) sin, foulness.
રામિ (m. n.) monkey.
રામિ (m.) (3) pulp (રામાનંદુ, રામાનંદુ).
રામિ (adj.) soft, delicate.
રામિત (m.) curl of hair.
રામિસ ફ્રુ (f.) profound obeisance (રામિસ ફ્રુ, રામિસ ફ્રુ) (P.).
રામિસ ફ્રુ (f.) cleverness (P.).
રામિ (m.) (Ar.) a hair-dye (રામિસ).
રામિ (n.) the cuckoo's note.
રામિ (n.) a cave.
રામિ (m.) a cock.
રામિ (m.) sword.
રામિ (f.) the Goddess Kālī.
રાઘ (m.) peacock (S. કોદ, the peacock's cry).
રાધિ (m.) Śrī Kṛṣṇa ("having long hair", રાખી).
રાખ (f.) (2) play, mirth.
રાખિત (adj.) angry, enraged.
રાખિય (S. કાંગ, a cocoon).

અનાનધી (f.) (2) persistent fault-finding.
અની (m.) (3) a fowl-house.
અની (2) to walk like a camel.
અની (n.) a herd of camels.
અની (adj.) deserted, empty (અની, an affix; cf. અનીયમા). પણ (n.) the sky (S. પણ). પણ (3) to drive (a chariot) (મને મારીયા રાજા જે આણ રાખર - Lajjarāma).
અનધી (m.) relations.
અની (f.) (2) a puncture.
અની (m.) fear (અની) (Ar.).

અની (m.) Śiva ("bearing the Ganges on his head").
અનધીતા સન (m.) Ganapati ("elephant-faced").
અનધીતા (m.) an astrologer.
અનધીતા (m.) elephant.
અનધીતા (n.) poison.
અનધીતા (m.) a ditch (અનધીતા).
गरीयस्व great.
गर्दारिक (m.) Viṣṇu ("seated on the eagle").
गर्वस्मय (n.) the neck.
गार्डी (f.) a small cart.
गार्दी (m.) Arjuna's bow.
गार्दीक (n. pl.) hollow cheeks.
गार्तिलकेश्वर सिवा ("lover of the mountain-born maid").
गार्तिल (m.) Śrī Kṛṣṇa (who lifted up Mount Govardhana).
गार्तिलल (m.) praise of virtue.
गार्तिलस्त (n.) abstraction.
गार्तिलस (n.) row, noise (P.).
गार्तिल (n.) a thicket (S.).
गार्तिल (adv.) (3) behind, after.
गार्तिल (f.) (2) the earth.
गार्तिलकिवि (m.) love-sickness (गार्तिलकिवि, Śrī Kṛṣṇa's village).
गार्तिल (m.) a protector (गो+पा protect).
गार्तिल (m.) a herdsman (2) Śrī Kṛṣṇa (S. गो cow; विझ to find).
गार्तिली (f.) Ānupati ("son of Gāri or पार्ज्जी").

गा to murmur, complain (गा+लु)।
गांवर (m.) high road (traversed by cattle with bells).
गांवर (f.) a line of clouds (रामी, a heap).
गांवर (f.) loud speaking.
गांवर (m.) house (S. गें).
गांवर (m.) supporting beam for roof or floor.
गांव (m.) loud and continuous noise.

गा (m.) (2) a musical instrument.
गांव (m.) quadruped.

अच्छिन्न (adj.) blind (चूँ eye, दीन bereft of).
अच्छिट (n.) pure gold.
अच्छिली (f.) the Goddess Bhavāni, who slew the Asuras Canda and Mundā.
अच्छ्य (m.) the blue jay.
अच्छ्य (n. m.) the spotted deer.
अच्छ्य अच्छ्य (f.) fourteen periods, each comprising the four ages, कृत, देश, देशिक, हिपिक.
अच्छ्य (n.) tonsure.

अच्छ्य अच्छ्य (m. pl.) the decrees of Fate (written by Brahmā on the child's forehead on the sixt day after birth).
अच्छ्य (m.) a leaf.
अच्छ्य (m.) disciple.
अच्छ्य (adj.) porous.

अच्छ्य (adj.) stubborn.
अच्छ्य (m.) loin-cloth (2) a thick girdle.
अच्छिल (n.) the moonstone (अच्छिल-अच्छिल).
अच्छिल (m.) Śrī Kṛṣṇa ("hero of the Yādavas").
अच्छिल (m.) Viṣṇu ("punisher of mankind").
अच्छिल (f.) a sheet of water, a lake (S. जल+त्रीच). अच्छिल (m.) ocean (water holder).
अच्छिल (m.) courier (P. नरक, quick).
अच्छिलु to prattle.
अच्छिल (f.) a curtain (S. चविकला).
अच्छिल (m.) a valiant man, a young man (P.).
अच्छिल (f.) fame, glory (S. यम).
अच्छिल (n.) classification.
“complete havoc” (गदन the Yādavas + स्थः, root from the slaughter of the clan).

Ganges (f.) the Ganges (daughter of गंगा).

हिल (m.) a hillock, a hill.

मोती (n.) motto.

विस (f.) a woman (S. चीरिवा).

फेरिफुज (m.) febrifuge (फेर, fever).

$\frac{1}{2}$ of an anna, money (अटे).

संघर (f.) contest, strife (संघर). (2) churning ropes (3) the sound thereof when worked. Proverb वेल बाहो ने धेर अर्का “counting one’s chickens” etc. (4) a row of pots.

फिव (m.) a fish.

ठीक फिव to eat greedily.

ताइख (m. pl.) threads, connecting links.

बार (अर्का) (m.) one leaf of a door opening out from the वारोका or door-frame.

शेष करना to strut, make a fine show (शेष करना).

ठाक (n. pl.) (2) fetters.

रास (f.) nonsense (रास jaw, jawbone रास to pound).

थुड (m.) thud of a horse’s hoof.

बंत (n.) a tank.

तिन (adj.) extended.

(2) God’s nature.

(3) editor, manager (2) (f.) a lute (मत्र गीत, Cupid’s lute).

(4) alone.

(5) thud of a horse’s hoof.

(6) deep darkness (भें + र आ).

(7) dark.

(8) night.

(9) the river Yamunā (“daughter of the Sun”).

(10) fickle, unstable.

(11) to upbraid.

(12) economy, good arrangement (cf. नेव).

(13) to please, satisfy (S. टूट).

(14) to be joyful.

(15) to be anxious, brood over.

(16) (1) renunciation (साधन, साधन ; S. लोह). टोग (n.) an earring.

(17) (f.) the art of inducing sleep.

(18) discerning (S. तक). बालवित्त (adj.) artificial.

(19) understanding (अभा तो तो लिस आयभा ले नाये रसना तासम आको) (6) brilliance, fame, lustre.

(20) (adj.) restrained, hidden (गीव a bank, shore).

(21) to vanish.

(22) a bird.

(23) upright, standing.

(24) pleased, satisfied.

(25) ice.

(26) thirsty (S. तूप्प). तृप्तसु (n.) photosphere.

(27) (2) a horse.

(28) (m.) bread.

(29) (n.) a copper drum.

(30) (m.) Śiva (2) Śiva’s bow.

(31) (f.) an aggregate of three.
to sever, cut.

to yoke animals in front of the "wheelers".

man's individuality.

stress, accent.

in and out breathing (P).

Rāvana ("ten-necked").

tooth.

Rāvana ("ten-shouldered").

with hands joined in token of supplication or respect (P).

a non-Aryan, a demon, a robber.

tax-collector.

drowned, subdued, subjected.

discreetness, politeness.

the horizon.

the Sun, as "lord of the day".

the Sun, as "jewel of the day".

the Sun, as "supreme of the day".

procrastination.

light-house.

sin.

a queen out of favour (Śī + BAGA).

a telephone (S. KAR, the ear).

(adj.) visible.

a seer, prophet.

Krṣṇa's mother.

barren, desolate.

(adj.) daily.

the sky.

the eye, sight (S. DRU).

liquefaction.

water-hole (ḍRī).

an opponent.

bipeta'ous.

elephant (26 = RÄT tooth).

from the beginning (PÄRÄNÄH).

m. the physician of the Gods.

to take up a position.

from the outset.

satisfaction, joy (S. DRU).

running.

daughter.

(S.) we please, honour, pray to.

(3) to be hot, fiery.

inhaling smoke.

dusty (ṢĞU + S饸).

treatise on love.

ponder, meditate.

South Pole (4) Pole of any planet.

dense darkness.

plectrum, pick (for playing the zither, etc.).

Śri Krṣṇa ("the excellent dancer").

dented, low.

m. Śri Krṣṇa ("son of Nanda", his foster father).

the month of Śrāvana (August–September).

the milky way (Ganges of the sky).

beautiful.

priceless, precious (SUID price).

Adam's apple.

(3) naked (nārī ṣāḥ).
नवप्रसन्न (m.) new verdure.
नस्थाठीमा (हि) र्षि तथा "to be very proud"
(नस्थाठी नस्थाठी nostrils).
नस्थाठी (m.) a Rṣi, who usurped Indra's
throne.
नन्द (3) A King (husband of Dama-
yantī).
नाट (n.) an actor’s dress (5) an
actor’s tricks and gestures.
नाटक (n.) swallowing up, storing up.
नाटकार (m.) wedding-lamp.
निरु (f.) an arbour.
निरुक्त (adj.) all, total.
निरु (m.) low tide.
निरु (adj.) fearless (निरु + रु).
निरु (adj.) overpowered by sleep.
निरु (adj.) crowded, thick, deep.
निरु (adj.) secret, solitary.
निरु (adj.) godless.
निरु (m.) observer.
निरु (m.) renunciation of, or
detachment from, worldly cares.
Also used as a pillow-word, like निरु.
निरु (adj.) unlimited.
निरु to strike, beat, uproot.
निरु (adj.) unobstructed, un-
hindered.
निरु (n.) stoppage, obstruction,
regression.
निरु (n.) house, abode.
निरु (n.) the blue lotus.
निरु (m.) dwelling place, en-
campment (निरु).
निरु (n.) dew ("flower of the
night").
निरु (m.) moon ("lord of the
night").
निरु (adj.) edged, indented.
निरु (adj.) born of the night
(निरु + सु).
निरु (adj.) sinless.

निरु (f.) originality.
निरु (f.) destruction, extinction
(opposed to निरु).
निरु (m.) peacock ("blue neck").
निरु (n.) the lotus ("water-born").
निरु (adj.) silent, peaceful.
निरु (निरु) (m.) (3) an in-
carnation of Viṣṇu (half-man,
half-lion).
निरु not only, so much (न + दृष्टि),
endless, boundless (the Creator).
निरु (f.) hair oil (2) anklet.

क्षण, क्षणि और निरु (निरु) are
the distinguishing marks of a
woman whose husband is still
alive श्रीमानपति.
निरु (m.) (4) flag of a merchant-
vessel.
निरु (n.) pitilessness (निरु + धूषण
compassion).
निरु (adj.) several, many (न + दृष्टि).
निरु (n.) (n. pl. (निरुरिज्य) scratches
on the body with the nail or
claw.

निरु (m.) Śiva (2) lion, tiger
("five-faced").
निरु (m.) Śiva ("five-faced").
पात्र (m.) (2) difference.
पात्र (m.) stumbling while running.
पात्र (adj.) dethroned.
पात्र (m.) a tank (S. पात्र a lotus,
पात्र अज abode).
पात्र (m.) Viṣṇu ("lord of
Padmā", the lotus-born
Lakṣmī).
पात्र to be fragrant.
पात्र (n.) cloud (पात्र water, दा to
give).
पात्र (m.) mariner’s compass.
पात्र (m.) wonder.
पारिवार (m.) ocean.
पार्थ (m.) (4) ice.
पार्व (f.) footpath (पार्व + राव)
पाश (f.) phallus (सिंधुनगर).
पात्र (m.) great ancestor (2) great lord.
पात्र (m.) uncle.
पात्रिक (f.) the ant (S.).
पात्रिक (adj.) thirsty (S.).
पात्र-पात्र (n.) fruitless reiteration (पात्र-पात्र ground, pounded; पात्र the act of grinding in a mill).
पात्र (n.) stamen.
पात्र (adv.) formerly.
पात्र (3) Śrī Kṛṣṇa (4) the Supreme Deity.
पात्र (m.) Indra (S. "invoked by many").
पात्र (m.) God.
पात्र (n.) a sandy shore or bank.
पात्र (n.) a child (पात्र).
पात्र (n.) a flower (S. पुष्प).
पात्र (n.) manliness.
पात्र (adj.) very eager, very amorous.
पात्र (m.) the forearm.
पात्र (adj.) fierce, fiery.
पात्र (adj.) great, immense.
पात्र (part.) fallen, bowing at the feet.
पात्र (m.) love, affection.
पात्र (m.) opposition, retaliation, remedying.
पात्र (f.) the west.
पात्र (f.) echo.
पात्र (n.) retribution, requital.
पात्र (f.) prowess (2) great intellect or wisdom (3) lustre.
पात्र (f.) giver, benefactress.
पात्र (m.) utter destruction (S. घास, to destroy.
पात्र (f.) to awaken (2) to instruct, advise.
અમનું (ભ.) to be probable (2) to be born.
અમારું (n.) the women's garden.
અમત્ર (m.) Allâhâbâd.
અમરેલ (m.) a devotee of Viṣṇu and son of the Asura Hiranyakasipu.
અમત્રણ (n.) escape.
અમત્થ (n.) speech, speaking.
અમદુ to speak.
અમરી (m.) the upper arm.
અમશાલુક (adj.) opportune.
અમરુ to set out, march.
અમૂલ (m.) great joy.
અમૂલાલ (n.) ablution.
અમુલી (adj.) primitive, former; (2) fate, destiny.
અમારૂણ (n.) courtyard.
અમારૂણ (adj.) dangerous, deadly.
અમાટ્થ (adv.) probably, generally.
અમરુ (m.) the rainy season.
અમરુ to eat.
અમટ્થ (f.) recognition, understanding.
અમાટ્થ (part.) sent.
અમટ્થા (n.) to see.
અમટ્થ (f.) far away there!

અમગ્ણ (m.) a throw.
અમગ્ણ (m.) a gad-about, a "gay dog" (અમગ્ણ).
અમગ્ણ (m.) lavatory (P.).
અમગ્ણ (m.) facet, smooth side.
અમગ્ણ (m.) an old jackal, separated from the pack.
અમગ્ણ (m.) an angel (P.).
અમગ્ણ (f.) alertness, wakefulness.
અમગ્ણ (f.) fragrance (A.).

અમગ્ણ (adj.) foppish, gay, showy.
અમગ્ણિ (adj.) very fortunate (અમગ્ણ, for barâ બાર).  
અમગ્ણ (f.) (H.) dawn, early morning.

અમગ્ણ (adj.) undulating (2) beautiful.
અમગ્ણ (n.) "lonely" wood (because the અમગ્ણ or અમગ્ણ wanders therein, separated from his mate).
અમગ્ણ (m.) peacock (S. વાડી).  
અમગ્ણ (f.) the spleen.
અમગ્ણ (f.) a lute, pipe, flute.
અમગ્ણ (f.) to bloom, blossom.
અમગ્ણ (adj.) excessive, very much.
અમગ્ણ (m.) King of the nether regions.
અમગ્ણ (m.) (2) a horse (ઘાડી).
અમગ્ણગ્ણ (f.) sport (P.).
અમગ્ણગ્ણ (adj.) objective.
અમગ્ણગ્ણ (m.) lotus-stalk.
અમગ્ણગ્ણ (m.) rationalism.
અમગ્ણગ્ણ (m.) gun-embrasure.
અમગ્ણગ્ણ (f.) shamelessness (P.).
અમગ્ણ (f.) den.
અમગ્ણગ્ણ (f.) Sarasvati, daughter of Brahmā.
અમગ્ણગ્ણ (m.) a Brâhmaṇa saint.
અમગ્ણગ્ણ (n.) aperture in crown of head, through which the soul is said to depart at death.

અમગ્ણ (m.) (3) a wave.
અમગ્ણ (m.) a king of the Solar dynasty (2) (adj.) prodigious, Herculean.
અમગ્ણ (adj.) despondent, despairing (અમગ્ણ broken+ અમગ્ણ).  
અમગ્ણ (m.) the Sun (2) Śiva (3) a Brahmān.
અમગ્ણ (m.) a spear (અમગ્ણ).
અમગ્ણ = અમગ્ણ = અમગ્ણ = "one who beats about the bush".
અમગ્ણ (n.) one of the Purāṇas.
અમગ્ણ (f.) the river Ganges (as daughter of King Bhagiratha, who brought her from "Heaven").
अभिनव (m.) Śiva (with the crescent moon on his forehead).
भ्रष्ट (adj.) terrible.
भ्रु (adj.) evil, bad.
भूत (m. f. n.) surface of the earth.
भूर (adj.) foolish.
भूस्त से (m.) geologist (भू to cover + ज्ञान to know).
ब्रह्म (m.) Venus.
ब्रह्म (f.) (3) the earth (ब्रह्मी).
ब्रह्म (m.) the dawn.
ब्रह्म (m.) feetus (S.).

म
भौ (m.) sacrifice (S.).
भौगोलिक (f.) death embrace (भॉग a corpse).
भूक (f.) a hut.
भू (adj.) sedate (2) pleasing, beautiful.
भूतान (m.) Indra.
भूतान (m.) Śri Kṛṣṇa (slayer of the demon Madhu).
भूतान (n.) the human eye (भू, भूतान).
भूतन्त्र (f.) (3) egoism.
भूषण (m.) ray (S.).
भूषण (m.) pearl fisher (भूषण + ता). भूषण (f.) deathbed.
भूषण (m. n.) ointment, salve (P.).
भूषण (m. f.) ray (S.).
भूषण (f.) to be fragrant.
भूषण (f.) a mother (cf. Marathi म्हणाली an old woman).
भूषण (m.) a great warrior.
भूषण (m.) mountain (भूषण the earth + वर्ष). भूषण (n.) slur, disgrace (भूषण a fly).
भूषण (m.) the wind (S.).
भूषण (m.) uncle.
भूषण (f.) a creeper, bearing white, fragrant flowers (Gaertnera racemos). भूषण (adj.) weak, debilitated, pampered.
भूषण (m.) (7) Cupid.
भूषण (n.) softness, gentleness (S. भूषण).
भूषण (m.) Kṛṣṇa.
भूषण (2) a monthly magazine.
भूषण (f.) carnivorous.
भूषण (m.) the ocean.
भूषण (f.) (2) sight, glance.
भूषण (f.) the Sun.
भूषण (n.) corona.
भूषण (m.) looking glass (S.).
भूषण (m. n.) bud (S.).
भूषण (m.) (2) the Deity.
भूषण (adj.) bewitching, beautiful (2) stupid (3) sinless.
भूषण (n.) title page.
भूषण (m.) a saint, holy man (Ar.).
भूषण (adj.) relying on, firm (भूषण (Ar.).
भूषण (adj.) fundamental, primary.
भूषण (m.) antelope’s skin.
भूषण (adj.) fawn-eyed.
भूषण (m.) musk.
भूषण (m.) the moon (“having the mark of a deer”).
भूषण (m.) (m.) the moon (“the lord of the deer”) (2) a lion (“lord of beasts”).
भूषण (m.) (m.) lion (“lord of beasts”).
भूषण (adj.) false.
भूषण (m.) Indra (as Cloud-Thunderer).
भूषण (f.) acumen, intelligence.
भूषण (m.) (m.) Cupid.
भूषण (f.) a famous Apsārā, or heavenly nymph.
भूषण (न.) Sitā (daughter of Janaka, King of Mithilā).
भूषण (n.) a load.
भूषण (m.) married (Ar. भूषण, a seal).
भूगोल (n.) beauty (2) bashfulness (3) guilelessness.
मौलिन (f.) the head.

५ पत (n.) ice (S.).
वमान्द्र (m.) Yama's delight, i.e. destruction of mankind.
श्रावणि (adj.) famous.
शूरणि (f.) spontaneity, accident, wilfulness.
शामकतिवदिसिर “to all eternity” (S. “as long as the moon and sun [endure]”, a phrase appearing in title deeds).

८ राहस्यमा redness.
शेयरर्स्यु (n.) chromosphere.
रामपत (m.) Rāma.
राजस्व (f.) friendship (2) greatness (P.).
राम (m.) God (Ar.).
समान्त (n.) upset, uproar, disorder.
राम to play, खेल to dig, uproot.
रविन्द्रन (m.) Yama (son of the Sun).
राम (m.) cloud राम + दा (give).
रामकर (m.) राम + घर (hold).
राफ़ित (f.) delight, satisfaction.
राफ़ित (adv.) in secret, secretly.
राफ़ित (m.) the moon (“Lord of the full moon night”).
राधापति (f.) worldliness (राधा� worldly pleasure).
राजस्व (m.) Kubera, the God of wealth.
राजस्वयम् (m.) treason.
राज्य (m.) Rāma.
राजह (f.) wife of Śri Kṛṣṇa.
रामेश (m.) a villager, a boor.
धम idiom. तेना धम रेसी गवि “he died”.
रामर (m.) shepherd.

शिव (f.) anger (रीस).
शमावधार (adj.) stately, smart, lustrous (P. 2 face, रम रेन water, lustre).
श्रू (adj.) good, pleasing.
शुद्रावण Cupid (“Lord of the Spring season”).
श्रू (adj.) useless, to no purpose.
श्रू (suffix) e.g. श्रूस्त्र “bathed in tears”.
श्रू (m.) adaptation.
श्र (m.) a deer.
श्र (adj.) angry.
श्रीभू (f.) Śri Kṛṣṇa's chief Queen.
श्री (f.) the Narmadā river.
श्रीकु (t.) to kill, afflict.
श्र (m.) beauty, lustre (P.).
श्रीकु (नि:ए) (m.) the Moon (lord of श्रीकुफ़ित the “wain”).

श भ्रमश (m.) Rāvaṇa (“King of Lankā” or (?) Ceylon).
श्र (m.) word (Ar.).
श्र (adv.) for a certainty (परे = फूरा of a विन्दु, q.v.).
श्र (n.) dance.
श्र (f.) enjoyment (3) excellence.
श्र (f.) saying rumour.

श निद्रावण (n.) refraction.
निद्र (n.) hindrance (विंड).
निद्र (n.) calyx.
निद्र (m.) Indra (“thunderbolt in hand”).
निद्र get along! get out!
निद्रसूत to stink.
निद्र (m.) a Jain ascetic.
निद्र (adj.) fit to be abandoned, or excluded.
निद्र (n.) rain, raining.
वहोः (m.) hope (अहोः).
वहृष्ट (adj.) adorable (2) chief (S. वृष्ट to choose).
वसन्न (m. n.) bangle (S.).
वसिर्न (m.) one of the seven chief Rṣis of old.
व्यावस्थोः willy-nilly (ढ़ bad, ध श subjected).
वसृंहत (n.) (4) present of clothes, etc. वसृ (m.) connexion, union, meeting (वसृत) (Ar.).
वहृष्टिः (m.) a bard, minstrel.
वाप्य (f.) speech (in compounds, e.g. वाप्यः सरसवती = Saravati).
वायुर्भाषिः Brhaspati, the preceptor of the Gods.
वस्त्र अभिन्नूः to harass.
वात (f.) (3) tyre of a wheel.
वास्तवप्रेषिः (adj.) pertaining to Vatsyayana (author of वास्तवप्रेषिः).
वास्तवालिक (f.) concubine (S. वास्तव recurring point of time).
वासिं (m.) a cloud (S. चारि water + दान, give).
वासिं (adj.) technical.
वासिं (m.) robber.
वास्तव (adj.) true, credible.
विरास्त (adj.) scattered, loosened.
विश्र (3) a step onward.
वित्त (m.) tree, branch of a tree.
विस्मृत (f.) false, in vain.
वित्त (m.) Cupid (cf. वन्ने).
वितरण (n.) canopy.
विरावत (adj.) merciless (चित्र + द्रव्या).
विरावत (adj.) unpounded, whole.
विस्तृत (f.) (2) electricity.
विनिष्ट (adj.) easily destroyed, transient.
विनिष्ट (m.) destroyer.
विस्मृत (m.) a bye-path.
विन्यास (m.) defeat, destruction.
विन्यास (m.) conclusion, result.
विश्वाः (m.) (2) a scholar (3) (adj.) wise, educated.
वनिष्ट (m.) brother of Rāvana.
विराज (adj.) (1) ceased, stopped.
विराजत (f.) to gaze at.
विराहत (adj.) trembling, unsteady, disordered.
विरित (adj.) separate, distinct.
विरेषि specific (in विरेषि युवर, s. gravity).
विरास्त (m.) trust, confidence.
विश्वेस्थ (m.) the sky ("the seat of Viṣṇu").
विपत्ति (adj.) tortuous (सूप, to move, glide).
वहुः (m. f.) a wave.
वेदी (f.) to squander.
वेधोः (adj.) without, bereft of.
वेशर्नी (f.) Damayanti (daughter of King Vidarbha).
वेष्टिर्य (n.) inversion (विष्टिर्य). वेष्टिर्य (m.) Indra.
वेष्टिर्य (n.) depth, profundity (विष्टिर्य). वेष्टिर्य (adj.) appertaining to one of the six Sātras.
वेष्टिर्य (f.) allusion, suggestion.
वेष्टिर्य (f.) individuality (as opposed to समंग, aggregate).
वस्त्र (adj.) set (as the Sun).
वस्त्र (m. (2) a Muni (3) the author of the Mahābhārata epic (4) an expounder of the Vedas.
विशत (n.) inverted order (चित्र + द्रव्य + क्रम).
विश (m.) wound, scar.

शक्ति (n.) a piece, slice (S.).
शरीर (adj.) fickle (2) name of a fish. शरीर (m.) a Bhīl.
शरणवीर (m.) a marksman shooting blindfold and guided by sound.
श्रं (f.) taper, lamp.
A GUJARATI-ENGLISH VOCABULARY 797

शरीर (adj.) renowned, populous (Ar.) रक्षक शरीर; (used to रक्षक)।
शव (m.) locust (2) moth.
शख (m.) the moon ("having the mark of a hare").
शाम (m.) Siam.
शीत (m.) splash of water (S. शिवा, to sprinkle).
शेख (f.) (2) permission to depart.
शुद्र (f.) shell, oyster-shell.
शुधरना (m. pl.) thanks (Ar.).
शुष्क (n.) the hot weather (July–August).
शुद्ध (n.) washing the mouth after a meal.
शुद्ध (m.) Śiva ("trident in hand").
शुद्ध (f.) hospitality, attendance on.
शेष (m.) checkmate (शेष, king).
शेढ़ (n.) cold.
शेढ़ (f.) Pārvati ("daughter of the mountain").
शेष (n.) youth (S).
शोषण (adj.) audible (S. शोषण, hear).
श्रेप्ति (m.) Viṣṇu ("husband of Śrī", or Laksñī).  
शेष (n.) sigh (S. शेष, to breathe).

पूढः (m. pl.) the six "enemies" or inimical passions, i.e. क्रोध (lust), काल (anger), लोभ (greed), मोक्ष (infatuation), मोक्ष (pride), and अस्वर (jealousy).

स
संक्रामक close by.
संवेदन (m.) doubt (S. संवेदन).
संबंध (m.) a lover.
संधिय (m.) the act of felling, a wound.
संदर्भ (m.) high tide.
संचार (f.) potential energy.
संवाच (adj.) direct.
सस्माक (n.) isotherm.
समस्त (m.) eerie noise (समस्त, समस्त).
समस्त (adj.) temperate.
समस्त (adj.) true, proper, abundant.
समस्त (m.) great joy.
संस् (f.) progression (2) stream.
संस् (adj.) sharp, nimble, fickle.
संस् (adj.) hidden, covered up.
संस्कार (m.) Arjuna (left-handed in grasping the bow).
संस्कृत (f.) stream, current, the stream of life, "the world."
संतोष (adj.) arrogant.
संतोष (adj.) consistent.
संत (m.) an Emperor.
संशय (adj.) doubting, suspicious.
संशय (f.) literature.
संहार (adj.) sprinkled.
संतोष (m.) oppression, tyranny (P.).
संतोष (adj.) easy.
संतोष (adj.) conferring happiness (संतोष, दा, give).
संतोष (m.) the moon (संतोष, nectar + आश्रय, ray).
संतोष (adj.) asleep.
संतोष (adj.) happily combined, well-matched.
संतोष (f.) (2) divinity (संतोष, a God).
संतोष (f.) the Ganges ("river of the Gods").
संतोष (f.) the favourite Queen, or wife (संतोष, जी).
संतोष (m.) tranquillity, calm, stillness.
संतोष (n.) microphone.
संतोष (m. pl.) the ends of a saree.
संतोष (adj.) afterwards, latter.
संतोष (m.) Cambay.
संतोष (n.) pistil.
संतोष (n.) wonder, pride (संतोष to smile).
संतोष (m.) Cupid.
संतोष (m.) flow (S.).
संतोष (m.) a low-caste, a Dhed.
stubbornness
("Abyssinian’s fist").
poison churned by the
Gods from the ocean (2) any
deadly poison.
Adam’s apple.
sacrifice.
existence.
the *mendi* plant (*Laursonia inermis*).
(m.) glacier.
(m.) Brahma
(m.) gold.
murderous, cruel.
(adj.) Krsna (S. *hrtim*, organ of
sense; *dev*, lord).
(m.) a horse.
(adj.) pardonable.
(adj.) “the soul” (body
+ *n*, knowing).
THE SOUNDS OF SINĀ

By T. Grahame Bailey, assisted on the Phonetic side by Lilias E. Armstrong and on the Sinā side by D. L. R. Lorimer

### Chart of Sinā Consonantal Phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bi-labial</th>
<th>Labiodental</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palato-Alveolar</th>
<th>Retracted</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plosive</td>
<td>p, b, ph</td>
<td>t, d, th</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>t, d, th</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>k g kh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>t̚, t̚h</td>
<td>c, j, ch</td>
<td>c̚ j̚ ch</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>(n)</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>η</td>
<td>(η)</td>
<td>η</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
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<td>(l)</td>
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<td>(l)</td>
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<td>Tapped</td>
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<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td></td>
<td>f, v</td>
<td>s z</td>
<td>s z</td>
<td>x̌ y̌</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vowel glide</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspirate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>h, ȟ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|            | h, ȟ in any vowel position. |

p is strictly speaking dento-alveolo-palatal.

Symbols in brackets indicate subsidiary members of other phonemes.

In my *Shina Grammar* just published there is a popular description of the sounds written eight years ago in India, when it was impossible for me to consult anyone. Now I should like to alter some of it. In phonetics advance is so rapid that one's descriptions are out of date almost as soon as they are written. Happily it is all advance. There is no retrogression.

In order to indicate graphically the sounds of a language one must (i) decide what sounds are found in it, (ii) group them in phonemes, assigning one symbol to each phoneme (not to each speech sound), (iii) show their tongue position or place of articulation by correctly placing them on a sound chart. A phoneme may be *popularly* defined as a distinct, essential, and significant sound of a language, minor variations being disregarded.
Most of the above vowels are found nasal as well as non-nasal. I do not remember nasal ə, d, ɔ, ɣ.

Section I gives Col. Lorimer’s and my joint views, with such qualifications on his part as are inserted within square brackets followed by the initial “L.” Section II contains a number of minuter details for which I alone am responsible. The sound charts have been prepared by Miss Armstrong and myself. Col. Lorimer is in general agreement with them, but does not wish to commit himself to all the details [“regarding which I do not feel competent to form definite opinions” : L.]. No two people speak a language alike; in India, especially in hilly regions, there are differences from village to village. Col. Lorimer and I worked with different men in different years. There are therefore naturally a few minor variations in our estimates of sounds. This holds in particular of vowels.

Section I

There are approximately 64 to 68 phonemes in Șină, of which 40, including aspirated sounds, are consonantal. [Add “w” : L.] This number may be slightly increased or decreased after further investigation; thus ʒ, ʃ may be varieties of j, ɬ. [I think they are : L.] But for the present it may be accepted as practically correct. Of these phonemes, sixteen consist of pairs of advanced and retracted consonantal sounds, as follows. (The difference is significant.)
Advanced:—t, d, c, j, n, r, f, z; retracted:—ṭ, ḍ, ć, ḳ, u, r, ś, z. 
[The retraction of ć, ĵ (ʒ), s, r is often so considerable as to be obvious to a European ear: L.] 
There are seven sounds which are found both aspirated and unaspirated, the difference being significant: p, t, b, c, t, c, k; aspirated, ph, th, ṭh, ch, th, ch, kh [ph being interchangeable with p for f: L.] 
Sonants are not aspirated.

The dental fricatives ð and ð (English th in think and then) are not heard in Šinā. The velar fricatives χ and γ (sometimes interchangeable with kh and g) are generally found in loan words such as khuda or χudā, God: jāyistān, Yāgistān. They are faintly pronounced.

There are approximately 24–28 vowel phonemes, 14 non-nasal vowels, 10 or more of these also nasal. [a doubtful: L.] i and ĺ are retracted to ļ and z when one of the sounds ṭ, j, s, z immediately follows or precedes. ć is advanced towards y in a few words. Doubtless some law, not yet discovered, governs this fact. In the meantime, we may enter y as belonging to the ļ phoneme. [I know the change only as occurring optionally in a few words, when there is an i vowel in the next syllable: L.]

Some of the vowels appear in certain cases to be interchanged. Such are a, ā, e, æ: i, ļ: o, y, õ, u: e, e.

C. j, ʃ, z are not unlike English ch, j, sh, zh, but are unrounded and more advanced: c is unaspirated. ć, ĵ, s, z are the corresponding retracted sounds: lips unrounded.

b, m, g, n, s, z do not differ appreciably from the corresponding English sounds; p and k differ from English p and k in lacking aspiration.

f and v are not unlike English f and v, but are fainter. The friction is less and the acoustic effect is different. v is sometimes weakened to u [? L.]

r is a single tap r as sometimes heard in Scotland or in English thrill.

ŋ is as in English, but when accompanying -i is very far forward.

j is less consonantal, i.e. is more like e than in English. [T. G. B.’s medial j is often omitted by me, or rendered by i: L.]

Section II

p is not unlike the Italian and French sound [I agree: L.], but is further forward. It is made with the blade of the tongue against the alveolar ridge behind the upper teeth.

t, ḍ are dental: ŏ, ḍ are the corresponding retracted sounds.
Their position is normally the same as in Panjabi, and Urdu, but when accompanying high front vowels, they are more advanced.

\( \tilde{n} \) is never initial; when medial it is the same as in Panjabi, but is further forward when final or with a high front vowel.

\( r \) is as in Urdu and Panjabi. It is never initial, and rarely [if ever, L.] final.

\( h \) following a vowel tends to become sonant, but otherwise is as in English.

\( b, g, d, \tilde{d}, d \) are sometimes, and \( l, r \) always, partly or wholly devocalized when final. [With more phonetic knowledge I should probably agree. I frequently have final \( p, k, t \), corresponding to medial \( b, g, d \): also sometimes final \( s, c, \tilde{s} \), corresponding to medial \( z, j, \tilde{z}(\tilde{j}) \): L.]

The numbers in the following paragraphs refer to positions between the cardinal vowels. The nature of the vowels is shown by their position on the chart.

\( e \) has a position of about 1\( \frac{1}{2} \).

\( e \) in the diphthong \( ei \) has a range of approximately 3 to 3\( \frac{1}{2} \).

\( a \) is probably a member of the \( a \) phoneme, \( "i" \) in a following syllable advances \( a \) from 4\( \frac{1}{2} \) to about 4, i.e. to \( a: a'l\tilde{v} "he came"; a'li, "she came." \)

\( o \) is heard chiefly in loan-words: \( m\tilde{o}la", "Sunni priest," \( gogu, "noise." \)

\( o \) is about 6\( \frac{3}{8} \): an unrounded and advanced variety of it, \( v \), is always short. \( v \), when final and unstressed, has a range of about 6\( \frac{3}{8} \) to 7\( \frac{1}{2} \). In Roman letters therefore one writes it sometimes -\( o \) and sometimes -\( u \).

\( a \) is very low, not much above \( a: j\tilde{a}s, "mother-in-law." \)

**Tone.**—There is a low rising tone heard in a certain number of words. Its first part occurs always in a stressed syllable; the second part is about a tone higher than the first. The rule for its incidence is not known except to this extent that all abstract nouns ending in -\( ar \) and all conjunctive participles have it. Thus \( b\tilde{a}r\tilde{ar}, "greatness; j\tilde{y}\tilde{z}i", "swollen; the", "having done." \)

Words illustrating cerebrals and aspirates: \( ji\tilde{ne}, "living; ji\tilde{ne}, "rows; tam, "swimming; tam, "falling; "shutting; tham, "cleaning; "sweeping; \( cak, "pitchfork; chak, "day; bat, "stone; bat, "rice; bari bari, "a big pond; khe\( n, "time; ke\( n, "rock; par, "last year; phar, "turn; ek \( \tilde{d}am, "altogether, etc; ek \( \tilde{d}am, "once; kh\tilde{u}n, "shawl; k\tilde{u}n, "ear." \)
REVIEWS OF BOOKS


The growing cost of printing texts in Oriental type has in recent years been a serious check to the progress of Islamic studies, and every student of Arabic, Persian, or Turkish will welcome the application of the recently-improved method of photographic reproduction to the publication of texts hitherto inaccessible. The German Oriental Society has made use of this method to bring out a new issue of texts that have been long out of print and difficult to obtain, and the enterprising firm of Heinz Lafaire has now undertaken to render available in a similar manner an entirely new series of hitherto unpublished works. It has rightly been recognized that this method of publication is especially suitable in the case of unique manuscripts, of which only one copy is known to exist, so that no collation of other manuscripts is either possible or necessary. Accordingly, we are promised an edition of the early Ottoman chronicle of Bihishtî, to whom his editor, Professor Babinger, assigns a period between 1450 and 1520 (years that were so momentous in the history of the Turks); only one manuscript of this work is known to exist, in the British Museum. Persian scholars will see for the first time the Khwân-i-Ikhwân of that remarkable personage in the eleventh century, Nâsir-i-Khusraw, a copy of which has survived in the library of Aya Sofia in Constantinople. To students of Arabic, Professor Grohmann will make accessible the Universal History of Ibn Kathîr and two volumes of Hamdânî's Iklîl. These works represent but a small part of this series as at present planned. It will give a fresh impulse to the study of Islam by the materials that it will provide for further investigations into Muslim history, literature and culture, and deserves the support of all Orientalists, as it will provide them with readable texts at a very small cost.
The first volume has just appeared and gives the Turkish text of a romantic poem by the earliest Ottoman poet of whom there is any record—Mes'ud b. Ahmed, who completed this poem in the year 1378. Gibb makes mention of it (I, 226), but had never himself been able to find a copy. The text (which is vocalized throughout) is beautifully clear and presents the attractive appearance of a MS. written by an expert calligraphist.

T. W. ARNOLD.

KARAGÖS, TÜR Krische Schattenspiele, herausgegeben, übersetzt und erklärt von Hellmut Ritter. (Orient-Buchhandlung, Hannover, 1924.)

To students of modern Turkish, Professor Ritter's publication of the texts of three complete Turkish shadow-plays in the form in which they used to be represented in the imperial palace in Constantinople will be welcome, for hitherto only scanty and fragmentary material has been available for the study of this literature, so significant for the understanding of the workings of the mind of the average Turk. But apart from their psychological interest, these texts are valuable from a linguistic point of view, for examples of dialogue dealing with the common affairs of daily life and written in good Turkish, are not easy to find, and (as the editor explains) the language of these texts is "High-Ottoman" and in no way bears to the language of the cultivated Turk the relation that "Vulgar Arabic" bears to classical Arabic. The Turkish text is given in transliteration, partly on account of the expense of printing in Oriental type, and partly in order to make clear varieties of pronunciation in such dialect forms as occur.

For those students of Islam who do not read Turkish the editor's introduction and translation will direct attention to a branch of study that has received hardly any attention in English literature dealing with the Muhammadan world, namely, the outlook upon life of the Turk apart from orthodox presentations of what his religion bids him think. Particularly, to many readers it will be new to learn that, despite the common prohibition of representations of the human figure, the use of puppets in this shadow-play has received the sanction of high theological authority, on the ground that we have here a symbol of the unreal and transitory world and that the light which casts these shadows on the screen may draw the minds of the spectators to the contemplation of the divine light that is the source of all
existence. The translation is racy and vigorous, and cleverly reproduces many of the comic plays upon words of which the original text is full. The illustrations represent forty-eight of the puppets, which are made of skin, rubbed down to a transparent thinness, and eight of them are reproduced in the original colours.

T. W. ARNOLD.

Commercial Relations between India and England (1601-1757).

We welcome this useful and interesting account of the East India Company's trade from its commencement to 1757. It divides the century and a half with which it deals into three periods of about fifty years each, surveys the general course of trade during each period, and then analyses it into its component parts, tracing in some detail the trade in each of the more important articles, and adding to each chapter appendices of what served the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for statistics. For this purpose Mr. Bal Krishna has drawn upon the records of the Custom-house as well as those at the India Office. It is in all respects a great pity that the information which they appear to contain should have proved so inconclusive. Nevertheless the author has been enabled at several points to supplement the existing information. Notably in the last quarter of the seventeenth century he has been able to correct the current ideas of the volume of the commodities sent out to India by showing to what extent the Company's exports may have been supplemented by those of its interloping rivals. Specially interesting are the accounts he gives of the various imports from the East—in particular indigo, piece-goods, and tea. Although he finds the Customs returns very baffling, and more often than not fails to reconcile his various sources of information, his survey of the trade is more complete than can be found elsewhere. At times we are unable to agree with or follow him. For instance (pp. 160-1) he alleges most brutal methods of repression as used by the Company against its rivals; but he neither specifies the methods nor quotes his authority. As regards the Dutch trade, he relies on the Hague transcripts at the India Office, Valentijn (why does he call the latter Valentyn in his text ?) and Linschoten. These are not adequate material on which to base a solid account of the Dutch trade; he seems unacquainted with the work of Klerk de Reuss; and he ignores the very large mass of material which the Dutch them-
selves have printed. The Hague transcripts were, we believe, designed to illustrate political rather than economic developments. The account of the Dutch trade we take to be the weakest part of the book. Again the author seems to have missed the interest and importance that would have attached to a connected and detailed account of the re-exports of Oriental produce from England to other European countries. He refers to them occasionally, but has not worked out the matter. Minor points are his use of courtesy titles—it is odd to read of "Mr. Mun" after a lapse of three centuries; his quite mistaken description of the Ostenders as "free merchants" and "clandestine traders"—they were no more clandestine than the Company itself; the repeated error of "toncon" for jankan in the footnote on p. 43; and we wonder to what extent the writer could substantiate his view that the European merchants deliberately drove Indian traders off the Indian seas. In very many cases the traders of the two nations worked closely together.

_CRIME IN INDIA._ By S. M. EDWARDES. pp. viii + 169. Milford, 1924. 8s. 6d.

As Inspector-General of Police at Bombay, Mr. Edwardes has had plenty of opportunity of studying crime in India. His little book gives a general survey, classified under heads such as offences against the state or against property; and it is limited in time to recent years, so that Thagi and other extraordinarily interesting practices are omitted. Nevertheless the modern Indian criminal can still be very interesting. As Mr. Edwardes points out, and as he illustrates again and again, the peculiarity of the Indian criminal is that he may belong to either the ancient or the modern category. The criminal tribes, along with the methods taken in the hopes of reclaiming them, provides the author with one of his most interesting sections; and these are people whose hereditary duty it is to steal and rob just as much as it is the duty of the Brahman to perform ceremonies or of the Vaisya to buy and sell. Then beside these relics of an immemorial antiquity we find the modern product—railway thieves, insurance-swindlers, and so on. As examples of Indian ingenuity may be quoted one or two cases in which the ingenious took advantage of Mr. Gandhi's Non-co-operation campaign. The Muhammadan butchers of Bilaspur set abroad a rumour that the Mahatma had directed all goats to be set free; and then took advantage of the plentiful supplies that
were offered by alarmed owners to purchase large numbers for a mere song. Other plans were more nefarious. One rogue went about in Assam selling pills to the coolies as an antidote to the poison which he said the English managers were mixing with the well-water; and another pretended to be empowered to make alterations (for a consideration) in the landRegisters to enable the ryots to obtain remissions of rent under an order of Mr. Gandhi and Mr. C. R. Das. Altogether this little book is both instructive and entertaining. It may be commended to all interested in Indian affairs, and especially to those about to go to India either as missionaries or as administrators.

Economic Conditions in India. By P. Padmanabha Pillai. pp. xviii + 330. Routledge, 1925. 12s. 6d.

This is an excellent and well-balanced book, entirely free from that vicious practice of discussing politics under the guise of economic questions. The historical portion is in places open to criticism. For instance, the author writes as though the Company prosecuted the weaver merely for taking advances from some other employer, whereas that was done only when the weaver took new advances before fulfilling a contract with the Company. But the remainder of the book is well and honestly thought out. Here are no sweeping allegations that India was once a great industrial country, but instead a moderate and reasonable estimate of the extent to which industry entered into her general life. The same candour is displayed in the author's judgment of Lord Curzon's services to Indian agriculture by the formation of the Agricultural Department; and Indians of the present generation seldom give Lord Curzon his due. On occasion we find generalizations which go to the roots of things, as when we are told that whereas in England the economic problem is largely one of distribution, in India it is one of production. The need of revising the railway tariff is emphasized, but the author is no protectionist, considering that India is not yet ready for such a measure. These illustrations show that the author has followed his evidence without seeking to make political capital at every turn; the result is a book that may be confidently recommended to all interested in the economic future of India as a well-thought-out piece of work.

Though relating to Bihar rather than to Bengal, and more concerned with the Mauryan period in general than with either in particular, this little book will serve a useful purpose. It contains a lengthy abstract and comment on the Kautiliya Arthasastra, with long extracts from the classical writers who are believed to have drawn information from Megasthenes, and quotations from the inscriptions of Asoka. The author has therefore brought together within very moderate compass the chief documents on the Mauryan period; and although his conclusions differ little from those of the accepted authorities, he enables the student to survey the period with constant reference to the original writers on whom our knowledge mainly rests. The Arthasastra still remains obscure in many passages; and here and there Mr. Monahan was able to suggest improvements on the translation of Mr. Sama Sastri. For instance, the latter translates samnidāty as "chamberlain"; "treasurer" is proposed as an alternative. Mr. Monahan points out that the "office of the accountants"—aśapatāla—was in fact much more than that, indeed a record office; and he suggests that the military guilds—śrenī—were probably mercenaries who enlisted in the royal army under their own chiefs, and only described as śrenī by an analogy from the trade guilds. This portion seems to be all that Mr. Monahan left finished at the time of his death; but some of his lectures, carrying the history of Bengal down to the fourteenth century, have been printed in Bengal Past and Present.

H. H. Dodwell.


The revival of the top-hat has preserved for science an important proof of the origin of the inhabitants of this country. For it cannot but be considered the national headgear of the rulers of England (we do not speak with such assurance of Scotland), and its adoption by other nations as the ceremonial head-covering of males is only another indication of the way in which our Higher Civilization has imposed itself on less fortunate Gentiles. But to our point. The veriest tyro in Bedlamite Philology must be struck by the absolute identity of the word "top-hat" (at one time a tribal designation
in pre-Roman Britain) with the Tophet mentioned by Jeremiah, who is thus shown to have been true prophet (indeed, are not the words "prophet" and "Jeremiah" often synonymous?). But we must not stop there. Ph and b are always interchangeable. Hence there is no doubt that Tophet and Tibet are identical, and that Jeremiah (whose name after all is a but slightly variant form of Dalai Lama) by his cryptic reference to a valley was in reality describing the great plateau, or even Mount Everest itself, which as the superlative of "ever" is symbolic of the durability of the top-hat habit. If any further proof could be needed, it is found in this. Tophet was situate in the valley of Ben Hinnom;¹ and only the perversity of Western scholars has hitherto prevented the old Phœnician-Pali (the names are identical) Hinayāna being known as the source of Tibetan Buddhism. It is to be hoped therefore that the Tibetans, after the publication of this discovery, will submit to peaceful penetration on the part of their blood-brothers, the top-hatted (or Tibetan) Britons.

It is unfortunate that the author of the book under review should have seemingly missed this great truth, especially as he appears on the title-page as "ex-professor of Tibetan, London University", though we believe "ex-professor of Tibetan, University College", would have been the more accurate description.

But anyone who likes may, for 15s., enjoy 450 pages of miraculous discoveries, before which the above would pale into insignificance. Every page contains a gem, or many gems. In the Newton Stone found in Scotland the author discovers (no one else ever "discovered" or "disclosed" so much) the word ka, to which he gives the meaning of. This he identifies straightway with the Hindi adjectival genitive affix kā, and is strongly inclined to connect with the Gothic S (whatever the Gothic S may be!). The Britons are the Bharatas of the Rigveda (or, as the discoverer writes them in kindly thought to sharpen our etymological obtuseness, the Barats). Curiously enough the same name is found in the Latin Fort(una), of which the second part is identical with the word for "one" and the Sumerian ana, so that it means "one of the Barats". But the identification of Vedic Indra with the patron saint of Scotland is so obvious that we wonder the writer troubled himself to mention it.

All this may be admirable fooling. But we have an uneasy feeling that the author really believes it; and that, since printing must be true, he will find readers to believe it too. No wonder is there that

¹ Encyclopaedia Britannica, s.v. Tophet.
our neighbours look upon us Hittite- (for you may be sure the Hittites are not omitted) Aryan-Phœnician-Barat-English as a strange, unaccountable people, and not the less in that such a volume as this can be printed, published, and even sold in our midst, to the extent, we believe, already of a second edition.

R. L. Turner.


The average European student of Malay has no stomach for Malay religious literature. He finds it dull, written in a bad and difficult style, full of technical terms which he has to hunt up in Arabic dictionaries, and in fact generally unattractive. It is all of foreign origin or inspiration, and therefore in no way characteristically Malay; and most of it consists of translations from Arabic works of which a good few have been rendered into one or other of the readable European languages. Therefore, and with good reason, the ordinary reader avoids it. But in doing so he leaves a serious gap in his studies; for works of this type, arid and uninspiring as they appear to us, have had a considerable influence on Malay thought and opinion, which, after all, it is part of a student’s business to attempt to appreciate and comprehend. Yet I confess that I have much sympathy with his point of view and do not anticipate that this branch of Malay literature will ever appeal greatly to European readers.

Dr. Pijper has laid us under a very considerable obligation in this matter, for he has managed to invest one of these uninviting works with a new interest. The Book of a Thousand Questions, as it has been conventionally styled, is indeed a somewhat miscellaneous theological and cosmological farrago, but is more readable than most others of its class, and it has had a remarkable history. Starting from a tradition of very respectable antiquity that Muhammad, on his arrival at Medinah immediately after the Hejirah, had been met by a learned Jewish Rabbi named ‘Abd Allāh ibn Salām who, after questioning the Prophet on various matters connected with religion, had declared himself a convert to the new revelation, it has developed into quite a substantial treatise: the Malay text takes up 121 pages. But what is particularly noteworthy is that the work, no doubt in a much shorter form, was already known in its Arabic original before A.D. 963, and that from the Arabic it was translated into Latin as early as A.D. 1143, being therefore the first work on
Muhammadanism to reach the European world in a language which it could understand. This was not, however, a piece of Islamic propaganda; on the contrary, it was material gathered, at the instigation of a Cluniac Abbot who visited Toledo in 1141, with a view to Christian missionary efforts against Islam.

From an early Arabic original, which in course of time expanded greatly in different recensions, the work was done into a number of other languages, including Persian, Turkish, Hindostani, Javanese, and Malay. Dr. Pijper, in his most valuable historical account of this evolution, as one may call it, points out the remarkable fact that of all the recensions he has examined the Malay one is at present the most faithful representative of the Arabic text done into Latin in 1143, and that it has come through a Persian version which has not yet been identified. The edition of the Malay text which he gives us is based on a MS. from Batavia, but he has added an *apparatus criticus* of variants from more than a dozen other MSS., including one belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society which he was able to consult at our School. It is pleasing to think that we have been, in some small degree, of assistance in the production of such a scholarly piece of work. Like several other doctorate theses by Dutch scholars that I have seen in recent years, Dr. Pijper’s work maintains a high level in the technical handling of its subject matter, and is a real contribution to Oriental studies.

C. O. Blagden.


The Sarva-darsana-samgraha well deserves the place of honour assigned to it in the new Government Oriental Series and the distinction of having a commentary written upon it by one of the most erudite of living Śāstrīs. As an intellectual *tour de force* it is probably unsurpassed, and perhaps unequalled; for it sets forth with perfectly calm objectivity the doctrines of sixteen schools of thought, and it is not until we arrive at the last chapter, the exposition of Śaṅkara’s doctrine (which, by the way, is by a different hand from that of the
author of the preceding chapters),¹ that we discover the real sentiments of our author, or authors. Such detachment is as singular as the information is valuable.

Yet the detachment is not absolute: there is an underlying implication, expressed not in words but in arrangement. The systems of thought are set forth in an order determined by their relative degree of intellectual refinement, according to our author's opinion. First and lowest are the atheistic schools, comprising successively the blatantly materialistic Cārvākas, the logical and positive Buddhists, and the equally logical but polylemmatic Jains; then come the various sorts of āstikas or believers, the lowest place among them (quantum religio potuit suadere!) being assigned to the Rāmānujiyas, while the highest and last rank in the order of spiritual enlightenment is held by the school of Śaṅkara. The whole book is dominated by this conception of the successive ascent of the various systems from the nearest to the most exalted level. Such a method of exposition, however, is not historical; the idea of history was hardly understood by our author, or authors, and the learned Śāstri, whose commentary most skilfully grasps their mental attitude, has not quite adjusted it to historical reality.

The value of this excellent book is enhanced by the copious indices and classified bibliography. The new series thus starts most auspiciously.


The number of the JBBRAS. before us opens a new series, and calls for our hearty congratulations and good wishes for its future success. Felix faustum siet! The new order begins under most happy auspices, under the editorship of two capable and distinguished scholars, who offer us an excellent series of papers, presented in attractive print. The place of honour is worthily held by Dr. Sten Konow, who contributes a paper on the names and designations of the Kaniṣṭha mentioned in the Ara inscription, in which very plausibly he reads the name of the latter's father as Vajheśka and identifies him with Vāsiṣṭha. Mr. D. B.

¹ The chapter on Śaṅkara-darśana is by Śaṅkara, the rest of the book by Mādhava, son of Śaṅkara, as Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar has proved in Ind. Ant. xiv, p. 17 ff.
Diskalkar publishes eighteen charters of the Maitraka kings of Valabhi, and Mr. G. V. Acharya gives notes on seven other documents of the same dynasty, while Mr. A. Master discusses stress-accent in modern Gujarati and Mr. P. V. Kane examines the reference to the Dharmaśāstras in Kumārila’s Tantra-vārttika. Two good papers are from the pen of Dr. Sukthankar. The first, which forms No. 6 of his “Studies in Bhāsa”, is a searching criticism of Dr. Printz’s Bhāsa’s Prākrit, which he convicts of error in (a) ascribing generally to Bhāsa’s age the Prakrit forms found in the MSS. of the plays edited by Ganapati Śāstri, (b) incorrectly classifying these Prakrits, and (c) thence drawing futile chronological conclusions, while admitting that Dr. Printz has made a contribution to the subject in showing that the MSS. have some examples of the acc. plur. masc. in -ānī, “though the instances are not quite as numerous as Printz supposes them to be.” The second paper is entitled “The Bhāsa Riddle: a proposed solution”, and its main conclusions are stated by the author as follows: “Our Svapna-vāsavadatta is a Malayalam recension of Bhāsa’s drama of that name; the Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa may be by the same author; but the authorship of the rest of the dramas must be said to be still quite uncertain . . . The only factor which unites these plays into a group is that they form part of the repertoire of a class of hereditary actors. The Čārudatta is the original of the Mrčchakatīka.” It is peculiarly gratifying and encouraging to me to find a scholar so learned and judicious as Dr. Sukthankar arriving at conclusions so nearly in agreement with my own. Mention is due also of three other papers, notes by Mr. N. B. Divatia on the oblique form and dative suffix in -s in Marathi and by the Rev. H. Heras, S.J., on the Portuguese alliance with the Muhammadan kingdoms of the Deccan, and a study of the date of the Bhāgavata by Mr. C. V. Vaidya, who from a consideration of various data in that Purāṇa assigns it to the tenth century, thus coinciding with Dr. Farquhar’s view (ORLI., p. 231 f.). The reviews of books are likewise good.


As Indian historical studies are rapidly increasing, there is ample scope for a new quarterly dealing with the subject, and Dr. Law is to be commended for his enterprise in launching this journal, which we hope will have a very successful career. Professor Sten Konow contributes to it a judicious introduction, which is followed by an
able reply by Professor A. B. Keith to Dr. Hertel’s recently published essay on the date of Zoroaster and the Rgveda, and the first instalment of an interesting account by Mm. Haraprasad Sastri of the recovery of Northern Buddhist literature from Hodgson’s epoch-making researches until the present time. The other papers are mostly short (the longest is a compilation by Dr. B. C. Law of literary references to the Kosalas), and of very various merit, some of the best notes treating of points in literary history. It must be confessed that in spite of the picture of a Harappa seal which decorates its wrapper the journal has not yet made any notable contribution to history.

L. D. Barnett.


With these two brilliantly illustrated volumes Professor von Le Coq has brought to a finish his great work on the Buddhist “Spätantike” in Central Asia and has thus furnished us with further proofs—if such were indeed needed—of his great capacity not only as an explorer of the sand-buried art treasures of Turkestân but also as a profound investigator of the history and development of Asiatic art in general. Everyone who has the slightest interest in the all-important problems connected with the art of Gandhāra and the spread of Hellenistic influence on art throughout Asia will, with great pleasure, give due credit to the speed and skill with which Professor von Le Coq has been able to accomplish his vast and by no means easy work of research.

The present writer, about a year ago, had the pleasure of reviewing at some length the second volume of this work, dealing with the important Manichaean miniatures and also giving, in a very abbreviated form, Professor von Le Coq’s general views on the development of Asiatic art. With the greatest diffidence I then ventured to point out that Professor von Le Coq’s theories concerning the predominant influence of Hellenistic art on those of India, China, etc., were perhaps of a somewhat too sweeping nature, and that something might perhaps be pleaded in defence of the older national arts of these countries. Closely restricting my own judgment—if so it might be called—to matters connected with India, I still was under the impression

1 Cf. Svenska Orientsällskapets Årbok, ii (1924), pp. 73–100.
that scholars with altogether higher qualifications would put forward in a strictly scientific and unprepossessed spirit their own views on these subjects and thus help to further our knowledge of these vast, difficult, and most important problems.

Unfortunately, these expectations have so far scarcely been fulfilled. As was to be expected, Professor von Le Coq's work has drawn forth, in different periodicals, quite a number of reviews, some of which may be read with a certain amount of gain to the reader, but several of which do mainly consist of pettifogging and wholly unscientific criticisms of the author's general views on the importance and spread of the Gandhāra art.¹ This peculiar development of Indian subjects clothed in the garb of Hellenism apparently forms as vivid a point of controversy as ever between the protagonists of different sets of European scholars. Unfortunately, the representatives of the anti-Gandhāra line very often seem inclined to put forward arguments of feeling rather than such furnished by research, and so discussion with them does not always turn out to be very fruitful.

That Gandhāra art originated within schools of Hellenistic workmen who settled down in the utmost north-western corner of India and adjoining districts during a period which we can define within certain rather narrow limits is, I might venture to think, a matter of common consensus. But there, curiously enough, agreement seems to cease. While there seems to be little possibility of doubting the fact that from Gandhāra this peculiar art, a mixture of Hellenistic and Indian elements, was imported, at a rather early date, into Central Asia and there continued to develop on its own lines, some scholars seem to hold it that the way was exactly the obverse one, and that it was in fact brought into India from the North with the invasion of the Kushānas. This somewhat amazing theory, proofs of which do not seem to be forthcoming, is not only unnecessary but also distinctly harmful, as it appears to be wholly contrary to all the evidence now available.

That the Gandhāra art, and consequently a certain modification of Hellenistic sculpture and painting, gained a footing in Central Asia at an early date, and from there spread further Eastwards, cannot, with reason, be contested. But opinions will diverge heavily as to the extent and importance of this influence of antique art on that of the Far East; for while Professor von Le Coq is inclined to see in the importation of Asiatised Hellenistic art ideals and methods

¹ A typical example of the later sort is furnished by the short review by Dr. Cohn in the *Jahrbuch der Asiatischen Kunst*, 1924, p. 248.
into China the chief impetus towards artistic development in that country, other scholars will, with similar vigour, maintain the existence of a highly developed Chinese art long before the time when Western influence become possible there.

The present writer does not feel in the very least entitled to form an opinion on this very difficult point of controversy. But it undoubtedly forms a strong point in favour of the opinion of Professor von Le Coq that in the earliest remains of Central Asian art Chinese influence seems to be wholly untraceable, and does not set in until some centuries later on. For we know from authentic sources that already the earlier Hans had brought their power to bear upon Turkestan and adjoining provinces, and the inference seems wholly legitimate that China did not at that period possess those highly developed standards of painting and sculpture which would have been able strongly to impress themselves upon the infant and dependent art of Central Asia. After all, it may well be the case that Hellenism, through the agency of Gandhāra and Central Asian art, extended its triumphant progress even as far as the land of the Seres.

Nearly throughout the different periods of this Central Asian art—the very oldest one of course forming an exception—there seems to be a rather marked Sassanian influence. Taking into consideration the predominant position occupied during some four centuries by the glorious empire of the descendants of Ardashir, this fact should cause only moderate astonishment. Unfortunately, our knowledge of the achievements of the Sassanians is very limited, though quite recently the investigations of Professor Herzfeld promise to shed some light on the rise and growth of that marvellous and highly cultured empire which must have performed a most important task in conveying Western ideas and civilization towards the East. A systematic study of Sassanian influence on Central Asia is perhaps not yet possible, but would certainly be of the very greatest importance; to mention only a detail, scholars interesting themselves in the history of vestments and the wanderings of different patterns, the appearance of heraldic emblems, etc., will find, in the work of Professor von Le Coq, ample evidence of the spread of those standards of fashion created within the empire of Chosroes.

If after these general considerations the present writer ventures upon some scanty detailed remarks it should be understood from the first that these are of a most unpretending nature and put forward only with great diffidence. They simply aim at completing, on
one or two rather unimportant points, the information collected by
the learned author.

The plate 19 of volume iii shows us some ladies with a most
peculiar sort of head-dress with a horn-like protuberance in front;
this may perhaps have some connexion with the horn-like head-
and hair-dresses recorded from Ancient India by Graeven, Jahrbuch
des Kais. Deutschen Archäol. Inst., xv, p. 195 sq., and from Kāfīristān,
e etc., by the late Professor von Schroeder, Vienna Or. J., xiii, p. 397 sq.¹

On plate 2 of volume iv we see a prince of the gods on his throne
surrounded by other divine persons; in front of him a young god
is seen kneeling in a praying attitude. The palace in which this scene
is enacted is apparently situated on the top of Mount Meru. The
identification of this remarkable picture, quoted from Professor
Grünwedel,² is rather vague though, of course, correct to a certain
extent. Still, I venture to think that we may give a more definite
identification of this scene. On his way from the heaven of the
Tusita-gods to become incarnated in the womb of Māyā the Bodhisattva
visited Nandanaevana and the palace of the Indra residing there.³
Now the city of Indra would appropriately be situated on the top
of Mount Meru, and so I suggest that what we see before us here
is in reality the Bodhisattva taking leave of Indra immediately before
his descent upon earth. As an outward sign of his forthcoming
departure from heaven his halo ought to have vanished, but these
painters do not always seem to be quite strict in matters like that.

As for plate 3 it does not suggest anything very definite. It may,
as well as not, represent the Bodhisattva in his harem before the
renunciation.

Two very interesting scenes are represented on plate 9, viz. 9c
and 9d. Professor von Le Coq has not seen his way to identify the
scene depicted in 9c, but that can be done with a fair amount
of certainty. No doubt, Professor Grünwedel ⁴ gave a good indication
of the subject when he spoke of the scene where a man is seen “catching
kinnarīs with a sling”. For the picture undoubtedly is meant to
represent the Kinnarijātaka as we have it in the Mahāvastu, vol. ii,

¹ A quotation in Rockhill, Journey of Friar William of Rubruck, p. 73 sq., n. 2,
from the Chinese work Wei Shu (Book 102, 13), may probably be put in direct con-
exion with our plate as it speaks of the head-dress of the women of a certain Uigur
people. Cf. also Russell, Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces, ii, p. 185.
² Cf. Altbuddhistische Kultstätten, p. 110.
p. 94, 19 sq. To make this perfectly clear I shall here quote some short abstracts from that text.

The Jātaka tells us how king Sucandrima in Śinhabhūta wanted to perform a sacrifice of all living creatures, and how, in consequence, one specimen of each species was caught and put into a sacrificial enclosure. The officiating Brahmins, however, found that a kinnarī was missing, and so an especially clever hunter was dispatched to the Himalaya in order to catch one. "Meanwhile in Himavant he got sight of a holy man's hermitage, pleasant and well stocked with roots, leaves, and fruits. He respectfully drew near to the saint and stood there after having saluted his feet; then the saint spoke to him thus, "Come! welcome to you! Sit down on this seat." ¹ And the saint entered into friendly conversation with him and, according to a holy man's duty, offered him fruits and water. So he sat there, having eaten the fruits and drunk the water. And suddenly he heard, in the holy man's neighbourhood, the sounds of a song, sweet and such as was never before heard. Then he asked the saint, "Holy sire, pray, is this lovely song that of divine maidens or of nāga maids?" The saint answered, "Neither, but it is the song of kinnarīs." So he further asked the saint, "Holy sire, the song is heard but nobody is seen. Where do they sing?" And the saint replied, "On the northern side of this hermitage there is a lotus-pond where at all seasons and all times there are to be found lotuses, blue, red, white, and sweet-scented. Thither comes, from Mount Kailāsa, Manoharā, the daughter of Druma, the kinnara-king, with a following of numerous kinnaras and kinnarīs to sport in this lotus-pond." He said, "Holy sire, was it ever heard that human beings could sport and dally with the kinnarīs? How are the kinnarīs brought into the power of man?" The saint replied, "They are bound by a spell of truth (satyaavākya) and cannot disappear." And in the sweetness of his heart and unsuspicious uprightness the saint told him, not knowing that he was in need of a kinnarī.

"Then the hunter took leave of the holy man and went to the lotus-pond where that daughter of Druma, the king of the kinnaras, was having her sport. And the kinnarīs being inebriated with the song and the splashing of the water did not notice the hunter. And amongst them Manoharā was foremost in beauty and power of voice. So the hunter went within hearing of Manoharā and bound her with this spell of truth—

¹ Śibikā literally means "a palkee, a litter".
"Thou art the glorious daughter of king Druma, the ruler of the kinnaras; stay, O kinnarī, thou art bound with this spell of truth.

"As thou art the daughter of king Druma and hast been fostered by king Druma—because of this word of truth, O gracious Manoharā, do not move one step.

"Thus Manoharā, being bound by that hunter with this spell of truth, was not able to disappear. But all the other kinnaras and kinnarīs disappeared." ¹

The rest of the story does not interest us in this connexion.

These apparently are the scenes enacted in plate 9c. There is, of course, one marked difference, but one sprung from sheer necessity; for it cannot be well imagined how the painter could depict the capture by means of a satyavaṅkya and so he had to make the hunter fulfil his task in a more realistic way, viz. by means of a sling.

Plate 9d is of a somewhat more ghastly nature, as it shows a series of scenes from different hells—a favourite topic with Buddhist authors and artists. The fifth one of these scenes represents a man only half visible, because of the surrounding flames, and being squeezed between two rocky mountain-peaks, both of them crowned with a ram's head. Professor von Le Coq suggests a connexion with the Symplegades of classical lore; but this is scarcely necessary, for the hell called Saṁghāta is well known to the Buddhists. Looking up the Mahāvastu, i, p. 21 sq., we find that the sinners driven there by the armed servants of Yama take refuge between two mountains: "Then fire appears in front of them, and being frightened they try to turn back. Then again fire appears behind them. And then the mountains clash together... and when clashing together they squeeze them like sugar-canes," etc. There is nothing here, or in any other passage known to me, about the ram's heads. But from the Jātaka, the Pāñcatantra, etc., it is well known how anybody fares who will venture himself between fighting rams.

The curious red streaks at the bottom of all the hell-scenes probably are intended to depict the streams of blood flowing from the poor tortured victims.

In another remarkable hell-scene, on plate 19, the mountain grown over with sword-blades on which sinners are seen writhing gives a curious variation of the well-known Asipatravana, the forest where the dropping leaves are razor-like blades chopping the denizens of hell to pieces.

¹ The final scene undoubtedly reminds us of the old tale of Purūravas and Urvaśī.
On plate 16 we find, on a table in the centre of the picture, three pairs of cymbals, two censers, and a thing described by Professor von Le Coq as being half-destroyed and reddish-brown but of uncertain character. As far as the present writer can judge it must be one of the well-known Indian drums in the shape of an hour-glass known by the name of *damaru* (or, in Tamil, *udukkāi*) and constantly recurring as an attribute of Śiva.¹

That the Manichæans should have helped in transmitting to Europe the legend of Barlaam and Josaphat is a suggestion tentatively put forward by Professor von Le Coq (vol. iv, p. 15). That this is the case has already been suggested by M. Alfaric and Professor Günter, and it is, I should venture to think, a perfectly sound theory which can be looked upon as being fairly well proved. Future researches will perhaps shed more light on the activities of the very versatile followers of Mani in this kind of literary work.

With these very modest remarks we must take leave of the extremely interesting and valuable work of Professor von Le Coq. It is so far his greatest contribution towards our knowledge of the all-important finds in Central Asia, but we venture to hope that it will not be the last one. From his great learning and sound judgment every scholar interested in the art and culture of mediaeval Asia will still have to expect great things.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

EARLY JESUIT TRAVELLERS IN CENTRAL ASIA, 1603–1721. BY C. WESSELS, S.J. The Hague, 1924.

This voluminous work of Father Wessels, a well-known author on older Jesuit travellers, substantially adds to our knowledge of the history of the exploration of Tibet and Central Asia, the many dubious points of which are familiar to every one who has busied himself, even to the smallest degree, with that fascinating subject. The Father, who has, of course, had unlimited access to the precious archives of the Society of Jesus, has unearthed a vast amount of hitherto unused manuscript materials from which he has been able to ascertain not a few facts of which scholars were until now certainly not aware. He has also availed himself of certain works composed by members of his Order with which the average secular student is, unfortunately, too often unfamiliar; the present writer would like to draw attention in this connexion to works like the modern edition, by Father Tacchi

¹ Cf. e.g. Fox-Strangways, *The Music of Hindostan*, p. 228.
Venturi, of the apparently very important writings of the famous Father Matteo Ricci.

The record of the Jesuit Fathers as explorers of unknown Asia—and of other continents as well—is one which is bound to elicit our unlimited admiration. The self-sacrificing enthusiasm and the truly scientific spirit in which these early travellers carried out, often under the most severe hardships, their important researches deserve any amount of praise; and to whatever degree opinions may vary concerning other achievements of the Society of Jesus there should be no disagreement upon its record in the field of geographical, ethnographical, and linguistic research.

The work of the learned Father deals with the following travellers in Tibet and Central Asia, viz. Bento de Goes (1602–7), Antonio de Andrade (1624), the members of the Tsaparang Mission (1625–40), Francisco de Azevedo (1631–2), Stephen Cacella and John Cabral (1626–32), John Grueber and Albert d’Orville (1661–4), and Hippolyte Desideri (1714–22). Several of these men were already very famous, and every scholar interested in the history of geographical exploration in Asia will always remember, with admiration and reverence, the names of Goes or of Grueber and d’Orville which will for ever rank amongst the foremost ones of earlier European travellers. But on all of them Father Wessels has been able to shed considerable new light, and he has made scholars deeply indebted to him for presenting them with this result of solid, and at times even somewhat ponderous, scholarship.

Even earlier than Goes, a certain lay-brother of the Society, called Diogo d’Almeida, is said to have proceeded to what is told to have been Tibet, but was in reality almost certainly Ladakh. Of his relation and of the wonders of that country a short abstract has been preserved by Gouvea in his rare work *Jornada do Arcebispo de Goa, D. Frey Aleixo de Menezes . . . as Serras de Malabar*, etc. (1606). Unfortunately, further information concerning this interesting journey has not been forthcoming, and d’Almeida is not mentioned by Father Wessels.

The bibliography of the work is not always quite complete, and one is slightly astonished to notice that in dealing with the Jesuit Missions to Akbar, the learned Father has not even mentioned the standard work of the late Mr. Vincent Smith. There is a somewhat strong objection against denoting, as has been done on p. 4 sq., by the

"Mogul" empire that of Chingis Khân and his descendants, for the name of "Mogul" should rightly be reserved to the real or titular emperors ruling Hindústán between 1526 and 1858. Nor does it seem quite apt—though this is, of course, sometimes met with—to style the great Akbar simply "the Khan" (p. 12).

Certain other minor objections would perhaps present themselves to the present writer, but they are altogether too unimportant to be put forward here, and do not in any way detract from the value of the certainly very good work of Father Wessels. We may hope soon again to meet him in the field of his favourite research.

Jarl Charpentier.


In little more than 200 pages Sir Thomas Arnold has succeeded in presenting a comprehensive and authoritative history of the institution of the Caliphate, from the appointment of Abu Bakr down to the deposition of 'Abdul Majid last year. Moreover, he has presented it in such a form that the book will be of equal value to historical scholars and to statesmen and publicists whose interest is focused upon the contemporary world. Scholars will find each argument supported by a discussion of the sources—many of which are here brought to bear for the first time upon the problem in hand—while publicists will be delighted at the clearness with which the theory and the practice of the Caliphate are distinguished in each of the many metamorphoses through which both have passed. Sir Thomas Arnold's work is so compact that any attempt to give an adequate account of its contents would transform this review into a second-hand paraphrase of the original. It therefore seems best to dwell on two features, one of which will be of special interest to historians and the other to students of modern international politics. The first is the profound transformation of the institution in practice from about the year A.D. 875 (to take a round figure) and in theory from the fall of Baghdad in A.D. 1258—a transformation which exemplifies the completeness of the interregnum which the invasions of the Nomads made in Islamic history. The second is the formidable documented and powerfully reasoned refutation of the legend that the Ottoman Sultan Salim I caused al-Mutawakkil, the last of the shadowy 'Abbásid Caliphs at Cairo, to invest him formally with the Caliphate when he conquered Egypt in A.D. 1517—a legend which appears to
rest on no better foundation than the unattested statement of a Western
writer published in A.D. 1787, and which nevertheless has governed
the attitude not only of the West but of the Islamic world towards
the Caliphate during the past century and a half, down to and including
the dramatic developments of last year.

Anyone who grasps these two aspects of the subject will understand
the paradox of the antithesis between Abu Bakr’s status and that of
‘Abdul Majid. The authority with which Abu Bakr was invested
as the Khalifah or successor of Muhammad was purely political—
ex hypothesi, indeed, since the community over which he was called to
preside had accepted Muhammad’s claim to be the last of the prophets,
so that Muhammad could have a successor only in respect of his
non-spiritual functions and activities. On the other hand, ‘Abdul
Majid was elected in 1922, by the Turkish Great National Assembly,
to a Caliphate which was expressly divested of all the attributes of
political sovereignty (the Assembly having arrogated these to itself)
and was confined to “spiritual” powers which no Muslim would
ever have attributed to any Caliph except under the influence of a false
analogy between the Caliph and the Pope. This analogy, which had
been invented by Westerners in ignorance, was taken up, in the course
of the nineteenth century, by certain Muslim sovereigns and political
thinkers, because it promised to provide a rallying-point for Islamic
society against the growing pressure of Western civilization. It was
rejected, after little more than a year’s trial, by the Turkish Nationalists,
because they had committed themselves to an incompatible method
of trying to solve the “Western Question”. The exponents of the
modern “Khilafat Movement” were proposing that Islam should
confront the West in a single phalanx so solid that it would resist
penetration, whereas the Turkish Nationalists had decided that
an Islamic people could only hold its own in a Westernized world
by reorganizing its life on a Western basis and entering the comity
of nations on its own account, unhampered by Islamic solidarity
or by the Islamic past.

First, then, let us examine, in the light of Sir Thomas Arnold’s
exposition, the change which came over the Caliphate at the time of
the great Nomadic Völkerwanderung. In order to understand this,
we must remember that the successors to Muhammad’s temporal
power became, within a single generation, the political sovereigns
of the entire Middle Eastern World. The Empire which the Ache-
menids had held, which Alexander had destroyed, and which the
Sasanids had only half succeeded in reconstituting, was once again united under the rule of the Umayyads and the 'Abbāsids. Egypt and Syria, Arab Iraq and Iran, were all under the effective sovereignty of Harun ar Rashid, as they had been under that of Darius; and the re-emergence of this great empire, towards which all the latent political forces of Oriental society had been working for nearly a thousand years, made such a profound impression on the Oriental imagination that the dynasty seated at Baghdad (who were really the Khalifahs, not of Muhammad, but of Khosru Anushirwan and even more of Darius, son of Hystaspes) were recognized, throughout the Middle East, as the exclusive source of legitimate political authority for about four centuries after they had lost their effective power. Down to the catastrophe of A.D. 1258, the actual masters of the provinces sought recognition as Sultans or legitimate political authorities through obtaining an investiture of their territories from the Caliph’s hand as the Caliph’s viceroys; and thus, throughout this period, the theory and practice of the Caliphate were as far apart as the theory and practice of the Roman Empire were when Gothic or Frankish or Burgundian masters of the Western Provinces exercised their authority in the name of the sole legitimate emperor at Constantinople. Sir Thomas Arnold brings out very clearly, from an examination of the evidence, that this long-obsolete theory broke down completely after the fall of Baghdad in A.D. 1258. From that date the prestige of the ‘Abbāsids as the fountain of legitimacy disappeared. No subsequent ‘Abbāsid Caliph of the shadowy line in Cairo (with one momentary exception which proved the rule) was mentioned in the Khutbah at Mecca; and every barbarian ruler who conquered some fragment of Darul Islam, thereafter entitled himself Khalifah—not of Muhammad but of Allah—and was so entitled by his peers, without any precise meaning or particular value being attached to the epithet. The more closely defined titles of Imām and Amīrul Mu'minīn appear now to have been avoided—possibly in deference to a theory, which gained currency at this period, that the genuine Caliphate had only lasted for 30 years from the Prophet’s death—and Muslim society, outside the dominions of the Mamlūk Sultans of Egypt, does not appear to have had any esteem for the puppet ‘Abbāsid Caliphs whom this line of rulers maintained in Cairo in order to give them investiture at their accession. This conception of the Caliphate was evidently felt elsewhere to be an anachronism; and if it survived in Egypt, it was because Egypt,
after A.D. 1258, had become a kind of fossilized relic of the pre-Mongol
Islamic world, much as Byzantium had preserved the dry bones of
Græco-Roman civilization after the rest of the Roman world had been
overrun by the Teutons and the Arabs.

Against this background, Sir Thomas Arnold shows how unlikely
it was, à priori, that Salim I—glorying, as he did, in his descent from
the “Turanian” 'Uthmān Ghāzi, in his de facto position as the ruler
of a great empire newly built up by the military prowess of his
ancestors and himself, and in his status of being Protector of the Holy
Cities of the Hijāz, which he had acquired by right of conquest from
the last Mamlūk Sultān—should desire to put on the soiled and
somewhat ludicrous mantle of al-Mutawakkil. However, Sir Thomas
Arnold does not leave it at that. He proves from the evidence,
first that Salim, and his predecessors during a full century and a
half, had used the title of Caliph as cavalierly as all the other Muslim
potentates of the age; and, secondly, that the employment of this
particular one among his almost innumerable titles of honour is con-
spicuously absent from the most important contemporary documents
relating to the conquest of Egypt—that is, from the very documents
in which we should expect it to receive most prominence if
M. d’Ohsson’s legend had any basis in fact. The marshalling of this
evidence is perhaps the most masterly thing in the book—particularly
the inference drawn from the foundation inscription of Sulaymān
Pāshā’s Madrasa in Cairo, dating from A.D. 1543. This evidence,
however, must be studied, in order to be appreciated, as Sir Thomas
Arnold presents it at first-hand.

ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE.

THE BABYLONIAN EPIC OF CREATION. Restored from the recently
recovered Tablets of Aššur. Transcription, Translation, and
Commentary by S. LANGDON, M.A. 8vo, pp. 227. Oxford:
at the Clarendon Press, 1923.

There is no doubt that the story of the god Merodach’s rise to the
position of king of the gods (for that is what the Babylonian Legend
of Creation deals with) is one of the most interesting and important
of the legends which have been preserved to us in the literary débris
of the old clay tablet-libraries of Mesopotamia. George Smith’s
early and unavoidably imperfect translations were published in
1876, and since that time numerous additions have been made to
the series. Many of these latter came to hand whilst I was employed
at the British Museum, and it was during that time that the undoubted Babylonian origin of the legend became evident. Concerning this Professor Langdon points out that one of the Assyrian texts of the Creation-story seems to have been copied out at the old capital, Aššur, the city in whose ruins a considerable addition to the legend has been recovered and utilized. It was clearly taken, he adds, from the authentic Babylonian copy, the old Assyrian scribes having deliberately suppressed the name of the Babylonian national god, Merodach, and substituted that of the Assyrian Aššur instead. This substitution was not, fortunately, observed throughout, but it shows a certain amount of racial prejudice and is valuable as an indication of the original source of the legend. The fragments from the collections excavated by Hormuzd Rassam naturally come from Sippar (Abu Habbah), but it is doubtful whether they prove anything with regard to the date, as they seem to be later than the Assyrian copies—they furnish, however, a strong presumption that the legend was really of Babylonian origin. References to Merodach are nevertheless far from being suppressed in the tablets of the Creation found at Nineveh.

Professor Langdon gives many details concerning the sites where the different tablets of the legend were found.

Dealing with the date of the composition of the legend, he argues for the period preceding that of Agum-kakrime, the seventh king of the Kassite dynasty (in the twentieth century B.C.). This is, undoubtedly, a very probable date, and would place the actual composition of the legend during the time when the Dynasty of Babylon (that to which Hammu-rabi belonged) reigned in Babylonia. Other circumstances point to this date as the most probable, and it is an opinion which I have myself held as long as I can remember.

It does not take long to realize the importance of the additions which have been obtained from this new material. Thus, in the continuation of the first tablet, which we now possess, we see the divine evolutionary idea—the constant growth in perfection—still further developed, for after Laḥmu and Laḥamú came into existence, "for ages they grew up and became lofty," and Anšar and Kišar were created more excellent even than they. Anu, their son, also became the rival of his fathers, and begat Nudimmud in his own likeness—wide-eared, wise, mighty in strength—he was made exceedingly strong (owing) to the begetting of his (grand)father Anšar. All these rebelled against Tiawath (the Greek form Tauthe
and the corrected Greek form Thawath support this transcription) and aided (?) their protector.

"They troubled the thoughts of Tiamat
    With singing in the midst of Anduruna."

Anduruna, says the footnote No. 15 on p. 71, is "a title of Arallú", and is a Sumerian term meaning "the abode". As a personification of the "abode" of the Underworld, where Tiawath dwelt, I am rather in favour of the pronunciation Duruna, without the prefix an—in any case, Duruna was the first of seven gud-dub, probably "repelling bulls" of (the house of) Anu. This points rather to their filling the welkin with their melody (if this be the right rendering of šu'āru). We seem to learn from this the reason of the war in heaven—it was because the powers of darkness were disturbed by the singing of the heavenly host. Mummu, the offspring and minister of Tiawath and Apsu, counselled action, "even upon a gloomy way" (alkata ēšīa, var. išīa)—a doubtful phrase which reduces Mummu's counsel to naught. As in the case of the Flood-tablet, it is Ea, the god of unsearchable wisdom, who finds out the plan of the conspiring gods, and by the aid of his magic power he destroyed Apsu and Mummu, taking possession also of their divine abodes. Thus Apsu became simply "the nether sea", wherein Ašur (Aššur) was born—the Merodach, seemingly, of the Babylonians.

As Professor Langdon says, this substitution of the name of Ašur for that of Merodach is probably due to patriotic feeling on the part of the Assyrian scribe, Aššur being the national god of that renowned though somewhat small nationality. It must not be forgotten, however, that this identification may have been due partly to the fact, that one of Merodach's names, when expressed by the sign for "city" with the character for "eye" within, seems to have been pronounced Asari. Now this character is practically the same as that for Osiris (Wasir) in Egyptian, and the Cappadocian and early Assyrian vocalization of Aššur, namely, Ašir, is one step closer to the Egyptian still. That the chief god in Assyria should be identified with the chief deities in Babylonia and Egypt, in view of these likenesses in their names, is only natural, quite apart from the question of patriotism.

Strange to our ideas is the description of "Ašur's" upbringing and youth. His father and mother were not, as stated by Damascius, the son of Aus and Dauke, but of Lahmu and Lahamu, deities of the earlier period who came into existence after Anu, the god of the
heavens. A nurse tended him and filled him with awesomeness, and to the glory of his form his father Laḫmu added twofold godhood.

"Four were his eyes, four were his ears;
Divine fire was kindled by the moving of his lips;
Fourfold he increased in intelligence.
And (his) eyes like him (Laḫmu) behold all things."

"My son divine, my son divine."

This last line reads, in the original, Mári yaūtu, mári yaūtu, and is cautiously translated by the author "Son of . . ., son of . . ." I prefer at present, however, to regard the line as a (possibly interpolated) interjection of gratification on the part of Laḫmu, Ašur-Merodach’s father, on account of the fourfold divinity of his son, in which case yaūtu would possibly be one of those abstract formations which included all the members of the class or order of persons indicated. If the word yaūtu, which is of the correct form, was used in this sense when speaking of deities, it might, as a collective, be regarded as taking the place of the plural of majesty, which is used in the Tel al-Amarna letters, and in the text which I have regarded as a patriotic and religious poem recording the (unrighteous) deeds of Chedorlaomer, king of Elam. Independently of this problem, however, the identification of Merodach with the other deities, including those who were in a special sense "the gods his fathers", is undoubted. In this case, it is probable that Babylonian theological questions were connected with the word.

Interesting, too, in the extreme, is the description of the great head of the Babylonian pantheon. In Professor Langdon’s translation he is said to have had four eyes and four ears—Irba ēna-šu irba ūzna-šu, and at the moving of his lips fire flamed forth—"the divine fire," as we may call it—ις, d. Bilgi, the common name of the fire-god, which was sometimes pronounced in the reverse order, namely, Gibil. As none of the delineations of Merodach show him with four eyes and four ears, so is he also never shown with flames coming out of his mouth. It therefore seems probable that this description of his form was, for the initiated, symbolical. He was the all-seeing and the all-hearing, and his breath, like the fire, purified and renewed.

It is impossible, in the space of a comparatively short book-notice, to give a really satisfactory précis of the contents of this detailed volume, but one may say that it is the most perfect translation of
the story of Merodach, his fight with the Dragon of Chaos, the first creatress, and of his redemption of the rebellious gods, that has yet been published. In the matter of the creation of man, it would seem that he was first formed from the blood of Kingu, Tiawath’s spouse. This is not in accordance with what it was supposed that the completion of the fragment of the 6th tablet, identified by the late L. W. King, would be. All scholars thought at once of Berosus, who stated that Merodach had created man out of his own blood, and for this reason men were rational, and had divine knowledge. This idea, however, seems to have been due to a misconception of the rather terse statements of Berosus, who must have known what the legends of the god whom he served were. For the creation of the being who was to have intelligence, and the object of whose existence it was to worship the gods, it was decided that, to obtain the divine spark, as it may be called, one of the gods must contribute his blood, and the choice fell upon Kingu, the spouse of Tiawath or Tiamat, the dragon of Chaos and the first creator, who had been the instigator of the rebellion against the heavenly powers. They therefore bound this divinity and brought him before Ea, and Kingu’s (veins) having been severed, “with his blood he made mankind.” This work, which was not capable of being understood, was due to the skill of Merodach and the wisdom of Ea, and thus they shared the creation of man between them. Then came the construction of the divine city, Babylon, “the Gate of God” (or “of the gods”) and “the Abode of Life”.

We see from this how the title of Creator, apart from the identification of Merodach with his father Ea, was allocated to the two gods, and whilst Merodach acquired it, Ea did not lose the honour, and his names Nudimmud, Nadimmud, and possibly Nin-dud-ur or Nin-tud-ura as well, the first two as creator of men and living things, and the last as “lord of reproduction”, and therefore “father of the house”, remained in the Babylonian lists of gods to the end.

Copies of two tablet-fragments, Addenda, and Indexes, close this important contribution to Assyro-Babylonian religious literature.

Theophilus G. Pinches.

Grammar of the Shina (Sīna) Language. Consisting of a full Grammar, with texts and vocabularies of the main or Gilgiti dialect and briefer grammars (with vocabularies and texts) of the Kohistani, Guresi, and Drasi dialects. By T. Grahame

The Shina (Siṅ'a) language has hitherto subsisted ingloriously, known of but by a few scholars and to them known imperfectly for want of reliable records. It is fortunate in having at last come under the attention of a scholar and a pioneer in linguistic research of Dr. Grahame Bailey’s calibre and experience.

Ground was broken in the 70’s and 80’s of last century by Biddulph and Leitner, and later in the Linguistic Survey of India Sir George Grierson has co-ordinated their records with additional information supplied by Captain J. R. Roberts, I.M.S., and Khan Sahib Abdul Hakim Khan, but much concerning the language has remained unknown or in doubt.

The main features of the language are now presented in this book with considerable fullness and a high degree of accuracy, and it is likely to remain the standard authority on Shina for many years to come. Dr. Grahame Bailey has laid foundations wide and deep in a way that will facilitate the work of future students and provide a basis for further superstructure.

The subject is indeed not exhausted. In Gilgiti Shina there are still large additions to be made to the vocabulary, various points of grammar would bear further investigation and elucidation, and syntax and idiom are but partially worked fields. Then, beyond the Gilgiti dialect extends a vista of other dialects the number of which has not even been determined. Much work is required on morphology and vocabulary before the differentiation necessary for the recognition of separate dialects can be established. There are, for instance, substantial differences in the conjugation of the transitive verb in Gilgit, Punial, Kuh, Darel, Chilas (two or three), Astor, and Gurez. How many more distinctive forms of conjugation are to be found in the country to the south and west of Chilas, besides Dareli and Tangiri, no one, I fancy, knows.

Even in one small locality or community there is a noticeable degree of variation in the language as spoken by different individuals, both as regards forms and pronunciation; and one of the things that has surprised me most in reading through Dr. Grahame Bailey’s book is the remarkable extent to which I have been able to agree, from personal experience, with his presentation of the language. I should have expected a much wider and more frequent divergence between two individuals who had not worked with the same Shina-speakers.
and in consultation with each other. Complete agreement, especially in regard to phonetic minutiae, would in any circumstances be almost out of the question. It could only be arrived at by collusion.

Having emphasized the extent and reality of this agreement, I may indulge myself in questions and criticism without, I hope, creating an impression of opposition or appearing to lay any claim to personal infallibility.

In the first place a few words are to be said about the book. The general get-up and printing are satisfactory, but Indian workmanship shows itself in an undue number of dropped letters, etc. There are also a certain number of errors, such as omission of diacritical marks, probably attributable to the printers, but I believe that in practice it is beyond human endeavour to produce a work of this sort letter-perfect.

More serious to my mind is a lack of variety of types. It is a little difficult, for instance, to see one's way through the intricacies of the section on the verb as it stands. The use of bold-faced type headings would assist the eye in grasping the scheme and in finding its way through it. It would be further aided by a system of paragraph and sub-paragraph numbers and letters. Relatively subordinate matter might be printed in smaller type.

Paradigms with the whole word only shown in one case or person are to be deprecated; they prevent one from learning each form unconsciously by eye, and there is no saving of space. In the vocabulary it is otherwise, but there pains should be taken to make it quite clear what the nominative sing. form of a noun is. The spacing of detached suffixes is often here congested or irregular, and they cannot be correctly separated at a glance. The entry, for example, under dana, "wise," is: dan-ā-ā'yi-ā'yaśi-ā'yo, without a single interval. It is like Sanskrit, only, fortunately, without Sandhi. In other cases we have the nom. sing. desinence unduly separated, e.g. ās-hi -i -e, as if the nom. were āsh.

Phonetics are a speciality of Dr. Grahame Bailey's and he has devoted much attention in this work to the phonetics of Shina. We have 11 pages of detailed analysis of sounds under the heading "Pronunciation", and there are a further 14 pages of appendices giving lists of words displaying particular sounds and the Low Rising Tone which the author claims to have found in the language.

Two points on which he lays stress are: First the existence of two parallel series of sounds, one produced further forward, the other further back. The latter he calls "cerebrals". The correctness
of this term has been disputed by Sir George Grierson in recent notes in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. The author includes under it, I believe, any sound produced further back than the teeth-ridge, and this should be borne in mind.\(^1\) The second point is the existence of two series of sounds, one non-aspirated and one aspirated. Partly from personal observation and partly as the result of consulting native opinion I am able to concur as to the existence and significance of these four categories of sounds.

The only other remarks I would make as regards sounds are that, in my experience,

1. *j* and *zh* are merely variants and not consistently differentiated sounds;

2. English *w* is much nearer to the ordinary sound in Shina as I have heard it than *v*, except in a few special instances.

After this phonetic introduction the author deals with the accidence of the various parts of speech in the Gilgiti dialect. Then follow a consideration of the syntax, the appendices referred to above, a few short texts, a revision of Dr. Leitner's sentences, and a Shina-English and an English-Shina vocabulary. This concludes the section devoted to the Gilgiti dialect, which occupies 208 out of the 284 pages in the book. The remaining pages are consecrated to the Kohistani and Guresi dialects (64 pp.) and the Drasi dialect (13 pp.).

Pursuing my critical course, not from a spirit of contrariety, but because so many facts best be tested and knowledge advanced, I halt almost at once at the noun. In the declension of the noun, the author recognizes the following cases: nom., voc., 2 acc.s., gen., dat., 2 locatives ("in" and "upon"), and an agent case, and further a "prepositional" case, i.e. a form used with prepositions or, rather, postpositions. The suffix of the ablative (-jo; -zho) he treats as a preposition, though its use is in no way different from that of the dative suffix, and it has a better claim to be recognized as a case-suffix than the -čr and -čzh of the two locatives. The latter are undoubtedly cut down forms of the adverbs _aru_ and _añj_, while _jo_ has no separate existence.

The 2nd acc. used with verbs of "striking" I have not myself observed. Had my informants been in the habit of using it I think it is almost inconceivable that I should have failed to notice it.

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\(^1\) In the present article a spot under a letter only indicates that it represents a "retracted sound" in comparison with a more advanced one represented by the unmarked letter.
Personally, I regard the declension of the noun as follows:—

1. Nom., voc., and acc.
2. Agential.
4. "Formative," or "general oblique" (Sir G. Grierson).

Optionally the following may be added:—

5. Dat.
6. Abl.
7. Loc. I.
8. Loc. II.

Use has so accustomed us to think in terms of the dat. and abl. that it is perhaps convenient to retain them as cases, and the same may be said in a less degree of the instrumental.

The general oblique is almost identical with the gen., the only difference being that the final vowel is reduced in length and often in definiteness. From it all the cases 5 to 8 can be obtained by adding the necessary endings, and it is the form used with some postpositions. Others take variously the nom./acc., gen. dat. and abl. The gen. obl. has, of course, no independent existence.

The dat. suffix, usually -t, appears also in the form -te or -to, which is presumably the original.

The two locative suffixes are occasionally found in their full forms, -aru and -aji, e.g. meziq, meziqi, on the table. meziq aji is a pleonasm, up-on the table. Similarly, go for aru, in the house inside.

Another locative suffix, or particle, dar, is occasionally heard,

Gilit dar, in Gilgit.

There is an occasional instrumental, not specifically mentioned by Dr. Grahame Bailey, in sing. 'o, pl. 'i'a.

thor'o šido'ki, to beat with a whip.
thori'a šido'ki, to beat with whips.

The usual instrumental particle is gi (ge), or the p.p.c. act. (?) of gmo'iki, viz. gini. Both take the nom./acc. form of the noun. 'o also appears as an abl. termination in adverbs of place. It is sometimes preceded by an -u-, e.g. arno, from inside.

There is an occasional pl. in -kol, e.g. bera'o, husband, pl. bera'kol (and bera'we?).

The author’s treatment of the declension of various types of noun is very full.
Pronouns

I do not know ri as the fem. sing. of ro, only re. The section "Other Pronouns" would, I think, be capable of extension.

The -n- of the oblique terminations of the plurals of anu, ro, etc., appears also in the plurals of baiyə, both, and sometimes of buto, all; also in the numerals used substantively (p. 25).

Numerals

I do not know the termination -moŋo for the ordinals. I have always -mu'ə.

Verbs

The author’s method of approaching the verbs is perhaps a little difficult for anyone not already acquainted with them. We have first two pages explaining the distinguishing features of the two conjugations into which he divides the verbs, which involves the quoting of forms and endings not yet given. We only eventually get the paradigm of the verb of the first conjugation on the fifth page.

I also cannot help feeling that the arrangement of the whole verb material is a little involved. No doubt the impression is partly produced by the want of sufficiently distinctive types for headings and any system of numbering to indicate the relationship of the paragraphs.

I agree very closely with the standard forms given. Of course, trifling phonetic differences have to be reckoned with here as elsewhere.

There are many points to which I might refer: I must content myself with a few.

p. 27 (7). The facts resulting from the different positions of the accent might be emphasized by illustration. The endings of the 2nd pl. fut. pres. and imperf. are, in the first conjugation: -a't, -a'net, -a'set; in the second conjugation: -et, -enet, -eset.

p. 28. There seem to be in Gilgiti three principal forms of agent nouns:—

1. The infinitive form, e.g. zamor'ki or zamor'k, to which the suffix -k, -ek may be added.
2. The forms of the future, plus -k, -ek, zame'ek (I only knew it in the 3rd pers. sing. and pl.).
3. Verb root plus -e'ço, pl. -e'ce, zame'ço.

To these may be added an occasional fourth, identical in form with the 3rd person of the preterite active, zame'go, zame'gi, pl. zame'gye.
With reference to No. 2, the 3rd pers. of the fut. can be used without the -k suffix adjectivally with a noun.

The regular forms for the 2nd and 3rd sing. fem. imperf. are, according to me:

2nd zame'si.

3rd zami's(i), with the alternative, zami's.

Similarly the pluperfect.

p. 30. Contrary to the author's experience, I have found the asulos forms more common in Gilgiti than the asus forms. The accent I have also usually found 'asulos rather than ās'ilūs.

pp. 30 and 62. noš, as far as I know, is used only of the 3rd pers. and of present time: "(there) is not," "(there) are not." I question the meanings "I am not" and "there was not".

The double vowel -ea (or, -ia, -ya) in the 2nd pl. imperv. is not in my experience constant in many verbs of the first conjugation. I say: zama't, zama't, but de'a', de'a't, and in some I find it optional.

p. 32. I do not think that I have myself met the particle dāš. One can say: mas zamam be.i, tus zame be.i, etc., It may be I shall hit, perhaps I shall hit, etc.

p. 38. Not all verbs whose roots end in -i are of the second conjug.
Thus, pi'o ki, to seize, impv. pi.e, p.p. pi.'e, pret. pi.e gas,
vi'o'ki, to open, vi'e, vi'e, vi'e gas,
vi'o'ki, to drink, and vi'o'ki, to throw, etc.

Verbs of "the -ar class"

This should be -ār- (-ār-), as distinguished from the causative -ar- (-ar-).

p. 39. To the past endings of intrans. verbs add -los.
In -i'los, -i'dus, -a'dus the first vowel seems to be the remains of intrans. theme of the future tenses, -i'j-, -aj-.

Thus: bila'do from bilajo'ki (which I have for the author's bilijóiki); forilo from forijó'ki; ro'los from ro'ki.

There seems to be another intrans. theme besides -ij-, namely,
-e-, e.g. trans. so'ki intrans. saco'ki
mujo'ki muco'ki (for mujco'ki?)
ųcḥayoi ki (G.B.) ųcḥaco'ki
and one or two others.

pp. 40 and 52. Irregular verbs, "a class."
rai'o'ki and kho'ki are probably second conjugation with contraction: re'gas being for ra'i'gas; ra't or ra'at for ra'et; kh'e'gas for kh'a.igas.
p. 46. I have always -i'l- not -r'l- in the intrans. past terminations. There is some latitude in regard to the past bases of intrans. verbs; many have alternative forms.

p. 50. nikhalo'rtki is not the causal of nikhai.o'rtki. The scheme is: nikhai.o'rtki, to emerge, nikhaio'r'tki, to cause to emerge, nikhalo'rtki, to extract, nikhalo'e'rtki, to cause to be extracted. nilijor'tki, to sprout, does not seem to be connected with nilor'tki, to hide, but with the adj. nilo', blue, green; so, to become green, i.e. to sprout.

The author justly remarks on the uncertainty attaching to the concept of the passive voice, which in its conjugation coincides with the commonest form of intrans. verb, and I incline to agree with him in surmising that the underlying idea is rather "to get a beating" than "to be beaten". The same question presents itself I think in Pashtu. For instance, it may be difficult to tell whether mātedul means "to break" (intrans.), or "to be broken" (pass.).

The theme added to the root to obtain the passive and in many cases the intrans. base for the future-derived tenses is -ij-, -iž-, and for the pret.-derived tenses -i'd-. These resemble in use and force the Pashtu intrans. theme -ėg-, ēž-, and -ėd-. Is there any possibility of etymological identity?

p. 48. An interesting phenomenon not noted is the occasional use of double causatives, e.g. trans. tho'rtki, to do, caus. tharo'o'rtki, double caus. tharo'o'rtki; do'o'rtki, to give, etc., doro'o'rtki, dororo'o'rtki. I think they have only the simple causative force, "to cause to be done," not "to cause to be caused to be done". The simple causatives tharo'o'rtki and dororo'o'rtki seem to me often to be used with the sense of the simple trans. verbs, e.g. got do'o'rtki or doro'o'rtki, to build a house.

Adverbs, Prepositions, and Conjunctions

These are dismissed in a little more than three pages, with a further two pages in the section on Syntax, a stringency which entails the omission of some common words and much potential elucidation of idiom.

Syntax

I cannot follow the author through the syntax in detail. I might comment on various points of interest, but I have no serious dissent to record. I shall restrict myself to the following:

- pp. 59 and 69. The locative in temporal expressions such as ai.a'ker, aca'ker, tho'ker, kho'tkar, etc., and even the prepositional aca'komaja, all apparent probability to the contrary, seem ordinarily
to mean, not "in the meantime" (Hind. itne mé), but, "at so much," "at this point," i.e. hereon, thereon, on (his) saying, eating (this), what follows being immediately subsequent in time.

p. 61. Query. Are nouns "frequently used as adjectives"?

p. 62. kaaca'k here probably means, "a certain number" (not exactly known), "some."

p. 65. bānarō'ikī does surely mean "to cause clothes to be put on someone". reset čhīlə bānare, cause clothes to be put-on to-him.

p. 72. ke thigā' to, because, I always regarded as meaning literally "if you say 'Why?'", the reason then following, but this would not fit the other similar phrases, āni thigā' to, etc., quoted, which I do not remember having met. It is now more than ever a problem how the meaning "because" came to be evolved.

p. 77. kor'e'ga—to means rather, "if ever," "if at any time." "As soon as" is kekhən—to.

p. 79. Necessity.

The commonest of all idioms does not appear to be mentioned, viz. the use of a form approximating to the infinitive with reduced forms of the verb substantive, the sense being that either of the gerund or of the gerundive.

ānu kom thokun, it is necessary to do this, this is to be done, he should, ought to, do this.

tus ānu kom thokuso, you should have done this, etc.

Wish or Desire.

brahōrīki plus infinitive is usually used in this sense. It corresponds to English "want to", "wish to".

p. 82. The -k suffix.

This presents a large question requiring prolonged study which I have not yet given to it.

1. -ek, -ak seems to me to single out any individual, either indefinitely as one entity out of many, or definitely as one already isolated or specified, thus giving the sense of the English "a" and "the" respectively. As far as I recollect, the case is much the same with the -ki suffix in Modern Persian colloquial.

2. It is used as a nominal suffix to turn certain verbal forms into nouns.

3. It is used with adjectives of quantity as English "a" in "a little", "a lot" used as nouns or adverbially.

With other adjectives it may be regarded as turning them into nouns.
It is thus essentially a noun-suffix denoting singleness or unity. I think it can be used with plurals, though I cannot at the moment lay my hand on an example. It is certainly used with numerals:—

\[ \text{dai.čk, a decade, bi.čk, a score.} \]
\[ \text{du šalak, a couple of hundred, 200.} \]

In Burushaski there is a suffix -ik which is added to plurals to indicate, in the same way, a unity or aggregation of individuals. It corresponds to a suffix -an used with singulars, of individuals. It appears, however, improbable that the Burushaski and Shina -k's are in any way connected.

It is unnecessary to dwell on the short texts which the author has supplied, as I have no criticism of a serious character to offer. We may similarly pass over his reconstruction and retranslation of Leitner's sentences—a useful piece of work. They show Leitner's limitations, but it remains clear, in my opinion, as in the author's, that Leitner did much solid work, which was very creditable to him in the circumstances in which he worked.

The section on Gilgit Shina is closed with a Shina-English vocabulary of something over 2,000 entries, and a reversed English-Shina vocabulary. These naturally tempt to much comment, but space must limit self-indulgence. It is very difficult to get the whole content of a word, very difficult often even to get its central or initial meaning. Then one is constantly faced by the problem of determining the best or standard pronunciation. The following are a few comments on the first half of the Shina-English vocabulary.

\[ \text{abom, “topsy turvey,” etc. A meaning not given is “inside out”, “wrong side” (of cloth). The a- is a prefix indicating apparently negation, or “badness”. The corresponding positive, or “good”, prefix is su-. subom is the “right side” of cloth. We have abas, difficult, unpropitious, versus subas; ačemo, mischievous, of malignant nature, versus sučemo. Semantically the Sanskrit prefixes dus- and su- are suggested.} \]

p. 128. \[ \text{a zeli means “in that (not this) manner”. “A” is Chilasi or Puniali for Gilgitī e.} \]

p. 129. \[ \text{e dishēr, similarly “in that (not this) place”.} \]
\[ \text{āmū, “uncooked.” I have, omo, “raw.”} \]
\[ \text{arōtī, this is not a Gilgitī form. It is used in Darel and Chilas.} \]
p. 130. ashton, "Jāṭṭ, Jāṭ." Why? The straightforward meaning is "groom".
āstakālī, "old." The singular is āstakāl, "old, aged, person."

p. 131. banī, "holly." i.e. the holly-oak. The tree and word are known in Chilas, but not, at least directly, in Gilgit.

p. 132. bāskū, "more (in addition to what one has got)." Also means "too much", "excessive". Corresponds to ziyyāda as used in Urdu.


p. 133. bāro, "big." The ordinary pronunciation in Gilgit is, I think, barto.

p. 134. bulesh, I have bulej. It is the "Ram Chikor".
calo is used for a "lamp".

p. 135. cēi, pl. cēč, "woman." I have always simply eeys for the plural.
chāmā, "brass brooch." Add: "any kind of buckle."
char, "mountain." The meaning is, I think, restricted to "cliff".

p. 136. chiś, "mountain." I have chiś.
chūp, "edge." Also "end" (of place), also fat chupar, "at last, in the end, finally."

p. 137. dārī, "boys." Usually "sons", acting as plural of puč. "boys" is sudate.

p. 138. dāsibōm, "right hand." Cf. khabōm (khabom) and ašom, bom seems to mean "side".

p. 139. dūbi, "washerman." The correct form in Gilgiti is, I think, dubu. This seems to eliminate a direct borrowing from Hind. dhobi.
dūn or dō, "just." The ordinary meaning is "a short space of time"; ek dūne, "a short time, a little"; dāyaka, "after a little"; dun duņet, "at short intervals, constantly"; and so on.

p. 140. gabūn, "foot of mountain, tree trunk." The word is used of the "bottom" of anything. gabun aji, "bottom up, upside down" (of a box).
gachi, "twigs," only I think "willow-twigs, osiers".

p. 141. gen, "wife." The form gyen for gren is quite common.
gauce, "without special reason." Add: "in vain, futilely; simple."
gulko, "well." Rather "underground water-tank."
p. 142. *gūshpūr*, "king’s son." Now "aristocrat", any male member of one of the many families which have at one time or another been in a ruling position, and so practically applicable to almost anyone of good family.

*hārōīkī*, "take away." Add: "to marry" (husband or wife).

p. 143. *hēl*, given as "habit" on p. 81, is not shown in the vocabulary. I do not remember having heard it.

*īsfayōīkī, īkhayōīkī*. In Gilgit proper I have only the forms with initial *n-, nfa, o, rki*, etc.

p. 144. *irgāltak*, "on all sides." I know only *irga-tak*.

*jān*, "where?" The correct form is *jā*. *Jān* is probably for *ja, han* = where is?

And so on; every page tempts to remark. I will only further notice:—

*lēl*, "visible." This is the regular word for "known", corresponding in use to *ma'lūm* in Urdu. I think the sense "visible" is only subsidiary, as in the case of *ma'lūm*.

*nalā’, "prep. along with."* Add: Adv. together, *bute nal’a*, "all together."

### Kohistani and Guresi

Under the heading Kohistānī, the author includes material obtained from Jālkōṭ and Chilās, and as he states that his Jalkoti informant "used the name Kohistan to mean the independent Šīna-speaking country", it seems to be implied that the "Kohistani" material derived from Jalkot and Chilas would be valid in the various regions occupied by the Independent Tribes. This is not, I think, the fact. There is some variation in the language within the limits of Chilas itself. While, though Darel is contiguous with Chilas, the conjugation of the Dareli verb, as I obtained it, differs markedly from the two or three forms I procured in Chilas. Tangiri is stated to differ again from Chilasi and to resemble Puniali, in which case it would be still less like Chilasi than Dareli is. Again, Kohistan is at best a vague term, its connotation varying I think according to the locality of the speaker. For these reasons I consider that the use of the title Kohistani is unsatisfactory. By saying Jalkotii or Chilasi, or Jalkoti and Chilasi, if by chance they are practically identical, all dubious implications would have been avoided.

Leaving this question of nomenclature, I may say that the forms here given as Kohistani agree with forms I have obtained in Chilas,
or, to put it more exactly, out of a large variety of forms I have collected in Chilasi material I think I could find parallels to most of the forms given here. The verbal forms are such as I have got from one source or another in Chilas, and show none of the distinctive features of the Dareli paradigm, with the exception of one tense—the pluperfect—given as ačás-asilos. The Chilasi pluperf. appears to be always formed by adding a suffix -a to the preterite, e.g. ača'sa, I had brought, with a distinctive 2nd sing. in -a'lo, e.g. ača'lo. In Dareli, however, we find ača's asulos, etc.

My version of the Gurezi verb agrees essentially with the author's. The existence in these dialects of two forms of the Agent case, used respectively with the future-derived and the preterite-derived tenses, is very interesting. It is also a characteristic of Dareli. In Chilasi, as far as I have observed, the pronouns of the 3rd sing. have only the -s forms, while in the plur. the alternative forms are used indifferently with any tense.

In Gurezi I found a form for the 1st pers. plur. of the author's "Agent I" not given in the paradigms on pp. 242 and 245. This form is asalzi.

The formation of the causative, by the addition to the root of a theme -y- (I have usually a vowel -e- or -i-) instead of the Gilgitī -ar- is also characteristic of Dareli and Astori. The forms are not always very easy to distinguish from those of the ordinary transitive. Gilgitī, Punialī and Kuhi have -ar-, and it is not unknown in Chilas.

An interesting philological point not remarked on is the occurrence of z, sometimes ə and j, where there is no trace of it in the Gilgitī dialect:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gilgitī</th>
<th>Chilasi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wai.o'kī</td>
<td>wazo'ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rai.o'kī</td>
<td>razo'ni, 3rd sing. pret. m. rajo'u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaiyo'kī</td>
<td>yazo'ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hai.o'kī</td>
<td>hazo'ni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This ə/j occurs also in Dareli, Astori, and Gurezi, and apparently in Drasi in the form of ə.

Before concluding I will point out a few errors other than obvious misprints or the omission of diacritical marks:

p. xiv. For "Khōwār" read "Khōwār". For "Pākhtūn Āli" read "Pākhtūn Wāli". This self-made king was assassinated in 1916 and his throne as ruler of Darel and Tangir has remained unoccupied.
p. 17 (middle). Read cēi, woman; mūlāi, girl. cēi presumes that a woman is married; mūlāi is a little girl or a young unmarried girl.

p. 21, l. 23. For "hard" read "heard".

p. 25, l. 13. For "pronounced of" read "pronounced o".

p. 31, l. 4. For "zamst.'tēi" read "zamī'tēi".

p. 31, l. 6. For "zamō'sha" read "zamō'zhā" (zamo'je).

p. 39, l. 25. For "intrans." read "trans."

p. 40, l. 7 from bottom. For "nikhayeikī" read "nikhayōikī".

p. 78, last line. kāzā not in vocab. Arabic qazā?

p. 79, l. 12. For "kiqm" read "krom".

p. 86. Insert at top, "Appendix I."

p. 98. For "tāttāpān" read "tāttāpān".

p. 250, last line. For "and, also g" read "and, also ge".

I must not, however, end on a note of finical fault-finding, what the Persians call nuqta bīni—looking for spots—and duly resent. Dr. Grahame Bailey has done a signal service to all who are interested in this little-known language, and to those of future generations who will be. It is a service that must have demanded of him great labour and the unremitting exercise of the most painstaking discrimination, to which, indeed, the book bears ample testimony. All good men should be proportionately grateful to him.

As he justly says in his preface, "the difficulty of getting grammatical facts from illiterate speakers will be known to all who have attempted the task." It is to be hoped that even those who have not attempted the task will realize the measure and the merit of his achievement.

D. Lorimer.


M. Leopold Woitsch, who is at the present moment lecturer in Chinese at the University of Vienna, published in 1908 a translation in prose of some poems of Po Chū-i. That he remained a faithful admirer of the poet during the following 17 years is seen by the greatly improved and better selected translations of the poems in this new book.

Po Chū-i in a great number of his poems appears as the most subjective of all Chinese poets. This quality makes a great appeal
to the subjectivity of his translators. The selection of pieces and a certain peculiarity of the title suggest what part of the poet’s nature and what view of life appealed most to the translator, which gives us reason to think that it would be just to define it rather as a special selection than a representative anthology. The tendency to put the more formal poems of Po Chü-i in the background is apparently shared also by M. Woitsch.

In spite of the great faithfulness of the translation, occasional slips occur. Thus the two lines in the poem on “Buying Flowers” —

紅朶百灼灼
素朶五箇箇

which M. Woitsch translates by

Rot leuchten zahllose Blumenstrausse
Ärmlich weiss nur sind wenige Büschel.

in our opinion ought to be translated differently—

For a hundred brilliant red flowers
Five rolls of fine silk.

as there is no suggestion that 東 meant anything else but a numerative for silk rolls, and also because it is in strict parallel with the two closing lines of the poem. Of course it is not always easy to render exactly into an European language the simplicity and conciseness of Po Chü-i’s language, who, according to tradition, used to read aloud each poem to an old woman and alter every expression she could not understand before he sent them to the press. To translate 山下わ望山上 by “Am Fuss des Berges anbelagt schaute ich zum Gipfel auf” cannot be regarded as any improvement on Po Chü-i. Yet M. Woitsch must be given great credit for the faithfulness to the original, the evident care bestowed on the work, and fine, clear syntax. An analogous attempt is made in this book by M. Richard Hadl to translate Chinese drawings into European. They are sometimes very close to the originals, and one might merely suggest that they should be kept closer to the Chinese method of book-illustration and if possible executed throughout with the same instruments so as to exclude the last traces of European chinoiserie.

The publishers of Asia Major must be complimented on this edition which is very well executed and bound.

M. Kasanin.

The Kaonde people, it will be remembered, form the subject of Mr. F. H. Melland's In Witch-bound Africa, already reviewed in these pages (III, ii, p. 395). This, so far as we are aware, is the first publication dealing with their language. It evidently belongs to the same Bantu group as Lamba, Wemba, Ila, Luba, Wisa, etc. The collection appears to be a useful one, and contains much valuable material for the student of comparative linguistics. "The system of orthography used is, generally speaking, that used in many well-known books dealing with Bantu tongues... the vowels having the same values as in Italian, the few unusual values being specially noted." With this, on the whole, we have no ground of quarrel. But—if we may be permitted to borrow the author's words "while it is not desired to adopt a bigoted attitude towards the preferences of others or to provoke controversy in regard to the vexed question of spelling"—we cannot help thinking that the following requires a little further elucidation:

"CH has been used in preference to KY-, KI- and (for the most part) TS- to express the sound approximating to CH in 'church'.

"J is used for the sound it possesses in English 'jewel', and also for the sound which, some think, approximates that written DZ in English 'adze'.

"B is used for the compound labial B-V-W." (Italics ours.)

If it is meant, as a cursory examination of the Dictionary suggests, that the sounds ts and dz are dialectic variants of "ch" and "j", it is certainly desirable to have a fixed standard spelling. But, with regard to "ch", if the sounds tf and c exist side by side, as they certainly do in Nyanja, different symbols ought to be used in order to distinguish words otherwise similar. As the bilabial plosive and the bilabial fricative both exist in the language, it seems as if the latter ought to have a special symbol, though it might be argued that this is unnecessary since it only occurs between two vowels, and the plosive is never found in this position. The paragraph containing this information, by the by (p. 13), is extremely perplexing as it stands, and the erratum on the inserted slip should by no means be overlooked.

A. W.

Mrs. Dundas has supplemented her husband's work on Kilimanjaro (reviewed in Bulletin, III, iii, 563) by a very readable book depicting the lighter side of official life in tropical Africa. Unfortunately not every official's wife has the vivid interest in her surroundings or the sympathy with the people among whom her lot is cast, which constitute the charm of this unpretending narrative. While no attempt is made to disguise the difficulties and discomforts of life in such remote settlements as Moshi and Arusha, the perusal of Mrs. Dundas's book cannot be other than encouraging to intending travellers possessed of the same cheerful determination to make the best of things. The writer had unusual opportunities of entering into the life of native women, and she rightly controverts the prevailing notion that their status is one of "servile drudgery" (p. 184), while placing in its true light (p. 189) the theory and practice of lobola or "bride-price." The remarks on the ethical bearing of Bantu initiation ceremonies (pp. 181–2) are worthy of serious consideration.

The attractiveness of the volume is enhanced by a number of interesting photographs, of which those facing pp. 94, 174, and 178 merit particular attention. In conclusion, one cannot refrain from asking what is the writer's authority for stating that "the name Mombasa is derived from Mombas, the first Portuguese governor" (the name occurs in the Journal of Vasco da Gama's voyage), and elsewhere that "Bagamoyo" means "peace of heart." Moyo, indeed, is Swahili for "heart," but baga occurs in no dictionary of that language known to us, and in Nyamwezi appears to signify "scatter," with secondary uses which would make it equivalent to "strike with dismay!"

A. W.


The tribes dealt with in this volume are those minor ones, to be found on the southern slopes of Mount Kenya, who hitherto—so far as they were known at all—have usually been counted as offshoots of the Kikuyu. These are the Chuka—the only ones who "claim to
have lived in the country from the beginning of things"—the Embu, the Mwimbe, the Emberre, the Igoji and the Theraka (Tharaka: already described by Mr. A. M. Champion, in *JRAI*, xlii, Jan.–June, 1912). All these tribes, as well as the Ndia Kikuyu who have pressed upon them from the west, and the Meru on the north, lie within the great bend of the Tana river, as it circles round the southern slopes of Mount Kenya. Beyond it, on the west, are the Kikuyu proper (of whom the Ndia Kikuyu are a long separated branch), and on the south the Kamba. A stretch of comparatively uninhabited country separates this region from that part of the Tana Valley inhabited by the Pokomo, who were formerly much harassed by Kamba raids.

Major Orde-Browne has produced, from conscientious observation extending over some seven years, a singularly interesting and readable account of these little-known people. Among the few points we have space to notice is the fact that their funeral customs approach those of the Kikuyu and Masai, who rarely—or only in exceptional cases—bury their dead, and contrast markedly with those of the Giryama and other Wanyika, who not only practise burial, but expend a certain amount of care and artistic decoration on grave-monuments. No doubt there is some connexion between this and the fact that "the whole circumstances of death serve to support the view that the Embu natives have very little idea of any future life; there is certainly no accepted theory of any activities beyond the grave, and any question on this point always produced a flat denial. Nevertheless, in conversation with intelligent and thoughtful people, I have known them admit that the complete cessation of all activity in the case of the death of an active man was curious and even unlikely; I never, however, obtained any surmise as to what the deceased might be likely to do in some new sphere".

This seems to represent, approximately, the outlook of the Masai, so far as known to us, while, on the other hand, it is clear that offerings to the dead and countless details of daily life which have reference to them, show that the "Nyika" tribes, the Taita, Chaga, and many others, believe, at any rate, in some sort of survival after death.

There are many interesting passages which might be quoted did space allow, but for these we must refer readers to the book itself. The chapter on "Tradition and Folk-lore" contains a tale noteworthy as combining the motives of Tselane ("Red Riding Hood" of the Basuto), of the "Swallow" myth, and of the widespread Bantu story in which the Hare professes to nurse the Leopard's cubs, and eats them
one by one. The next chapter contains a number of riddles, in connexion with which Mr. Orde-Browne has the following note:

"... It is very remarkable that many of the questions and answers given in the [above] list are also to be found in the island of Mauritius... The preliminary question in this case is 'Sirandane?', to which the answer is 'Sampêque', of which I have never been able to obtain any explanation."

The traditional opening for the propounder of a riddle is, in Lamu Swahili Chondowi, in Giryama Chondoni, and in Duruma Chirondoni, which is clearly the same as Sirandane. The answer is not so easy to identify; the usual Swahili is teg{n,1 “set (your trap),” but it might possibly be connected with peeka, Lamu Swahili for peleka, “hand over.” These simple enigmas are of the familiar type exemplified by “I threw something and it went farther than an arrow?” (Answer: “A glance of the eye”)—Cf. the Swahili Popoo mbili zavuka mto.

A. W.


African proverbs are well worth collecting, but not many attempts have hitherto been made to do this on a comprehensive scale. The Rev. W. E. Taylor’s African Aphorisms (which should surely be reprinted), Mr. S. T. Plaatje’s Sechuana Proverbs, A. Sekese’s Mekhoela Maelé (Sesuto), Captain Rattray’s Ashanti Proverbs, and some smaller collections, are of equal value to the anthropologist and the language-student, and now Archdeacon Johnson has given to the world—as a by-product of his forty years’ stay in Africa—this hundred (101 to be exact) from the shores of Lake Nyasa. Each of these appears in the original, accompanied by a literal and a free translation, and a comment, usually, we gather, translated from the words of a native informant, showing how it is meant to be applied. To many of those it is easy to find familiar parallels, e.g. “Words you can’t sample, food you can,” “If you pronounce ‘Lion’, get up a tree,” “Do not buy the foot of an elephant” (cf. the Swahili Kununua ng’ombe wayo). Others embody interesting bits of folk-lore, e.g. Nos. 61, 73, 80, 88.

A. W.

1 In Duruma siteka (?) and in Giryama dekeha, said to be an obsolete word.

Dr. Leys' book is especially valuable as a guide to those engaged in studying the thorny problems so intimately associated with the African colonies and mandated territories. It is only too true that there is, as Professor Murray says, "a real and dangerous opposition between average colonial opinion, based on knowledge of the facts and daily intercourse with black people, but exposed to perversion by prejudices of race and class, and very often by economic self-interest, and public opinion at home, sentimental, disinterested, and genuinely anxious for justice, but grievously crippled by ignorance and lack of understanding." Dr. Leys has given a fairly impartial and unprejudiced account of the conditions in Kenya Colony. While frankly pleading the cause of the native, he is by no means blind to his weak points, and fully recognizes the difficulties of the question.

Many of these difficulties arise from misunderstanding. Such misunderstanding is due to ignorance, both of the language (a point which is happily coming to be more and more fully recognized) and of native customs and modes of thought. A careful perusal of Dr. Leys' book, especially chapters iii, iv, and viii, will do much to correct misapprehensions on this score.

If many of the facts here revealed are far from pleasant, it is all the more imperative that they should be fairly presented and honestly faced. This is not the place to discuss controversial topics, but the book is heartily to be commended to all who have the solution of African problems at heart.

The chapter on "Islam in East Africa" is full of interest and explains a matter which would otherwise be perplexing—the hold which this religion maintains though mostly reduced, as shown here, to the barest possible minimum. "The home men have in tribalism falls in ruins when tribal isolation is broken in upon . . . The social ties provided by the tribe cannot be stretched over men's extra-tribal relations. They neither prescribe nor explain how men should think, feel and behave in relations with Europeans and with Africans of other tribes. So men feel about for guidance, not consciously, but instinctively . . . And they find Islam, not the Islam of Cairo or Damascus with its elaborate and final plan of life and thought, but a simple, unexacting scheme enough for their simple African needs . . . Few Africans consciously abandon tribal ideas. It is rather that these ideas fail them in new circumstances, that the services the tribe once gave are
no longer given. These services the East African variety of Islam exactly supplies. Of its standard ethic and polity there survives what just fits the homelessness of those who are emerging from tribalism."

A. Werner.


The dialect on which this book is based is somewhat different from that spoken at Blantyre, as will be seen by comparison with Dr. Hetherwick’s *Manual*. The chief variations—apart from numerous differences in the vocabulary—are the use of the prefix *vî* (instead of *zi*) in the plural of Class 4, and the sounds *j* and *č* (probably intended by *ch, j*), where at Blantyre *ts* and *dz* are heard, as in *tsamba* “a leaf”, *dzuwa* “the sun”. Some attempt has been made to describe the sounds in terms of exact phonetics; but surely *o* (or an approximation to cardinal vowel 8) exists side by side with *a* (No. 7)? There is also a curious confusion with regard to the bilabial fricative (here indicated by *w*) which is said to be pronounced “with rounded lips”. It is not east to understand why it is said (p. 36) that the locatives “are not to be classed as nouns”—the three classes (Bleek’s 16, 17, 18) stand precisely on the same footing as the diminutive (*ka*-) in prefixing the locative particle to the class-prefix (cf. *ka-kena*, *ka-nyumba* with *pa-muja*, *m-nyumba*, etc.). Otherwise the locative construction is very clearly explained, and, in general, the little book is excellent for practical purposes.

Two important grammatical peculiarities of the Likoma dialect are a future which is identical with the present negative used elsewhere (here the negative ends in -a, the future in -e) and the retention (as in Swahili) of the infinitive *ku*—with monosyllabic verbs, which, however, seems to be restricted to the present tense.

A. Werner.


This volume, long looked for, will meet with a warm welcome. The Luganda-French Dictionary of P. Le Veux, the only work of the kind
hitherto in existence, is both expensive and difficult to procure; moreover, its arrangement, though based on sound principles, is somewhat perplexing to the beginner. The Luganda Vocabulary of Canon Blackledge, which was for a long time practically the sole resource of English students, serves as a basis to the present work, but has been enriched by so many new words as almost to double its bulk, and the whole thoroughly revised. I think it may be safely said that no word used in ordinary conversation, or met with in Bakabaka be Buganda, or the little magazine Ebifa, will be looked for in vain here. The arrangement of words according to their prefix, but without the initial vowel (e.g., (o)musaja, (o)muti, under M, (e)ki'bo, (e)kikoni under K), after all, saves a great deal of trouble, as they are "inserted where the beginner would most naturally look for them, and not necessarily where their derivation would include them". All linguistic students will be sincerely grateful to the compilers for this help towards the acquisition of a peculiarly interesting Bantu idiom.

A. Werner.


Krapf's original dictionary has long been out of print, though constantly in demand; for, with all the defects inevitable in a pioneer work, it holds its place as a classic. Indeed, the late A. C. Madan was of opinion that a revision which "might make it more practically useful by the removal of inaccuracies and repetitions and by modifying the spelling and arrangement... would be analogous to rewriting Schliemann's Troy or Livingstone's Journals". We cannot agree with this, and hold that Canon Binns has rendered an important service to the cause of Swahili studies. Many words have been added; such stumbling-blocks as chevi, jeteso, fuja and others (due to Krapf's inveterate inability to distinguish between voiced and voiceless consonants) have been removed, and the work has been thoroughly revised throughout. One regrets to find among the additions two which certainly seem erroneous: on the very first page "ku-a, v.n., to grow," is printed as though ku, which is really part of the stem, were the infinitive prefix, whereas the infinitive is ku kua; and abudu
(عبد) "worship" cannot be derived from أَبَد, as seems to be implied by "the real meaning of these words (abudu and ibada) is that which goes on continually". It is gratifying to see that Canon Binns adheres to the use of dlh for transliterating ذ.ض.ط. (practically the same sound in Swahili), reserving th for the voiceless sound represented by ث. This, perhaps, is a minor point, since these sounds are not indigenous to Swahili; but they occur in so many fully naturalized Arabic words that they have to be taken into account.

A. W.

PYGMIES AND BUSHMEN OF THE KALAHARI. By S. S. Dornan, F.R.G.S., etc. 312 pp., 8½ x 5½. London: Seeley, Service and Co., Ltd.

This book contains a mass of information about a people who may be looked on as an interesting survival from the Stone Age. Mr. Dornan writes from intimate knowledge of the Bushmen, and his record is all the more valuable as (for reasons which he gives at length) it is becoming every year more difficult to follow in his steps. Even in the Kalahari, their last refuge, their numbers are dwindling, and though many of their descendants still remain elsewhere, they have lost their language and tribal identity. It is matter for congratulation that Dr. C. M. Doke, a former student of this School, has recently succeeded in getting into communication with a number of the 1χų ("Kung" or "Qhung") Bushmen and collecting a large amount of linguistic and anthropological material. It appears that we can no longer speak of a "Bushman language": Mr. Dornan tabulates four distinct forms of speech (not counting that recorded by Bleek) which may claim to rank as distinct languages; these are: Hic, IlAikwe (in Dr. Doke's spelling 1 saikwe), Tsaukwe and 1Kun (1χų). Mr. Dornan considers these to be closely related to Nama and Kora (Korana)—more closely than to the speech of the Cape Bushmen. He rejects the Hamitic affinities of Nama postulated (and, as some think, demonstrated) by Meinhof.

All that the author reports at first-hand is worthy of the closest attention; but perhaps it is a pity that he has included a somewhat sketchy chapter on the Herero. Such statements as the following must, if compared with Irle's standard work, be taken as true only

1 For these signs see Bulletin, II, iv, p. 709.
of the present broken and demoralized state of this once powerful tribe:

"They were much looser in their marital relations than others. The marriage bond could be easily dissolved, as lobola was not the custom (cf. Irle, *Die Herero*, p. 106!), so there was no stock to return. Men and women lived with each other as long as it suited them."

It is noticeable also that he calls the "Hill or Berg Damaras" a branch of the Herero; concerning these people we need only refer to Vedder's careful and scholarly monograph, reviewed in the *Bulletin* for 1924 (III, iii, 561). Vedder, by the bye, identifies the "Berg-Dama" with the much discussed "Vaalpens" or "Kattea". Mr. Dornan says that "the term Vaalpens is applied" by the Boers "to the wild people (Bushmen) of the Crocodile river, as well as the Kalahari Bushmen ... and also ... by both Europeans and Bechuanas to the Bakalahari who live in the desert and under somewhat similar conditions to the Bushmen". It might therefore seem as if the name had no ethnic significance—indeed, I was assured, many years ago, by an old Griqua, that it was a nickname given to the Transvaal Boers, from their habit of lying flat on the ground to shoot and so getting covered with yellowish-grey (vaal) dust. But Mr. Dornan asserts that the true Vaalpens "at present so-called live on the Transvaal and Rhodesian sides of the Crocodile or Limpopo river. They are the same people as the Masarwas and call themselves Kattea."

The chapter on "Mental Life and Folk-lore" is extremely interesting and may perhaps suggest a Bushman origin for some legends current among the Bantu.

A. W.
NOTES AND QUERIES

After the last number of the Bulletin was in type I received, through the kindness of Mr. G. Fuller Maitland, some further light on the Shairi la Kuku na Kanu. Simambali (stanza 4) "is Simambayi, an ancient town and still a village on the Bajune coast (not on the island), about fifteen miles south of Kiunga." Yemezi (Emezi) is "perhaps represented by some old ruins about a mile north of Kiunga".

It appears that I misunderstood Muhammad Kijuma’s note on Goa, and that Goa in India is meant, as being the place from which the Portuguese came to Pate. As Goa was occupied by them in 1510, and as I can find no mention of Pate previous to this (except for the attack of some Pate dhows on Vasco da Gama’s fleet, 1499), they might be described as coming thither from Goa.¹

I seem to have misunderstood the text in stanza 3—or rather, was misled by an error in the MS. Mungalizinga should be Hamngalizingazinga, thus reversing the meaning. It should read, "Even if you were gentlefolk, you should not forbid us to speak, nor would you wander about at noon in the sight of all men."

In the fifth stanza it seems that ikizinga should be tukizinga, and Mr. Fuller Maitland (or his Lamu correspondent) translates: "When we wander about Simambali with guns and swords, we are the boys—we don’t encounter the sun at all"—adding the note, "i.e. we are much too big men to go out at noon without slaves with umbrellas—at least, I think that is the meaning, and Muhammad Kijuma agrees."

This certainly yields a more satisfactory sense than I had got out of the passage. I may add that in foot-note 4 to p. 527, by an error overlooked in the proof, ukumuvusa has been allowed to stand instead of ukimuvusa.

A. W.

The University of the Witwatersrand (Johannesburg) has conferred the degree of D.Litt. on Mr. C. M. Doke, Senior Lecturer in the Bantu Department of that University, for his Thesis on Zulu Phonetics.

¹ Stigand (Land of Zinj, p. 46) states, on native authority, that the Portuguese arrived in Pate during the reign of Sultan Fumomadi, A.H. 795–825 = A.D. 1392–1421. This, if the dates are given correctly, is clearly an error.
Dr. Doke (a former student of this School, who took the Diploma in Comparative Bantu in 1923) has recently returned from a vacation tour in the Kalahari Desert, where he succeeded in collecting some very valuable linguistic and anthropological material. He came in contact with over two hundred of the qhū (Qhung) Bushmen, and has obtained a large number of photographs, besides taking head and other measurements. He finds that the members of this tribe are, on the whole, taller than "the old Cape Bushmen", the average height being 5 ft. 3 in. for the men and 4 ft. 10½ in. for the women. He is bringing back dictaphone records and a fairly full vocabulary of the language, which he finds to differ to some extent from that recorded by Vedder (Zeitschrift für Kolonialsprachen, 1911–12). We shall look forward with great interest to the publication of his results. A preliminary account of his experiences, in a popular form, appears in the Johannesburg Star for 2nd May, and three following issues.
OBITUARY

Alfred Lacey Hough

After many years of Government service in Burma, Mr. A. L. Hough was engaged from 1907 to 1916 in teaching Burmese at University College, London. On the establishment of the School of Oriental Studies, he accepted a transfer to it, and from the time it opened its doors in January, 1917, he devoted all his energies to the further advancement of his subject in the new surroundings. He was not only a highly successful teacher, but also spent nearly all his spare time in research. He accumulated a very large amount of material for a new Burmese grammar and for additions to and corrections in the existing dictionaries, both Burmese-English and English-Burmese. By the kindness of his widow this material has now become the property of the School.

After an illness of some months' duration, he died on the 9th March, 1925, to the great regret of all his colleagues and friends, with whom his relations had always been of the most cordial nature.

C. O. Blagden.

Professor Henri Cordier

It may be stated with confidence that no one has done more to foster scholarly knowledge of the Far East than Henri Cordier. Of his personality I am unfortunately ill qualified to write; for only once had I the advantage of speaking with him, and that was on his visit to London in July, 1923, for the centenary celebrations of the Royal Asiatic Society. He told me then that the grand total of his writings just exceeded one thousand items.

On the 16th of last March death cut short this stupendous record, but not before a bibliography of his works had been published to mark the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday. It is a satisfaction to know that the memorial of his services to sinology was compiled during his lifetime when the opportunity of personal supervision rendered completeness possible.

Cordier landed in China in 1869, and two years later became Honorary Librarian of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. While holding this post, he made the beginnings of what is perhaps his greatest work, the vast bibliographical dictionary, entitled Bibliotheca Sinica, of publications in European languages relating to
China. The first edition appeared between 1881 and 1885, and was awarded the Prix Stanislas Julien. Supplements came out in 1893 and 1895, and a second edition was published between 1904 and 1908. Since 1922 four supplementary parts to this edition have appeared, thus increasing the work to nearly 4,500 columns of closely printed matter—a true monument to the wide learning, painstaking enthusiasm, and genius for accuracy which signalized the author in all his undertakings. Unhappily the necessary index had not been finished at the time of his death, but every student of things Chinese will rejoice to know that it is now in the able hands of Madame Cordier.

Among the general public in this country Cordier is best known as editor of Yule's *Marco Polo* and *Cathay and the Way Thither*, both of which owe much of their value to his versatile contributions.

Few men have won wider recognition than the late Henri Cordier. Honours were showered upon him from many countries in addition to his own, and it is appropriate here to mention that the long list includes honorary membership of the Royal Asiatic Society and corresponding membership of the Royal Geographical Society and the British Academy.

W. Perceval Yetts.
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