BULLETIN
OF
THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES,
LONDON INSTITUTION.
THE history of the ceramic art of ancient Susa is as interesting as its political history. The earliest history of Susa is shrouded in legends. No authentic theory has been advanced by savants up to date as to the earliest inhabitants of Susa. The Susians or the Elamites, as they are generally called, are mentioned by Greek poets as the Ethiopians of Asia. M. Dieulafoy believes them to be negroids, which term is very vague and hypothetical. It is not proper to discuss the origin of the early Elamites in this paper. I shall pass over this question with the remark that they were most probably rather the natives of the soil than foreigners settled in Elam. At any rate from the results of excavations that are carried on in Susa every year from the time of M. Dieulafoy and M. de Morgan up to date we know that they were greatly advanced in civilization. They must have carried on commerce with neighbouring countries, as is proved by beads of lapis lazuli and of clay glazed like turquoise used in necklaces. Even the art of weaving cloth must not have been unknown to them, as is attested by several copper axes found on the site of the ancient necropolis situated on the Tell of the Citadel, which have impressions of cloth of fine texture, perhaps used as the shroud of the dead. The early Elamites pertained to the neolithic age and were well acquainted with copper and its uses. Still they did not leave off the use of neolithic implements of flint and obsidian. But the most interesting thing
about these early inhabitants of Susa is the discovery of the painted pottery on the Tell of the Citadel and on the Tell of Apadâna, comparable only to the painted pottery of the third Dynasty of Egypt and to the archaic painted pottery of Mesopotamia of a later date.

Excavations on the Tell of the Citadel prove that since very early times this mound must have drawn the attention of the early Elamites by its proximity to the River Ulaï, the Shaur of the present day, and by its natural altitude from the plain below as a spot fit for habitation and perhaps also fit for building temples. An immense number of fragments of the painted pottery in question and flint implements were first spotted by M. de Morgan in one of the wells sunk by him on the Tell in order to sound its different layers. These were published by him with six coloured plates and other illustrations in appendices Nos. I and II of Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse tome i, pp. 183–95. Later on a trench, 80 m. long and 11:80 m. broad, was opened on its south-western extremity, and was carried down to the natural soil, which was encountered at a depth of about 20 to 25 m. from the summit of the Tell. For the sake of control of the results this depth was divided into five niveaux or levels of varying depths. The fifth niveau, which is one metre in depth, contains fragments of the fine painted pottery imbedded in earth, so highly compact and so hard that it is extremely difficult to extricate them from the ground safe and sound. Fragments of this kind of pottery are also found in a very thin layer on the Tell of the Apadâna. This Tell was a suburb of Susa in ancient times and was very thinly populated. The uncouth painted pottery makes its appearance on the second niveau at a depth of ten to fifteen metres from the summit of the Tell. I shall describe this latter kind of pottery later on.

The fine painted pottery pertained most probably to the necropolis of ancient Susa, as in an exceptional case a tumulus, 7 m. 7 m. broad, and 3 m. high, was found on the south-western extremity of the trench, in which there were several hundreds of sepulchral vessels adorned with paintings, like goblets, jars, cups, and bowls laid all in a heap. The tumulus proves the existence of the cult of a second burial of the dead among the ancient Elamites, which persisted through ages in Susa, and is still prevalent among the St. Mohammedans. As said above, the first inhabitants of Susa pertained to the eolithic age, as copper-axes, copper utensils, and copper n...
one time neolithic objects, like knives, sickels, and scrapers of flint and obsidian, several arrow-heads of flint, big cobbles and sling-stones, which served as offensive arms, were still in use among them. As these objects were found in the necropolis, they dispel all doubts about the great antiquity of the painted pottery of Susa.

The shape and the material, of which the objects representing the painted pottery are made, permit us to observe two different styles, Nos. 1 and 2, separated from each other roughly by a gap of one thousand and five hundred years. The material employed in the manufacture of pottery in Susa in ancient times was the native clay, yellowish and very rich in chalk, which was well suited even for the finest pottery, if the dough was properly prepared. It had the property of changing colour when subjected to different temperatures, as M. de Morgan proved by experiments. When subjected to low temperature, it becomes red, porous, and fragile; when baked at middle temperature it turns brown, and at high temperature it becomes white or rather pale yellow, sonorous, hard, and impermeable to water. Further, it must be noted that fuel containing organic matters has a tendency to produce the whitish colour of pottery, whereas if the furnace allows more or less air it turns reddish. The different shades of brown, in some cases even the greenish colour of the fine pottery of Susa show that the temperature of the furnace was varying between 900° and 1,000° centigrade.

The painted pottery of the first period shows a high degree of perfection which the ceramic art attained in prehistoric times in Susa. It was turned on the potter's primitive wheel, and is of a smooth finish. In colour it is mostly white or rather light yellow, sometimes greenish, and decorated with paintings in reddish brown colour. These were executed with a brush before it was baked, and were freehand.

There is no trace whatsoever on it of a sketch previous to painting. The colour used for painting was made from powdered iron oxide containing comm little manganese. On broad bands, triangles, squares, rhomboids, lapis, etc., it was lavishly applied, so lavishly that it cracked easily and fell the off, sometimes leaving a faint brownish trace. But points and fine lines were drawn by only one stroke of the brush, which was soaked in the colour repeatedly for every fresh flourish. The designs are of mostly stereotyped, of which about twenty different ones are recorded early on to now. They are mostly geometric, but plants, animals, and men with...
form also the subject of the painting. Among geometric designs we
have straight and curved lines, triangles, squares, rhomboids, crosses
with equal branches, crosses like X, swastikas, concentric circles,
half circles and spirals, whereas among plants the rhododendron,
branches with leaves and flowers, are very frequent. The eagle, the
mountain-goat, the dog, the horse or the wild ass, the bull, the serpent,
the tortoise, and the fish are the animals frequently depicted, and
man in different attitudes is sometimes seen in the painting. Horns
of the mountain-goat, arrow-heads, and ships are very rare.

Archeologists are divided in their opinion on the question of the
interpretation of objects painted on the Susian pottery. M. Pottier,
who has published the results of his studies on this pottery in
"Céramique peinte de Suse et petits monuments" (Mémoires de la
Délégation en Perse, tome xiii, Paris, 1912), says that the origin of these
paintings is to be sought in religious ideas of the ancient Susians,
who like all primitive peoples decorated the articles of daily use like
pottery with designs and motives of their fetishes, which had for them
henceforth a magic and symbolic value. He says further that the
painting was a sort of a pictography, in which we can read the ideas of
the painter as if in a book. Later on these designs and motives became
through long use cursive, stylized and hardly recognizable. Then
little by little the esthetic and ornamental idea became predominant,
and symmetry and harmony were attempted much to the detriment
of the initial religious idea, which became henceforth thoroughly obscured.
This opinion of M. Pottier, though very probable in itself, cannot be
taken as final. It is equally probable that ornamentation was the sole
idea which inspired those primitive artists to decorate their pottery
with forms and objects familiar to them. Still, in the absence of direct
proofs of the fetish-worship among the early Susians it is very difficult
to pronounce a definite opinion on the subject. But is it not possible
to suppose that a comb, a design so frequent on the painted sepulchral
pottery in question, indicates the tomb of a woman, and an arrow-head
that of a man? Instead of placing these objects in the grave they were
painted on the funeral pottery, as is the case even with certain peoples
advanced in civilization. A statue of a lion cruelly worked out in
stone is often placed over the grave of a Bakhtiari hero. It is not seldom
decorated with the figure of a war-horse, a sword, a shield, a bow and
arrow chiselled on its sides in low relief. The lion represents obviously
the hero, whose statue it is prohibited by Islam to erect.

According to its thickness the painted pottery of the first period
is further subdivided into the painted pottery of style No. 1 and that of style No. 1 bis (Figs. 1–7). The pottery of the former style is very fine and thin. Its thickness varies from 2 to 7 mm., whereas that of the pottery of the latter style attains a maximum of about 12 mm. Style No. 1 is represented by long goblets, a little conical in shape and painted on the outside, cups with the stand painted on the inside, small thin goblets, small bottles with perforated knobs as handles, and small kraters. Big round vases without handles of this style are generally less painted and are rather thick; big kraters attain even a thickness of 13 mm. Plates painted on the inside, bowls painted on the outside, little bottles and vases similarly painted, though in a matt brown colour are found higher up on the fifth niveau, and pertain to style No. 1 bis. This latter kind of pottery is also found on the Tepeh-i-Musiān, about three days' journey to the north-west of Susa and in the ruins of Eridu and Ur in Mesopotamia.

The cursiveness of designs, the so-called stylisation des motifs, had already crept into style No. 1. It is easily noticed in the picture of a bird of the stork species. A short thick oblique stroke of the artist's brush represented the head and the long bill of the bird, a long thin slightly oblique line its neck, a thick dot its trunk, and two short parallel lines its legs. But little by little the lines of the legs disappeared in the painting, and then the dot of the trunk. The long line of the neck and the short one for the bill alone persisted throughout this period. These were sufficient in the opinion of the artist to revive in our memory the image of the bird. This cursiveness of designs must have been simultaneously in vogue with their perfection, as it is met with on the pottery of both the styles No. 1 and No. 1 bis. With the disappearance of animal figures from paintings on the pottery of the first period geometrical ornamentations become more and more perfect and more and more frequent.

In the south-west trench mentioned above, on the fourth niveau, which is one metre higher than the fifth, and 3·50 m. high, a new kind of pottery is met with. It is red in colour, thick, crude in technique and unpainted. Still, it is on the whole smoother than that of the second period. It is represented by big jars furnished with a handle and by vases with a spout directed downwards. Vases with a long spout and round vases with handles pertain also to this kind of pottery. This sudden change in the type of pottery, which is marked also by a platform of sun-dried bricks 10·50 m. high, cannot have passed without violent political changes. This supposition will also explain
Fig. 1.—Vase decorated with geometric designs and a stork’s nest (?). Necropolis of Susa. Louvre Museum.

Fig. 2.—Vase decorated with geometric designs and palm-leaves. Necropolis of Susa. Louvre Museum.

1 The pen drawings are after the photographs reproduced in Manuel d’Archéologie Orientale, par M. le Dr. G. Contenau.
Fig. 3.—Vase with stylized naturalistic decoration; above, a row of long-necked birds; below, a mountain goat with very long horns curved in circles. Necropolis of Susa. Louvre Museum.

Fig. 4.—Bowl decorated with geometric designs and combs with animal-heads. Necropolis of Susa. Louvre Museum.
Fig. 5.—Crater with pierced knobs and geometric decoration. Necropolis of Susa. Louvre Museum.

Fig. 6.—Vase with a spout, decorated with geometric designs. Necropolis of Susa. Louvre Museum.

Fig. 7.—Spherical bowl, decorated with figures of running dogs. Necropolis of Susa. Louvre Museum.
the thinness of the fifth niveau. There is no doubt that the necropolis of the earlier inhabitants of Susa was razed to the ground by their conquerors for building a military position, as is attested by the platform of sun-dried bricks.

The painted pottery of the second period is found on the second niveau, which is 11·50 m. higher than the natural soil. It shows a marked decadence of the ceramic art in Susa. The generations of artists who executed those fine works of the first period must have diverted their art to different materials like stone, as is proved by nice vases and statuettes of alabaster and aragonite. The technique of the fine pottery was not employed for vases made for ordinary and practical purposes. Thus it is that although the material which they used was the same native clay as that employed in the manufacture of fine pottery, the results arrived at were different. The pottery of the second period is red, half-baked, and porous. Although turned on the wheel it is on the whole ugly and irregular in shape. It seems that in rare instances only attempts have been made to make it as smooth as possible by the hand before baking. It is represented by very big round jars, bowls, small bottles, and vases sometimes furnished with spouts directed upwards. It is painted in monochrome and polychrome designs. The former are executed in white, black, and red colours, which do not dissolve in water; the latter are in yellow, brown, black, and red colours, which are easily soluble in water owing to the lack of a firm base, as the pottery is rather porous. The designs are mostly geometrical, but they are not executed with that skill which marks the pottery of the first period. Sometimes they are painted on previous designs. We find not seldom designs incised in low reliefs made by means of a reed on the pottery of this period. These latter designs were executed, when the pottery came out quite fresh from the potter's hand and before baking. They consist mostly of points and broken lines, made in the imitation of a ribbon.

Like the painted pottery of the first period that of the second period is subdivided into the painted pottery of style No. 2 and that of style No. 2 bis according to its shape and technique (Figs. 8–12). The pottery of the former style is rather ugly and painted in monochrome designs, whereas that of the latter style has a fine shape and polychrome designs. This style was in vogue till the time of Naram-Sin, king of Agade, about 2500 B.C. It is interesting to note that fragments of vases and bottles of alabaster, aragonite, and bitumen, and sometimes whole ones, are found on this second niveau.
Fig. 8.—Spherical vase with naturalistic decoration. Second style. Louvre Museum.

Fig. 9.—Vase with a spout. Second style. Louvre Museum.

Fig. 10.—Vase with incised border. Second style. Louvre Museum.
Fig. 11.—Vase decorated with intertwined lines. Second style. Louvre Museum.

Fig. 12.—Vase with a cup forming its lid. Second style. In this vase and in another similar piece alabaster and copper vases and cylinders were found. Louvre Museum.
It has been remarked by M. Frankfort in a paper published by the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, that the artists who manufactured the painted pottery of style No. 1 of the first period tried to imitate the thinness of vessels made of leather. It is improbable that leather was put to such a use in those early periods of the history of man. It is rather copper, which was always at hand for those eneolithic men. They must have perceived very early its pliability and must have employed it in the manufacture of vessels of daily use, which were decorated most probably with engravings. It is, therefore, copper vessels whose thinness the early Elamites imitated in pottery decorated with paintings. And in fact the pottery of the second period is as heavy in style as the vases of alabaster, aragonite, and bitumen of the same period, which it imitated. It was this imitation which changed the style of the second period.

It will not be, I think, out of place to mention here the results of excavations, which I carried on at my own expense on the Tell of the Citadel and on the Tell of the Apadâna with the kind permission of M. de Mecquenem, Director of the French Archaeological Mission in Persia. On the Tell of the Citadel I opened a trench 10 m. long and 4 m. broad on the fifth niveau of the big south-west trench, exactly opposite to the *tumulus* of sepulchral vases of style No. 1 of the first period. As we were approaching the end of the season I could not work out the trench in its whole length. But the work done was sufficient for drawing sound conclusions. My excavations showed that the formation of the niveau on the south-eastern side of the big trench was different from that on its south-western side. The natural soil was met with one metre below the fifth niveau. But its height was not clearly marked out by the platform of sun-dried bricks as on the south-western side. The platform is wholly missing; it was never built on this side. This supposition is supported also by the frequent appearance of fragments of the painted pottery at the height of two metres from the natural soil, i.e. on the fourth niveau, where we expect to find fragments of the red pottery only. The finds made in this trench were, besides fragments of the painted pottery of the first period and those of the red pottery of the intermediate period, several big nuclei of grey, white, and red flint, pieces of flint used as knives, scrapers, and sickles, fine small pieces of obsidian, a big piece of flint

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used for turning the potter's wheel, a casse-tête of sandstone with a hole in the centre for the thumb, also used as a door-hinge, a cobble nicely flattened and polished on two sides used for crushing grain, three pieces of hollowed pebbles for artist's colours, one of which was perhaps used also as a lamp, a whorl of bitumen and two of sun-dried clay, a sling-stone, several sling-bullets of sun-dried clay, and two pieces of fine alabaster vases pertaining to the period of the painted pottery of style No. 2 bis. With the exception of fragments of the red pottery, which pertain to the period of the foreign domination, and fragments of alabaster vases, the rest of the finds are undoubtedly of the period of the painted pottery of style No. 1 and that of style No. 1 bis. Among the fragments of the red pottery one attracts our attention by the peculiar technique of its manufacture. It is about four millimetres thick and is composed of several layers. On the outside it has a smooth white glaze. The layers were formed by successive applications of a relatively thin dough on an extremely thin vase, when it was on the potter's wheel. Each layer is evenly spread on the vase and smoothed by a piece of stone or wood and allowed to dry. When the required thickness was thus attained, the vase was glazed on the outside and baked. This process is called the engobe.

One day's work on the second niveau near the remnant of the gallery of M. de Morgan was rewarded by a nice little krater of alabaster. It had a spout turned upwards, which is missing. No fragments of the polychrome pottery of style No. 2 bis were found here, as only the eastern side of the trench was attacked.

The trench opened by me on the south side of the third court of the palace of Darius the Great revealed the existence of six potter's furnaces of the period of Naram-Sin. The whole of the trench, 10 m. long, 4 m. broad, and 3 m. deep, was thickly covered with fragments of the pottery of the same epoch. The construction of these furnaces was very simple. It consisted of two superposed round chambers, built of baked bricks. The lower chamber was 0·90 cm. in its diameter and 0·45 cm. high. It was used as the fire-room and was full of ashes and scoria. The upper one was 1·80 m. in its diameter and 0·45 cm. high; it was here that the vases were placed for baking. I found in it a couple of extremely ugly bowls shaped by the hand. The ceiling of the lower chamber must have had several holes communicating with the upper one, but they were so choked up with scoria, that it was impossible to trace them. Below one of these furnaces there was a
very primitive tomb of a child. The skeleton was half concealed under
the furnace. Two vases were placed at its head. A copper hair-pin
and two copper rings still sticking to the finger-bone were found in
the tomb; they were the personal ornaments of the dead. Several
vases of the same period were also found in the trench. A fragment of
a clay tablet of a later date bearing cuneiform inscriptions in Anzanite
was discovered near an old well. Another well of the Arab period
yielded interesting spoils consisting of fragments of fine glazed bowls,
cups of white clay with nice floral designs in low relief, and bottles of
moulded and blown glass. All these objects are samples of the Arab
ceramics of the twelfth century, manufactured in Susa. The discovery
of two potter’s furnaces of this period and that of a stone-mould for
vases with floral designs in low relief in the ancient Arab town situated
in the City of Artisans dispels all doubts on this point, and refutes the
opinion of German archaeologists that the Arab pottery found in Susa
was imported from Samara.
AL-DJAIHANI'S LOST KITAB AL-MASALIK VAL-MAMALIK: IS IT TO BE FOUND AT MASHHAD?

By Stephen Janicsek, Ph.D.

(PLATES I AND II)

ABU 'ABDALLAH MUHAMMAD IBN AHMAD AL-DJAIHANI, the famous tutor, and later vazir, of the Sāmānid amir, Naṣr ibn Ahmad, is one of the most interesting figures in Arabic literature and history. From the scanty information which is to be found in Ibn al-Athīr,1 Yaqūt,2 and Mirkhwānd,3 we can judge that he was an excellent statesman and a good general, whose political and strategic abilities directed the affairs of the Sāmānids at one of the most critical periods in their history. Nor can it be doubted, from the information supplied by Ibn Ḥauqal,4 al-Muqaddasi,5 al-Masʿūdī,6 and the Fihrist,7 that al-Djaihani was a man of wide learning and a good writer, with an intelligence far above the average of Oriental authors. We know from the Fihrist that he wrote several books on different subjects, but unfortunately all his works are lost. The most valuable of these works was probably the celebrated Kūṭāb al-Masālik val-Mamālik. When we study all that the four writers just mentioned have to say of this book, and read the vague citations made from it by Ibn Rustah, al-Bakri, Ghardīzī, Edrīsī, Muḥammad 'Aufi (?), Ibn al-Athīr al-Jazari,8 and Shukrallāh ibn Shīhāb (?), we can establish beyond all doubt that it must have been one of the most distinguished and important studies in mediæval Arabic cosmography, descriptive geography, and above all ethnography.

It is very important to notice that al-Djaihani's book was not merely a compilation—as the greater part of Oriental geographical works used to be. Although it was not entirely original, being based on the well-known Kūṭāb al-Masālik val-Mamālik of Ibn Khurdādbeh,

1 Ed. Tornberg, 1862: viii, 59, 66.

2 Irshād (Gibb Memorial Series VI), vi, pp. 293, 294.

3 Historia Sasanidarum, ed. Wilken, Göttingae, 1808, p. 34.

4 Ed. de Goeje, p. 236.

5 Ed. de Goeje, pp. 3-4, 269, 280a, etc.

6 Kūṭāb al-Tanbih, ed. de Goeje, p. 75.

7 Ed. Flügel, i, 138.

8 It is interesting to note that an Arabic MS.—most probably a variation of Ibn al-Athīr al-Jazari's geography—quotes al-Djaihani's book as Kūṭāb al-Masālik val-Mamālik ash-Sharqiyya lil-Djaihani, and as the "pendant" of this the Kūṭāb al-Masālik val-Mamālik al-Gharbiyya lil-'Adhra. (See Brit. Mus. Add. 23384, fol. 3a.)
our Oriental sources make it quite clear that the structure of al-Djaihānī’s geography differed greatly from that of Ibn Khurdādhbih’s work. Further, we are told that al-Djaihānī asked the various travellers and merchants about the routes leading to the “kingdoms”, and that he inserted the information thus acquired, which would be of the first importance for us, in his *Kitāb al-Masālik val-Mamālik.* From the Oriental authors already cited, and from al-Muqaddasī in particular, we know that he gave little attention to descriptions of the different cities and to the provinces of the “seven climates”, preferring instead detailed accounts of the different routes, of rivers, mountains, forests, in general of the upper surface of the Earth, and of the races, tribes, and clans of almost uninhabited territories lying far from the “civilized” countries of Islam. In this fact lies the chief merit of his work.

Moreover, it is well known that for the criticism of the Oriental sources, al-Djaihānī’s work would be of the greatest importance to all research students who are interested in the tremendously complicated problems raised by the accounts given in the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish works referring to the races, tribes, and clans of Southern Siberia and South Russia, such as the early Hungarians, Russians, Khazars, Ghuzz, and so on. (It is interesting to note that the early Hungarians, or the Russians, are often mentioned in these Arabic, Persian, and Turkish compilations as “Turkish” tribes, although, as is widely known, neither the Hungarians nor the Russians are of Turkish origin.)

In view of all this we may ask: How is it possible that we have no copy of this celebrated *Kitāb al-Masālik val-Mamālik* of al-Djaihānī? We know that we have many thousands of copies of useful, and useless, Arabic and Persian works of the Middle Ages. And amongst all these manuscripts—down to the present—no “Book of the Routes and Kingdoms” of al-Djaihānī has been discovered! How is it possible?

A complete answer to this question would claim much time, but it may be briefly explained as follows:

In all probability one of the positive causes why this geography, as written originally by him in Arabic, has not come down to us, is the undoubted fact that al-Djaihānī did not write his book for the general public. An al-Iṣṭakhri or Ibn Ḥauqal, and more especially a Masʿūdī, a Qazwinī, an Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, stood much nearer the Oriental public than an Ibn Khurdādhbih or an al-Djaihānī. From what

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1 al-Muqaddasi, pp. 3–4.
al-Muqaddasî says we can deduce with the greatest certainty that the geography of al-Djaihâni was a very long and tedious account for a Muhammadan reader. Probably it was very good as a compilation, but was not so good for copying. Further, we know that the history of the Sâmânids is not so well known as that of the Saljûqs or Barmakids, or the central Government of Baghdâd, and consequently the history of their vazîrs is less known than, for example, that of the Saljûq vazîrs. Among the Sâmânids, though their dynasty has a distinguished place in the history of Islâm, there was no Malik Shâh, no Yahya ibn Barmak. In consequence of this we find no vazîrs among their subjects whose fame equalled that of a Nizâm al-Mulk. Had al-Djaihâni been a vazîr of the Court of Baghdâd, or had this vazîr of Naşr ibn Aḥmad been in the service of a Malik Shâh or a Maḥmûd of Ghazna, we may guess that we should have known his life and works more fully than we do now. Finally, we think that if his nisba, instead of “al-Djaihâni”, had been, for example, “al-Baghdâdi” or “ad-Dîmishqî” or “al-Khuvârizmî” or “al-Harawi” or “al-Mausîlî”, or any other nisba relating to a celebrated city of Islâm, it is likely that we should now know a little more about him. (It is curious to note that al-Djaihâni was not a Muhammadan, but a thanawî.)

Still, of course, we need not believe that his Kitâb al-Masâlik val-Mamâlik is lost to us for ever. We cannot yet give up the hope of finding a complete copy of it, somewhere in Khurâsân, or in Bukhârâ, or in some part of the Muslim world.

Everyone who is greatly interested in al-Djaihâni’s Kitâb al-Masâlik val-Mamâlik was very glad to hear Herzfeld’s report that a copy of this lost geography was in existence in the famous library of Mashhad. It would be an event of the greatest importance if this report should prove to be true.

Ivanow has given an account of the library of Mashhad with excerpts from its catalogue. In his list we cannot find the name of al-Djaihâni’s lost work, but we find a certain Masâlik al-Mamâlik, without author’s name. (Most probably this is a copy of al-Ištakhrî’s

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1 Yâqût, Irshâd, i, 142; Fikrist, i, 338.
3 “A Notice on the Library attached to the Shrine of Imam Riza at Meshed,” JRAS., October, 1920.
4 Ibid., p. 551 (No. 83).
geographical work; see below.) Some information about this same library may be found in Nicolai Khanuikov's *Mémoire sur la Partie méridionale de l'Asie centrale*, but without detailed particulars of the MSS. and other books. In this essay there is no mention either of a *Kitāb al-Masālik val-Mamālik* or of a *Masālik al-Mamālik*. Besides I have recently seen a list of the books contained in the library of Mashhad in a work by Muhammad Ḥasan Kháñ. But I regret that I was unable to find the correct title of al-Djaihānī's lost geography in this catalogue either. In general, anyone who has studied the system of Oriental copyists and cataloguers knows very well that we need to be very cautious in accepting the titles of different authors or their works, as given by them. We are well aware that the following remark of Ivanow's is of general application, and not only in the case of Persians: "It is a well-known fact that Persians in general, and the holy and learned mullahs in particular, are strikingly ignorant of all that concerns books of poetry, history, fiction, etc. These people are particularly helpless when it is a matter of defining a book, the title of which cannot be found in the book itself." After this penetrating judgment can we still believe, on the authority of a brief remark, in the existence of a complete copy of al-Djaihānī's *Kitāb al-Masālik val-Mamālik* in the library of the sacred mosque of Mashhad? Probably—no!

There is another difficulty, too, which must be taken into account, namely, that there are other Arabic geographical works which bear the same title (e.g. the works of Ibn Khurdādhbih, Ibn Ḥauqal, al-Bakrī, etc.). Further, al-Iṣṭakhri's book bears a very similar title (*Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik*, often referred to as *Masālik al-Mamālik* or even *al-Masālik val-Mamālik*), or *Ṣuvar al-Aqālim*, or *Kitāb Ṣuvar al-ʿĀlam*, or *Kitāb al-Aqālim*, or *Masālik va Mamālik*, or *Kitāb al-Ashkāl*. From the identical or similar titles of all these

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2 Muhammad Ḥasan Kháñ (Iʿtimād us-Salṭanah, etc.), *Kitāb Maṭlaʿ ush-Shams* (Teheran ? 1884-6) 2 vols. (in the Brit. Mus.).
3 Loc. cit., p. 537.
4 See de Goeje's articles on Iṣṭakhri and Balkhi in ZDMG., xxv, p. 57.
5 Ibid.
6 B.M. Or. 5305 (an Arabic variation of al-Iṣṭakhri).
7 See Moeller's edition of al-Iṣṭakhri (Gotha, 1839).
8 See the introduction to the Persian version of al-Iṣṭakhri in the India Office Library (No. 1026).
9 Ed. de Goeje (see the end of his edition).
Oriental geographical works we may guess how often they are confused with one another by Persian, Turkish, or Arabic authors.

I propose in what follows to discuss one of the most striking examples of this confusion, which, at the same time, has a close bearing on the interesting problem of al-Djaihani's lost Kitab al-Mas'alik wa'l-Mamalik. It would be desirable to give a brief summary of this subject, but unfortunately it is impossible.

There are two Persian manuscripts in the Oriental Department of the British Museum (Add. 23542 and Or. 1587) each containing several Oriental treatises. The first section in both MSS. bears the following title: "Kitāb-Ashkāl-i Ālam-i al-Djaihani ki az 'arabi bi-fārisī tajjume shode ta'rīf-i Abul-Qāsim [sic!] ibn Āḥmad al-Djaihani. . . ." (see Add. 23542). A careful comparison of Add. 23542 with Or. 1587 shows clearly that the two texts closely agree with one another, a fact which has already been stated in Rieu's brilliant Catalogue Pers. MSS. Brit. Mus. (p. 417). It is a great pity that neither MS. is old, both having been copied in the first half of the nineteenth century. Add. 23542 is dated at Baghdād, and Or. 1587 at Kābul. Sir Henry Rawlinson notes on the fly-leaf of the latter that this MS. was copied from a fine old MS. afterwards lost.

As we have seen, the first treatise in these two MSS. is claimed as al-Djaihani's Ashkāl-i Ālam (sic) by the translator who translated the Arabic original of this Ashkāl-i Ālam "of al-Djaihani" into Persian, by order of an amīr al-mu'minin (sic), entitled "The Pride of Bukhārā" (Iftikhār-i Buhkārā), who himself attributed the original Arabic work to al-Djaihani. But in spite of this "attribution" we may question whether these two mysterious copies are in reality to be ascribed to al-Djaihani.

In his Catalogue (pp. 415-16) Rieu has expressed the following opinion: "The attribution of the original [of the Ashkāl-i Ālam] to Jaiahnī, or, as he is called at the beginning of the translation, Abul-Kasim Ibn Ahmad al-Jaihani, is probably due to a vague recollection of the famous geographer of that name, al-Jaihani, Vazīr of the Samanides." In the same columns he makes a comparison of the "Ashkāl-i Ālam of al-Djaihani" with de Goeje's al-Iṣṭakhri, and comes to the conclusion that the former is a somewhat abridged, but otherwise fairly close translation of the latter. But a precise comparison of these MSS. with de Goeje's and Moeller's editions of al-Iṣṭakhri, also with the Persian version of al-Iṣṭakhri at the India

1 See the Introduction prefaced to both MSS.
Office, and finally with the Arabic variation of al-Iṣṭakhri's geography (B.M. Or. 5305), shows clearly that there are great difficulties in the way of this identification.

In both MSS. the translation of the original (Arabic) text is preceded by a muqaddima, in which the translator says that his Prince, while studying in his own library, found a copy of the celebrated Ashkāl-i ʿĀlam-i Džaihānī, and commanded that this distinguished work should be translated into Persian. After this rather long introduction, the translator begins the translation of the original (Arabic) text as follows 1:

"There was a collection of the books of the world from the time of the first scholastics, which included the world of beings and non-beings. It is said that the author of this book is Abū ʾl-Qāsim [sic] Ben Ahmad al-Jahīzī, who died in the year 845 and is known as the author of this book of the world and the author of the geography of the world, having written about its kings and nations and the lands of Islam and the countries known to the people of Islam.

Following one or two lines later by:

"And the author of this book said that...

It is very important to notice that in the Persian translation of the original Arabic text the name of al-Dżaihānī is found nowhere except at the beginning of the work, cited above. (The Arabic text did not, of course, include the aforesaid muqaddima.) Instead of it we often find the following expression: "The author of this book said that..." On the other hand, at the end of the two MSS. al-Dżaihānī's name is repeated, as follows 2:

"Then he wrote a book on the collection of the world from the time of the first scholastics..."

In a word we find al-Dżaihānī's name only in the title of this work, in the muqaddima of the Persian translator, at the beginning of the translation of the original text, and at the end of the translation. Consequently, except for the citation of the name of this famous vazīr at the beginning of the original Arabic text, all the references to him are most probably due to the Persian translator himself. We can, moreover, prove with absolute certainty that this work cannot by any means be attributed to al-Dżaihānī. Everyone who knows of al-Dżaihānī's geography from the description furnished by the Oriental works mentioned above, and everyone who carefully compares these two copies of Ashkāl-i ʿĀlam with al-Iṣṭakhri's geography, must agree with us in this conclusion.

How then is the mistake about the name of the real author of this Ashkāl-i ʿĀlam to be explained?

1 Add. 23542, fol. 36; Or. 1587, fol. 46.
2 Add. 23542, fol. 57a; Or. 1587, fol. 126b.
There are several possible explanations of this very typical phenomenon in the source-analysis of Oriental studies, but we think that the most positive interpretation would be on the following lines. The above-mentioned Oriental ruler probably found in his library a copy of an Arabic manuscript entitled *Askhāl al-ʿĀlam*, without author's name. Being anxious to learn the name of the author, he examined the text, and saw the name of al-Djahānī (as noted above 1) at the beginning of the work. He did not know that these first three or four lines of the text were, most probably, only excerpts taken by the author of the *Askhāl al-ʿĀlam* from al-Djahānī's *Kitāb al-Masālik ʿal-Mamālīk*, and that the real beginning of the original text followed a few lines below (i.e. at وَغَرَضَ آَثَمنَ كُتَاب). It is very probable that this prince "The Pride of Bukhārā" was familiar with the name of al-Djahānī, but unfortunately did not know the correct title of al-Djahānī's geography, and under the erroneous impression that the author of the *Askhāl al-ʿĀlam* was al-Djahānī, commanded one of his servants to translate this Arabic geography "of al-Djahānī" into Persian. In this way it is easily understood why al-Djahānī's name is mentioned at the head of the Persian version, as the author of the *Askhāl al-ʿĀlam*, why it is twice recorded at the beginning of the translation of the original Arabic text, and finally inserted at the end of the Persian translation.

Who then was the real author of the *Askhāl al-ʿĀlam*? To give a precise answer to this question is the most difficult problem before us. As regards the name of the work we can state with reasonable assurance that the name *Askhāl al-ʿĀlam* belongs, as a title, to the geographical work of either al-Iṣṭakhri or al-Balkhi. We have already remarked that the correct title of al-Iṣṭakhri's geography was *Kitāb Masālik ʿal-Mamālīk*, and that of al-Balkhi's *Ṣuwār al-Aqālim*. But we know very well that the names of these two works are not always quoted exactly by Oriental writers, and indeed have often been confused with one another. We have seen above that al-Iṣṭakhri's *Kitāb Masālik ʿal-Mamālīk* is sometimes designated by the title of *Ṣuwār al-Aqālim*. Further, we may conjecture that al-Balkhi's work appeared in two editions, 2 and that one or both of them was used, enlarged, and finally renamed by al-Iṣṭakhri *Kitāb Masālik ʿal-Mamālīk*. In consequence of this, al-Iṣṭakhri's work can be regarded

1 i.e. in the Persian translation: چنین کوید مؤلف کتاب ابو القاسم بن احمد الجبياني.

2 See the above-mentioned article of de Goeje, pp. 50, 56.
as an enlarged edition of al-Balkhi’s Šuwar al-Aqālim. This fact is the source of the great complication in the so-called “Balkhi-Iṣṭakhrī” problem. Therefore, in face of the difficulties attending the identification of these two geographies, or more precisely of their titles, we may assert with a fair degree of certainty that the correct title of the two British Museum MSS. which go by the name of Ashkāl-i ʿĀlam is either Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik or Šuwar al-Aqālim.¹

Now al-Iṣṭakhrī states, near the beginning of his work, that in his book he has divided the inhabited part of the earth into twenty ḥilmis. (This division was not his original idea, as he found these twenty aqālim in al-Balkhi’s Šuwar al-Aqālim.) But on studying his Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik we find that in the headings of the different chapters relating to the twenty aqālim, the numbers of the “regions” are never mentioned, whereas in the chapter-headings of the Ashkāl-i ʿĀlam we find the number of each “region” inserted along with the title. For example, in al-Iṣṭakhrī the chapter-headings read as follows: دیراء المغرب, or دیراء المغریب, etc., while in the two MSS. of the Ashkāl-i ʿĀlam we find in the corresponding chapter-headings اقلیم سوم دیراء المغرب, etc. The importance of this fact cannot be overlooked, since we know from al-Muqaddasi (p. 4) that al-Balkhi divided his geography into twenty chapters, and it is not impossible that in the original Šuwar al-Aqālim the number of each of the twenty “regions” was recorded in the chapter-headings, just as we have seen in the case of the Ashkāl-i ʿĀlam.

Besides, if we study the variations of al-Iṣṭakhrī’s geography already referred to, we find no mention of al-Djaihānī’s name, either at the beginning of the work or elsewhere. But we have seen that al-Djaihānī’s name was, in all probability, cited at the beginning of the original Arabic Ashkāl al-ʿĀlam. This very important fact cannot be neglected, and seems to provide an additional proof that the work cannot be attributed to al-Iṣṭakhrī. It is, however, not impossible that al-Djaihānī’s name was mentioned at the beginning of al-Balkhi’s Šuwar al-Aqālim, since al-Balkhi is known to have been in personal contact with al-Djaihānī.² We may observe also that at the beginning of Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik al-Iṣṭakhrī speaks in the first person,³

¹ We have seen above that al-Iṣṭakhrī’s work is sometimes known as Šuwar al-ʿĀlam, which is practically identical in meaning with Ashkāl al-ʿĀlam!

² See Encyclopaedia of Islam (s.v. al-Balkhi).

³ See B.M. Or. 5305 and de Goeje’s edition.
but the author of *Ashkāl al-‘Ālam, in the corresponding passages, writes in the third person.

The strongest argument, however, is that, if a careful comparison is made between the MSS. of *Ashkāl-i ‘Ālam and the above-mentioned variations of al-Iṣṭakhrī’s work, it is found that the text of *Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik is longer than that of *Ashkāl-i ‘Ālam. Not only this, but there are some differences between the two works in regard to the description and enumeration of the cities, rivers, tribes, etc. Besides, the particular structure of *Ashkāl-i ‘Ālam cannot be identified with that of al-Iṣṭakhrī’s work, more especially as the former contains the names of different cities within the *aqālim.

The consideration of all these difficulties leads us to the conclusion that in all probability the original of the two MSS. of the *Ashkāl-i ‘Ālam in the British Museum cannot be attributed to al-Iṣṭakhrī, but either to an unknown author, or else to al-Balkhi himself. It is probable indeed that the *Ashkāl-i ‘Ālam of al-Djaihānī” is the Persian translation of a copy of the original second (or perhaps third) edition of al-Balkhi’s *Suwar al-Aqālim. There are some two or three items in the text which are of a date posterior to both al-Balkhi and al-Iṣṭakhrī, but, as Rieu has already remarked, these passages are probably later insertions in the original Arabic text.

It is well known that al-Balkhi’s *Suwar al-Aqālim contained the maps of the twenty “regions”. These maps were copied, and probably improved, by al-Iṣṭakhrī. As Miller has recorded, there are three collections of al-Balkhi’s maps, one in Berlin, one in Hamburg, and one in Bologna, and several facsimiles of these maps are published, along with some of al-Iṣṭakhrī’s maps, in his *Mappae Arabice. Moeller also published facsimiles of al-Iṣṭakhrī’s maps in his edition of the text, and in addition al-Iṣṭakhrī’s atlas may be seen in the India Office and B.M. copies of *Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik.

The two manuscripts of *Ashkāl-i ‘Ālam also contain maps of the twenty *aqālim, including (in both MSS.) the map of the inhabited

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1 These variations of *Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik also present certain differences in their texts, which must not be overlooked either. Consequently the problem of the existence of a second, or even of a third, edition of al-Iṣṭakhrī’s work becomes very difficult.

2 As has already been mentioned, al-Iṣṭakhrī’s geography may be regarded as a much (?) enlarged edition of al-Balkhi’s *Suwar.


4 *Catalogue, p. 416.

part of the earth. This map is not found in all the variant editions of al-Iṣṭakhri mentioned above. A careful comparison of all the maps of al-Balkhi and al-Iṣṭakhri with the painted drawings of the atlas of Ashkāl-i Ālam reveals clearly that the prototypes or archetypes of all these maps (including the latter) are those which may have been included in the first edition of al-Balkhi’s Ṣuwar al-Aqālim, and further, that amongst all these maps, the painted drawings of the Ashkāl-i Ālam “of al-Djaḥānī” betray the earliest origin, and show the most primitive technique. As has already been mentioned, these two MSS. were copied in the first half of the nineteenth century, and we must suppose that their maps were painted at the same time. A study of these maps, however, proves undoubtedly that the painters were skillful artists and probably copied the original maps most faithfully. In them the continents are often drawn with the simplest lines (rectangular or obtuse-angled), a feature rarely found in the maps of al-Iṣṭakhri or in the facsimiles of the three Balkhi collections interpreted by Miller. In general, too, it may be affirmed that fewer cities, mountains, and rivers are shown on the maps of the Ashkāl-i Ālam than on any of the other maps mentioned.

Miller seems to state, in the passage already referred to, that the extent maps of al-Balkhi in the collections at Bologna, Berlin, and Hamburg, are the oldest Islamic maps independent of Ptolemy. But on comparing these maps, published by Miller, with the maps of the two MSS. of Ashkāl-i Ālam, we can establish beyond all doubt that these latter maps must be regarded as types of an older (probably the original) scheme of al-Balkhi’s maps! If, then, it is true that al-Balkhi is to be regarded as the first atlas-maker in Islam who was (more or less) independent of Ptolemy, we can state, as an all but indubitable fact, that the maps in the London MSS. of Ashkāl-i Ālam are copies of the oldest Islamic maps which are (more or less) independent of Ptolemy. Thus the evidence of the maps seems also to bear out the argument that the author of this work was al-Balkhi, and that the text is probably that of the second (or perhaps third) edition of the Ṣuwar al-Aqālim.

Against this conclusion only one serious argument can be raised, namely, that we are guessing that the text of the original edition of

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1 Of the two maps reproduced herewith from Add. 23542, Plate I, representing the Mediterranean Sea, should be compared with the reproductions in Miller’s Islam-Atlas No. 6 (Mappae Arabicae, 1. Band, 1. Heft); and Plate II, representing North-West Africa and Spain, with those in his Islam-Atlas No. 3 (ibid., 2. Band, Beih. bibliographic).
al-Balkhi's *Suwar al-Aqālīm* was shorter than that of the *Ashkāl al-ʿĀlam*. But de Goeje himself has already observed that al-Balkhi probably issued two editions of the *Suwar al-Aqālīm*, and it is not impossible that it reached not only the second but also the third edition.

Finally, let us return to al-Djaihani! We have seen from a striking example, discussed in the preceding pages, that a geographical work has already been wrongly attributed to this famous vazir of the Sāmānids. Further, if we consider the immense confusion which exists among the names of al-Balkhi’s, al-Iṣṭakhrī’s, Ibn Khurdādhbih’s, and al-Djaihani’s works, we regard it as *not at all* certain that the real *Kitāb al-Masālik val-Mamālik* of al-Djaihani, the discovery of which would be one of the greatest events in modern Oriental research, is to be found in the library of Imām ʿAlī Rizā at Mashhad. As we have shown, Herzfeld’s short report is quite insufficient to support any such belief. It might well happen that a research student who should examine this mysterious manuscript would find another *Ashkāl al-ʿĀlam* “of al-Djaihani”, or a copy of al-Iṣṭakhrī’s *Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik*, or Ibn Khurdādhbih’s work, instead of the authentic *Kitāb al-Masālik val-Mamālik* of al-Djaihani.

But it is also true that the problem of whether al-Djaihani’s geography is or is not to be found at Mashhad cannot be solved in London. The city of the perfect solution of this urgently important question is . . . Mashhad.
THE DATE OF THE SUBHASITAVALI

By A. Berriedale Keith

The importance of dates in Sanskrit literature renders it desirable to examine critically the interesting attempt of Dr. S. K. De to upset the accepted view that the Subhasitavali of Vallabhadeva, by reason of its reference to Jainollabhadina (i.e. Zain ul-Äbidin, c. 1417-67), is not to be dated earlier than the second half of the fifteenth century. The piece of evidence on which Dr. De's theory rests has long been before us in the shape of a reference to verse 726 of the Subhasitavali in the commentary by Vandyaghatiya Sarvananda on the Amarakoça, which, according to a note of the present date given in the commentary on verse 21 of the kalavarga, was written when the Caka year 1081 and the Kali year 4260 had expired. At first sight this seems conclusive enough, but I have always held that the citation is merely an interpolation, a view which I imagine has been shared by other scholars, since no attempt has hitherto been made, so far as I am aware, to make use of the citation as fixing Vallabhadeva's date. It is, however, very proper that the question should have been definitely raised, but full consideration of the available evidence strengthens me in my belief that we have to deal simply with an intelligent addition of some scribe.

It is, in the first place, obvious that the passage is precisely of the kind that can be interpolated with ease. It follows upon a grammatical explanation of the form javā, ending javāyām tu japā striyām iti Dharmaḥ, and runs: Kācmīravallabhadevaracitasubhasitāvalyām api pakārāntacāleṣaḥ, tathā ca, the verse then being given in full. This is decidedly a curious mode of citation, for which there is no precise parallel in the rest of the Tikāsarvasva, and this fact is in favour of the theory that it is a case where a scribe has added something. If the reference were original, why, it may be asked, has Sarvananda not contented himself with Subhasitāvalyām, just as, for instance, he cites the Āryakoça? To give the name of the author, and not merely the

2 Ed. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, Nos. xxxviii, xliii, i, lii.
3 Pt. ii, p. 130.
4 Pt. ii, p. 63.
name but the description Kāçmira, is clearly not in accord with Sarvānanda’s usage throughout.¹

In the second place, study of the Tikāsarvasva reveals that the text as given in the edition is not in a state to cause any confidence in its reliability as representing Sarvānanda’s own words. Of the many instances which might be cited, one is specially interesting. On the Koça, ii, 6, 22: āpānasattvā syād gurvīy antarvatnī ca garbhīṇī, Sarvānanda in the edition comments: guruh ino ’syā iti gurvīṇī. Candraṇām pippalyādiḥ. pūrvapādāt ² ity ādinā ṇatvam kecid āhuḥ. āpānasattvā gurvī syād iti pāṭhaḥ. Puruṣottamadevena gurvīṇīty asya Durghaṭe’sādhutvam uktam. tantrāntaresu ca gurvīty eva pāṭho dṛṣṭaye. The editor, naturally perplexed, adds the note: Durghaṭaṁvṛttikāras tu Cāraṇadevaḥ. In point of fact, we find in the Durghaṭavṛtti of Cāraṇadeva (v, 2, 115) the following comment: kathāṁ gurvīṇī? gurutvam invatiti. iva vyāptāḥ ity atāḥ kvipi valilope rāmēbhya ŋīpi.³ gurur udare asya astiti vrihyādīnir vā. This makes it perfectly clear that Cāraṇadeva did not lay down that there was asādhutvam of gurvīṇī, while, on the other hand, it is impossible to suppose that Durghaṭa is anything save a contraction for Durghaṭavṛtti, and it is legitimate to suppose that we must attribute the confusion which has arisen to a faulty text tradition.

These arguments establish that the passage mentioning the Subhāṣitāvalī can be removed without injury to the comment; that it is just the sort of note that often slips into manuscripts; that the mode of citation is unique in Sarvānanda; and that his text is far from established. The doubt which must be felt as to the possibility of using the passage to fix the date of the Subhāṣitāvalī becomes overwhelming when we consider the consequences which must be accepted if we insist on the genuineness of the passage. We must then admit that the Subhāṣitāvalī had become well known in Bengal, where Sarvānanda was doubtless born as his name Vandhyaghaṭiṣya attests, before A.D. 1160, and that all the poets whose works are used by Vallabhadeva lived earlier than, say, 1150, or more probably distinctly earlier. This conclusion involves, it will be seen, the assumption that a considerable number of interpolations have been made in the Subhāṣitāvalī, and

¹ In lieu of full description Sarvānanda curtails, e.g. Kirāṭa for Kirāṭarjunīya, Raghu for Raghuvaṇa, Vidyadha for Vidyadhāmukhamāṇḍana, Durghaṭa for Durghaṭavṛtti.
² Pāṇini, viii, 4, 3.
³ Pāṇini, iv, 1, 5; the text is not very satisfactory.
reason suggests that it is more logical to suppose one interpolation in the Tikāsarvasvā than many in the Subhāṣitavālī. No one will probably maintain that the text of the Subhāṣitavālī has come down free from interpolation, but the question is, Why should we commit ourselves to belief in very widespread interpolation in the Subhāṣitavālī simply in order to assert the sanctity of the text of the Tikāsarvasvā, which is preserved only in manuscripts from the south of India far from its probable place of origin?

Dr. De minimizes the amount of interpolation which must be assumed on his view in the Subhāṣitavālī by raising doubts as to Professor Peterson’s identification of certain of the authors cited. Rājānaka Jonarāja, he suggests, may not really be the writer who continued the Rājataraṅgīnī, and who was a contemporary of Zain ul-ʿAbidīn. But this suggestion becomes extremely improbable when he admits that Çribaka appears in the anthology as a panegyrist of that prince,¹ a fact which makes Peterson’s identification certain. It is not denied by Dr. De that verses 608 and 609 refer to Shihāb ud-Dīn of Kashmir (c. a.d. 1335); if the Subhāṣitavālī ascribes them correctly to Amṛtadatta, then a large number of other verses must be condemned as interpolations, and even if we hold the ascription wrong, still verses 608 and 609 must go. It is also not improbable that Peterson is right in his identification of Arjunadeva with Arjunavarmadeva, author of the commentary on the Amarucaṭaka in the thirteenth century. But what is much more important is that Dr. De asks us to believe that the Subhāṣitavālī contains contemporaneous quotations from a number of writers whose dates are thus placed by him before or about a.d. 1150, a doctrine which leads us into far more serious difficulties than can be readily faced in order to validate a single sentence in the Tikāsarvasvā as edited.

The Subhāṣitavālī knows among many others Maṅkha, Kalhaṇa, Jenduka, Kalyāṇadatta, Jayadeva, and Çrihāra. Now, as Dr. De himself holds, Maṅkha wrote about a.d. 1145, and the Rājataraṅgīnī was not finished before a.d. 1150, while Jenduka and Kalyāṇadatta may be, and it may be added, probably are, the poets mentioned by Maṅkha as his contemporaries. It requires frankly a good deal of imagination to accept the view that the author of the Subhāṣitavālī was a contemporary of these writers, and that his work, composed in 1150 or slightly later, could be used in the Tikāsarvasvā in 1160. But

¹ See vv. 2632, 2633. There are twenty other verses by the poet in the anthology.
the case is worse with Jayadeva and Çriharśa. The former was admittedly the court poet of Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal whose reign closed at the very end of the twelfth century, and it is really most implausible to seek to assign the Gītagovinda to as early a date as A.D. 1150. If, indeed, we accept the suggestion that Čaraṇa who is referred to by Jayadeva is identical with Čaraṇadeva, the author of the Durghatavedī, we know that he cites an author whose great work was written in A.D. 1172, and to which the term durūha might certainly well be applied (Čaraṇaḥ çlāghyo durūhadrite). Çrutadharā, also cited in the Subhāṣītāvali, was another contemporary of Jayadeva. The case of Çriharśa is equally difficult; the probability is that he wrote after A.D. 1160, possibly a good deal later in the century, and the likelihood of his work being well known and freely used by Vallabhadeva in Kashmir in A.D. 1150 is frankly negligible. Whether the Hemācārya cited in the anthology was really Hemacandra becomes, therefore, a matter of no real interest; but in view of the facts and of the obviously Jain character of the verse given it is certainly probable that Peterson’s identification is sound.

The only conclusion, therefore, which seems to rest on sound principles of weighing evidence is to regard the new date for Vallabhadeva suggested by Dr. De as implausible and contrary to the weight of evidence. Even, however, if we assume that for some unknown reason Sarvānanda, who otherwise cites as briefly as possible, using name and work only when unavoidable as in Gaṇgādhariyonyādivetti and Durgasinha in the Kātantraṭikā, not merely gives name and work, but distinguishes the author by locality, and did know the Subhāṣītāvali, the date achieved is of practically no value. It matters little what Vallabhadeva’s own date was, if we have at the same time to admit that his anthology was later seriously interpolated, for we are thus precluded from using his date as determining the period before which the poets whom he excerpts must have lived. This negative result may be disappointing, but it is better than accepting the proposed dating on inadequate evidence.

1 See Chintaharan Chakravarti, IHQ. iii, 188; the colophon of the Sadukti-karnāmṛta gives Čaka 1127 as year 27 of the king’s reign, or A.D. 1178 as the period of his accession.
2 See Srih Chandra Chakravarti, Bhāṣāvṛtti, p. 7.
3 There is a c.l., durūhadruteh. For a variant explanation, see Pischel, Die Hofdichter des Lakṣmaṇasena, pp. 24 ff.; Keith, History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 220, n. 1. The matter is not ripe for solution.
4 Probably Dhoyi, author of the Pavanadāta: Pischel, op. cit., p. 35.
One matter, however, on which some light can be thrown may be mentioned. Dr. De, who is editing the text of the Kicakavadha, mentions elsewhere that that little poem must be prior to the fifteenth century, but he suggests that it may belong to a much earlier date. That suggestion is clearly sound. The Kicakavadha is several times cited in the Tikasarvasva, which recognizes its character as a yamakakavya, and it is equally known as a mahakavya to the Bhasavritti of Purushottama, which is older than A.D. 1172.

Dr. De notes that the Tikasarvasva contains two references to the commentator Vallabha, as he is styled in accordance with Sarvananda’s usual love of abbreviation, and he assigns him to the first half of the tenth century. This, of course, is the date contended for by Professor Hultzsch, but it appears to me that it is dangerous to accept this dating without further consideration of the objections urged by Professor Pathak. As the latter points out, it is the case that in his commentary on the KavivaCavavarna of the Cicupalaavadha Vallabha refers to Bilhana, at any rate in the version given in Durgaprasada’s edition of Magha. This may be met by the argument that there is uncertainty regarding the reading, as Dr. Hultzsch quite fairly urges. But there remains a serious argument which has not been yet satisfactorily answered. In his commentary on Cicupalaavadha, iii, 23, Vallabha cites an explanation of mahidhra which is found in Kirsavamin’s commentary on the AmarakoCa, and prima facie may well be taken thence, and it is very probable that Kirsavamin wrote at no distant date from Sarvananda, and certainly long after A.D. 950. Further, Professor Pathak argues that the remark of Vallabha on Kumarasambhava, i, 35, regarding the use of asa is based on a knowledge of Hemacandra’s Bhadvytti, iv, 4, 1, and here, again, the argument is prima facie valid. It is, of course, possible that Vallabha really used some other sources than Kirsavamin and Hemacandra, but these facts must be set against the mainly negative evidence relied on by

1 JRAE. 1927, p. 110.
2 e.g., pt. i, p. 110: kṣitau vikasitau sitam (also pt. ii, p. 58); pt. ii, pp. 153, 284; pt. iii, pp. 49, 179.
3 See Srinath Chandra Chakravarti’s ed., p. 2.
4 JRAE. 1927, p. 472, n. 2.
5 Meghaduta (2nd ed.), pp. xiv-xvi.
6 See his trans., p. 224, n. 21.
7 Ed. TSS., No. xliii, p. 44.
8 Mallinatha’s view is that Cakatayana (iv, 2, 91) is used.
Professor Hultsch and the mere conjecture that Vallabha was the grandfather of Kayyaṭa, who lived in A.D. 977–8. It is, I think, decidedly inadvisable to regard the date of Vallabha as in any way definitely fixed as regards its more remote limit. It is significant that he is cited from almost at the same moment by Vardhamāna, author of the Gavaratnamahodadhi and by Sarvāṇanda, and a little later by Čaraṇadeva in his Durghaṭavytī. The matter has some importance, for unquestionably there has been some inclination to exaggerate his value for the fixing of the text of the Meghadūta on the score of his early date.

1 Kāvyamālā, i, 101.
2 Ed. TSS., No. vi, p. 65, commenting on Kumārasambhava, ii, 44. Sarvāṇanda refers to Vallabha’s comments on Māgha, v, 24 (pt. ii, p. 23) and Kumārasambhava, v, 74.
A NOTE ON BHAGAVADAJJUKAM
By Venkatarama Sharma Sastri

Drśyakāvya, or the literature of the scenic art in Sanskrit, has been divided into ten classes: of these the present work falls under "Prahasana", or farce. Several manuscripts of the book have been obtained from different libraries in Malabar, but the first to bring out a printed edition was Dr. A. R. Bannerjea Śāstri of Patna. His edition was based on a MS. which I sent him and another incomplete MS. obtained from the late Mahāmahopādhyāya K. P. Bhaṭṭācārya of Calcutta. The edition was, however, not free from faults and left several points obscure. Scholars were looking forward to a better reprint when Mr. P. Anujan Achan brought out a second and independent edition. It was published by the Mangalodayam Co., Ltd., with a foreword by Dr. Winternitz, and was based on a MS. which Mr. Achan found in the library of his own family—one, by the way, rich in Sanskrit and Malayalam MSS. He consulted other MSS., e.g. that in the Bhandarkar Research Institute, and was able to bring out a tolerably good edition. There is also another edition of the work, based on MS. in the Madras Oriental Library.

The play Bhagavadajjukam was apparently intended by its author to bring into ridicule the doctrines of Buddhism—a method, among others, which the Brahmins employed to stem the rising tide of that religion. The chief characters in the play are a Parivrājaka or saint, his disciple Śaṁdilya, at one time a Buddhist, and a young and beautiful courtesan. The play opens with a discussion between the master and the pupil on Hindu Dharma; but the attention of the latter is all for the young woman in the adjacent garden. As this one-sided discussion proceeds, the woman suddenly falls down dead from snake-bite. The young man is very much affected, but the older one offers to show him an example of the power of yoga and transfers his soul into the body of the courtesan who presently rises up and continues the philosophic discussion. The beholders are very much surprised, but their astonishment is not diminished when the body of the Parivrājaka which had fallen lifeless starts up again and talks and behaves as the courtesan used to. For the agents of Yama had made a mistake in taking the soul of the girl and had returned to restore it, but finding her body


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alive, infused her soul into the Parivṛjaka's frame. All this must have provided a good material for mirth, and must have proved very popular on the stage.

The only definite statements as to the authorship of the play occur in the commentaries in two different MSS., and are conflicting; one mentions Bōdhāyana as the author, while the other mentions the name of Indracārṇumāṇī.¹ There were several Bōdhāyanas, two of whom were poets and it is not easy to decide to whom the first of the above statements refers. Several plausible guesses have been made, based on evidence other than the statements in the two commentaries. It has been pointed out that the Bhagavadajjukam, in common with the plays of Bhāsa, lacks all reference to the author in the text, begins with a Sthāpanā instead of the usual Prastāvanā, and bear some resemblances to them in style and diction. On the other hand, it has been shown that the play shows similarities to the Mattavilāsa of Mahendra-vikrama Varman. Both plays ridicule Buddhist doctrines and extol Hindu Dharma. This argument gains strength from the fact that in the stone inscription at Māmūṇḍūr,² which has been proved to be that of Mahendra-vikrama, Bhagavadajjukam and Mattavilāsa are mentioned in company. Similarities in diction have also been traced between the two. It will therefore be seen that the authorship of the play is still uncertain, and will continue to engage the attention of scholars for some time to come.

There are two references to Bhagavadajjukam—one in the inscription above mentioned, and the other in Śiṅgabhūpāla's Rasāṁvasudhākara.³ Of these the inscription belongs to the seventh

¹ The Nāndī-verse contains this word. The Commentator says:— रुद्रचातपम-  


³ Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. But in this edition the place where Bhagavadajjukam is mentioned, is not to be seen. I think it is due to an oversight on the part of Dr. Gaṇapati Sastrin. I give below the omitted portion:—

शुद्ध कौम वैहृत्व च तत्त्व प्रसंसनं चिथा।
शुद्ध श्रेणियशाखात्र्याध्यायर्द्वयार्द्वयायं चित्ता।
चेताब्दीयेनत्र तत्त्वां शुद्धाय तु निकृप्तताम।
आवन्ध कौम प्रसंसनं तथा भगवदज्जुकम्।
कौमं तु सर्वभोज्येन्द्रे सचक्ष्यं धर्माद्यकम।
तस्मिन्नार्थां जीयं शुद्धोत्भवाद्रादिकम्।
यवषेषं कामाकादीनो वेषभाद्रादिनंसमंगते।
century, and the Rasārṇavasudhākara to the fourteenth century A.D. The date of the play cannot, therefore, be later than the seventh century.

There is only one reference to the scene of the play in one of the commentaries, where the word "nagaram" is noted upon as Paṭaliputra.

यष्टनापस्वदायित्वे तद्वैतत्त मुक्त ।
कलिखन्त्रमहसनवधुक्ष तद्राहतम ॥

These verses are to be found in ancient palm-leaf MSS. of Rasārṇavasudhākara and in a printed edition of the same in Andhralipi.
THE text of the Nāgāvā inscription, alluded to at page 551 of the School of Oriental Studies Bulletin, Vol. IV, Part III, was communicated to Sir George Grierson through the kindness of the late Professor P. G. Gune. It is given below with the kind permission of the former. The inscription is mentioned at page 351 of the Kolābā Gazetteer, is dated in the Śaka year 1289 (a.d. 1367), and was found engraved on the stone steps of Bhīmeśvara’s temple at Nāgāvā, 3 miles south of Alibāg in the Kolābā District of the Bombay Presidency. It is described in the Gazetteer as a Sanskrit inscription. But after line 4 the language is clearly archaic Marāṭhi. Professor Gune stated that the rubbing showed that three letters in the first line and one each in the sixth, sixteenth, and seventeenth lines have become entirely defaced. But that otherwise the lettering is clear and legible, with the exception of four or five letters. The inscription is important in that it contains in line 9 the rare genitive. References to India have so far failed to elicit other instances. It is also interesting as containing the following grammatical correspondences with the text of the Jīnānesvarī (a.d. 1290).

(a) Nominatives in उ-शकु, संवतु, श्री इविख, चागख, प्रधानु, दाताख, धर्मु, वारिख, पाठु, वेजख, छूँग. Also occurring in the proper names in lines 22–5.

(b) Nominatives in चो—राजी, सिहिजो.

(c) Dative-genitives in आ, corresponding to the present-day sāmānyarūpa—ब्रधिकारिचा, वारिचा (l. 16), महिचा, काफाबाचा.

(d) उअरवाअरामिंग “for planting”. It is noticeable that there is no instance in this inscription of जान, the abbreviated form of the dative. The स dative occurs frequently. (This is discussed at p. 549 of Bulletin, Vol. IV, Part III.)

(e) Instances of the conjunctive participle in नि occur, e.g. सदारि, कनि (3 times), सोदयानि, and of the ablative in नि in जामीनि (vide p. 570 of Bulletin, Vol. IV, Part III).

A tentative translation of the inscription has been added. Mr. S. G. Kanhere has made certain suggestions which are either adopted in the translation or discussed in the notes below. Yet difficulties and doubts as regards certain details remain unsolved. The general sense,
however, is clear. In brief, the inscription records a trust effected by Sihipro, the Chief Minister of a local Rājā in the Koṅkan, in favour of certain Agariās, i.e. Śudras or Kolis, who are so termed as they cultivated salt ricefields and worked in salt pans. These persons, with whom the village officials are joined in the grant, were charged with the upkeep of certain gardens, in which they were to plant trees. It may be surmised, having regard to the fact that this was a charitable grant, and seeing that the inscription was recorded on the steps of Bhimesvara's temple, that the fruits, leaves, and flowers from the garden were used in the worship at the temple.

TEXT OF THE NĀGĀVĀ INSCRIPTION

[1] स्वती व्री हिजरत ६५ शकु संवत २२८५ पञ्चबंग संसरे स्थापिता ॥
[2] श्रीमल्ल प्रोहिन्तपर चक्रवति महाराजाधिराज श्रीहिजरता राज्योऽ
[3] टाणी कोज्याराज्य कोति सवे तस्किन कालित प्रवर्त्तमाणि धर्माराज
[4] पत्र लिखते यथा सव्यावापारि सिद्धिप्रोे तं मरिज्य ज्यागुगर चार्धि
[5] कारिण्या क्षुलाना चहासन लालाचा मेघावे तेंजे प्रोहिन्तपर वेशित स
[6] "रंधुच विचवागतिध्याय पौर्षे वैष्ठिा मिज्य चित्तम चित्तम सरसी
[7] या कारिण्याहारायी ज्यागुगर समधु सुख नागाबः भागशैलिक कोज्याराज्या
[8] १ गार्डेँ कवित्तिध्याय पौर्षे भाटाको उरी वाक्रिया २ समधुकरण भोगा स
[9] हित व्री नागाबा प्रधानु चित्तम प्रेरति चित्तम कवित्तिध्याया
[10] वर भोगा महत्यागार कालितवाविड़ि चित्तम ध्रामा २५० गार्डेँ कवित्तिध्याया
[11] चे भाटाको कक्षा व्री ५० वर्षावाक्रिया २ कक्षा ध्रामा सते २६०
[12] हे ध्राम वर्त नकोश कवित्तिध्याया सुख वक्षनि समको चागरियांस भागशैलिक
[13] विषय घाटका साध्योत्पलतवादनिं तत्ता बिस्ता वाटातु राह नाहिं वाणि
[14] या दातारंथिन कक्षनि वाक्रिया श्राणाचि समको चागरियांस भागि वि
[15] कक्षि ते गुलिंबोली सोंहरूकरि सिद्धिप्रोे भागशैलि वाक्रिया चारहि
[16] "वाक्रिया कोणह दातारं बिमेटिखित गुलिं बिस्त तर समको चागरियांसहि
[17] "राणि हा धर्मु सिद्धिप्रोचा तिती वड समको चागरियांसहि समभानि प्रति-

पात्राविड़ि
In the auspicious year of the Hejira 769 (and) the Śaka year 1289 in the cycle of Virgo it being enacted while the valiant and mighty universal Monarch, the King of Kings, King Śri Hambiru was reigning at Thāne in the Koṅkan, a letter concerning procedure, etc., was written as follows—Sihipro, Controller of Affairs, sent it to the official in charge of the 8 āgars (salt pans or fields), having given it to Kusan*, the Senavi in charge of Ahāsan* toll-bār in the afternoon

* Sihipro (is) the inhabitant of the village of Ciṅcāvali. In order to (re)plant the plantain-trees, which had died there, Kotalavādī being the chief of the āgars in Nāg*vē village, the King's Minister Sihipro arranged for the sale of (i) the ricefield of Nārade Kavaliā (and) (ii) Urauvādī = 2 (fields), together with the usufruct of the fruits on the boundaries, to the excellent inhabitant of Ciṅcāvali, Bhigā Mālī, for 160 drachmas the sale of the ricefield pertaining to Nārade Kavaliā in Katalavādī (was effected); for 40 drachmas the sale of Uraivādī (was effected); the sale of the two fetching 200 drachmas. These drachmas were divided among all the Śudra cultivators,
Kavalji being the chief and including (in the money-distribution) the officiating watchman. The tank below the Sāla Gopāl-vād pass had fallen into great disrepair, there was no road-approach, and the gardens had become ownerless. So they were sold to all the Sudra cultivators and the gardens were sold by Sihipro, after freeing them from all encumbrances. Should any claimant make forcible obstruction, then all the Sudras should restrain him. This is the injunction of Sihipro, and all the Sudra cultivators should divide and care for the ficus trees therein. The Sudras should care for all the fields, as many as have pits and trenches for trees in the whole collection. Being in the employment of Sihipro, the garden is to be enjoyed (by caring for) those young trees (in it). This injunction of Sihipro should be observed. The boundaries: to the east Nād<sup>a</sup> Mhātārā's garden, to the north Corelevādi, to the west Paṭhiārāvādi, to the south Koṇiṣṭi's garden. Such are the boundaries in detail. The caretakers of that (garden) (are): the officiating watchman Kāṅhā Kavalji, Rāsadevs<sup>a</sup> son of Poguv<sup>a</sup>, Dharamudeva son of Ved<sup>a</sup> Mhātārā, Vāvandevas<sup>a</sup> of Vād<sup>erē</sup> and son of Vip<sup>a</sup> Mhātārā, Somhāl<sup>a</sup> Mhātārā (dwelling) in the mango-grove of Kaghāt<sup>a</sup>, Rāḍhat<sup>a</sup> Nāg<sup>dev</sup>a, Bhāī Dāryu, Masde, Seṭisāḍ<sup>a</sup> Mhātārā, Tāh<sup>a</sup>deva, Vavande Mhātārā, Savad Mhātārā, Goru Mhātārā, the temple-musicians Sondev<sup>a</sup> (and) Joṭādev<sup>a</sup>, the officiating roundsman, Mupal<sup>a</sup> Pāṭil, Nāg<sup>elā</sup> Pāṭil the Revenue Pāṭil, these 18 persons, being the chief, all should take care (of the garden). Witness of relations—residents of Nāg<sup>evē</sup> enclave, Mahābhadrī Dāuvara<sup>a</sup> Ayā, Sājī Dāuvara<sup>a</sup> Ayā.

**Notes**

1. 1. इहरत ६० [sic] इहरत ६६० to correspond with Śaka year 1289 (A.D. 1367). संवत = "year". पठवेंग संवतस्रे [sic] संवग संवतस्रे, "in the 41st year in the 60 year cycle." The Kolābā Gazetteer gives Hejira year 767 and Śaka year 1288. For the three blanks सिंह may be conjectured, and आधिय read as आधेय.

2. 2. कोटि sic करोटि.

4. 4. सिंहपो. The name is curious. Possibly सिंह + पर ("valiant," "great").

5. 5. देञ = देंन. The Śenvis are otherwise termed Gaud Brāhmans. Their tradition is that they migrated from Bengal to the Koṇkan. They eat mutton and fish and claim to be only following
Vedic traditions. प्रोष्टोर हेतु. Mr. Kanhere suggests "at the time of afternoon". Perhaps a corruption of प्रहर + उष + चहर "one watch less than the (complete) day", "from 3 to 6 p.m."

1. 6. A letter is missing before रंध and after सं. Perhaps the reading was संध्य “all”, “the whole”, which would suit the context. मौसी गृह. Mr. Kanhere gives "resident”. The word recurs in line 9. Perhaps मि, a corruption of मध्य + जिग्नित from the Marathi जगण "to live". मराठिवर [sic] मध्य + जिग्नित = मध्या. Cf. Gujarati गया and Kāthoḍi (Kolāba Dist.)-गंधा.

1. 8. Mr. Kanhere takes कवकलिया as "plot" and equates it with कवकल = गास "mouthful". नारांदे is a man's name, and it is true that plots are named after their owners. But as the word कवकलिया recurs in line 22 in an enumeration of proper names, the point is doubtful. In line 12 कवकलिया appears to be a proper name.

1. 9. सहावर्ण [sic] साधुर्वर्ण "having effected”, "having arranged".
1. 10. महिम्या [sic] महिम्या. मन्त्रिवाड़ी [sic] मंत्रिवाड़ी, l. 7.
1. 11. जैति माताघैरि बिनि "the sale of which plot" [cf. जैती माताघैरि, बिनि, dat.-genitives of जैरि, बानी in the Jñānesvarī].

1. 12. रवि recurs in lines 22 and 26, and means "officer". स्वराज "with the treasury”. The word probably means nothing more than "including" (the officier in the share of the money distributed by Sihipro). भावित [sic] भावित "having divided".

1. 13. रवासण, cf. (S.) र + वास. Guj. रवास "ruined", "waste", रवासण "to be entangled”.

1. 14. दातारंभिन कर्षि. Mr. Kanhere translates "ownerless". कर्षि is pleonastic. दाता, recurring in line 16, probably means a charitable owner, one who would hand over the fields to the Śudras at a low price for the purpose of supplying the temple with fruits and leaves (see line 17, where the fico is mentioned). बालि (Konkan Standard) = बालि (Deccan) = बालि (Konkanī proper), archaic dative, used here as an accusative and declined to agree with बालि. बालि (Konkan Standard) = बालि (Deccan) = बालि (Konkanī proper), archaic dative, used here as an accusative and declined to agree with बालि.

1. 15. अवतिकवाच, a Dvandva samāsa. अवति, recurring in line 16, means "obstruction", "hindrance". The derivation of अवति is doubtful. Cf. अवति "plot", "machination".

1. 16. देवदेवलित. Cf. देर उम "brawl"; तोस्न "to oppress";


The blank at the commencement of the line was probably ये "to these", "to this" (F.).

1. 17. The blank was certainly का, i.e. प्रतिवादरेष्य. तितो? either a mistake for दृष्टि and to be read with the preceding sentence, or तीर्थोऽ "of in those" (gardens), to go with वक्र (ficus tree), "the fig-trees in those gardens."

1. 18. ऊँचे पोड़, taken as a devalva samāsa. पोड़ in the current speech means "a pit to hold water and dug round a tree". ऊँचे is probably a local synonym, referable to the verb उबड़ण "to dig up". चारा. प्र. abbreviations for चारागिरियांही प्रतिवादवेष्य (vide l. 17).

1. 19. सिंहियो सातन विवि, etc. These words imply that the Agariās were to work in and enjoy the gardens in the employment and under the orders of the minister.

II. 21, 22. चिराग = चार "four". विवार [sic] विवि "details". तिः आँध्री = तिवे, referring to वाड़िशा. The Konkān Standard genitive "mine" is माही, and so also in Māhāri. This है goes back through Apabhramśa to the Prākrit स्त्र Sanskrit ख.

II. 22 et seq. Give the names of the eighteen caretakers of the gardens, including the temple musicians (सांगकार) Sondva and Joṭādeva, the officiating (वरत्र) Pāṭil Mupal and the Revenue Pāṭil (वैत्रक) Nāgālā. वजी in Gujarātī signifies land revenue. नेर < खारियह "resident". द्वाराचे सांपिता, here वे = ची [जे = चो, ते = ती, as in the Jñāneśvar]. Cf. सांपिता "witness", "evidence", with विविभ "sale" in l. 10.
ROMANI LES AND SANSKRIT TASYA

By R. L. TURNER

1. In European Romani the stem which provides a demonstrative or definite article and the pronoun of the third person is declined as follows:—

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<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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<td>Nominative</td>
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<td>Masc.</td>
<td>ov</td>
<td>ol</td>
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<td>Fem.</td>
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<td>Oblique</td>
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</table>

2. It is generally agreed that the nominatives ov and oy are formations from the demonstrative stem u- which appears in most of the modern Indo-Aryan languages, e.g. Nepali: direct u, oblique us.

3. In the oblique forms—les, la and len—Miklosich (Über die Mundarten und Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europa’s xi, p. 15) saw the stem of Skt. ta-, which forms the oblique cases to the nominative sā and sā. Professor A. C. Woolner (Journ. Gypsy Lore Soc., New Series ix, p. 128) opposes this view for the very cogent reason that there seems to be no other instance in which an initial Indo-Aryan t- has become l- in European Romani: it becomes l regularly only in the intervocalic position. He derives it instead from a Prakrit pronominal stem na-. This however presents nearly as great a phonetic difficulty, for the regular representation of initial n- is by n-: there are a few exceptions only in some cases of metathesis or dissimilation, such as len river (if from nadi), lilai and linai beside nilai summer (nīdāghāh).

4. Dr. Sampson (The Dialect of the Gypsies of Wales, p. 161) returns to the explanation of Miklosich, contending that l- here is really intervocalic on the ground of an enclitic form of the nominative -lo, and a fuller form of the oblique—oles, ola, olen—found beside the shorter forms in Greek and Hungarian Romani.

This explanation of the enclitic -lo is doubtful. It is used apparently only with śī ‘is’, sas ‘was’, nai ‘is not’ (op. cit., p. 196). Other verbs can be used in the 3rd singular without any pronoun or subject expressed. Is it possible that šīlo represents Skt. śete (cf. Khowar šer there is) with -o from saslo, in which I see the preterite ending -lo (Skt. -ita-) added to sas.

5. Oles, etc., seem rather to be formed from a contamination of nominative o(v) with oblique les. Similarly the nominative plural ol may be o + l- (cf. Skt. nom. plur. tē).
6. Outside Romani the only Indo-Aryan forms containing an \l\ seem to be Tirahi ṭā, Kalasha plural eledrūs, Mavec Bhili ēlō (L.S.I. viii, 2, p. 96¹). Of these the Tirahi form is most like the Romani. The first part of Kalasha ele-drūs may possibly represent Skt. eta-. The -lo of Bhili ēlō or ēplō is probably the adjectival ending of Apabhraṃśa, -illai. Among the Dardic group Romani does not seem to have specially close relations with Tirahi.

7. On the other hand, Romani belongs originally to the Central group, which includes the ancestor of the Hindi dialects (Turner, Journ. Gypsy Lore Soc., New Series v. 4). It is there rather than in Dardic that we should look for the cognate of so fundamental a word as a pronoun.

Dr. Sampson stresses the fact that the majority of modern Indo-Aryan languages form the oblique of a demonstrative from Skt. tāsya. In the Central group these forms are found in almost every dialect. E.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gujarati</th>
<th>te</th>
<th>te</th>
<th>East Hindi</th>
<th>Awadhi</th>
<th>se</th>
<th>te</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthani</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Baghelī</td>
<td>taulī</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaipuri</td>
<td>so</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>Chattisgarhi</td>
<td>tē</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>so</td>
<td>tē</td>
<td>Nepali</td>
<td>so</td>
<td>tas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panjabi</td>
<td>so</td>
<td>tē</td>
<td>Central Pahari</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Hindi</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindustani</td>
<td>so</td>
<td>tē</td>
<td>Kumaoni</td>
<td>so</td>
<td>te</td>
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<tr>
<td>Braj</td>
<td>so</td>
<td>tās</td>
<td>Garhwali</td>
<td>so</td>
<td>te</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanaujī</td>
<td>so</td>
<td>tā</td>
<td>West Pahari</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bundeli</td>
<td>so</td>
<td>tā</td>
<td>Jaunsari</td>
<td>so</td>
<td>tyā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sirmaurī</td>
<td>se</td>
<td>tes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With similar forms westward to Bhadrāwahi.

It seems reasonable, therefore, to look for the origin of the Romani forms in the same word.

8. The theory that these forms are not derived from a Middle Indian stem *la- receives some support from the evidence of Syrian Romani. In this language no demonstrative or pronominal stem with \l\ appears to be recorded. On the other hand in the dative of the very heteroclite 3rd person pronoun, namely ātūstā, we seem to have the fully stressed descendant of Skt. tāsya. In this form -tā is the post-position (or termination) of the dative; and the initial ā- is probably

¹ Of which Sir G. A. Grierson has kindly shown me the proofs.
a prothetic vowel of the same character as that in ḍma ‘I’ (cf. Pkt. mae), ḍtu ‘thou’ (tuvām), ḍme ‘you’ (cf. Pkt. tumhe), which may be analogical from ḍme ‘we’ (cf. Pkt. amhe). The dative plural, ātāntā, must be formed from the singular ātus-, since -s- cannot represent the -s- of Skt. tēṣām.

9. Because pronouns can be used in different conditions, as emphatics, unemphatics or enclitics, they are liable to special phonetic treatments. Indo-European had for the personal pronouns both full and enclitic or unemphatic forms, which are reflected in most of the Indo-European languages. And where the original forms have been lost, languages are continually recreating new sets, as, e.g., in French.

10. In view of the problem before us, namely the correlation of the initial of les with the initial of tāśya, I propose to examine a number of cases of pronouns, which show a peculiar treatment of the initial consonant. In the course of this examination it will be noticed that the special treatment of the initial is sometimes, though not always, the same as the regular treatment of a corresponding sound in the intervocalic position.

**Sanskrit**

11. The Yājñavalkya Śikṣā ¹ prescribes three pronunciations of v and y, namely heavy, light and very light. The heavy pronunciation is that of initial, the light of the intervocalic, and the very light of the final positions. But it prescribes the light pronunciation also for initial v- in the case of certain words :—

Kevinarthavācinau vo vāṁ vā vai yadi nipālajau |
ūdēśāś ca vikalpārtha īṣatsprṣṭā iti smṛtāḥ || (Śikṣāsāmagraha, p. 23).

Of these words, vaḥ, vāṁ, and vā we know were enclitics; vai, although bearing the udātta accent, seldom in the earlier language, if ever, stands first in the sentence; and in Manu, Mahābhārata, and Kāvyas usually is placed at the end of the line “as a mere expletive” (Monier-Williams, s.v.).

In the next verse, for initial y- (of similar grammatical forms, e.g. the relative pronoun?) the light pronunciation is optionally prescribed:

vibhāṣayā yakārah syāt (sc. īṣatsprṣṭaḥ) tathā neti padātparaḥ |

**The Inscriptions of Aśoka**

12. The reality of this pronunciation of y- in certain forms is borne out fully by the evidence of the Aśokan Inscriptions and of the

¹ My attention was drawn to this fact by Dr. Siddheswar Varma.
literary Prakrits. In Aśokan y- normally remains. But as derivatives of the pronominal stem ya- the following forms occur:

At Kalsi: Sg. nom. n. ani and e beside ye; gen. asā; plur. nom. m. e beside ye.

At Dhauli and Jaugada: Sg. nom. m. e beside ye; n. e; acc. n. ani; inst. ena; gen. asa; plur. nom. m. e beside ye; n. ani.

In the Pillar Edicts: Sg. nom. n. e beside ye; inst. ena beside yena.

At Rupnath: Sg. nom. m. and n. e; acc. n. ani beside yam.

At Girnar, Shahbazgarhi, Mansera and Mysore only forms with ya- appear. These inscriptions, together with those of Topra and Siddapura have yathā, which has the form athā at Kalsi, Dhauli, Jaugada, Lauriya and also at Topra.

Mansera has atra (yatra).

Kalsi, Dhauli, Jaugada and Topra have ata for the same.

**Prakrit**

13. In Prakrit the normal development of y- is j- (Māgadhī y-).

But Ardhamāgadhī has yāin (yañi) used adverbially (= Skt. yad); yāvi (yāvad) (Pischel: Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen, p. 303); ahā = yathā; āva = yāvat; āvanti = yāvanti (Pischel, op. cit., p. 229).

14. For the 2nd person pronoun Prakrit, besides the old enclitic forms de, di, e, i (te), had also gen. sg. umha, ubha, uyha, ujjha; nom. pl. uyhe, bhe, inst. umhehim, ubhehiin, uyhehiin, ujjhehiin; abl. umhattoo, etc. All these are found beside the regular forms tumha, etc. (Pischel, op. cit., p. 296).

**Sinhalese**

15. The reality of these forms is borne out by Sinhalese. In this language initial t- or initial y- normally remains. But beside topi (*tuṣme, cf. Pali tumhe, Aśokan tu(p)phe at Dhauli, Jaugada, and Sarnath), there is another form for use with equals or inferiors, umba, which Professor Geiger (Literatur und Sprache der Singhalesen, p. 66) derives from *yuṣme (cf. Skt. yuṣmān).

**The Kharaṣṭhī Inscriptions**

16. In the Kharaṣṭhī Inscriptions from Khotan (vol. i, edited by Rapson, Senart, and Boyer) an initial s- of Sanskrit normally remains s-, while intervocalic -s- becomes -ś- (Turner, JRAS. 1927, p. 232).
the first rule there are three exceptions: sa (sā) always has s¹; sadha with (sārdhām) which follows an instrumental is always written with s, except twice² when, apparently under the influence of Sanskrit spelling, it is written sardha. The word for ‘all’ (Skt. sārvah) is written sareva twenty times, sarva twelve times. In any case, its spelling with r probably implies the influence of Sanskrit orthography.

17. Sadha can be considered an enclitic and its s- thus being intervocalic has the ordinary development of -s-. Sa however usually comes first in the sentence; but it is a pronoun, and so liable to peculiar treatment.

18. Sarva also is a sort of pronoun (witness its pronominal declension in Sanskrit and the partially pronominal declension of the similar word in Latin, totus). The word for ‘all’ has peculiar phonetic treatment in other languages. In Hindi and other modern Indo-Aryan languages which have compensatory lengthening of a short vowel before Middle Indian double consonants, M.I. savva > sab, not *sāb as in Gujarati sāv. This may be compared with the similar abnormal retention of the short vowel in two frequently used adjectives—Hindi barā, Nepali baro, Gujarati vaḍo ‘big’, opposed to Panjabi vaddā; and Hindi bhālā, Nepali and Gujarati bhālo good < bhālū- < *bhadla- (cf. Skt. bhadrāh). Among the Romance languages, French has a word for ‘all’ going back to a form *tottus > tout, opposed to Latin totus (> Spanish and Portuguese todo). And as in Indo-Aryan, the word for “good” in French, namely bon, rests upon an unaccented form of the adjective, of which the accented form appears in Old French buen.

Romani

19. In Syrian Romani initial t- normally remains unchanged. But the 2nd singular of the preterite, ending in -or, is probably to be explained as a past participle followed by the 2nd person pronoun: e.g. btror ‘thou didst fear’ < bhitó (or *bhitako) tuvám (Turner, Journ. Gypsy Lore Soc., New Series ix, 4).

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1 Usually in the phrase sa ca. Professor Rapson, in a communication he has very kindly made me, holds that sa is here equivalent to asa < aṣya, and that the representative of Skt. sa is se (very rarely se: fem. sa or sē). Nevertheless, there appear to me cases of its use in which the context is better suited by a derivation from sā than by an equation with aṣya. If this is right, se would be the fully stressed form, which has survived in other I.A. languages (e.g. Sindhi sō, Bengali sē). I confess, however, that the interpretation of sa still remains in doubt.

2 This and following figures must be looked upon as provisional only, pending the publication of Professor Rapson’s index.
GUJARATI

20. The interrogative pronoun in Gujarati is șo. In Old Gujarati it was kašo. Beames (Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India, vol. ii, p. 325) explains șo as an abbreviated form of kašo. No other satisfactory etymology has been offered. Kaš (cf. Old Hindi kasā, Nepali kaso 'of what sort?'), which itself has a peculiar treatment of the vowel of the initial syllable, is from *kīśā (kīdrśa- or *kādrśa- : Hindi kaisā). For the development of this as a simple interrogative comparison may be made with Marathi kāy 'what?' < *kādṛk (Bloch: La Langue marathee, p. 209). The change of Middle Indian s to š after i is regular in Gujarati.

21. Beames may be right in his similar explanation of Sindhi chā 'what?' namely that *kasā > *ksā > chā. In this case -ā must represent -aam, not -ao, which in Sindhi becomes -o.

AVESTAN

22. In Avestan, beside yušmākom, there are Gāpā forms xšmākm, xšma'byā, xšmā (< *šma- : Grundriss der iranischen Philologie, I. 1. § 86). Bartholomae's explanation (IF. I. 186), that *šma- was formed from yušma- after the analogy of *wām : *yuwām, requires firstly that the enclitic should influence the accented form, and secondly that the dual should influence the plural. May it not rather be a parallel to the Prakrit phenomenon, yušma- > umha-? The shorter form survives in Pers. šumā (< *šmākm), Osset. smax.

ARMENIAN

23. In Armenian Indo-European t- becomes th-. But the 2nd person pronoun is du (cf. Latin tu, etc.), and the demonstrative da (cf. Skt tām, etc.). Of these Professor Meillet (Esquisse d'une Grammaire comparée de l'Arménien classique, p. 15) says: "Ce traitement anomalous tient sans doute au caractère particulier de ces mots qui sont des éléments accessoires de la phrase et en cette qualité échappent en quelque mesure aux règles communes."

24. In the same language initial k- becomes kh- : nevertheless, in the interrogative pronoun, beside Skt. kāh, Latin quis, etc.,, we have ov 'who?', ur 'whence?', him 'why?' The kh- has been maintained in other forms, e.g. khan 'that' (Meillet, ib.).

MODERN GREEK

25. In the dialect of Cappadocia τ- is normally maintained. But occasionally, especially as the initial of the article and pronominal
object, it becomes $d_-$, or possibly a voiceless media (Dawkins: *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, p. 69).

26. In the Lesbian dialect of Velvendos, which normally maintains initial $\tau_-$, we have $d^i < \tau \eta \nu$, $d^i$ and $d < \tau \omicron \delta$, (Thumb, *Handbuch der neugriechischen Volkssprache*, p. 37). The loss of $\tau$- in South Italian Greek, $o = \tau \omicron$, $i = \tau \eta \nu$, may be due to the analogy of the nominative forms of the masculine and feminine.

**LATIN**


Dr. Walde’s objection to the division *ali-cubi* on the ground that it means ‘anywhere’, not ‘elsewhere’, appears to be invalidated by his admission of the division *ali-quis*, which similarly means ‘anyone’, not ‘someone else’.

There has hitherto been no satisfactory explanation that this is the regular change of *kwu*- in Latin. Certainly if it remains as *cu*- in the interior (*ne-cubi*, *ali-cunde*, etc.), it should a fortiori remain initially; since in Latin the initial is a stronger position than the intervocalic (Juret: *Manuel de Phonétique latine*, p. 104). Is it not rather the peculiar treatment of the initial of a pronoun? Whether or not it was voiced (like $t$- in Armenian and in Modern Greek) before disappearance, we may note that there was a tendency for the voiced guttural before $w$ to disappear in Latin, both initially and intervocally.

**KELTIC**

28. In Welsh initial $y$- is normally maintained (Pedersen, *Keltische Grammatik*, § 44). Nevertheless, Pedersen derives Mid. Welsh a ‘what who’, which is used initially (ib. § 543), from *ywos*, *ywod* (ib, § 545. 3). J. Morris Jones (*Welsh Grammar*, § 162. vi. 1) derives this *a* from *ai*, the oldest attested form, which he explains as a metathesis for *ya*; but in deriving this last from *yw* admits that it was proclitic.

In the same way Pedersen derives *wy y* ‘they’ from *yowi* (op. cit., § 502); but Jones prefers the form *ei* (op. cit., § 159. iv. 1). *efō* ‘he’ was reduced to *fō* by the fourteenth century (ib., § 159.)
and this has now become the ordinary N. Welsh colloquial o, ‘him.’

ef ‘so’ is derived from hēf (Jones, op. cit., § 159. iv. 1), with abnormal loss of h-.

Similarly the conjunctive pronoun yntau ‘he too’ stands according to Jones (ib., § 159. iv. 3) for *hymn-teu with loss of h- on the analogy of ef ‘he’. It may however, as in the previous case, be abnormal loss of the initial of a pronoun.

29. In Keltic there seems to be a general tendency to use, even at the beginning of the sentence, the mutated forms of pronouns and pronominal words, originally proper only in the interior of the sentence under certain conditions (cf. Pedersen, op. cit., § 316).

Thus in Welsh the dependent pronouns, although prefixed, show mutated forms: fy ‘my’ < *mene, dy ‘thy’ < *teve (Jones, op. cit., § 160. iv. 1).

ba ‘what?’ appears for pa even at the beginning of sentences; so too beth is more common than peth; ban ‘when?’ is used beside pan (ib., § 163. i. 2).

bob ‘every’ is used initially as well as pwb.

O. Welsh gwotig appears in Mid. Welsh as gweidy or wedy and in Mod. Welsh as wedi ‘afterwards’.

draw ‘yonder’ is probably to be derived from travef (ib., § 220. ii. 10).

ENGLISH

30. Modern English normally maintains þ; but in the pronoun thou, and in the group of words belonging to the family of the, that, this, then, there, though, etc., earlier þ has become d (cf. Jespersen, A Modern English Grammar, i, p. 203).

31. In colloquial English that as a relative often becomes ǝt, though it remains dǝt as a demonstrative.

32. The above examples show that we may reasonably ascribe a peculiar treatment to the initial of a pronoun, and that the normal phonology of Romani in which t- remains, need not prevent us from following Miklosich in deriving les from tásya (and la and len from *tāyās and *tānām). The special treatment of tásya in this case is confirmed by another peculiarity. I have attempted to show elsewhere (JRAS. 1927, p. 232 ff.) that -assa < -asya, as a termination, became

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¹ According to a communication from Mr. N. B. Jopson, whom I have to thank for bringing a number of details concerning Welsh to my notice.
-asa (at a time when in the body of the word -ss- was still maintained. Thus in the Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions the genitive singular of the masculine ends in -aṣa, not -asa. Nevertheless in dissyllables where -assa necessarily forms the body of the word, as well as being the termination, the double -ss- may be expected to remain. Actually in the Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions we usually find yasya (which I suggest is a Sanskritization of yasa, i.e. yassa). In Romani also, which preserves closed a as a, but changes open a to e, we find Skt. kāśya > Middle Indian kassa > Rom. kas.

33. But Skt. tāśya > tassa > Middle Indian *tasa, which appears as tasa in the Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions and as les in Romani. Tāśya thus shows peculiar phonetic development in two particulars: -ss- > -s- and t- > l-. The one peculiar treatment is attested also by the Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions, the other by a considerable number of parallel phenomena in other languages.
NOTES ON THE PRONUNCIATION OF PASHTO
(DIALECT OF THE HAZARA DISTRICT)

By G. Morgenstierne and A. Lloyd-James

The authors of these notes had an opportunity of observing the pronunciation of Naqibullah, son of Nairullah, a Bumba Khel Pathan from the village Dhudiyal, north of Mansehra in the Hazara district, during some eight sittings at the School of Oriental Studies in May, 1927.

Naqibullah, who was for several years a sailor, has settled down in London, where he keeps a boarding-house for Asiatic sailors. Being married to an Englishwoman he does not speak Pashto with his family; but his boarding-house is very much frequented by Pathan sailors, Peshawaris, Chhachhis, and Bangashes. The Peshawar and Chhachh dialects may have influenced his pronunciation slightly; but he is an intelligent person, and appeared to be quite conscious of the difference between Peshawari forms and those belonging to his own dialect, even in cases where he would generally be inclined to employ the former ones. He reads and writes Hindostani, and to some extent English, but not Pashto.

Mr. Morgenstierne, who generally put the questions, was accustomed to Pashto sounds, but might also be influenced by preconceived ideas, based upon the written forms, etymology, or the pronunciation of other dialects. Mr. Lloyd-James approached the study as a phonetician, without any knowledge of Pashto.

A few notes on the pronunciation of other dialects by Mr. Morgenstierne are signed M.

Mr. Morgenstierne's thanks are due to the School of Oriental Studies for enabling him to come to London, and to the Norwegian "Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture" for supporting his Pashto studies on this occasion also.
### A. Consonants

#### Chart of Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Alveolo-Palatal</th>
<th>Retroflex</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plosive</td>
<td>p(‘), b</td>
<td>t(‘), d</td>
<td>(t(‘), d)</td>
<td>t(‘), q</td>
<td>k(‘), g</td>
<td>q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c, j</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
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<td>Lateral</td>
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<td>Tapped</td>
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<td>r</td>
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<td>l</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>v, f (?)</td>
<td>s, z</td>
<td></td>
<td>z, (z)</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>x, g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-vowel</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>r, etc.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Glottal</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>h, fi, ?</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1. **Plosives**

*Voiced Plosives.*—b, d, q, (d), g are only half-voiced as initials. The voice sets in at the same time as the explosion. In final position after n the explosion is very weak: ran⁴ “blind”, drun⁴ “heavy”, (Ll.-J. heard a faint explosion in sten(4) “needle”, but not in nén “to-day”).

*Unvoiced plosives* have a tendency towards a slight aspiration.

This tendency is most marked in the case of the labial, which is aspirated in front of all vowels, as well in initial as in intervocalic position. E.g. p’ir “a saint”, p’unda “heel”, do’pa:ra “for the sake of”, spe: “dog”, gap’i “barks”. In quite unstressed syllables only, such as in pa’kor k’e: “in the house”, p seems to be unaspirated.


q is less aspirated than k: qol’me: “entrails”, qr’a:mat “day of judgment”.

According to Ll.-J. the unvoiced stops are probably pronounced with unclosed glottis; but this question cannot be finally decided without kymograph tracings.

The dentals are articulated against the upper part of the teeth. As initials the "cerebrals" are non-retroflex alveolars: \( \text{t}^\text{ag} \) "thief", \( \text{t}^\text{ukra} \) "morsel", \( \text{ta}l \) "a swing". They do not differ very much from dentals, e.g. in \( \text{to}1 \) \( \text{tor} \) \( \text{dr} \) "they are all black". In intervocalic and final position, however, they are retroflex alveolo-palatal sounds: \( \text{p}^\text{ot} \) "concealed", \( \text{k}^\text{at} \) "bed". Similarly \( \text{der} \) "much", but \( \text{ga}^\text{q}^\text{wa}^\text{d}^\text{a} \) "mixed". The surrounding vowels also influence the character of the "cerebrals". The \( \text{t} \) in \( \text{se}^\text{t} \) "neck" is more advanced than that in the obl. \( \text{se}^\text{ta} \), and, according to Dr. Grahame Bailey, both are more advanced than the Urdu cerebral. According to him \( \text{d}^\text{o}^\text{q}^\text{e}^\text{r} \) "bread" has Urdu \( \text{d} \); but it becomes advanced e.g. in \( \text{sel} \) \( \text{d}^\text{o}^\text{q}^\text{e}^\text{r} \) "twenty loaves".

The velars are not appreciably advanced in front of palatal vowels. The uvular \( \text{q} \) is plainly distinguished from \( \text{k} \): \( \text{qa}^\text{fi} \) "anger", but \( \text{k}^\text{ar} \) "work".

2. Affricates

\( \text{c, j} \) are alveolo-palatal affricates (\( \text{z}, \text{dz} \)): \( \text{ca}^\text{r} \) "knife", \( \text{erg} \) "cock", \( \text{mi}^\text{net} \) "girl".

3. Nasals

\( \eta \) occurs before \( \text{d}, \text{t} \) only (\( \text{sun}^\text{d}^\text{a} \) "lip"), \( \eta \) before velars (\( \text{lun}^\text{ger} \) "a scarf"). But, the group \( \text{ng} \) also occurs: \( \text{l}^\text{ing}^\text{a} \) "puerperal, pregnant", \( \text{za}^\text{n}^\text{gun} \) "knee".

Vowels, especially long ones, are nasalized before nasal + consonant (more so than before a single nasal), and the nasal is possibly somewhat reduced: \( \text{l}^\text{en}^\text{ge} \) "calf of the leg", \( \text{me}^\text{n}^\text{ge} \) "ant", \( \text{me}^\text{n}^\text{de} \) (\( \text{d} \)) "mothers", \( \text{be}^\text{na} \) "rafter".

Note the pronunciation of \( \text{k}^\text{ar}^\text{t}^\text{a} \) \( \text{da} \) "she is blind" as \( \text{ka}^\text{r}^\text{anda} \).

4. Laterals and Tapped Sounds

\( \text{l} \) is dental and voiced, even after unvoiced plosives: \( \text{plar} \) "father". Double \( \text{l} \) is found in words like \( \text{r}^\text{al}^\text{t}^\text{all}^\text{ae} \) "eighteen".

The rolled \( \text{r} \) is alveolar, as an initial it has two taps (\( \text{raz} \) "day"), in final position probably only one (\( \text{kor} \) "house"). A very weak \( \text{r} \) is heard in \( \text{de}^\text{r}^\text{a} \) "thirty" (cf. Khatak \( \text{de}^\text{r} \).—M.).
The flapped, retroflex \( \mathcal{r} \) in \( \text{rund} \) "blind", \( \text{ma'\text{r}ez} \) "quail", \( \text{mo'\text{r}} \) "satisfied" is probably to some extent lateral. Its acoustic effect is more l-like than that of the Norwegian "thick l".

In front of dental plosives we find a slightly advanced variety of \( \mathcal{r} \) developed from \( r \) : \( \text{p'ar'da} \) "veil", \( \text{p'ar'tun} \) "trousers". (In some other dialects such loan-words with \( r \), \( rd \) may be pronounced either with the original \( r \), or with an advanced \( \mathcal{r} \).—M.)

The so-called \( \eta \) (intervocalic and final) is a nasalized, fricative, retroflex \( r \) : \( \mathfrak{\eta} \), which to some extent nasalizes the surrounding vowels: \( k\mathfrak{\eta} \) "deaf", \( f \text{k\mathfrak{\eta}a} \) (kanna), \( r\mathfrak{\eta} \) : "brightness". (Some Western Pashto dialects have a real \( \eta \) (\( \eta \)).—M.)

5. Fricatives

Bilabial \( v \), v.s., semi-vowel \( w \).

Bilabial \( \phi \), or labio-dental \( f \). \( \text{faoz, foz} "army", \text{fe'\text{da}a} "use", \text{ar \text{e}a:d} "lament", \text{far'\text{z}an(d)} "child".

Dental \( s, z \) : \( \text{sa'te} "man", \text{n\text{a}'\text{s}e} "grandson", \text{la:s} "hand", \text{st\text{e}n} "needle", \text{l\text{u}st\text{e}l} "to read", \text{zo:r} "force", \text{wa'zar} "wing", \text{ma'\text{r}ez} "quail", \text{t\text{z}\text{e}da} "known". But \( z \) is moving towards \( z \) in \( \text{niz'de}/\text{niz'\text{de}} "near". Common Pashto \( z \) is lost in \( \text{p\text{e}} "heart" (\( \text{c\text{e}h} \). Etymological \( ts \) (\( c \)) and \( dz \) (\( j \)) are pronounced exactly like ordinary \( s, z \) : \( \text{sa'l\text{e}r} \text{sa'te} "four men" (\( \text{cal\text{e}r saf\text{e}} \). (In Peshawar there sometimes appears to be a slight difference, \( s < c \) being pronounced a little further forward, and perhaps with stronger pressure of the tongue.—M.)

Alveolo-palatal \( g \) in \( \text{gel} "twenty", \text{te\text{g}} "empty", \text{de\text{g}} "thirty", \text{mea:st} "month", \text{\text{g}t\text{a}, \text{gta} "it exists". (It seems doubtful whether \( t \) is retracted after \( g \).) After a dental there is a glide: \( \text{bau\text{d}e}a "king", \text{tez\text{e}d} \) (\( \text{te\text{z} s\text{e}h} "became sharp". Apart from cases like \( niz'de \) (\( v. \text{supra} \), \( z \) is found only as part of the affricate \( j \).

Regarding the retroflex fricative \( \mathfrak{\eta} \) v.s. 4.

The velar fricative \( x \) has a fair amount of scrape. No difference exists between etymological \( x \) and \( s \) : \( x\text{a'ra:b} "bad", \text{m\text{a}x} "face", \text{x\text{e}za} "woman" (\( \text{\text{s}e\text{a}a} \). \( g \) is a back velar, approaching the uvular \( r \). As an initial (\( ga:x "tooth" ) it is more strongly articulated than in intervocalic position (\( \text{ra\text{g}e\text{le} d\text{e}} "he has arrived" ). In the pronoun \( \text{\text{a}g\text{a} } "he" the \( g \) is frequently very weak.

6. Glottal Sounds

Unvoiced \( h \) in \( \text{hom} "also", \text{har} "every". Voiced \( \mathfrak{\eta} \) in \( \text{ba\text{d}\text{e}a'\text{ham}
"kings", qa:(ā)r "anger". No h is heard in 'agā "he, that", 'ālēk "boy", etc., or as a final in 'bāra "king", po:l "understanding" (pōh), po:e:gom "I understand".

The final "hā-i-zāhir" has a curious, abrupt acoustic effect, and it is probably sometimes nasalized: o:boh, o:boh "water", 'ā'tēh "eight". But it is not always perceptible: 'āta, o:'e "seven".

Initial vowels are frequently, but not constantly, accompanied by a glottal stop: 'ātēh "eight", bū:bār "he takes away". It is always found in hiatus between two words, but not within a word: u:'e "seven", po:l "understanding".

7. Semi-vowels

The labial semi-vowel is to some extent interchangeable with the voiced bilabial fricative. Generally w before front-vowels: 'wne "blood", 'wēna "tree", wu "he was", but also ve: "they were" (f.), and frequently u in the neighbourhood of labial vowels (through differentiation?): u:bo:u "seventh", o:um "I weave", uu, wu "he was", also le:vo:eh "wolf". Always o:vr "he weaves", generally o:w "we weave", but also o:v. It may disappear, nearly or completely: u:w(u):o "seven", u:o:m, u:o:um "seventh", o:o:m "I weave", (w)u "he was", dēr 'kawom "I give you", zō ba 'kur ka:om "I shall do some work".

Before back vowels we find o: qar "door", qa:wre: "snow", dōq, doa, "two", qar:e:ez "cloud".

The labial semi-vowel is very weakly pronounced after consonants in n'va:se: "grandson", m'gwe:nde: "daughters-in-law", stronger after x, as in xoar "poor", xwe:nde: "sisters". It has disappeared completely after r in raz "day" (ruaj).

The palatal semi-vowel is very changeable, according to the following vowel: im "I am", re:regom "I fear", nea: (nea:) "grandmother", mea:nt, mea:st "month", e:so "one", e:or "husband’s brother’s wife", ber:ta, berta "again". It has disappeared before i in ima "liver" (yina).

8. Groups of Consonants

The ordinary Pashto groups of consonants are found; but, as initials, zd, xp, xx, and ng(w) are supported by a very short vowel: t'zda "known", 'xp'el "own", 'xp'a "foot", n'gor "daughter-in-law" (other dialects n'gor, n'gor, M.). gta and g'ta "it exists".
In this dialect one experiences great difficulty in ranging all the different vowel-shades into distinct phonemes. There is no absolute break in the sequence of short vowels from a to o and e, although a, o and e must be considered as separate phonemes, and even u and o may, when absolutely unstressed, become a. u, in certain cases, approaches very nearly to o, and i to e.

1. Phoneme i

Length is not dependent on etymology. Generally common Pashto ī is shortened; but a secondary length develops before groups of consonants and, in some cases, in stressed position. We find in niž'ē', niz'de, nrz'de: “near”, dre:wist “twenty-three”, but generally i: 'wina “blood”, wimam “I see”, pr'n'zē “five”, ut “he may be”, sa'ter “men”.

2. Phoneme e

The short e has a rather wide range, but is generally near, or a little above the cardinal point: kele “village”, gel “twenty”, jebel “tongue”. këlē with e not far below ī. A retracted variety is found before r and n: lēre “far”, nēn “to-day”, wēnə “tree”.

The long e: is near the cardinal point: levar “husband’s
brother", 'әxe' "tears", 'әәre' "far". A little lower, when nasalized (ә^2): 'әәәге "ant", 'әәәге "calf of the leg".

3. Phoneme ә

Generally near the cardinal point, or a little higher: 'кәәә "village", 'әәә "gut", not appreciably lower in sa'ге: "man". Perhaps a little wider in 'әәәә "again".

ә is decidedly wider in әәәә "beautiful" (әәәәә) (ә^2), still more so when nasalized: бә:"ә "rafter", 'әәә"ә "mothers".

4. Phoneme u

Generally ү: әәә "blind", 'әәә "garlic", 'тәә "sword". In лә "daughter" the ү seemed to be a little higher and further forward, moving towards Norwegian u (у). In у "camel", ү "seven" the ү was lower, approaching ә. In 'мәәә "we" ү may be heard. Completely unstressed ү is sometimes reduced to ә (cf. B, 7). Etymological ү is shortened, but length in some cases develops from ә (e.g. in уә "seven"), or from strongly stressed ү ("әәәәә "obeyed"). A very short ү is heard in әәәә "mouth".

5. Phoneme o

o is generally long and close to the cardinal point: әәә "house", әәә "tear", ғәәәә "I see". It is considerably higher in әәә "tears", ғәәә "he sees". ә is found also in әәәә "I weave", әәә "flour", әәә "water". In o(ә)әәә "brother-in-law" the ә is below the cardinal point. The unstressed vowel is shortened in әәә "cloak", and in proclisis we find нә "now, then" at the side of нә, нә.

6. Phoneme a

The long a lies generally a little nearer to cardinal vowel No. 5 than to No. 4: лә:ә "road", мә:ә "serpent", slightly advanced in лә:s "hand". It is retracted in front of nasals (nearly cardinal point 5): рәәә "blind" (m.pl.), муәәә "always". Before palatales it is advanced: мәәә "month", (m.pl.) advanced and shortened in дәәәә "thirteen".

The short a has infinite varieties:

ә in әәә "day", әәә "door", әәә "man", 'әа "that", гәә "thief", әәәәә "eight". Very short in әәәәә "self", әәәә "horn". Final in 'әәә "tree", әәә "woman"; but in this position it approaches a, especially after ә, ә in the preceding
syllable: 'aspa “mare”, 'jan'da “blind” (f.), 'aga “that”.
Probably also xa “good” (m. and f.), and da “she is”.
Other varieties are z in the diphthong ez (spex “bitch”), and
in der “to thee”, ma’rez “quail”, and æ in laes “ten”.

7. Phoneme ø

There is a sharp distinction between u(A) and ø in such forms as:
'kor taf “to the house” : to “thou”, ra'za “come!” : za “I”,
'aga “he, that” : de 'a'ga “his”, re'reo (r'ena're) “nephew”:
re'ra “niece”, go'la “thief” (f.), go'la(h) “thieves” (m.).
This difference is not dependent on stress or tone only, cf. e.g. 'jan'da
“blind” (f.) : de 'a'ga. It is, however, possible that the ø in these
cases is due to the influence of the, frequently dropped, “hā-i-zāhir”
-h (cf. A, 6), and is not to be taken as a separate phoneme.
But cf. also ø e.g. in 'storga “eye” (plur. 'stërge'), l'ere “thou
hast”, so “hundred”, 'xora “woman”, stən “needle”, bən
“co-wife”, and, slightly raised towards u, p'st “concealed”,
pəxtun “Pathan”, 'tq'at “long” (very short). Very short also in
gq'la “thief” (f.), but plur. gle:
ø appears as a reduced form of u, i, and o : mu'safr, ma'safer,
etc., “traveller,” nə, no, no : “now, then”.

8. Diphthongs

Common Pashto au becomes o : in o(’w)’xe “brother-in-law”
(*aουσκαί), etc., but a diphthong is preserved in eəo (eəo) “one”,
kən'tara “pigeon”, wū (cf. A. 7) “he was” is sometimes, when
stressed, pronounced wəu, and ao is found in wəolot “he blew”
(wələt).
-aɪ becomes -əɪ, -əe (also əɪ, əe) e.g. in u’səi “female markhor”.
əi > ae in zae “place”, xwaenak “slippery”.

9

Vowel harmony is very pronounced. Generally it is regressive:
'goram “I see”, 'gorr “he sees”, 'storga “eye” : plur. 'stër(ë?)rgə,
kar “work” (a ca. 4½) : plur. ka'ruma (4½), 'kele “village”, plur.
’kele, etc. But there is a slight difference between the e’s in ‘ore
“spring” and ’kele “village”, and a marked one between the ø’s in
wwam “I see”, ’ubasem “I take”, ’goram “I see”, ‘momom “I
find” (ka’wum “I do”).

The strong nasализation which takes place before a nasal + con-
sonant has been mentioned above (A, 3). A weak nasализation
frequently takes place in the neighbourhood of a nasal, preceding or following, e.g. la'šunā "hands".

C. STRESS AND TONE

1

Stress affects vowel-length. Unstressed long vowels become half-long, as finals frequently short: 'ko:r "house"; plur. ko'ruṇa, sa'ɾe: "man"; 'k'ele "village", la're: "theu hast"; 'xeze, xeze: "women". The stressed preverb wu- is lengthened: wumanela "obeyed".

Stress probably affects the quality of vowels also, but this is uncertain.

2

Stressed syllables generally have a high, falling tone: xōzā "woman"; xē'stā "beautiful", ōgā "garlic"; ōgā "shoulder", pā:tā "leaf"; bā:tā "eyelash". But in connected speech: xōzā xē'stā da "the woman is beautiful", xē'stā, xōzā da "it is a beautiful woman". Long, stressed syllables often have a high, level tone: rā:ge: "he came", but ōgā "garlic". Note: zā rā:glēm "I came", but za rā:glē:jīm "I have come". ōgē: "shoulders": ōgā (sing.), ō:bō: "water" (abl.): ō:bēh (nom.).

SPECIMEN TEXTS

Ganj-i-Paštō, 1

pa eeo 'zae k'e: eeo 'pā:šām wūo | ce za'ɾe: za'ɾe: gur'te: e: eeo
In one place (in) one sage was, who old old rags by him one
zae k'e:ne: ve: | o pə p'a'g'ər k'e: e: en'gaxtelne ve: ||
place collected were, and in turban (in) by him tied-up were.

za:sfera 'xalko ta: gə thai p'a'g'əe 'xka're:dəla: | o pa k'e:
Outwardly people-to large turban it appeared, and inside
e: de za'ɾo: bi'te: na 'bad se 'na'ɾo: ||
of it (of) old rags from other what not was.

2. The Sun and the North Wind

(Cf. Peshawar Specimen in Le Maître Phonétique, April, 1927, p. 20)

da 'qutub 'baḍ a 'n'ar pə jāg'tā su: | eɾ 'so'k
Of North wind and Sun in quarrel came, whether which
zo'rāwār de. || pa 'de: kūrī ēēō mo'sāfār 'ra:ge | ce 'garmā strong(er) is at that (time) in one traveller came who warm

cō'gai 'a'ghūsti wa || āga ŏwē ce | 'hār ēēō ci ṭa'wēl coat by him put on was. He said that: every one who first
de ma'sāfār na co'gā 'ṭūbāsī | āga be de 'bēl na zo'rāwār (of) the traveller from coat takes, he (of) other from strong(er)

ur || be'ā de 'qutub 'ba:d pē 'qēr 'za:r 'ra:ge | 'wele may be. Then of North wind in great force came; but
'hār 'sumrā ci wāo'lot | no mūsāfār āx'pēlā co'ga 'no'tā all whatever that he blew, then the traveller his coat only

'tūrī kūn | tōr'dē: ci de 'qutub 'ba:d 'ṭūbre'd | bea 'nār tight made, until that of North wind stopped. Then the Sun
dēr 'te:zē(wē) (?), o mūsāfār 'zēr(zīr) āx'pēlā co'ga: 'ṭūrīstēlā | very sharp became, and the traveller quickly his coat took off,

do de 'qutub 'ba:d da: 'ṭūmanēla | ci 'nār zo'rāwār de' || and of North wind this acknowledged, that the Sun strong(er) is.
URDU INTENSIVE AND PSEUDO-INTENSIVE VERBS

By D. C. Phillott

(a) (1) The intensive compound is of commoner use than the simple verb. Practically every verb is made intensive by prefixing the root of the simple transitive or intransitive verb, or the causal form, to one of the following "serviles":—Lenā "to take"; denā "to give"; dālnā "to hurl, drop, pour," etc.; mārnā "to strike, kill, destroy"; jānā "to go"; porrā "to fall" (gently or metaphorically), "to be in a lying position"; uṭhnā "to rise, stand up"; baiṭhā "to sit". The prefixed root remains unchanged, but the suffixed "servile" is regularly conjugated. The prefixed root gives the general meaning, but the suffixed "servile" modifies or intensifies this meaning. The shade of meaning may often be expressed in English by an adverb or by the tone of voice, as baiṭhā "to sit, be seated", but baiṭh-jānā "to sit down", ṭhagnā "to cheat", ṭhag-lenā "to cheat out of".

(2) While the simple and intensive forms are not identical in meaning, the simple form can often, but not always, be substituted with no more than some loss of force. It is sometimes no easy matter to render the exact shade of meaning given by a particular intensive.

(3) In mahāvat hāthī ki gardan par swār hotā hai lekin Rājā sāhib haude mē baithte hai "the mahout rides on the elephant's neck, but the Rājā in the hauda", you could not rightly say baith-jāte hai without altering the meaning, for the latter would mean here "sits down" (instead of standing up). So, too, "the pulse has been cooked till it is soft" is dāl gal ga,ī; you cannot substitute galī hai. Suḥbat būrī mili means "he happened to encounter evil company", but suḥbat mil-ga,ī "he fell into and associated with evil company and was affected by it". A study of the numerous examples given below illustrate the various shades of meaning and the loss of force that can result from the use of an incorrect compound. The Intensive and Pseudo-Intensive verbs are a difficulty that has been much slurred over in Grammars.

(4) The Intensives have all an inherent sense of completion, which has perhaps something to say to the fact that their Past Participles (which already suggest completion) are not in use.

1 This applies also to the Pseudo-Intensives.
2 Jānā "to give birth to" has no intensive.
The particular servile used is fixed by usage, thus hās-parṇā “to burst out laughing (suddenly)” is used, but hās-ūthanā, which might mean “to laugh out loud suddenly”, is doubtfully correct.

5 The serviles do not entirely leave aside their primitive meaning, as a close study of the following numerous examples will show.

b (1) The commonest intensives are formed with lenā and denā. Lenā refers the action back towards the doer, or implies “for the doer’s benefit”, while denā signifies the reverse, or is more imperious and implies “do it”. Thus nikāl-lenā means “to take out” (towards oneself), but nikāl-denā is “to turn out” (away from oneself); yih rūpiya bāt-lo “take and divide this money amongst yourselves”, but yih rūpiya bāt-dō “give and divide this amongst them”; yih khat(t) pār-h-lo “read this letter to yourself”, but yih khat(t) pār-h-dō “read this letter to or for me” (said by one illiterate); ham āpas mē hās-lete the “we were joking amongst ourselves”, but ham hās-dēte the “we were giving out laughter”, i.e. “we laughed out at some provocation” or “we laughed out unrestrainedly at something”; muskarā-lenā “to smile at some provocation”; mujhe sahībne muṣibat se bachā-liya “the sahīb saved me by pity, or took me under his protection”, but . . . bachā-diya = “saved me and let me go my way, or saved me as a duty”; baith-lenā means “to take one’s seat”.

Koch-wān ne ghore ho rok-liyā “the coachman pulled up his horse (towards himself)”; polīswāle ne ghore ko rok-diya “the policeman stopped the horse (from the front)”; larke kamre se bāhīr jāte the ki ustād ne Husayn ho rok-liyā “the boys were going out of the room when the master stopped Husayn (by calling him back from the door)” ; Husayn bāhīr jāne hī ho thā hi ustād ne rok-diya “Husayn was on the point of leaving the room when the master stopped him (by opposing him)”. 

(2) To take and do a thing may also suggest achievement, or doing a thing after effort, as: shartō ko qabūl kartā hā “I agree to the conditions”, but shartō ko qabūl kar-letā hā “I (hesitatingly) agree to the conditions”, or, if said with a certain inflection of voice, “well, I do agree to the conditions”; mai ne imtiḥān pās kar-liyā “I have managed to pass my examination”.

3 = pār-h ke sunānā “read it aloud to me”.
2 Here, therefore, denā is not so polite as lenā.
3 Of course, were a particular word stressed by the insertion of the enclitic to, etc., the simple statement would be modified.
likh-lo (or likh-chuko) to mujhe khabar denā “when you have finished writing your book, tell me” : here likh-do could not be used; lenā suggests here not only priority but also the property of the subject.

(4) Denā may also suggest greater decision or completeness both of time and action, or the result of an action, as : Jab mai wahā gayā lajkā hāstā thā (not hās-detā thā) “when I went there the boy was laughing (i.e. was laughing before I arrived)”, but jab mai usko gudquduṭā thā wuh hās-detā thā “whenever I tickled him he laughed at it”. Jab mai thetar mē pahūčhā us he do hī ek mināt peshtar darvāţa kholā gayā thā “when I arrived at the theatre I found that the doors had been opened just a minute or two before”, but mere pahūće se bahut pahte darwāţa khol-diṭā gayā thā “some time before my arrival the doors had been thrown open”. Wuh chal-diṭā “he started off”; here diṭā indicates decision or intention.

(5) It is not always easy to decide on the exact difference between the two. For instance, a mistress might say to her cook, wuh dāhī mujhe chakhā-do, or chakhā-lo, “give me a taste of that dāhī.” Chakhā-do, however, would mean “give me a taste for my benefit as I want it”; but if she were superintending the cooking she would say mujhe chakhā-lo, which would mean let me taste it for you so that I can tell you what it is like (fresh or stale).

(6) Further examples of Lenā and Denā as intensives:—

Shāhzāde ke ākh utēnte hī—

Ro-denā

Ro-lenā

So-lenā

Ro-parnā

Muskurā-parnā

Mujhe bachā-lo

Mujhe bachā-do

Dast khat(t) kĕjiye

Dast khat(t) kar kĕjiye

Darvāţa band kar-lenā

the moment the prince withdrew his gaze.

to shed (a few) tears : the idea of denā here is to happen suddenly and stop suddenly.

to weep (for some time); to weep for some time and then stop;
to have “a real good cry”.
to sleep one’s full.
to weep suddenly and to continue; to burst out crying.
to smile suddenly.
just save me (out of your pity, etc.).
save me (more imperious, as though it were a duty).
please sign.
please sign this and keep it.
to shut the door on oneself.

1 Implying that she suspected the cook (māmā) was fraudulently supplying an inferior and cheaper quality of dāhī.
Darwāza band kar-dēnā
Dast khat(t) kar-dījiye
Jūtā śāf kar-lo
Jūtā śāf kar-do
Māi ne ākhīr ko intihān pās kar-liyā

[Maī intihān pās kar-chukā]

Baṣz sārjint ham logō ki boli khāṣṣī tarh bol-le 2 the Qaydī ne ākhīr zahr khā-liyā

Zang lohe ko 3 khā-leta hai
Us ne rūpiye ko zamān par dāl-diā
give a rupee in return of the time
Us ne rūpiye ko apne jēb mē dāl-liyā

Us ke baśd māi bhi ghore par char-liya
Wuh us ke pīchhe ho-liyā
Mere sāth ho-lo
Tum hārā kām ho-liyā

Jo honā thā wuh ho-liyā
Kal taṣīl hai, uskā kām āj kar-lo

Jab māi yih kām kar-lūgā tab kisī dūsre kām ki taraf muta-vaajjih hūgā
to shut the door against people.
please sign this and return it to me.
clean your shoes (said to the wearer or owner).
clean the shoes and give them to so-and-so.
at last I have managed 3 to pass my exam: (liyā indicates that something is gained).
I have completed my examination.

some of the English sergeants spoke our language pretty well. the prisoner at last managed to swallow the poison: (liyā indicates difficulty).
rust eats away iron: (liyā because it takes away something).
he threw the rupee down on the ground (away from him).
he placed the rupee (or money) in his own pocket (liyā = for his own benefit).
after him, I took my turn in riding.
he followed him.
come with me.
is your business finished? (implies that the person addressed is doing the work).
what was to happen has happened (and is done with).
to-morrow is a holiday, do its work to-day: (manage to do it to-day).
when I have finished (will finish) this business of mine, I will attend to something else: (here lūgā means my work; if kar-chukāgā were substituted it would mean anyone’s work, while kar-dāgā would suggest your work).

1 “How did you manage to go there?” is tum wahā kaise jāne pāa: jā-liyā would have the same meaning but it is not used.
2 Leī indicates “managed to”.
3 Note the ko to distinguish the (though indefinite) object from the subject.
life is passed pleasantly: 

life is passed in trouble: (here 
diye is used as nothing is 
gained). 

come, when I have finished my 
dinner.

got it? have you twigged my 
meaning?

have all the paraphernalia 
arrived? (completion).

I overtook him: (I went and 
overtook him).¹

he overtook me ¹: (he came and 
overtook me).

I told him this clearly, or once 
for all.

to write to or for someone else.
to write for oneself, or to finish 
writing and keep it.
to give away (completion).
to send away.

Asghari was not so simple as to 
believe the maid servant's 
explanation.

why is not one of the two there 
on the pony?

do you now take your turn in 
riding.

son, do you become mounted.

the bihishti said I have seen 
the king's palace and taken my 
turn on the king's throne.

samjhā-denā if said to one being 
sent = explain thoroughly to 
him on my behalf; samjhā- 
lenā = take upon yourself to 
explain all.
to explain thoroughly.
to take for oneself, to appropriate.
get ready (said to one getting 
ready without assistance).

¹ Note the implications of jānā and ānā here.
² Denā alone might mean "to hand",
[Tayyār ho-jā,o

Tor-denā
Tor-lenā
Tor-dālānā

Zindağī ke din sizzat se kāt diye1 ga,e (or kāt liye2 ga,e)

Jab mai pahūch-liyā3 = jab mai pahūch-chukā
Sāp tumhe kāt-legā (or kāt khā, egā)
Ghare ko zamīn par girā-do

Kah-denā

(c) (1) Dālānā “to hurl” as a servile indicates vehemence, as: mārnā “to beat, to kill”, mār-dālānā “to kill outright” = jān se mārnā; khā-dālānā “to eat hurriedly, to gobble down”; kah-dālānā “to speak out without concealment”; de-dālānā (= zūr se de-denā) “to throw money to (a beggar)”; badal-dālānā “to change completely, clothes, money (implies force); badal-lenā “to change for yourself, to keep the change”, but badal-denā “change and give me”; parh-dālānā “to read through hurriedly and throw on one side for good”; dekh-dālānā “to look through, to ‘do’ a thing (in the American sense)”, (implies a cursory view); bech-dālānā “to sell outright, get rid of”.

(2) Some further examples of Dālānā in Intensives:—

Maī ne khānā khā-dālā I hurried through dinner.
Qaydī-ne zahr ko khā-dālā the prisoner hastily swallowed
the poison.
Maī ne imtiḥān pās kar-dālā I have got rid of my examination:
(pās kar-chhorā).
Maī ne sārā hāl kah-dālā I poured out the whole of the story.
Kat-dālānā to cut down, or to cut-off.
Bhes utār-dālo cast off your disguise.

1 Dīhli idiom.
2 Lakhnau idiom.
3 When any portion of a compound verb is intransitive, the agent case in ne cannot be used.
(d) Mārnā "to beat, to kill" as a servile gives the idea of force or hastiness, and hence may connote folly or impropriety. Mai-ne bād shāh ko sidhā likh-mārā "I dashed off a letter to the king"; here mārā signifies without deliberation: mai ne kiūb-khāne ko chhān 1 -mārā "I ransacked through the whole library"; (indicates thoroughness).

In samundar lāhrō ko patthar de-mārtā hai or de-paṭaktā hai, mārnā is not used as an intensive servile. The meaning of both verbs is retained.

De-mārnā 2 "to throw something at, to dash one thing against another" (meaning of both verbs retained).

In mai ne uske sar par patthar de-mārā "I threw a stone at his head and hit him", the denā implies that the stone left the hand of the thrower, and the mārnā that it hit; but mai ne patthar se uskā sar kuchal-jālā "I crushed his head with a stone".

(e) Jānā "to go" 3 may express completeness or finality (i.e. going through to the end), to be "through" (in the American sense), or else it may express change of state, or going away, 4 as: Khā-jānā "to eat up (go through quickly to the end)" and sometimes, as a pseudo-intensive, "to eat and depart" 3; gir-jānā 5 "to fall down"; baith-jānā "to sit down"; dūb-jānā "to sink down, 6 to drown"; āp khānā khā-ga,e "are you 'through' with your dinner?"; mar-jānā "to die (and leave for good)". In āth kī mahīne ke baś d sipāhī kī jaqah mil-ga,i lekin—"after a mere eight months I got the position of a regular sepoy but—", the mil-ga,i gives the idea of after expectation. Honā "to be or to become" but ho-jānā "to become altogether"; the latter indicates a greater change of state, than the simple verb honā indicates.

Some further examples of jānā as a servile:—

Tamaś aisī-burī chīz hai ki baṛa covetousness is such a deceptive siyāna ādī bhi is se dhokhā thing that the cleverest man khā-jātā hai even is absolutely deceived by it.

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1 Chhānā tr. "to sift, to search minutely". Chhāt-lenā "to explore, or sift and keep". Chhān-dālnā "to ransack through"; dālnā here not a servile.
2 De paṭaktā "to dash a thing at or down".
3 All verbs compounded with jānā, ānā, and raknā are liable to be ambiguous, as these may retain their literal sense.
4 Literal meaning, vide note 3.
5 But gir-parnā "to fall down suddenly".
6 Dūb-marnā "to die by drowning of one's own accord"; dūbke-marnā "to be drowned accidentally".
Ham ā-jā,ē
Maī roktī kī roktī rah-ga,ī
Maī apnā sā mūh lehar rah-gayā
Ham mūh dekhte rah-ga,e
Terī tadbir khūb chal-ga,ī

Apne apne ghar jāne ki ijāzat mil-ga,ī
Wuh ku,e mē gir-gayā
[Wuh jāte jāte gir-paṇā]
Samajh-ga,e
Sāhib ā-ga,e

[Tis baras ke ba'd pinshan mīli hai
Tis baras ke ba'd pinshan mil-
jāti hai

Angrezī toopī pahinne se sir mē
dard ho-jātā hai (not hotā hai) 2
Jab sāl tamām hu,a
Jab sāl-tamām ho-gayā
Ga,e kī ītnī lambī dumhotī hai hi
uskā sirā uske mūh tak pahūch-
jātī hai

Do biliyō ko kahi se eh roṭi
mil-ga,ī

Ab yih savrāt apnī sazā ko
pahūch-ga,ī
Awwal to usko ghusṣa nahi ātā
aur jo kabhi ā-jātā to sāql uskī
thikāne nahi raktī

shall we come in ?
all my (fem.) hindering her was in
vain ; I got “left”.
I was left alone looking foolish.
I remained witless, I remained
looking blank, foolish.
your plan came off, was crowned
with success (contrary to
expectation).
they got permission to go to their
respective homes (expectation).
he fell in the well (and went to
the bottom).
he fell down suddenly (or accident-
ally) while he was going along.[]
have you thoroughly understood ?
the sāhib has arrived (denotes
anticipation).
one gets a pension after thirty
years (a mere statement), but
after thirty years one does indeed
get a pension, or gets it by
regulation.]
one gets a headache by wearing
an English hat.
at the end of the year (no idea
of expectation).
at the end of the year (idea of
expectation).
the cow’s tail is sufficiently long
to reach its face : (here jānā
indicates change of position ;
pahūchā hai would mean
habitually reaches).
two cats somehow unexpectedly
happened to get a loaf of
bread : (jānā here indicates
a welcome surprise).
this woman has now got her
deserts : (here ga,ī indicates
after some time).
in the first place he seldom got
angry, but when he did he
used to lose his head com-
pletely.

1 Statical.
2 Hotā hai “there is (always) a headache experienced ”.
Billī dabe pā,ō shikār he pāś 

the cat stalks its prey: here pahūchā-jāti might be used in speaking, but would not be so good, as the whole clause gives an intensive idea.

(f) All verbs compounded with jānā, ānā, and rahnā are liable to be ambiguous as these suffixes may be used in either a literal or an idiomatic sense. When a verb is both intransitive and transitive the suffixes jānā and denā may sometimes conveniently be used to differentiate, as: wuh bahut ghabrā-gayā “he got much upset” and mujhe mat ghabrā-dotr.: wuh larā,ī mē (or ko) hār-gayā “he lost the war”; wuh rūpiya hār-gayā = us ne rūpiya hār-diya “he lost the money”; us ne sab dushmanō ko hār-diya “he defeated his enemies”; zakhm khujlāā hai “my wound is itching”; 1 zakhm ko mat khujlā-do (rare = khujlā,o). Vide also Pseudo-Intensives.

Rah-jānā “to be left behind, to get ‘left’ ”, generally implies some helplessness or ineffectiveness, as larākā rotā hū rah-gayā “the child ‘got left’ crying” ; hāth pā,ō rah-ga,e “I (my limbs) am tired out”.

(g) (1) Parṇā “to fall” lightly or metaphorically, to be in a fallen state, as a servile indicates suddenness or unexpectedness, and if possible action downwards, as: Phisal parṇā “to slip suddenly or unexpectedly”; ghūs-parṇa “to enter suddenly and intrusively” 2; ho-parṇa “to happen suddenly”; ro-parṇa “to fall sweeping suddenly”; chilā-parṇā “to burst out crying aloud” (with or without tears); pāgal bhāgā aur kū,ē mē hūd-parā “the madman fled and suddenly jumped down into the well”; billī mes par dafṣatn kūd-ga,ī (not kūd-parī) “the cat suddenly jumped (up) on to the table” ; billī dafṣatn kirkī mē se kūd ā,ī “the cat suddenly jumped in at the window” (not kūd-parī). Tūt-parṇa always gives the idea of falling from a height onto or into, as: uske īpar chhat- tūt-parī “the roof fell in upon him, broke and fell”; pul yakāyak tūt gayā “the bridge suddenly broke”, but yakāyak tūt-parā “suddenly fell into something”. Pul yak-ā-yak gir-gayā “the bridge fell down suddenly”, does not indicate so much suddenness as yak-ā yak gir-parā. Parṇā indicates much the same suddenness as uthnā q.v. as muskurā parṇā = muskurā uthnā.

(2) Rah-parṇā “to remain over”, ban-parṇā “to be effected, managed”, le-parṇa “to lie down with”, are pseudo-intensives and contain no idea of suddenness: the literal meaning of both verbs

1 Zakhm mē khujlī hotī hai.
2 Ghūsā rahāt hai “he remains as a visitor intrudingly”.
is retained. Mai kamzor thā is liye dushman ki (qismat) ban-parī “I was weak and so my enemy got the upper hand”.

(3) Further examples of parnā in Intensives:—

Wuh kās-parā
Chhallā nikal parā
Wuh bol parā
Larkā jāg-parā
A-parnā (-par)
Larkā ki ho-parā
Chchat tūt-parī
Chhat-gir-parī
Chhat gir-ga,i
Zor lagāne se gārī chal-parējī

[Apnī thailī usko yād parī

Ghore se jaldī utar-paro

he suddenly laughed, he burst out laughing.
my ring has unexpectedly come off and fallen down.
he said unexpectedly.
to attack suddenly, to fall upon.
war broke out suddenly.
the roof suddenly fell on someone.
the roof suddenly fell in (general).
the roof fell down (general).
the carriage will start off (suddenly) by pushing.
the remembrance of his purse, suddenly occurred to his mind.
dismount at once.

(h) (1) Uthnā “to rise” (of action or voice, etc.) has an idea of suddenness and often corresponds to the English vulgarism “to up”, as in “I up and him”, or “did you up and sauce your mother?” It suggests starting up suddenly to do a thing, as: Bol-uthnā “to exclaim out”; chillā-uthnā “to cry out”; hās uthnā “to laugh out suddenly” (probably incorrect); pukār-uthnā “to shout out, to exclaim”; bilbīlā-uthnā “to whine or sob out”; kah-uthnā “to say out (aloud and suddenly).” It has much the same force as parnā, thus ghabrā-uthnā = ghabrā-parnā; mār-uthnā = mār-parnā, vide (j) (1).

(2) Further examples of uthnā in Intensives:—

Ghar mē āg jal-uthī
Larkā nīnd se jāg-uthī
[Ghar mē āg laq-ga,i
[Ghar mē āg jal-parī
Úchī āwāz se bolo, bātē chabā chabā kar mat bolo
Kahī wuh pūchh-ūthe kī—

the house suddenly burst out into flames.
=jāg-parī woke up suddenly.
the house caught fire.
a fire broke out in the house.
speak out, don’t mumble.
suppose he asks right out, if—?

1 Bol-uthnā “he exclaimed, he said suddenly”.
2 Parnā here indicates “falling down on”.
3 It cannot be simply substituted for parnā.
4 Wuh bol-parā “he unexpectedly said”.
5 But of smouldering fire bharak-uthnā “to flare up”. 
[Nayā makān qarār pā-gayā hai, āp to us mē uth chalē. Muḥammad ǵāqīl ǵhusse ke māre tharrā uthā.
Wuh dafSATn ghabrā uthā.]

Bhāg-ūthnā

[Bhāg-jīānā
Mushurā uthnā
Mār uthnā

(i) (1) Baithnā “to sit, to be seated” implies to be at leisure and often, as a servile, adds the idea of carelessness or aimlessness. It suggests sitting down after doing a thing (completion), or a change of position (suddenness). Hence it may connote impropriety or lack of forethought, as: uth-baithnā “to sit up suddenly” (from a supine position); kar-baithnā “to do suddenly without forethought or in an improper manner”; mār-baithnā “to beat suddenly in a burst of excitement (and hence without sufficient reason)”; de-baithnā “to fork out (pay up reluctantly, give and then sit down in dejection)”; kah-baithnā “to blurt out, to say tactlessly”; lar-baithnā “to begin fighting suddenly”; ghurak-baithnā “to scold suddenly (and then regret it)”.

(2) Further examples of baithnā in Intensives:

Ai nā-murād laṛī! sūjī to, ulti kaliyā lagā-baithī
to do, to, utterly, to be seated

Wuh aisī ahmaq nathī ki jald bigar-baithī
to protrude, to splay out

Jab tum gismat ko ro-baithhoge to—
when you have, with your whole

Wuh gismat ko ro-baithā
to sit down

Maī rūpiye ko kho-baithā
good-for-nothing, a girl, a money, to spend

[Maī ne rūpiye ko kho-ḍala
good-for-nothing girl, can’t you see you have sewn on the frills upside down!

she was not so foolish as to get cross without a reason.

when you despair of everything, give up all hope, then—

he resigned himself to Fate: (completion: he even finished weeping at his Fate).

I lost the money (unexpectedly or in an improper manner).

I chucked the money away for nothing.]

I lost the money altogether, I definitely lost it.]

1 Pseudo-intensive.

2 Bhāg kharā honā “to run off in haste with long strides”. Kharā hai in such cases is the opposite of kar-baithnā “to sit down after doing”.

the new house has been fixed on
let us shift into it.]

Muḥammad ǵāqīl burst out trembling with anger.

he suddenly started up upset;
the meaning of both words is retained.2
to start off at a run, to take to flight.
to run away.]

he suddenly smiled.
to beat suddenly.


I lost the money: implies it was not my fault.

alas I have foolishly given him my watch (I wish I had not). he embezzled quite a lot of money (on a single occasion; completion).

he embezzled quite a lot of my money (over a long period.) he has always deprived me of my dues.

what a thoughtless mistake I have made.

he (suddenly) sounded the bugle at an improper time (or when it was not wanted).

I hope he won't make a mis-statement.

I hope he won't speak out a falsehood on purpose.

he (wrongfully) assumed the office of qāżī.

on the death of Shāhjāhān his son Awrang-zad became king (naturally).]

on the death of the king, the bihishti became king (improperly, etc.).

I had to pay up the loss and that's that (completion).

PSEUDO-INTENSIVES

(j) (1) Nearly allied to the Intensives are what I have ventured to name the Pseudo-Intensives. These are formed by prefixing the shortened form of the Conjunctive Participle to any suitable verb and so the meaning of both verbs is retained, as khod-nikālnā = khodkar nikālna¹ "to dig out". As the shortened form of the Conjunctive Participle happens to have a form now identical with the root,² only a knowledge of the language or the dictionary can help the student to distinguish between the two compounds. Ambiguity is further increased by the fact that in some cases a compound can be both an Intensive and

¹ Nikālnā is not a servile.
² Sir George Grierson has pointed out that this confusion of the Conj. Part. with the root is modern. In mediaeval Hindi, as still in some dialects, the Conj. Part. ended in i as kari (= kar).
a Pseudo-Intensive. Thus in māi khānā khā-gayā “I have eaten up my dinner”¹ the verb is intensive; but in kuttā khānā khā-gayā “the dog has eaten its dinner and gone away”, the verb is a Pseudo-Intensive and can be used only if the dog has gone away. If it be desired to indicate that the dog stayed where it was, the expression is kutte ne khānā-liyā.

(2) Other examples of Pseudo-Intensives that might be mistaken for Intensives are: Mā bachche ko le-payā² “the mother lay down with her child”; khānā thūs-baithnā³ “to sit down and stuff oneself with food”; wuh dafṣatun ghabrā utha (= ghabrahār utha)⁴ “he started up confused”; bhāg-uthnā⁵ “to start up and run”; ko,ī shāśir kah-gayā hai “a deceased poet has said”; fulān kitāb mujhe de-jā,o “bring me such and such a book and then go”⁶; jo kuchh sāhib tum se kahē wuh mujhe kah-jānā “whatever the sāhib says to you come and report it to me”; tum mujh se kah-ga,e the ki māi Lāhor jā,ājā magar ab tak yih ho “you told me when you left me that you were going to Lahore, but you are still here”.

Le-jānā (= lekar jānā)⁷ “to take away” and urā-jānā “to make to fly, to squander”; de-ānā “to give and return”; de-jānā⁸ “to give and depart”; rok-rakhnā “to bespeak, engage beforehand” are also not intensives.

(3) The shortened form of the Conj. Part. binds it closer to the main verb than its full form; thus mil-baithnā “to combine against”, but milkar baithnā “to meet and sit together”. The second form suggests an interval of time between the two verbs.

(4) Further examples of Pseudo-Intensives:

Kawviā samjhā ki gharē ko ko,ī chhor-gayā hai the crow thought, guessed, that someone had abandoned this gharā (left it and gone off), just listen before you go (said to one in a hurry).

Sun-jā,ō to take away.

Le-jānā to take and start. Le-chalnā

¹ No idea of going away.
² Pāshā here is not a servile and does not suggest suddenness.
³ Baithnā here not a servile.
⁴ Uthnā is not a servile.
⁵ Bhāg kharā honā “to run off in haste with long strides”. Kharā in such cases is the opposite of kar-baithnā “to sit down after doing”.
⁶ This might be said to a person in the next room.
⁷ The Conjunctive Participle le-jākār is in common use.
⁸ Māi kuchh rupoi tum ko detā jā,ā “I will give you some money before I go”.
Urā-lejānā

Lā-phasānā
Bhāg-nikalnā
Tum apnī taraf se koshshish kar-chho rō
de-chhornā

Kīrānā ne ākhir musāfir ko thakā
hī kar-chhorā
Ghasit-lejānā

Khāb, mere wāste do jagah parsō
ke tāge mē kah-rakho or rōk-rakho
Do “rizare” jagah mere wāste
rōk-rakho
Pahre-wāle ne merī motar ko ek
ghantā1 rōk-rakhā
Is bāt ko sun-rakho

Maī ne ko,ī bāt kahne se uthā
na-rakhā2
Is hītāb ko uthā-rakho
Is dastūr ko uthā-rakhā
Us ne mujhe tang kar-rakhā hai

Is bāt ko samajh-rakho
Tarkārī āp he liye tayyār kar-rakhī3
Tambāko pīnā āhārām kar-rakhā

Maī ne ākhir imtiḥān pās kar (or
karke) chhorā4

Maī imtiḥān pās karke rāhā4

[Maī ne imtiḥān pās kar-liyārā

Ākhir maī ne bhūt ko nikāl chhorā
or nikāl-kar chhorā5

to abscond with living beings
(human or otherwise).
to bring and snare.
to flee forth.
have a good try (and leave the
rest to luck).
to give away completely (to one
who can keep it).
at last the rays of the hot sun
left the wayfarer quite tired out.
to drag away.
all right, book me two seats by
the tonga for the day after
to-morrow.
book two theatre stalls for me.
the sentry detained my motor
for an hour.
heed this (and keep it in your
mind).
I left nothing unsaid.
take up this book and keep it.
he abolished this custom (took
it up and put it aside).
he has kept me in a position of
discomfort.
bear this in mind.
he has got ready vegetables for
you some time ago.
he made tobacco unlawful and
kept it so.
I eventually with difficulty passed
my examination (expresses
relief).
I was contented only when I
passed my exam.
I have managed to pass my
examination (achievement and
completion).]
at last I managed to expel the
ghost.

1 Or ek ghante tak.
2 The idea is of taking up a thing and down only when done with.—Kempson.
3 Not kī or kar-li hai, which would mean “has lately got ready”.
4 I rested only when I had passed.
5 Or not so good nikāl-pāyā: no ne before nikāl-pāyā.
Maï ne intihan päs kar-dâlā

Ham jumā masjid ko dehh ā,e hai

Maï khud āp ke hamrāh ho-ātā ḥā ¹
Maï dâk khâne se ho-āyā ḥā

Īshwar ne sab kuchh de-rakhā hai
Wuh donō mere khilāf mil-baithe
Daryâ charh-āyā

Achchhā, jā,o kar-ā,o ²

Usko karke ³ ā,o

Tum apnī tarafse hoshish har-chhoro
Kal tak kitāb ko pārī chhorāgā

Ai Sâwratu, tum ne apne háthō
apnā waq qho-rakhā hai

Kisī tarh kām chal-niklā

Guzar-chhornā
Sikh-rahnnā

Injan īnī gāriyo ko khich le-jātī
hai ?
Jab sūraj āchā charh ātā hai

Khandaq ko khod-dalo and
khandaq ko khodkar ḍâlō

expresses more dislike than kar-chhorā.
we have seen, and returned from, the congregational mosque.
I am going to accompany you.
I have been to the post and come back.
God has kept him affluent.
those two combined against me.
the river has risen up (in our direction ²) in flood.
all right go and do it and come back (said only to a person present).
said either to one present or at a distance.)
have a good try and leave the rest
(to luck or to God).
I shall have quite finished and
put aside the book by to-
morrow; (more emphatic than pārī-chukrāgā).
O Women! by your own doing
you have kept yourselves in an
undignified position.
the business somehow managed
to get a start.
to pass over completely.
to learn a trade (by way of pre-
caution against poverty).
can the engine pull along so many
riages ?
when the sun rises high; (the
idea is that the sun rises
towards one: charh-jātī hai
would be wrong). ⁴
dig out the ditch (the ditch being
the object): both these have
much the same meaning, but
the second indicates a greater
interval of time. But khod-
nikalo and khod kar nikalō “dig
something” out from the ditch.

¹ Present tense for immediate future.
² Daryā char-gayā hai has much the same meaning, but has not quite such an
imminent meaning.
³ The shortened form kar joins the two verbs closely, the fuller form karke implies
an interval.
⁴ But dūb-jātā hai for the setting sun.
(l) Pseudo-Intensives formed with Rahnā

Ākhir ro dhokar baith rahā ¹

Maī so rahā = maī so-gayā

Tumhē sharm ke māre mar-rahnā chāhiye
Jaldī kyā hai, kām ho-rahegā

Abhī abhī ho-ja, egā (not ho-rahegā)
Kawēva samjhā ki kuch na kuchh pānī to zārūr hī mil-rahegā

Chāiōgh jalte jalte maī so rahgā
(or so-ja, āgā)
Dam torkar rahegā

Dam torkar rah-gayā
Taqīr mē hoqā tophir gum-shuda
bachcha mil rahegā

Chūhā parde ke pīchhe ho-rahā

Larkē ne kahā ki pānī ke bāhir
yih machhliyā mar-rahī hai

Maī intiān pās kar-ke rahā
Maī ne intiān pas kar-chhorā

Giddh ne ākhē band karke so-rahā
(or so-gayā)

he sobered down at last after much
lamentation; (baith-rahā = he
sat down in that state of mind).
I composed myself to sleep, I
went to sleep naturally.
you ought to “drown yourself”
die on purpose), from shame.
what’s the hurry, it will be
accomplished of itself (some
time or other);
but it will get done soon.

the crow said to itself I shall
almost certainly get water there:
(here zārūr and rahegā modify
each other).
whilst the lamp is still burning I
will go to sleep.
he will exhaust himself in the
effort.
if Fate please, you will recover the
lost child: (here rahegā means
“and he will remain with you”).
the mouse went behind the screen
and kept there for some time.
the boy said, these fish are dying
from being out of the water:
(here mar-rahī hai is the
immediate or pure present ²
tense).
I did finish the exam.
somehow or other I passed (and
won’t face it again).
the vulture closed his eyes and
settled to sleep.

(b) Pseudo-Intensives formed with chalnā “to start”. Bol-chalā
“he started speaking” = bolne lagā; bārah bag-chale “it is on the
stroke of twelve”, lit. “it has begun to strike twelve”.

(l) (1) If both elements of an Intensive or a Pseudo-Intensive

¹ But baith-rahā “he remained sitting”.
² Jāta hai “he goes” is an Aoristic Present; jā-rahā hai “he is going now”

Pure Present.
are transitive, the Conjunctive Participle and the Passive voice can be used as mār ḍālkar “having killed”, dhāk rakhar “having kept covered”; wuh mār ḍālā gayā thā “he was killed”. But if one element of the compound is neuter these parts of the intensive are not used, thus: gir-parkar, bol uṭhar, khā jākar bhāg nikalhar cannot be said.

Kar-dikhāyā gayā “it was done and shown”; kar-chhorā-gayā “it was done and left”; parde khīch rakhe gaye “the curtains were kept drawn”, are correct.

For the murdered soldier you cannot say mār-ḍāla hu,ā sipāhi, but khūn kiyā hu,ā or mārā hu,ā or maqṭūl sipāhi.

(2) Pakar lākar “having arrested and brought” are not one compound but two separate verbs.

(3) Le-jāhar and lākar (le-āhar) are however correct, perhaps because they are regarded as two single verbs.

(4) Le-jāyā gayā the passive is used.

(0) (1) Intensives are not ordinarily used in the negative. An Intensive intensifies the action and a negative negatives it, so the two cannot be used together. Exceptions are clauses implying expectation or exception, conditional clauses, clauses after jāb tak, kahi “I fear lest”, and interrogations expecting the answer “yes” or intended to remove doubt, as: usko chhor-ā do but negatively usko mat chhor: chhor mat do indicates expectation of release. Do to sahi mai use khā na jā,āyā “well, give it to me, I am not going to eat it up (as you seem to expect)”. Unko is bāt kā barā khayāl thā ki kahi golā ki mār ke andar na ā-parē “they took good care not to come within range”; wuh mar hahi gayā “he did not die (as you expected)”. Mai ne kāṭ nahi ḍālā, faqat chhiā hai “I did not cut it down, I merely peeled it”; kyā us ne daraḵht ko kāṭ nahi ḍālā “what, did he not cut down the tree?”

Note.—The above compounds have been chiefly extracted from The Bride’s Mirror and have been discussed with a Hindu gentleman of Delhi (a graduate of Cambridge), a Muslim resident of Lakhnau (a graduate of Allahabad) and with several other Indian gentlemen who have been for some years resident in England.

1 Note position of hahi.
A CHAPTER FROM THE ULIGER-UN DALAI

By S. YOSHITAKE

THE Buddhist Birth-Stories have spread widely among the Mongols chiefly in two collections: the Üliger-in Dalai (The Ocean of Parables) and the Altan Gerel (Golden Gleam). The former, according to Professor Berthold Laufer, is an adaptation of the mDzains-blun, the Tibetan translation contained in the Kandzur of the Chinese 賢愚經, which has been edited and translated into German by I. J. Schmidt under the title Dzanglun oder Der Weise und der Tor. In the preface of his work Schmidt points out that while the two versions, Tibetan and Mongolian, agree in the main, the tales in the Mongolian text have been amplified and paraphrased, often with supplementary matter not found in the Tibetan version, although in the latter are found in places short passages which the Mongolian version has not.

Professor J. Takakusu, on the other hand, is inclined to doubt the Tibetan origin of the Mongolian text on the ground that in the second chapter of the Üliger-in Dalai the phrase "thousand princes" is erroneously given as "ten princes", and that such a mistake can only arise from a mis-reading of the Chinese character 千 as 十.

However that may be, that the Mongolian text resembles closely both the Tibetan and the Chinese versions will be seen from my translation of the fifth chapter of this work which I give here with the corresponding Chinese text. For the translation the Mongolian text contained in Kowalewski’s Chrestomathy has been used, while the Chinese text has been taken from the 大正新修大藏經.

In the present transliteration the words spelt inaccurately in the original text have been corrected and are marked with an asterisk. The same applies also to the dative-locative termination -tur or -tür used with a noun ending in a vowel or the consonant n or l, which I have altered arbitrarily into the more usual form -dur or -dür, although I have seen this somewhat abnormal use of -tur or -tür in a certain Buddhist Manuscript.

2 Vol. i, pp. xvi, xvii.
5 Vol. iv, pp. 354-5.

VOL. V. PART I.
This is the chapter concerning the Questions of the God of the Sea.

eyin kemen minu sonusugsan nigen ēq-tur, ilaju tegiṣ nügiğisen burqan anu siravasun balgasun-dur ilagugòi qan köbegün-ül ēceeglig-tür itegel ügei idegen oglige-tû ger-ûn ejen-ü bayasquulan-ün kûriyen-dûr* sagun amui.

Thus have I heard. The most enlightened and perfect (bhagavân) Buddha was once staying in the city of Srâvastî, in the pleasure-garden of the house-holder Itegul ügei idegen oglige-tû (giver of food to the unprotected: anâtha-pîndâda) in the park of Prince Ilağugòci (conqueror: jetr).¹

tere ēq-tur, tere gajar-taki tabun jagun tedüi qudalduêi kûmûn dalai-dur* erdeni abun yabaquq-dur, eyin jübûrûn, bide edege kûmûn-û dotor.a anu nigen sayin uduridugòi kûmûn ügei bügesû ülû bulumu kemeldûgê, tere gajar-taki nigen ubasi-yi uduridugòi bolgan abugad, dalai-dur odsugai kemen jübsiyeldûjû.

At that time, five hundred merchants of the same city contemplated an expedition out to sea in quest of gems, and came to an agreement: “We need an able leader among our crew. Let us nominate an Ubaşi (upâsaka) of the town as a leader, and then set out in our quest.”

tedüi tere ubasî-yi abugad, dalai-dur orugad tûb dumda kûrûgsendûr, dalai-daki tere tegri anu masi aynuq metû qab qarâ.ônge-tû soyogaban degegside irjayıgsan teriğun-dûr-îyen ga sitagagöi teyimû nigen râksa bulun qubilugad teden-û dergedê ireged, ai kûmûn ta ene ongoçà-ban nadur òg kemen ögileged,

¹ ilagugòi qan köbegün-ül ēceeglig-tû ... bayasquulan-ün kûriyen corresponds to Jeta-cana Anâtha-pîndâda-ârâma, 祇樹給孤獨園. Sometimes the phrase ger-ûn ejen-ü (of the house-holder) is replaced by qotala (whole, entirely).
Taking thus an Ubaši as their leader they put out to sea. When, however, they reached mid-ocean, the God of the Sea approached them, in the assumed form of a jet-black Rakša (demon: rakshas) of a dreadful appearance, with its head ablaze and its fangs turned upwards, and said to them, "Give me this ship of yours, Men!"

basa kü eyin kemen asagur-un, ai tan-u ulus-tur nadur adali masi ayugulugéi eyimü kümün buyu, kemen asagbasu uduridugéi ubasi ögüler-ün, čimača než masi ayugulugéi eyimü kümün manu ulus-tur bui kemen ögülegsدن-dür, dalai-yin tegri ögüler-ün, teyimü bui bügesüter kendegéi bui kemen asaguesan-dur,

"Is there in your world," continued the God, "any one who is as dreadful as I?"
To this the Ubaši, the leader, answered,
"In our world, there are men who are much more dreadful than thou." "If that is so, who are such men?" the God insisted.

ubasi ögüler-ün, manu tere ulus-tur munqaq têneg nigül-tü üiles-i durabar üledügéi amin nitulqu ba, ese öggügsen-i buligéi ba, burugu küsel-üer tačiyanqéid ba, qudal ögüleggid ba, endekit üges-i ögüleggid ba, qagurmag ögüleggid ba, sirigün ögüleggid ba, yeke urin tačiyanqüitu ba, magu üjel-üer yabuquy teyimü kümün anu törül yegüdegiü amitan-u tanu-dur* törüged,

"In our world," answered the Ubaši,
"there are stupid and ignorant men who wilfully commit sinful acts, such as, for example, taking a man’s life, taking things which have not been given to them, indulging in sensual pleasures, speaking lies, talking nonsense, using abusive and slanderous expressions, saying rude things, flying into passions, and behaving themselves in unseemly ways; such men will be born in a living-hell at rebirth."

¹ "Of five precepts" is not in the Mongolian text.
tamu-yin sakigulsun erlig-üd-te barïgdaïju, jarïm-dur anu meses-i yer
çabëin esgeged, jarïm-dur anu terge-dür* küljü keseg keseg ogtaçín, jarïm
anu aguur-tur kijü nitügad, jarïm anu tegermen-dür tegermeden, jarïm
anu ildü-t tü agulan dabagulun, jarïm anu gal-un òogcås-tur tülegdeged,
jarïm anu jes togoçan-dur müsün ba magu burdaq usun-dur çinajü*,
jagun miŋgan jîl boltala testekü ügei teyimü eldeb jobalan-î üjegi
tere kümün anu çimadaça ülemji ayuqu metü bolai, kemen ögülegsenni
üges-i dalai-yin tegri sonusuqad saça ülüß üjegden odbai.

"They will be dealt with by the Erlik,
the watchmen of hell," he went on. "And,
some of them will be cut to pieces with
the sword, some will be tied up to a cart
and torn to pieces, some will be crushed or
milled to death in a mortar or in a mill,
while some will be forced to walk over a
hill of swords. Besides, some may be
burnt on a burning pile, while others are
boiled in a copper in foul and icy water.
Now, these men who undergo such unbearable
tortures for a hundred thousand years are,
it would seem, much more dreadful than
thou." As soon as he had heard these
words spoken to him, the God of the Sea
disappeared.

basã kü dalai-dur* yabun atala, dalai-daki tere tegri anu masi
qatagsan sirbusun yasun-dur* torugsan teyimü nigen kümün bolun
qubilun inreged, eyin ögüler-ûn, ai kümün ta ene ongoça yugan nadur ög
kemen ögülegsenni

So they went further out to sea, when
the God of the Sea appeared again, but this
time in the form of a man completely
withered and reduced to skin and bone,
and said to them, "Give me this ship of
yours, Men!"

basã eyin asagur-un, ai kümün tan-u ulus-tur yadan qatagsan,
sirbusun yasun-dur* torugsan eyimü kümün buyu kemen asagugsan-
dur*, tere uduridugêî i basi ögüler-ûn, manu ulus-tur çimadaça ülemjî
yadan qataqsan teymü olan bülüge, kemen ögülebesü, dalai-yin tegri ögüler-ün, teymü bui ele bügesü, teymü ken geği bui.

"Is there in your world," continued the God, "any one who is worn to a shadow like me?" The Ubaşi, the leader, answered, "There are in our world many people who are much more emaciated and withered than thou." "If that is so, who are such men?" the God insisted.

kemen asagbasu, ubasi ögüler-ün, manu ulus-tu muńqag teneg qaram sedkil-tüi, ayidańgui* sedkil-tüi, ögliğe üli öggüşi, teymü kümun anu törül yegüdeği birid-tür törüged, bey.e anu yeke agula-yin tedüi, qogulai anu teben.e-yin sübe-yin tedüi, üsün-iyen uriyalduju yadan qataqsan olan jagun mingan od boltala, usun-u ner.e-ber üllü sonsuşgüşi te Ledger anu ómaça masi ülemji buyu, kemen ögüleged saça üllü üjegden odbai.

To this the Ubaşi answered, "In our world are stupid and ignorant men of an avaricious and envious nature who would give nothing in charity. They will be born at rebirth as a Birid (the Monster of Hades: *preta*) whose body is as large as a mountain while its throat is as small as the eye of a needle." "These men," continued the Ubaşi, "who are emaciated and withered, with their hair rough and matted, and who have not heard the word ‘Water’ for many hundreds of thousands of years, indeed outstrip thee." And, no sooner had the Ubaşi spoken these words than the God disappeared.

tendeče basa ênagis odun atala, dalai-daki tegri anu masi guo.a üjeskülēn*-tüi teymü nigen kümun bolun qubitlu ierged, eyin ögüler-ün, ai kümun ta e ne ońgoça yuğan nadur ög kemen ögüleged, basa eyin asagur-un, ai kümun tan-u ulus-tur minu metü sayin üjeskülēn*-tüi kümun buyu.
Again the merchants sailed forth. The God of the Sea appeared yet once more, this time in the form of a person with a most beautiful figure and great charm, and said to them, "Give me this ship of yours, Men!" "Is there in your world," continued the God, "any one as beautiful and elegant as I?"

kemen asagugsan-dur, ubasi öğüler-ün, čimača jagun mingle ilegül ülemji sayin üjeskülen-tü kümin manu ulus-tur bui kemen ögülübesü, dalai-daki tegri ögüler-ün, nadača než ülemji sayin üjeskülen-tü ken gegći bui kemen asağıbasu,

The Ubaşi replied, "There are in our world people who are a hundred thousand times more beautiful and elegant than thou." "Who are the people," demanded the God, "who are much more beautiful and elegant than I?"

ubasi ögüler-ün, manu ulus-tur tegüs mergen oyutu, qotala tegüs buyan-i üiledügsen bey.e kelen sedkil-ün üiles uuguqata arıgu bolqusan gurban erdenis-i masi süsül-ün bisiregçi, yambar ba ed bui ele bügesti, teden-i takil-ün ed bolgus takigëid,

Answering, the Ubaşi said, "In our world, there are people who are wise and prudent, and who maintain the works of their body, tongue, and mind, in absolute purity by observing perfectly the ten meritorious deeds, and who pay great respect to the Gurban erdenis (three jewels: triratna) by offering them whatever they possess."

tedeger kümin annu törül yegüdeged, sayin törül-tü tegri-ner bolun törtüged, masi go.o.a üjeskülen-tü önge sayitu čim.a-aça jagun mingle ilegül ülemji bui.j.a.; tegün-lüge čimai adalidqabasu, balai bečin arsalan qoyar-i adalidqagsan-dur* adali bolai.
“These people,” continued the *Ubași*, "will be born at rebirth as heavenly beings of good lineage with a beautiful and fine appearance, who surpass thee a hundred, nay a thousand times. To compare thee with these beings is equal to comparing a blind monkey with a lion."

tedüi dalai-daki tegri anu nigen alag.a dügüren usun abuğad, eyin öğüler-ün, ai ubasi-a dalai-yin usun yeke buyu, alagan-daki usun yeke buyu kemen asagugsan-dur*, ubasi öğüler-ün, alagan-daki usun yeke buyu j.a, dalai-yin usun ücügüken buyu, kemen ögülebesü,

Thereupon the God of the Sea scooped up a handful of water and said, “Which is greater, O *Ubași*, the water in the sea or that in the hand?” “The water in the hand,” answered the *Ubași*, “is greater and that in the sea less.”

dalai-yin tegri öğüler-ün, ai ubasi dalai-yin usun ücügüken bolugad, alagan-daki usun yeke kemekü çinu qudal buyu j.a, kemen ögülebesü, ubasi öğüler-ün minu ene üge ünen bui j.a qudal buasu bui, ünen yusun-i anu ögülesügei, çi-bar sayitur sonus, yerü dalai-yin usun yeke kemekü çinü ünen bui atala, çag-tağan kürbesü magad sirgimüi.

Then the God of the Sea asked, “Is not, O *Ubași*, thy declaration that the water in the sea is less, and that that in the hand is greater possibly a false statement?” “This my statement is true and is not false,” answered the *Ubași*. “I will prove its verity, so listen thou well. Whilst the water in the sea is usually greater, as thou rightly deemest, it will certainly be exhausted in the course of time.”

galab ebderêkü çag-tur, ene naran-aça öber-e ba, nigen naran garugad bulag ba, qamug ücüken usun sirgimüi. gudagar naran garbasu qamug ücüken müred sirgin qatamüi. dödüğer naran garbasu qamug* yeke urusqu müred sirgimüi. tabdagar naran garbasu yeke dalai-yin usun-u jarim inu bagurayu.
"When galab (kalpa), the Age of Destruction, is here," he went on, "from the present sun will emanate another, and the two will dry up all the springs and ponds. With the emanation of a third sun, all the small brooks will be rendered dry; with the emanation of a fourth sun, all the larger streams will be exhausted, while with the appearance of a fifth sun, the water in the ocean will begin to decrease."

jirgudugar doludugar naran garbasu, yeke dalai-bar sirgin qataqad sümübür agula-bar tülegden sitaqad, nigeđüger diyan-aça inagsida sitayu.

"When a sixth¹ and a seventh sun emanate," he continued, "greatest oceans will completely dry up, and Mt. Sümübür (Sumeru) will catch fire and everything from the first diyan (dhvāna) region down to this material world will be completely reduced to ashes."

ken kümün masi čiň bisire-tü sedkî-yer alaq.a dügüreņ usun-iyar burqan-dur takil ergüged, bursaŋ quvarag-ud-i takıgsan ba, ečige eke-dür ergüged, ügeği guyillinci ba, arıyatan kiged-tür ögbesü, tegünü buyan anu galab-tur kürtele barasi ügei bolqu-yin tula buyu.j.a. teyimü-yin tula dalai-yin usun üčügüken bolqagad, alaγan-daki usun yeke bolqu yusun teyimü bolumui.

"If, on the other hand, one makes an offering, with a sense of ardent devotion, of a handful of water to Buddha or to the Spiritual Assembly, or dedicates the same to one's parents or gives it to the poor or to the wild beasts, one's meritorious deeds will never die till the end of the world.² It is therefore the order of nature that the water in the sea is less and that that in the hand is greater," he concluded.
tedüül dalai-daki tegri masi bayasugad, tere ubasi-dur* olan erdeni-yi ergüged, degedü sayin erdenis-i burqan ba, bursan qvaraq-ud-tur takir.a öğüü ilegebêi. tere ubasi terigüten qudalduçi nigen erdenis-iyer qanju, amugulan-iyar ober-ün gajar-tur-iyan qariju odbai.

The God of the Sea was very pleased and offered many costly things to the Ubaşi and sent through him the most excellent treasures to Buddha and to the Spiritual Assembly. Both the Ubaşi and the merchants were delighted with the treasures and went back contentedly to their own country.

tedüül tere ubasi terigülen tabun jagun qudalducí burqan qamig.a büyük tere orun-dur* kürüged, ilağu tegüs nügîqsen burqan-u köl-dür* oroi-bar-iyan mürgüged, ober ober-ün erdenis-i ergüged, dalai-daki tegri öğüü ilegeisgen erdenis-i burqan kiged bursan qvaraq-ud-tur ergüjü büür-ün.

Then the Ubaşi and the five hundred merchants arrived in the place where Buddha had his seat, and bending their heads to the feet of the most enlightened and perfect Buddha they offered to Buddha and to the Spiritual Assembly their own treasures as well as those which the God of the Sea had sent.

tede bügüdeger-ber ebüdüğ-iyen kûsür-e sögüdêi, ilağu tegüs nügîqsen burqan-a eyin kemen öçibei, burqan-a çınu şasun-dur* biden-i toyin bolgan soyorq.a kemen öçibesût, burqan jarlig bolur-un, ai ubasi sayin sayin kemen sayisiyagad* saça, saqal üşün inu öbesüben unaju*, nom-tu debel emüsügsen ayag.a tegimlig bolbai.

1 Both the Tibetan and the Chinese texts read: “When a sixth sun emanates, two-thirds (of the water in the ocean) will dry up.” This, however, is not in the Mongolian version.
2 Mongolian version reads: “until the Kalpa is reached.” Here the “Kalpa of destruction”, 坏劫, is meant. Tibetan and Chinese: “throughout many Kalpas.”
Kneeling down to the ground they all appealed to the most enlightened and perfect Buddha, saying, "Condescend thou, O Buddha, to make us devotees to thy teaching." Buddha consented to this, saying, "Very good, Ubaśi, very good." And as soon as Buddha uttered these words the Ubaśi's hair and beard fell off by themselves and he became a Buddhist mendicant clad in a priest's robe.

tere ubasi-dur ilaju tegüs nügeigsen burqan yambar ba nom-un ilgal-i üjegülügsen-iyer, qamug nisvanis baragdadagad, dayin-i daruqsan-u qutug-i olulug.a, tedeger qamug-nugud*-bar, ilaju* tegüs nügeigsen burqan-u jarlig-i sayisiyan bisirejü bayasbai.

Then the most enlightened and perfect Buddha explained to the Ubaśi what was to be explained of his teaching and freed him from all worldly desires. The Ubaśi thus obtained the dignity of being a conqueror of his enemies (arhān), while the others all took delight in their belief in the teaching of the most enlightened and perfect Buddha, to whom they paid utmost reverence.
THE MARRIAGE CEREMONY OF A HIGH-CLASS GURKHALI KSATTRIYA

Presented to Col. J. M. Manners-Smith, V.C., C.S.I., late Resident in Nepal.

Transcribed by Brig.-General Hon. C. G. Bruce, C.B., M.V.O., LL.D., etc.

Note on the orthography. The spelling of the original MS. (which is that of most Nepali MSS. and books) has been strictly followed. The chief points to notice are (1) inconsistencies in the use of i and i and of halanta; (2) use of anusāra (\textsuperscript{\textdegree}) for n, m, or w finally or before a consonant; (3) घ for kh, ङ for b, ङ for w.

विवाहारी गरैं काम को कार्यार

पैनि लग्दु को कागज केरिएक तेस्का पूरबिग छो टाईम साही पाटा को कापा लगाउने टाईम केवादार दिने टाईम को साहित घडी पला लिए तयार गर्दैन || १ ||

पूरबिग भनिको चचिको का टाईम मा गर्नेको वटाराकु चक्षु वौंधनु पुराना गर्नु धार मुकाबलु चोिक माठी पढी यजा मनाउनु काहा छुक्नु बाँस चेका को धाम तीरण वाधिका डोरि मा चाँप पीपल चाँपा को पाट पुलहर उरु चुर्वा टैग्गु पर्ने यो काम गई वाजा वजाउनु गौढ गाउनु र सबि सगुन को सरापी तयार गर्नु पर्ने || २ ||

भार वौंधनु भनिका मा मासा सिंगा चुरु र दृढ़ी को ठौरीको पालिका को साङादाल वा मुर्त ९ भैल हाली वाटिमु पर्ने || ३ ||

चेति भै सिकिया पहरी साही पाटा का टाईम मा पाट धार ९ मलमल ध्वनि ५ मा दुलाहा ले सीढ़ुर दो को आफ्ना हाट को पंजा को कापा लगाउनु पर्ने || ४ ||

ताहै पर्ने लग को कागज र साही पाटा घैर कु दुलही का घर ले जानु पर्ने तेस मा चचिको वार पानी बाजा तेस्को पहरी दृढ़ी टेरका २ मासा बघ फल फुल भिटाहरुका भापहर नम्बर सगो लाई उम्रवासहरु ले त्यो लग को कागज साही पाटा को काप्ना ले जानु पर्ने || ५ ||

फैरि बघ पक्तन आफ्नोसर आफ्ना देह सोह भन्ना आदमी जो लहु ति पनरी पही साथ मा पुर्णकाल जानि दलूर के || ६ ||

दुलही का घर तिसामय पुजा पहरी साही पाटा पनि तही दिशा आफ्ना पहीले चली आफ्ना वसोजीम न सुन को ऋसर्की हैदिया भेडिरी राखि दिनौ दुलही का कागज मा रहेको फुल प्रसाद आफ्ना ने दुलही लाई देखि दलूर के || ७ ||
विवाह का दीन गर्भ को

विवाह ऐसे दुलाहा का घर यह साती को यमय घरी वनाया का यमय मा होमपुजा वहरुपुजा गर्यन तिस्मा अफ़ा सय बनुसार को सराजाम पुजा को बैविरा को रायी दीवन पहर तिस वन्द्र मा गाषोस वटरिपा र ओधी पूर्ववा मा विंगार पुजा गरी को महर्षि गाँव वार्ती तावा को वनायाको दोली कलास जी के तिस्मा सीधार पटार गरी विचारी का चावल दनुवरा कसर मेंट सतेत हाली दीस कलास मा पानी खिल भर हाली भर खिल गरी यमय मा रायी यमय गरी पुरा पहर दी ॥ ५ ॥

जंती बीर्वार्डा का कार्यगदा

जंती जाने बेला मा दुलाहा ले आफ्रा घर मा मात्र का पुजा गण्स पुजा गरी का देवता लाई पुजा गरी मेंट चढाइ डोग दी निकले दशरस ॥ ८० ॥

ढीरा मा निर्याटा ढीर दुलाहा का आमा ले दुलाहा लाई समुद्र दृष्टि पुजार उत्स पहार दुलाहा ले मेंट रायी ढोक दी निकले दशरस ॥ ८१ ॥

के जंती जाने मा बची वाट पंच वाजा ताहा पकी बाबासाही वाजा ताहा पकी बन्ध गाँव गण्नीहरु ताहा पकी दुला दरू का ठैठकी र भाय संग्र गाँवने केजिक बची माइन नेपालीको दुली कलास कलसुदेखीले के वोकी बागाठी पहाडी महाइवी लागाँणे पंपा हाली हवाली का मालाहर खिलत साथ लागल्लो ताहा पकी दुलाहा का पानी रहन्ने ताहा पकी बन्ध बाजा गाजा चालास हर वतमन मानीसह जाने दशरस ॥ ८२ ॥

जंती दुलाही का घर गुलने बेला मा दुलाही का घर वाट कलस पसोनी पुल पारी आफ्रा ईंट सीव मा लो बचि वर सब्बा दुलाहा लाई प्रदासिया ३ ढीर गरी दुलाही का वालु ले दुलाहा लाई ढीरा लाई दृष्टक तसी विपक्ता दुलाही का कलास ले दुलाहा का कलास लाई ढीरु मनी कलास जुडाउ देखने तसी लाई कलास जुडाउलके मनी दुलिका मा बीसरिक ॥ ८३ ॥

ताहा पकी दुलाही का घर मा वनायाका यमय मा दुलाहा लाई लायी यडा रायी दुलाही का वालु ले वागडान मनी के भाज देखी मरी छोरी तोमन लाई धर्म गरी भवन के वोली वोली जटान गरिन्छ खोपरि जनी सुपारि ब्राह्मिक मेंट दुलाहा का हात मा दोनी दशरस ॥ ८४ ॥
वरणी गर्दा दुलहों का वाम ले पानी दुलाहा ले पानी यहि वसन्त पक्ष दुलहों
को पानी दुलाहा को पानी तुप्पे कल स वरणी न सकनब्बाज वोकनी रायणा
पक्ष कलसेिस्वाते ले भे मा रायणा हेंगे ॥ ९५ ॥

dुलहों का वाम ले दुलाहा का चोपणी हात चोपणी वगर केवी
बेर वसि ताहा पक्षी बहारि मा पानी हाली तेसि पानी ले ३ फेर प्रदिशिा
गरी पुजा गारि अर्द्ध दी सि चढाउने वस्तुिहुँ सि दी सका पक्ष दुलाहा
ले दुलहों का वाम ले वरणी गण अर्न मानिस के ता पानी ती लाइ दीरी
लगाई दीनकण तेसि टाउँ मा दुलाहा दुलहों का वाम हो चपेयां रायि ठोि
भेंगे ॥ ९६ ॥

वरणी गर्दा चोरी दुलाहा लाई नजा पीिशा मा पेहलो कपड़ा बीकारि
तेसि मा चार रायाई उभाई रायणा दुस्तुर के ॥ ९७ ॥

ताहा पक्षी दुलाहा लाई वाली वाली मा रायी दुलहों का वाम ले दुलाहा
ले वाली बीकारि दुस्तुर के ॥ ९८ ॥

वरणी भे सका पक्षी को वाम ।

dुलाहा मा ककि का दुलाहा लगायर शैि बंटी गयाका मानिस लाई भात
को भोजन गराउँने चालक ककि का योिहि रोटी पुिाउने चालक
राजनहित का घर मा आज काल चीन वसोज़िं का जैसा भोज पान मानि
दिने दुस्तुर चलायाका के ॥ ९९ ॥

कब्यादान दिने दुस्तुर ।

कब्यादान दिने सार्वित भेंिा अर्थक १/२ घंटा ब्रह्मि वार दुलही लाई
तुिा लगाई मोहाई धुिाई सफा गारि दुलही का वाम भामा ले वासीा
तकि को गहना कपड़ा लगाई वंगार पटार गारि तनयार गारि रायणा पक्ष ।
तेसि वसिमा दुलही ले तुिा लगाई सें शिे दुलही तुिा दुलही का घर का
केदिरुि हो दुलाहा को पानी धुिा वारेंगा तेसिा तिनंहुँ दाइ दुस्तुर के
ले २/१ जीर पौिाक दीनकण नमकाया ले जो संिी चैफ़ा नमि दिनकण
चो दुस्तुर के ॥ २० ॥

कब्यादान दिने सार्वित को बंजा ब्रह्मि पक्षी कब्यादान दिने टाउँ मा
कब्यादान दीना दीन लाई भे सराजां भींत को पलं तपयार गारि
श्रवंधुँ बहारि ब्रह्मि गायी त्रिसा गोिधुँ ब्रह्मि का भोिकाहि तयार गारि
रायणकण बहाँ पक्षी तेसि पलं मा दुलाहा दुलही लाई वेंकि पलं मा रायी
मंगल कल तुंपे पड़ि को पानी तही रायी पेंछि दुलही का वाम भामा जो
कब्यादान गण लाई बिरावर वसेका एं तमिनहुँ हो दुलाहा दुलही को
शोधा धुिुँकण पक्षी वार ब्रह्मि टाउँ भी नै गोिा धुिे
दुस्तुर के ॥ २१ ॥
ताहा पक्की दुलाहा ले दुलहि लाई दीवि भनि लमाको गहना पोसाकहरु दुलहि लाई दीविका पक्की वाट दुलाहा लाई दुलहि का वाट ले पोसाक गहना दोसम्या जो सकादीको सिर पाउ दि पैज्नुहरू दीने दस्तूर छ। २२।

ताहा पक्की कंब्यादान दीने सायित को वेला मा दुलहि का वाट ले दुलहि को दाहिने हात को बढ़ी बृहो दोसम्या जज तिन कुम पानी नि संकल्प समाउँछ दुलहि का ब्राह्मा ले ब्राह्मि ले पानी संकल्प पढो न सञ्चावान संस हालि रहनु पक्की दुलाहा ले दुलहि का हात भंडा सुगी वाट हात चारप रहनु पक्की संकल्प पढो सकि पक्की दुलहि का वाट ले बढ़ी बृहो बाधी दुलाहा का हात रायी दीनु पक्की तैत महा पक्के कंब्यादान भयो फेरि तसै ठाउ मा कंब्यादान दोष्टल्यो दाताप्रतिदान भक्ति सुनायो। १ दोन दुलाहा लाई दीविका फेरि दुलहि गाँव को गोदान गर्नु पक्की। २३।

कंब्यादान का नयाँ का वेला मा जगनगर्नितो भनि दुवै पट्टी को जज मुग्नारिर सिंदुर दृढ़ रचेता भेटी ९०/२० जो सकादी के दुवै पट्टी वाट वरावर हालि सुभ संग्रह मंच ब्राह्मण वाट पवन लगाई च्याफु ग्रोहित गुहाहरु ले बलियो गाँटो वाँधनु पक्की। २४।

खो गांटो बीवङ्ग न संकुन्ताल दुलाहा दुलहि ले छोडनु खेत्रन साथी मा की रायरु पक्की। २५।

वाहिर यथम रा रायर्या वेला को जाँ।

याहा पक्की दुलाहा ले दोष्टल्यो गहना पोसाकहरु दुलहि लाई पैज्नुहरू यथम रा ब्राह्मण ताहा दुवै तर्क को कलस पनि सिंगै रहस्य पर्ले यथम रा होम गर्नै बढ़ा पक्की दुलाहा दुलहि लाई दीविका भनि भोडो घुमाई दुलहि का भाई ले दुलहि का हात सा ब्राह्मण हालि दोन्क र होम गर्नै तसै ठूँक मा सिंदुर-सिंदुर लोहियो लाई पुजा गारिक तसै लोहियो मा ३ फेरा दुलाहा ले दुलहि को गोदा को बढ़ी बृहो दोसम्या संच पायवान समाति रायरु पक्की चो काम ढेरा गरि सका पक्की होम संवाहक। २६।

ताहा पक्की सोधुरक पर्वार पसारी तसै मा दुलाहा ले सिंदुर को धकाँ पाँर ३ फेरा दुलहि का सिंदुरा मा सिंदुर हावनः सिंदुर हालि को बढ़ा पनि दुलहि लाई दीविका तसै वेला मा दुलाहा ले दुलहि लाई उचा की ठूँक सारी चाफु बाजा तर्क रायक दुलहि ले दुलाहा लाई वसुष्ट हुस्न मंगु पक्की तसै वेला भा पाउँमा ज्ञानुभूत मही चाफु। देश का राजाहरु राजाहरु राजाहरु। २७।
माज्र भनेको दूल्ही काँसा का गाय सा हाली दुल्ही ले छोपायाङ करि भाग लगाई दुल्ही ले दुल्ही लाई दुल्हा ले दुल्ही लाई दुल्हा दुल्ही जस जस ले जमीन वाट पुथाउन सक्य उसमै जीविः भक्त दुल्हा दुल्ही का सिर माथि कपडा टॉप्नी तेका लाई हाली केव्र्ल प्रभु चर्णेलाई चैना हराई दुल्हा ले सुयसुय सामले गरि मंच पढिस्क्राइ हेलिः रहन्छ पक्षे ॥ २८ ॥

केही दुल्हा दुल्ही लाई ग्राम्य ले दही जद्देला को पनी दुल्हा लाई जाई तेही समय दुल्ही लाई टोका लगाई दिनु पक्ष यस लाई यहाँका भक्तन् ॥ २५ ॥

यसका समय थोकी जस जीतीहुँ वन सा जीत वायोरी भोज थान जाग्युँ दुल्हा दुल्ही लाई दुल्ही का घर सा भाट को भोजन भोसा गराइँको जन्ति ले जीत वायोरी भोज पाई सराजा दुल्ही का घर वाट दिनु पक्षे ॥ ३० ॥

बेलुका जन्ति पाठौदा जस सचै का सावधिक वसोरी ऑक पाल्की माहु दुल्ही को दुल्हा को भन्दा चाम्परी भोकाँगु रहन्छ पक्षे ॥ ३१ ॥

जसकी घर आइ पुगने वेला मा पसने सराजाङ्गु दुल्हा का घर वाट आई दुल्ही लाई पसनु पक्ष दुल्हा की दीवाँ ले भारती संवादी भोज पुतांतीवाली दुल्ही लाई टोका लगाई दीन्छोरे दुल्ही ले माझे भाल करिरा देशोला दीन्छोरे दुल्ही का पाल्की ले यो भारती को वसी निहाई भी भोज काँच पक्ष टोका मा टोका छीकी दुल्हा को धैनी वस्करी जीवन तीन लाई लगि चोलो दिउँ भोज भी भोज काँच पक्ष वहा थोकी गण्य साँता की पुजा तिनीहुँ वाट गराई सगुन दि सिके पक्षी दुल्ही ले र सामू ले धान पाल्की भर्दिका वहा पक्षी सामू उपारी को दुल्हा हाली जोरे तेका ब्राह्मण ले घीख दीनु पक्षे ॥ ३२ ॥

वहा पक्षी रात मा दुल्हा दुल्ही ले देखि पल्ली मा सुकाला गचन दल्ल चलेको का ॥ ३३ ॥
AN ACCOUNT OF THE MU'NISU'L-AHRAR: A RARE PERSIAN MS. BELONGING TO MR. H. KEVORKIAN

By Mirza Muhammad ibn Abdu'l Wahhab of Qazwin

With a magnanimity which is singularly rare these days Mr. H. Kevorkian, a curio-seller of New York, lent me a year ago his exceedingly precious and valuable MS. of an anthology of Persian poetry, giving me full permission to utilize or publish it, and I take this opportunity of thanking Mr. Kevorkian for his liberality. The MS. is entitled Mu'nisu'l-Ahrar fi Daqa'iqi'l-Ash'ar and contains copious extracts covering all branches of Persian poetry, from the elegy, the ode, and the double-rhyme poem to the quatraine and the unit, quoted from two hundred Persian poets whose names are found on the first folios of the MS. and are here reproduced lower down.

The author of this anthology is Muhammad ibn Badr Jajarmi. Badru'd-Din Jajarmi, the father of the author of the present anthology, was a notable poet of the seventh century A.H. during the Mongol regime, and was, moreover, one of the favourites of the Safih-Diwân, Shamsu'd-Din Juwayni (brother of Ata Malik Juwayni, the author of the Jahân-gusha), and an account of him is generally to be found in the Biographies of Persian poets, for example, the Ta'lih-kirah of Dawlatshah ed. Professor Browne, pp. 219-21, the Atashkada under Jajarm, and the Majma'u'l-Fuṣahâ of Hidâyat, pp. 168-9.

Badru'd-Din Jajarmi's son, Muhammed ibn Badr Jajarmi, the author of the present anthology, was one of the poets of the beginning of the eighth century A.H., and a contemporary of Ḥamdu'llah Mustawfi, the author of the Ta'rikh-i-Guzâda, and compiled the Mu'nisu'l-Ahar in 741 A.H. If the verses which the author cites, from his own productions, in the Mu'nisu'l-Ahrar, be made the basis for estimating the quality of his poetry, he cannot be included amongst first-class, or even second-class poets, but, on the other hand, in selecting verses from so many Persian poets, whose poetical works and sometimes whose very names have been lost, he has rendered a great service to Persian literature, and, from this point of view, his present anthology, the Mu'nisu'l-Ahrar, becomes a work of extreme importance and value, especially as this MS., owned by Mr. H. Kevorkian, is the only MS., written from beginning to end by the author Muhammed Badr Jajarmi himself in a fine Naskh script, and comple
month of Ramadān, 741 A.H., as stated by the author in the following quatrain given at the end of the MS.:

"It was in the month of Ramadān, in the year 741 A.H., when the sun was in the Pisces and the Moon in the Cancer, That, by the grace of God, this collection written by the hand of Muḥammad ibn Badr, the Poet, was completed."

It appears in several ways that formerly this original MS. was jealously guarded by its owners in Persia, and stored away in one of the libraries, rendering it almost inaccessible to scholars, for without trying to dogmatize I can hardly recollect having read even the name of the Mu‘nisu’l-Ahrār anywhere save on p. 6, vol. i, of the preface of the Majma‘u’l-Fuṣahā, and it is extremely probable that it is this very MS. of Mr. H. Kevorkian which had been utilized by Hidāyat, the author of the Majma‘u’l-Fuṣahā. Similarly, although I have searched both public and private libraries, nowhere have I read either an account or even the bare mention of the author of the Mu‘nisu’l-Ahrār save that I have found that there is in Tihrān a MS. copy of the Mu‘nisu’l-Ahrār, belonging to Āqā Hājī Ḥusayn Āqā, the son of the late Malikūt-Tujjār. But since I have not seen this other copy nor, for that matter, have even obtained a satisfactory account of it, having only heard from friends that a MS. copy of this kind is in the possession of Āqā Ḥusayn Āqā, it is not possible for me to say which of the two copies is the earlier, or fuller. We, therefore, proceed to our own MS.

The MS. of the Mu‘nisu’l-Ahrār, belonging to Mr. H. Kevorkian, comprises nearly 260 folios (520 pages) of large quarto size and is written in a very fine Nashī script with certain archaisms. For example, no discrimination is made, with a few exceptions, between the Persian forms of the four letters چ ر گ ژ  and their Arabic forms چ ر گ ژ ; secondly, the Persian dhāls are often dotted; thirdly, چ ژ are often written as گ ; and so on. In the MS. the titles of the pieces are written in coloured ink, generally in red ink.
A noteworthy feature of the MS. is that it is the oldest MS. (having been written in 741 A.H.) to contain several quatrains of 'Umar Khayyám. There are altogether 13 of these quatrains which were transcribed by me for Dr. F. Rosen and published by him in Berlin in 1304 A.H. Subsequently, in 1927 A.D., these 13 quatrains, together with their English translation, were published by Sir E. Denison Ross in this Bulletin, vol. iv, pt. iii, pp. 433–9.

The Mu'nisu'l-Ahrār, as will appear from its index of chapters given lower down, comprises thirty chapters relating to different kinds of Persian poetry—panegyrics, elegies, threnodies, and descriptive pieces, and so on—but unfortunately in the present MS. nearly seven chapters of the thirty are missing. Because the folios of the MS. are not always in their right place and as I have not had sufficient leisure to check the contents of the MS. with its table of contents, I am not able to say off-hand precisely which chapters are missing, but I know that the lacuna covers altogether seven chapters, whereof one, unfortunately, is the twentieth chapter of the MS., representing extracts from the Shāhnāma. For the time being, in order to give a general idea of the contents of the MS., I think it best to reproduce here the preface of the Mu'nisu'l-Ahrār with its accompanying list of the poets’ names, found at the beginning of the MS. And this is as follows:—

**The Preface of the Mu'nisu'l-Ahrār**

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

سباس وستايسن بي نبایت اذشاهی را کی صفتی از صفیت

صفات؛[کالش جودست، و حمد وثنای بي گایت

پوردرکاری را کی یل خلمت ازخزانه کرمش وجود، مهر از

حقه فطرت مهره، دربای جود از ابر امرش قطره، عقل در

ازا صفات حیرانی، جرخ در ادرال قدرتشر سرکردنی،

 قادری کا کردى عجز کردى سرپاىده ش میخیت نکردى، دانندہ کہ
رموش تقویش قطرات (sic) لوح ضیمر بندکان از علم او تخنیت‌ممانده، جنانه در قرآن می‌یابد یک صورت خالی‌الائین و ماندن‌مخفی
الصدری، با لیست کرده جبّاری اولست، روشن و ناریک
نشان قربانی اور آیان الله الخلق والا مرتبداره الله رب‌العالمین،
امداد درود نامیات زآکیات برداشت مطهر صدر اصفاء محمد
مصطفی کی نوبآورد و شکوفه جمن ابلاغست صلی اللّه
عليه و على آلّه و سلم تسليماً، بدانان لطیفتین و شرف‌ترین
بدیع سخن است ک کباری عزّ ابهمه آدمی را از دیکر مخلوقات
بجیلت کرمت مزین کردنیه کی ولقد کرّ مانا بنی آدم و حملنام
در البرّ والبحر، و از اسمان برگین بیشتر منظم احوال عالم و
عالمان و قوام شرع ادمیان بیرون از سخن جیزی نازل
نکش‌ت شعر
سخن از گذشته کبود آمد
سخن از اسمان فرود آمد
کر بدل جوهری ورای سخن
آن فرود آمده بی‌حاج سخن
سخن غواصی است که در دل افروز حکمت از قهر
صباً
آرذ، و مشاهاخهٔ یست کی عرایس انفس را بر تخت عیان در
لباس شعر جلوه دهد، و عاماً و فضلاء دهم هر سخن را کی چان

1 This word seems superfluous.
جسم جهانست و در صدف نهان بردو مرتبه نهاده اندو هريکي را لقي مشهور كردنيده و آنرا كي بدست استصواب برح نهآذه اند آنرا نظم نآم كرده و ديستكر كي در وثائق اوراقت بريشان كرده اند نثر خوانده، نظم درشمام آرزو رايتها كي طري دارد و نثر در مذاق [جان؟] طعم حلواي عسكري شعر نظم طاووسسيست در باغ بلاغت جلوه كر كزكال جلوه او عقل كي بيزا شود و شعر احسن الكلام است و طبج بسخن نظم مایل تر باشدكي بنثر و مهتر عالم و سرور بني آدم عليه السلام مي فرماید الشعراء اموراء الكلام، و ديكر فروموده كي ان من البيان لسحرا، هرآنکس كي درفنون علم اورا كماليت و برهه نباشد و بردائق و حقائق اطلالي ندارد در ميدان فصاحات و بلاغت جولاني نتواند نمودن، بس اين علم بعد از علوم شرعي شريفترین علوم بود، و جون ملول الشعراء ماضي نوز الله صريحهم باشمار دلكشاي و معاني جان فزاي كي خااوي آن لطافت جان و روان دارذ و الفاظ آن سلامت آب روان سخن را ازبري بتي ابي رسانيده و علم شعر بشري برافراشته و بمجلدات دواون معتبر كي بنان هريک مسطور ست و مذكور آثار فضل و بلاغت 1 and is superfluous.
بر روى روزگار باقی و مخالد و موبد گذاشت‌ه این خاصی اضفه
عبادت الله محمد بن بدرالجاهیم الشاعر جوز جعی من واتو دوستان
هیونوند و مشاهیر خردمند خاطر متعلق نظام و اشعار مصنوعات
دلاییل استاذان دید بر موجب یوموده وشیار رای منیر
شان از دواون ملوک حکا و اشعار امراه شعرای مشهور بود
انتخابی کرد و گروهی ساخت جناب از تکایی مصنوعات و
اطلاع و بدیع که شعرای (sic) نوشته شد و یقین خادم
آنتست که امر و در علم شعر و شاعری گروهی بدين جزالت
 موجود نیست و درست این بظالمه معلوم کردد و این گروحا
 را در مونس الاحرار و دفاع الامام کرده شد و بر سی باب
 نهاده آمده، اتماس از اهل فضل آنتست که وقت مطالعه هرکا
 سهوی باشد از روي کرم صبحت واجب شناسند شعر
و عين الرضا عن كل عيب کلیة
و لكن عين السخط تبدي المسا و يا،

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Clement.

Thanks and praise infinite to the King, one quality of whose
perfection is bounty, and gratitude and praise illimitable to the
Creator, one robe from the treasury of whose liberalty is existence.
The sun is a shell from the casket of His nature; the sea of beneficence
is a drop from the cloud of His command. In the comprehension
of His attributes Reason is bewildered; in the perception of His
Providence the Heavens are confounded. So (Omni) potent that the
dust of infirmity settles not on the curtain of His pavilion; such a
Knower that by the signals of His glances the particles of the tablet
of the mind of mankind do not remain concealed from His knowledge,
even as He himself says in the Holy Qur'ān:—

“And He knows what is hidden from the eye and what is concealed
in the breast.”

Exaltation and abasement is the work of His Omnipotence; Bright
and Dark is the symbol of His avenging Divinity. “Nay, to him
belongs the Creation, and the Affairs, blessed be God, the Lord of the
two Worlds.”

And the benedictions of His holy creatures on the Sacred Person of
the Chief of the Pure Ones, Muḥammad, the Chosen (of Mankind),
who is the firstfruits of the garden, and the blossom of the mead of
attainment (to Perfection), may the blessings of God be upon him
and his household.

Know that the most elegant and the most noble of novelties is
speech, whereby God, His name be glorified, with the ornament of
His miracle, has adorned man above all His creatures:—“We have
shown favour to the sons of Adam and carried them on land and sea.”
And for the orderly course of the affairs of the world and its inhabitants,
and for the stability of religious laws there descended not from heaven
on earth anything save speech.

Speech came from the blue dome; speech came from Heaven;
Were there any other jewel save speech, that jewel would have
descended (on earth) instead of speech.

Speech is a diver which brings to the surface from the depths of eloquence
the mind-illuminating pearl of wisdom; and speech is a bride-dresser
which, in the dress of poetry, displays the brides of words on the
throne of ocular demonstration. And the men of learning and wisdom
of every epoch have divided speech, which is the soul of the body of
the world and the pearl of the shell of the unknown, into two kinds,
and to each of these they have given a well-known title: that which
they have collected together with the hand of approval they have
named “verse”, and the other which they have scattered in the
hovel of pages they have called “prose”. Verse brings the odour of the
fresh rose to the nostril of desire; and prose bears the taste of con-
fectionery to the palate (of life).
Verse is a peacock displayed in the garden of eloquence;
And by the perfection of its display the natural genius becomes evident.

Poetry is the most agreeable (form of) speech, and (human) nature inclines more to verse-forms than to prose; and the Prince of the World, and the Lord of Mankind, may there be peace upon him, says: "Poets are the chiefs of speech," and says again, "Behold, oratory is witchcraft."

Whosoever has no perfection or acquaintance with the various branches of learning, and whosoever has no knowledge of subtleties and realities, cannot be fleet (venture forth) in the field of eloquence and oratory. Thereafter, after a knowledge of theological subjects (studies) a knowledge of poetry is the noblest. And since by their heart-expanding verses and soul-refreshing thoughts, whose significations have the elegance of life and soul, and whose words, the fluency of running water, the poet-laureates of the past, may the Light of God be on their tombs, have raised speech from the Earth to the Pleiades, and by their poems exalted the banner of poetry, and by the volumes of their poetical works, attributed by title to each one of them severally, have left behind, immortal and permanent on the face of the earth, the effects of learning and eloquence, therefore, this sincere and humble creature, Muhammad ibn Badr Al-jājarmi, the poet, seeing that a number of his learned friends, and talented people of repute, were interested in the heart-ravishing verses and poetical artifices of old masters, has prepared at their brilliant suggestion and desire this anthology from the selections of the poetical works of the kings of sages, and the verses of the chiefs of poets, so that it comprehends all the rhetorical devices, artifices, and ornaments of speech utilized by poets. And this servant feels certain that to-day there exists not in the world a more vigorous anthology of Poets and Poetry than this, and the correctness of this statement will be borne out on perusal. This compilation has been given the title of the Mu'nisu'l-Ahrār fi Daqā'iq'l-Ash'ār, and has been divided into thirty chapters. It is requested from men of learning that wherever they detect an error in this anthology they should read with the necessary correction.

The eye of approval is tired concerning every fault
But the eye of disapproval shows up all defects.
INDEX OF THE CHAPTERS OF THE ANTHOLOGY

I. On the Unity of God, High and Glorious.
II. On the praise of Muḥammad, the Chosen (of Mankind), the peace of God be upon him.
III. On wisdom and counsel.
IV. On descriptions.
V. On (rhetorical) artifices.
VI. On divisions.
VII. On Question and Answer.
VIII. On Word-Plays and Repetitions.
IX. On “Musammaṭāt”.
X. On “Malzūmāt”.
XI. On Acrostics and Elisions.
XII. On square verses.
XIII. On oaths in verse.
XIV. On Similes.
XV. On the “Muqaffā”.
XVI. On the “Muraddaf”.
XVII. On “Aš‘ār-i-Tarjiḥāt”.
XVIII. On threnodies.
XIX. On histories.
XX. On the selections from the Shāhnāmā.
XXI. On the twitching of eyelids, etc.
XXII. On Fragments.
XXIII. On Ribald verses and Satires.
XXIV. On Complaints.
XXV. On Riddles and Enigmas.
XXVI. On Pleasantries and Oaths.
XXVII. On Lyrics.
XXVIII. On Quatrains, and this Chapter is subdivided into 35 sections.
XXIX. On pictorial poetry and lunar prognostications.
XXX. On “Fragments”.

LIST OF THE NAMES OF POETS AND DISTINGUISHED PEOPLE ABOUT WHOM NOTICES ARE GIVEN IN THIS ANTHOLOGY

Ustād Rūdakī
Daqīqī
Bahārām
‘Uṣūrī

Zaynabī (Zinātī ?)
Manṣhūrī
Manṭiqī
Ghaẓā‘īrī
<table>
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<th>Author/Title</th>
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<td></td>
<td>Bālayṣ-i-Gurgānī</td>
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<td>Nāṣir-i-Ja'fari</td>
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<td>'Abhari</td>
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<td>Burhānī</td>
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<td>Qādirī</td>
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<td>Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd</td>
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<td>Rāfi'i</td>
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<td>Ja'fari</td>
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<td>Bundār-i-Rāzī</td>
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<td>Nāṣir-i-Khusraw</td>
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<td>Sanā'i-i- Ghaznavī</td>
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<td>Amir Muʿizzī</td>
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<td>Khāqānī-i-Shirwānī</td>
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<td>Ustād 'Asjadi</td>
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<td>Falakī-i-Shirwānī</td>
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<td>Mughṭārī-i-Ghaznavī</td>
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<td>Sirāj-i-Qumrī</td>
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<td>Lāmī'i-i-Jurjānī</td>
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<td>Ustād Minūţbihrī</td>
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<td>Ḥakīm Anwarī</td>
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<td>Nīzāmī-i-Ganja'i</td>
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<td>'Abdu'l-Wāsī'</td>
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<td>Mujīr-i-Baylqānī</td>
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<td>Aṣīr-i-Akhṣikātī</td>
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<td>Adīb-i-Ṣābir</td>
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<td>Sayf-i-A'rāj</td>
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<td>Ustād Qaṭrān</td>
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<td>Aṣīr-i-Umānī</td>
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<td>Badī'i-i-Sayfī</td>
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<td>Sayyid Ḥasan-i-Ghaznavī</td>
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<td>Ustād Khāvari</td>
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<td>Nāṣir-i-Adib</td>
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<td>Jamal-i-Samarqandī</td>
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<td>Firdawsī-i-Tūsī</td>
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<td>Abū'l-Ma'ālī-i-Rāzī</td>
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<td>Jamāl-i-Asḥārī</td>
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<td>'Am'aqu'l-Bukhārī</td>
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<td>Ḥakīm-i-Walwālī (?)</td>
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<td>Shimālī-i-Dihīstānī</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Ḥakīm Ṭartārī</td>
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<td>'Amīd-i-Lūmākī (or Lūbākī)</td>
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<td>Adīb-i-Ṭabarī</td>
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<td>'Āzīz-i-Motionalī (?)</td>
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<td>60</td>
<td>Ḥasan-i-Mutakallīm</td>
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<td>Azraqī-i-Harawī</td>
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<td>Zahir-i-Fāyābī</td>
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<td>Kamālu'd-Dīn Ismā'īl</td>
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<td>Rukn-i-Da'wī-dār</td>
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<td>'Abdu'r-Razzāq</td>
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<td>Ustād 'Imādī</td>
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<td>Majdū'd-Dīn-i-Hamgar</td>
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<td>Imām-i-Harawī</td>
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<td>Faẓīlullāh-i-Qazwīnī</td>
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<td>Badru'd-Dīn-i-Jājarmī</td>
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<td>Sa'dī-i-Shirāzī</td>
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<td>Fakhrī-i-Iṣfahānī</td>
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<td>Aṭṭār-i-Nīshapūrī</td>
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<td>'Irāqī, the mercy of God (on him)</td>
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<td>Farīd-i-Ahwāl</td>
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<td>Šāin-i-Shirāzī</td>
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<td>Awḥād-i-Māmarghī</td>
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<td>Sayyid Dhulfiqār</td>
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<td>Fakhrū'd-Dīn Kaidānī ?</td>
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<td>Bīnt-i-Ka'b</td>
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<td>'Alī Fakhr-i-Shūstārī</td>
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Shamsu’d-Din Sharafshāh
Ibn-i-Bahā-i-Jāmī
Mawlānā Najmī
Najmu’d-Dīn Simnānī
Baha’ud-Dīn Zanjānī

90 Qāzī ‘Uṣmān
Sharfu’d-Dīn-i-Tabrīzī
Sa’īd-i-Harawī
Bahā-i-Khujandī
Humām-i-Tabrīzī
Nāṣir Bahā (Baja ?)
Pūr-i-Ḥasan
Shahīd-i-Balḵī
gMa’rūfī
Ustād Mun‘īmī

100 Rāshdī
Hakīm Nāṣirī
Fakhr-i-Jurjānī
Ibn-i-Khaṭīb-i-Qūshak (sic !)
Fūshang ?)
Fażlu’l-lāh-i-Shafarwa (or
Shaquarwa)
Jalāl-i-‘Atīqī
Shamsu’d-Dīn-i-Kāshī
erKhwāja Nāṣir-i-Ṭūsī
Khwāja Afzal
gQāzī Nizām’d-Dīn

110 Shams-i-Ṣāḥib Dīwān
Shamsu’d-Dīn Kart
Sa’du’d-Dīn-i-Wazīr
Ghiyāṣu’d-Dīn Amir
Muḥammad
‘Alāu’d-Dīn Hindū
Sayyid ‘Azūd-i-Yazdī
Ṣadru’d-Dīn-i-Abharī
‘Izzu’d-Dīn-i-Qazwīnī
‘Imād-i-Hurūfī
Mawlānā Khizr-i-Yazdī

Sa’d-i-Bahā
Khurramshāh-i-Kermānī
Bādir-i-Kermānī
Maḥmūd-i-Munawwar
Ḥakīm Minbarī
Awhadī-i-Iṣfahānī
Nizārī-i-Qurbanī
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130 Najmu’d-Dīn Rāzī
Sa’d-i-Khalīfa
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erKhwājū-i-Kermānī
Mawlānā-i-Rūm
Ibn-i-Zangī (or Rangī)
Ibn-i-Mu‘īn
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140 Amīr Ḥasan-i-Turkīr (Turk-
mīz elsewhere—Turkmīn ?)
Sa’d-i-Nāṭanzī
Badru’d-Dīn-i-Dāmghānī
Kamāl-i-Zanjānī
Ḥasan-i-Nishāpūrī
Kamāl-i-Abarqūhī
Murshid-i-Qāzī
Yahyā-i-Firūzābādī
Nūr-i-Bustāmī
Ḥaddān

150 ‘Imād-i-Kermānī
Sulaymānshāh-i-Timūr
Jamāl-i-Bibasār
Shams-i-Samarqandī
Iftikhrār-i-Dāmghānī
Shams-i-Awhadī
Surdūz (sic !)
Tāj-i-Zakī

مولانا حضرت بدری (خضر بدری)
'Umar-i-Khayyām
Mahsati-i-Dabir
160 Sharafu'd-Din Maliki
Ḥakim Qamšari
Khalil-i-Shirāzi
Ḥakim Zayzi (?)
Ibn-i-'Aṭṭār
Ḥakim Karji (?)
Ahmad-i-Bukhari
'Ayisha-i-Muqriya
Rukn-i-Abhari
Yahya-i-Didhān (sic !)
170 'Imad-i-Yūsuf-i-Lur
'Uşmān-i-Māki
Majdu'd-Din-i-Tirmidhi
Ṣābirī
Ruknī
Zahīr-i-Nishāpūri
Sayf-i-Harawi
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180 Kamāl-i-Ziyād
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Majd-i-Kāshī
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Sayf-i-Harawi (repeated? see No. 176)
Sa'id-i-Nishāpūri
Khusraw Shāh-i-Kermānī
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190 Sadri-Nizāmī
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Fatḥ-i-Balkhī
Fathī Balkhī
(Jalāl Iskandar
Nāṣir 'Aynu'l-Mulk
'Umda-i-Tabrizī ('Idda elsewhere)
Ḥamīd-i-Kāzarūnī
'Umar-i-Fazlū'ī
Jalālu'd-Din Shāh
Nūru'd-Din 'Abdu'r-Rahmān
200 The writer Ibn-i-Badr
Jājarmī
TRANSLATIONS OF TUAREG POEMS

By Peter Rennell Rodd

Of the five Temazheg poems which follow I have only attempted the translation of four. The fifth, though the vocabulary is comparatively simple, is so elliptical in construction that a translation is impossible. The same applies in a lesser degree to the others, the translation of which is therefore somewhat free.

Tuareg poets, besides being fond of topical references which are incomprehensible to strangers, are inclined rather to flatter the intelligence of their hearers than to err by being too explicit. Grammar and syntax are freely sacrificed to metre and effect.

The poems are chanted and are sometimes accompanied by a single stringed violin made of a pumpkin and played with a bow.

1. Written by Bada chief of the Kel Tadele
   as toda tufuq naghras aghlal
   wa egan muzhafar meder 'zhofal
   netattal tess' anegh semotghal
   as igl' ehad ad ikkenen addar
   s koritan enkar bobar
   ghattinen de midden de 'gugar
   iemos ingelis wur nezozar
   wan tagut 'tuettez se kashwar
   iemos enfadeghanen adrar
   iemosen tajikket de ezzar

2. Written by Ametelwei of the Kel Ferwan
   wa egharsaren tadennit eg isawaden karad
   ma igrau enkan ierra eg ikharrag en karad
   kelad neha tadennit min de ierqa dienad
   iedianad taqqal ser i enkan temisaret dienad
   degh igelan Kel Geres ilanet elan karad

3. Written by Buba of the Kel Geres
   kiya imazheghan tawiawe
   as d eghrasan ghur Teghezeren
   wiad tolemen ed teghaten
   wiad egishan ed tebughwen
   wiad aghatasen tedighsen
itaggen eshughl wan tekubre
wiad egen . . .
ad igelan d esuf ed teheren
serensasen fel tiriken
wiad agaiken n tegefén
isudar n esen enkan iegén
wiad kel iijk ed tughonan
ed amedran desuf et towughsen
nigla mazela wur tu nessen
ar wa n kitelen n esen umuglen
nesenerqubten ed emkuteyen
migh taralamt tetagge teteksen
tin tamellalt tega tin kawalnin
imi wa meggen wan tishenen
igezzar n esen wur degh ilkem
arau ila awala ul ere de khidnen

4. Written by Abennar of the Kel Tadele

as nishu Ighazzar nizherag Arli
nishua Tigelale niga 'nki
ezzaren Khaiar fel atri
Battal anuar nobbez ishku
ishkun Qad-Ghela wan Desori
Inuguren as ille ihea shi
nedeud d Ingelis wan amenghi
nelkad Esherif fel Meli.

5. Written by Bada chief of the Kel Tadele

end azhel s tizzar neqalad du 'n Gezzham
ihe abattul n adghagh wa 'teggez 'kezman
tille awetai emdan
tidawasa es d iklan
emehele tin ezhwal wur nessahau tonan
soded ingissera elan wa ezzegen allagh
ezelega tin dedwan
wur nega issoknin kumbar ezhel d osan
aqinfedan fodon
igmatten abashan
d itaggen esserkan
ezhelwa emelghan
el an tirik ezran
nekken 'eha s eghas
eqerqanin solan
taghaqan egeta sowa d ejijikian
nelwei d esan immas oierqanen insan
fel atessantag migh eqategher igerfan
toghsed Tesigalet sekkeret ettermen
tarit n Eretaller teksad de Tanghiman
kelad tille iberko esizemen teklan
teha akal iksan
wur temmeghed s aman

1
When the sun rose we crossed the valley
in the shadow of trees and of fear.
we girded up our robes
when night comes men will be laid low
amid the arrows a mêlée
the piercing of men's breasts
there is gun powder, we do not flinch
like rain it beats on the rocks.
There is a quagmire of bowels
and locks and tufts of hair.

3
Behold a community of Tuareg
camped at Terezeren.
Some have camels and goats,
some have horses and cattle,
some cut down trees,
they work at the carpenter's craft
some drill,
some patrol the country and are anxious,
they tighten their saddle girths
some dig the ground
to give them corn in plenty,
Some work at the chase and trapping,
they ride on the watch for game.
There are some who know no work
They sit and tidy their veils
they pull out the ends and tighten them
the camel herd is a like a varied pattern
of white camels and black
a pretty face with a smile showing the teeth
finds no enemies,
a slave prepares a funeral and the wood for the bier.

4
When we had watered at Ighazzar we passed on to Arli
we drank at Tigelale. So we marched
Khaiar guided by the stars.
At Battal well we took with us a boy,
a boy the slave of the Kel Ghela those under Desori
but when we came to Inuguren we left him there,
we were of the company of the brave Englishman
our guide was Esherif mounted on a bull camel.

5
Yesterday evening at sunset we came back from In Gezzam
There is a gorge in the rock that runs back into a cave
There all the year round are a camp and slaves of the camp
He spurs on his riding camel, she does not shy, she is trained
He presses his shield, he has a fine spear
His sword is girded on his right.
The blade is not for show but for when the day shall come,
The burthen camels shall be hobbled in the rear,
They shall be sought in vain,
The men will run to the fight.
That day he who is afraid
Will cower in the saddle
I myself drew aside
Retiring slowly,
Thrusting and parrying, a shambles,
We led away their camels. I left them, they are sleeping
For the sake of . . . Tesigalet . . .
The maid of Ereitaller. She tarries not in Tanghiman
Once there was a calf but he was sacrificed. She stayed,
She is in a fair country
With much water.
REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Linguistica, by R. L. Turner


The study of loanwords and the paths which they have followed can never fail to be interesting; for they reflect more clearly than any other linguistic phenomena the everchanging relations which have existed between the nations. Moreover, from the purely linguistic point of view, their study deserves more attention; for loanwords play an immense part in the formation of the vocabulary of all languages. We therefore greet with pleasure the publication of this etymological dictionary of loanwords by Dr. Lokotsch.

The classic ‘Hobson-Jobson’ for the history of words of Anglo-Indian and other Eastern origin is a model for works of this kind; and there are other similar books for other languages. But this is the first, and much needed, attempt to collect all the material into one volume.

There are two open roads by which oriental words have poured into Europe—one in the west through Spain, the other in the east through Turkey and the Balkans. For each Arabic has been the main source, backed in the latter case especially by that other great language of Islamic culture, Persian. The languages of Islam have occupied a strategic position in this respect, and their vocabularies have invaded not only Europe, but also India and the Middle East. Anyone familiar with the Arabic and Persian loanwords in the Indo-Aryan languages will find from a study of this dictionary great numbers of the same words borrowed by Rumanian and the Slav languages of Eastern Europe. The study of these might lead to interesting conclusions as to why certain words or types of words are more prone to borrowing than others.

A few such words, of wide extent on both sides, may be quoted:— from Arabic: dukkān, fāʾida, fulān, furṣa, ḥakk, harām, marg, naʿl, nakd, riṣwa, sāʿis, sandūk, tannūr; from Persian: dušman, farman, jigar, xān, xarbus, hazār, xūb, yād, laš, nišān, pahlavān, panja, tarāzū, zōr.

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This tendency manifested by speakers of different languages to borrow the same words from another language with which they come into contact was well illustrated during the War in the Near East, where not seldom I have heard, for example, Gurkhas, in trying to communicate with British Territorials, use Arabic loanwords such as *igri, imshi, mafish,* etc., as being common to both their vocabularies.

But for borrowing of Oriental words by European languages there have been other channels also. Those borrowed early enough to enter Latin have, of course, the widest extension. But many others, too, are fairly widely distributed. In making too free use, however, of Hobson-Jobson for English, Dr. L. has included a number of words which might well have been omitted. For words like *benamee, abbary, ag-boat, garry, hulwa,* and many others can scarcely be called English: even those useful words *cutcha* and *pucka* the Anglo-Indian too often to his dismay finds unintelligible to the inhabitants of England.

Dr. L. appears to be on his surest ground with words of Semitic origin. With Indian words he makes many mistakes, both large and small. It is a pity that he did not call in the aid of a specialist in this field. A few may be corrected here.

*gāri* in *āg-gāri* and *palkeegarry* not from Eng. *car,* but Hindi *gārī.* *burr-tree 'banian' not from Hi. *ber,* but Hi. *bar.* For *jute* there is no Skt. *jat,* nor Hi. *jhuta,* but there is Oriya *jhuta,* as correctly given in Hobson-Jobson. *kōlikōdi* is not Hi., but Tamil. Skt. for 100,000 is not *lāksā* but *lakṣa.* Marathi *modachi* should be *modāṭi.* Hi. *pahāriyā 'hill-man' has nothing to do with Tam. *parai,* but is derived from *pahār 'mountain.* *pargana 'district' is not from Skt. *pragaṇayati 'counts,'* but from Pers. What is Skt. *saniprija,* or Indian *saravara* which is derived from Zend *craona!*

Mistakes of detail in Sanskrit words are frequent. Although words are here usually quoted in stem-form, Dr. L. gives the nominative in *kāsmiras, nilas, aṇvas.* The latter shows his confusion between the symbols ę and s; while in *sṛngavēra* he writes ś for s, and in *sankha s* for s. *mahārājā* and *yogīn* are given wrong terminations. In *jangala* (for *jangala)* j is used for ṣ, and not as elsewhere for y: the same confusion in 956, 963. In Hi. *nach* (for *nāc)* ch is used for c.

Perhaps for these reasons the Indian languages, including Sanskrit, were not included in the index, a serious omission.

Some derivations are doubtful. Any connexion between *khoprā 'dried coco-nut' and khapnā 'to be destroyed' is extremely unlikely.
The derivation of Skt. nīlas < *nīhras = Lat. niger < *nīhrus is astonishing in every aspect. Rumanian nene 'word of address to an elder brother' is as likely a word of independent nursery origin as a loan through Turkish of Pers. nēnē 'mother'.

It is to be hoped that in a second edition all this material will be worked over again, and the book made more worthy of the accurate scholarship expected from this series and of the undoubted diligence and wide reading of its author.

R. L. T.

**Die Ossetischen Lehnwörter im Ungarischen.** By Hannes Sköld. (Lunds Universitets Arsskrift I, xx, 4.) pp. 114, 6 f. × 10. Lund, Gleerup, and Leipzig, Harrassowitz, 1925. 3 kr. 50 öre.

No book could better than this illustrate what was said above of the wide interests—linguistic, philological, cultural and historical—attaching to the study of loanwords. And no study of such words has been carried out better than this of Dr. Sköld’s. It was already known that Hungarian contained Iranian, and in particular Ossetic, loanwords. The suggestion was apparently made first by the great Danish linguist, Vilhelm Thomsen, to whose memory Dr. S. does homage. Much material had been collected by Munkácsi. But the material thus assembled required detailed and scientific study. This it has received from Dr. S., who has already written on loanwords.

The words are considered in every aspect: their phonetic form, the categories to which they belong, the particular Ossetic dialect from which they were taken, the region in which, and the date at which, the Hungarians and the speakers of this dialect were in contact. The results are admirably summed up in the last chapter:—

1. Dialectical differences within Ossetic were already well-marked at the time of contact between the two nations.

2. Ossetic loanwords in Hungarian are taken from the Tagaurian (or eastern) dialect.

3. The phonetic position of Hungarian when in contact with the Ossetes was much the same as when in contact with the Čuvases (Volga-Bulgars); but the contact with the former was probably a little earlier, about the period A.D. 725–775.

4. The geographical position of contact was the region between the Volga, the Don, and the Caucasus.
(5) Ossetic loanwords in other Finno-Ugrian languages passed through Hungarian.

(6) At the time of these borrowings there were no longer close relations between Volga-Finnish and Baltic-Finnish.

(7) The Čuvases and Ossetes were not neighbours, and the Hungarians did not occupy a position between them, but were brought by a new migration from the neighbourhood of the former to that of the latter.

(8) Certain sound-changes hitherto considered as 'gemein-ossetisch' occurred in Ossetic after the contact with the Hungarians, and must therefore be ascribed to parallel development of the two dialects.

This last conclusion is of importance in general linguistics, for we probably often ascribe to the period of community sound-changes actually due, like this, to subsequent parallel development.

Another point of importance for linguists, which is continually emerging, is the regularity of the phonetic form in which the words are borrowed. This regularity is much more likely to be pronounced when the two peoples concerned are illiterate and have been in contact for only a short while. As Dr. T. G. Bailey's lists recently published in this Bulletin prove, loanwords from English in Indian languages are far less likely to exhibit this regularity: for here the channels by which they have entered the native languages are very diverse, on both sides, the borrowers being of every sort from illiterate peasants to men who read and speak English as well as their own language, and the English from which they borrow that of the cultured official as well as the various dialects of the British Army. Probably then here also all seeming irregularities have their special explanation.

To students of Iranian, of 'Scythian' culture, of Hungarian and Finno-Ugrian in general, Dr. L.'s work is of capital value; and to linguists in general it should serve as a model for studies of loanwords.

R. L. T.

INDO-URALISCH. By HANNES SKÖLD. pp. 16. 1926.

In this most interesting paper Dr. Sköld carries us back to a far greater antiquity than in the previous book. For he is persuaded of the truth of Wklund's conclusion: "Es scheint mir aber schon jetzt ganz unzweifelhaft, dass die antwort auf unsere frage nur in einer richtung gehen kann: die indogermanischen und die finnisch-ugrischen sprachen sind urverwandt'—with this addition, that for
‘finnisch-ugrisch’ he would say ‘uralisch’. For in his comparison he includes Samoyede. Such a community, if it existed, must be put back far beyond even the Boghazkoi period (1500–1300 B.C.). At that time the language may have developed few of the traits that characterize the Indo-European or the Finno-Ugrian we know by comparison of their descendants. Moreover, the number of words of the original vocabulary to be recognized in both families must necessarily be small. Indeed, Dr. S. deals with sixteen only. But these he treats in a scientific fashion, in strong contrast to the thoroughly unscientific methods which have properly brought many such speculations into disrepute. For, as Meillet teaches, the criterion of proof must remain the same: all that will have happened, if the proof succeeds, will be that a new comparative grammar is superimposed upon the comparative grammar of Indo-European, as that in its turn is superimposed on the comparative grammar of Romance, or of Indo-Aryan or of any of its other branches.

Thus Dr. S. is right first in attempting to establish equations of sound between the two families and secondly in rejecting as suspect any comparisons which do not agree with these equations. Because I.E. *dh* appears as Ur. *t* in *wedh-* *nedh-* co Finnish vetä- nito-, he rejects the comparison I.E. *medh-* co *mesi* (gen. *meden*) which he looks upon as an early loanword, either one from the other or both from a third source. But to show that both families possess a certain number of words in common (even when these include such words as the I.E. pronouns *ke'em*, *so*, *to*, *yo*) is not sufficient. They may be loans (in which however we might still expect to find regular sound-equations, as noted above). These must be supported by comparison of grammatical particularities: it is the comparison of these which proves conclusively the common origin of the I.E. languages, including Pseudo-hittite. But here the Indo-uralian comparativist is in difficulty: for many, if not most, of the grammatical particularities of I.E. must have been evolved after the period of the supposed Indo-uralian community. Nevertheless Dr. S. stresses the possibility that in the -*n* genitive of Uralian we have a connexion with the typically I.E. heteroclitic declension of *r*-stems, which so strikingly emerged in Pseudo-hittite (of the type nom. acc. vādar 'water', gen. *vedenas*, dat. loc. *vedeni*, etc.).

The author does not claim that the case is proved; but he does claim, and rightly, that it is a case for further investigation.

R. L. T.

No work by Professor Hirt can fail to stimulate thought. The Indogermanische Grammatik is no exception. Even if some of his theories are based on insufficient evidence, their enunciation is sure to lead scholars into new and profitable paths. But that very personal quality, which beyond all else makes Hirt’s books so refreshing to read, is not so well fitted for a manual. And to this defect must be added the carelessness which often mars the book. Printer’s errors appear on almost every page, and in a work like this which will be read by many not well acquainted with many of the languages quoted the results of such mistakes may be far-reaching. Thus on one page (III, 46) ‘mēdhām ... mēd-has’ for ‘mēdhām ... mēdh-as’; (III, 89) ‘dṛṣī-k-am ... tru-am’ for ‘dṛṣī-k-am ... tru-am’; (III, 58) ‘bhumā ... cārmān’ for ‘bhumā ... cārmān’. Sometimes the mistakes can hardly be those of the printer: sakthi (for sakthi) repeated by sakthan (for sakthan). In Sanskrit, where accuracy might especially be expected, strange forms appear like rājās for rājā; in the Skt. version of the Lord’s Prayer (I, 73) we have tavā for tava, vayaśca for vaya ca, kṣamasja for kṣamasva, and duraśmata for duraśmatāyā (†). There are many inconsistencies, e.g. in the marking of long vowels in Latin, or the accent in Vedic words. In a work so full of new theories, one might reasonably expect greater care in exhausting possibilities before a choice is made. Thus in trying to establish the disappearance of I.E. s before certain consonants H. quotes Skt. uṣām beside uṣāsam; but the former, which is an isolated form, may well be a new analogical creation after the type panthāḥ panthāṃ.

But these are drawbacks which we must accept as philosophically as possible; and which we must not let obscure the genius of Hirt’s work: for genius, indeed, it contains. But let those who are not ‘Hirts’ take warning. For such inaccuracies in a work of less genius might well be damning.

It is impossible to follow here all Hirt’s expositions and theories: for few writers could put so much into less than a thousand octavo pages. One point may, however, be mentioned in connexion with
questions already raised in this series of reviews, the ultimate community of origin of I.E. with other language-families. It is not with I.E. as we know it by immediate comparison of the separate I.E. languages with which Semitic or Finno-Ugrian or Sumerian must be compared, but with Pre-indo-european, out of which Indo-European subsequently developed. And in many ways this work is a grammar of Pre-I.E. For Hirt, more than any other, has dived into the pre-history of I.E., in his attempts to elucidate the origin of I.E. sounds (especially of the vowels, on which he has shed so much light) and of I.E. forms. His vision opens a vista of possibilities for the future.

R. L. T.


The regard in which Shams-ul-ullema Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana is held by students of Iranian philology and of Zoroastrianism is proved by the contributions to this volume, published in his honour. Scholars from India, from Europe, from America have united to pay tribute to the son who in the monumental edition of the Dinkard has so worthily maintained and increased the fame of his father. There are collected here some twenty-nine articles, which deal with various aspects—religious, cultural, philological, and linguistic—of Zoroastrianism and the language of its scriptures. They are of varying worth; but some are notable. Two are translations from the German, one of which—Zarathustra: his life and doctrine, by C. Bartholomae—has appeared before in Akademische Rede; in the other K. Geldner shows conclusively that zaotar- in Yasna ii, 1 means 'he who sacrifices or who ought to sacrifice', correlating it thus with Skt. hótā-.

It might perhaps have been made a little clearer that the form of the latter if connected with hāyati 'calls' (and not, as it actually is, with juhāți) would have been *hāvitr- (cf. hāviman- 'invocation').

It is impossible to notice here all the articles. But among the many interesting, two have especial interest for linguists. A. V. Williams-Jackson gives the meaning 'snarling' to the hitherto enigmatic epithet of the camel (Yt. 14, 11) urvatō, which he derives from *ruvatō as gen. sg. of a pres. part. (cf. Skt. ruvānt-). The epithet indeed seems apt to one who has tried to lead a convoy of many
hundreds of these animals by night across the Sinai desert. The same scholar relinquishes his translation of Old Persian usabārīm (Bh. 1, 86–7) as ‘borne on buffaloes’ on the ground that at the time of Darius’ crossing of the Tigris the water-buffalo had not been introduced, and agrees instead to the restoration us[t]ra-bārīm ‘camel-borne’.

In the other H. Reichelt shows that the endings -iš -uš of certain n and u stems are ghost-terminations due to wrong reading of the original Aramaic text: thus, e.g., n’meyš (nāmuviš for nāmaviš) was read as nāmēniš (v having been taken as n, as in hunaiti for huvaiti = Skt. svāti).

R. G. Kent draws attention to the dat. sg. of the 1st pers. pron. in the Gāthās—maibyā. But his discussion does not add much to our knowledge of the history of the forms of this pronoun. His suggestion that the unaspirated form of I.E. *eigham in Gk. ἔγω, etc., is due to contamination with *ge in Gk. ἔμεγε, etc., is worth considering. But if -go- is a deictic particle, why not also -go-, which of course may exist in Slav. -go? The two forms may have therefore existed side by side from the beginning. But that only removes the problem one stage: what is the relationship of *gho- : *go and *ge (Gk. γε): *ghe (Skt. ha)? In other words he neglects the fact that they are many instances of-alternation between aspirate and unaspirated in I.E. His explanation of *eigham as a neuter noun meaning ‘this-here-ness’ is quite at variance with Meillet’s doctrine of gender in I.E.

R. L. T.

INDOIRANICA. By J. Wackernagel. (Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung, Bd. 55, pp. 104–10.) Goettingen : Vandenhoeck und Rupprecht.

Two of those studies from the pen of the master which make all his disciples long for the completion of his Grammar of Sanskrit. May that day be near.

There is no convincing evidence for the existence of a nom. pánthā beside pánthāḥ, which is attested also in AV. Acc. pánthānām (like Av. pantānam) replaced pánthām through influence of ḍāhēvan- which is almost synonym of pánthā-. So, too, mahāṃt- is due to contamination of mahā- and bhānt-. It may be of interest to note that in its further history pánthāḥ has preserved its gender at the expense of its form:
Panj. *pandh*, Si. *pandhu* m. (< *pantho*). In another area the form *panthā* has perhaps influenced the word which has replaced it: *vārtma* n., which appears in Guj. *vāṭ*, Hi. *bāṭ*, etc., as a fem., whereas neuters in -an- usually appear as neut. in Guj., and masc. in Hi. (e.g. Skt. *kārma nāma* > Guj. *kām nām* n., Hi. *kām nāū* m., Skt. *cārma* > Guj. *cām* n.). Only in Kumaoni and Nepali, which have certain relations with the N.W. group where *panthāḥ* preserves its gender, do we find *bāto* as a masc. (But Nep. also keeps the gender of certain masc. stems in -i, as āgo ‘fire’ opp. to Hi., etc., āgī f.)

The second study shows that *ekatya-* (whence Pali *ekaccu-*) is a parallel form of *ekatiya-*. Suffix -īya- (as also in *mukhatiya-*) is characteristic of ordinals, *dvitiya-, tṛtiya-*. But these also have forms with -tya-.

R. L. T.

AN ETYMOLOGICAL VOCABULARY OF PASHTO. BY G. MORGENSTIERNE.
(Skrifter utgitt av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo.) pp. 120, 7 × 10³. Oslo : Dybwad, 1927.

A year ago the hope was expressed in these pages that we should soon see more results in detail of Dr. Morgenstierne’s mission in Afghanistan, the firstfruits of which appeared in his ‘Report’. That expectation has been fully justified.

This etymological vocabulary is dedicated to Professor Geiger, who more than thirty years ago laid the firm foundations of the study of Pashto etymology and phonetics. But in thirty years much new knowledge of Iranian has come to light. In the domain of Pashto itself M.’s study of dialects is probably the greatest contribution. It was thus time for revising and supplementing Geiger’s work. The importance of etymology in linguistic science is capital. Without sure etymologies we cannot establish the formulas of sound-change; without establishing the formulas of sound-change there can be no science of comparative or historical grammar. Hence especial attention may be drawn to the strictness of M.’s method. The development of sounds is open to comparatively strict control; to the development of meanings there seems to be almost no limitation. The uninitiated are sometimes sceptical; the expert is sometimes carried too far by his own enthusiasm. M.’s semantic comparisons from other languages will therefore be welcomed. It is perhaps possible to add
a few. The suggestion that γαραι ‘calf of leg’ may be the same as γαραι ‘coarse bread’ receives confirmation from the development in I.A. of Skt. pīṇḍa- ‘round lump, ball of rice’ in Rom. pinro ‘foot’, Tirahi ‘pōnde’, Nep. pīrulo ‘calf of leg’. For Ṽlo ‘flock of lambs’ < Av. hāta- co Skt. sātā- ‘won, wealth’, cf. Skt. dhāna- ‘prize, booty, wealth’ > Si. dhanu ‘herd’.

The difficulties of the Pashto etymologist are great. Phonetic development has taken place to a degree at which many words, from the phonetic (as well as the semasiological) standpoint, are susceptible of more than one derivation. M. quotes the example of wālai, in which w- can represent earlier w-, b-, haw-, or hab-; l- can represent -d-, -t-, or -θw- and the vowel a, au, or ai. The phonetic possibilities are thus almost unlimited.

To the Iranianist this book needs no recommendation: it is indispensable to him. To the Indianist three considerations make it of vital interest. The first—the original connexion of Indian with Iranian—needs no elaboration. The second is the mutual influences of Iranian and Indian after their differentiation. This has probably been profound. Tedesco has shown how certain isoglosses (chiefly semasiological) run through both N.W. Indo-Aryan and adjacent Iranian. This book furnishes further examples: wana ‘tree’ (co Skt. vīna-) has the same meaning in Si. wanu, but becomes ‘forest’ further to the East (e.g. Hi. ban).

Although the predominant outside influence on Pashto has been exercised by Persian, its position and its relations, at times intimate, with India have led to much borrowing from I.A. in early as well as modern times. The early borrowings are of considerable phonetic interest to the Indianist: e.g. laśta (as in Hi. lāṭhi, etc.) in which we have possibly contamination of Skt. yaṣṭi- and lakuṭa-. It may be possible to add a few more.


bram ‘power’, cf. Skt. brāhman-?
lār 'spittle', cf. Nep. lār, rāl, Hi. Ku. rāl, < Skt. lālā- (<śāḍā- ?).
roṣy 'in good health', cf. Skt. anaga-; anogi < ārogyam is very
common in the Khar. Doc. from Niya.
palaltai 'sitting cross-legged': also Lah. palatthī.
pōḥ 'aware', cf. Skt. prabudh- 'watchful' (prābudyate in Sgh.
pobudinu 'to wake up').
vrī 'expanded', lw. from *vi-tṛta-, cf. Skt. vi-stṛta-?
vīśta 'unit of square measure': or lw. from Skt. viśasti- in Si.
vithi, Sgh. viyat ?
vrīt 'open, ajar': lw. from Skt. viktā- 'separated'?
zambol 'to blink': there is a large family of words in I.A.
expressing 'rapid motion' from *jhamma-, as in Nep. jhamma
'altogether', jhamjham 'in torrents', jhamjhamānu 'to tingle',
jhamkanu 'to shine', jhamtanu 'to spring', as well as from *jampa-,
*jhappa-.
ār 'hindrance': Indian has both *aḍa- (Si. ərənə 'to stick'),
*āḍa- (Ass. ārība 'to suspend', Hi. ārnā), and *aḍa- (<*aḍya-?
Kash. əjən, Si. ajənu, Nep. arənə).
``
drabol 'to press down': direct borrowing from Indian (cf. Si.
dabənu, Hi. dabnā, etc.) is doubtful, because Si. dabənu, Lah. dabban,
Kash. dabun, Rom. dab point to *dabb-, not *darb- or *drabb- (as
suggested by M.).
``

The following further suggestions are offered with diffidence by
one who is no expert in Iranian phonology.

ūţd 'long': < Indo-Ir. *byṣḍha-, rather than Av. boro-. Cf.
Pa. buddha- 'old' < Skt. *byḍha- (with ṭh for dh by analogy),
beside Skt. byḥant-.

ayēr 'indigestion': < *agṛta-, rather than *aḍṛta-. Cf. Skt.
ayjerna- 'indigestion'.

taṭstan < caṭstan: cf. corresponding assimilation in Skt. tiṣṭhati >
Pkt. citsṭhā (attested in Kalasha ciṣṭim, Sgh. hiṣṭin (is Pashai tōstik
a further dissimilation ?).

cāra 'knife' < *kartyā: cf. Shina kācji 'scissors' < *karyā?

yarna 'sun': as in Rom. kham, Nep. ghām, etc. < Skt. gharmā-.
yara 'proud': cf. Skt. garva-?

lwarḍol 'to be cleft' < *ni-bard-: the modern languages show
the Skt. form to be vardh-, not bardh-.

taryalara 'pearl': cf. also Skt. marakata-.

taṭśējol 'to squeeze, wring': can this be connected with Skt.
niṣcotayati 'causes to drip', which survives in Si. nicoiṇu, Guj.
nicovvū 'to squeeze out', and with extension -da- in Hi. nicornā (cf. nicornā 'to ooze out'), Nep. nicornu, etc.

num 'navel'; Shirani numī '90': cf. similar nasalization of -v. (> -v- > -m-) in several I.A. dialects: Garvi num, Kash. nam, Sgh. nama '9'; Kash. namat '90'.

niyūṣ 'flood': prob. with M. < *ni-yauza-; but in view of Geiger's phonetically difficult *ni-vāza- (cf. Skt. ni-vah-), cf. Skt. nyū̀ḥ (i.e. niyū̀ḥ) ?

prānatsa 'to loosen': may there not be similar confusion of two roots *nedh- and *negh- in Skt. naddhā- and nāhyati (for -h- < -dh- in this word would be irregular)?

puṣṭa 'rib': unnecessary for Geiger to reject Darmstetter's derivation < Av. parśi- 'back' in favour of Skt. prṛṣṭi- 'rib'. Are not these two words the same, both (as well as Skt. prṛṣṭā- and Av. parṣa-) being extensions of *perk- in Skt. pārśu-, Av. pārṣu-? Apart from the extraordinary fluidity in the nomenclature of body-parts, this development of meaning appears natural: cf. also Skt. prṛṣṭi-vāh- (prob. 'carrying on the back').

puṣṭedol 'to ask': or denominative from past part. *prṛṣṭa-?

(prṛṣṭa-)warqa 'kidney' < *warkā- < wṛtkā-. M. points out that assimilation of tk > kk must be older than rt > r. In this particular word assimilation of tk took place also in I.A. inexplicably early: Skt. vṛktāu. Phonetic irregularity, or deformation, in the name of a body-part?

war 'scab': can this be < *wṛ-ta-? Cf. Skt. vṛṇā- (vr-ana-?), Lat. vulnus, according to Walde (s.v.) from *wel- 'tear'. This also in Skt. vṛṣcāti (< *wṛl-sqē-? — or < *wṛl-k-sqē-, enlargement with -ek- as in vṛk-nā-?).

Lastly it is noteworthy that the same class of words seem to present phonetic irregularities or difficulties in more than one language: e.g. layar 'naked', if < *nagna- (Av. mayna- with m-!). So beside Skt. nagnā-, Hi. nāgā, etc., Kash. has non* with unexpected -n- < -gn-. The phonetic difficulties and confusions of the Ir. word for 'throat, neck' are paralleled in I.A., where we find Skt. kaṇṭhā- (etym. ?— cf. Syr. Rom. kand, Mar. kāṭhē, etc.), Skt. ghantikā (etym. ?—cf. Guj. ghāṭī, etc.); Skt. ghāṭā (etym. ?—cf. Hi. ghār, etc.); Skt. skandhā- 'shoulder' (cf. Si. kandhu 'neck'); Skt. gātra- 'body' (cf. Si. gātru 'neck'; *gāṭṭa- in Panj. gāṭṭā, Si. gāto 'nape'); and finally Sh. sōṭū, Kash. hoṭsa* 'throat' (< *sṛāṭta-?).

R. L. T.

Attention has already been called to the urgent need for recording more fully some of the Dardic dialects of Indo-Aryan before they die out. The need is scarcely less urgent of doing the same for certain of the Iranian dialects in or near the borders of India. Shughni, one of the Ghaleah group, north of the Hindu Kush, is rapidly being overrun by Persian. In a letter quoted by the author of these notes, J. Barthoux, head of the French Scientific Mission in Afghanistan, who visited Badakhshan in 1926, wrote: "Les interprétations qui s’accentuent chaque année, de plus en plus, vont susciter des contaminations et submerger les langues autochtones." It is good, therefore, that Dr. Morgenstierne during his own linguistic mission in Afghanistan should have been able to collect some Shughni material. With this he has included what has been collected by others. W. Geiger, in Gr. ir. Ph. i, 2, has treated of the phonology. But M. adds a number of details. The existence of š, of various origin, but 'prob. pronounced with the tongue retroverted', is of interest when compared with the development of Indo-Ir. s to š in Sanskrit, through contact with which arose the cerebral plosives properly belonging to Sanskrit.

The phonological notes are followed by a vocabulary of about 900 words, with important etymological indications. About half these words are shown to be loans from Persian. Two short texts form a useful appendix.

A few notes: If 'an early insertion of n has saved the d' in mënđ 'waist-band', why not also in mësδ < Av. maïδya-? It would be interesting to know whether the other dialects generally have both forms. The special liability of certain words to be borrowed requires further investigation: thus here mut 'fist' is noted as a loan, just as mustak must be in Shina.

The change of θr > c (i.e. ts: e.g. puc 'son') is parallel with that of Shina tr > ç; while nust 'sat down' < *ni-hasta- beside Sarikoli nälüst < phonetically regular *ni-sasta- is paralleled in Dardic by Kalasha nisäm 'I sit' < *nisëdami, not nis-. pešc- 'to ask' points to Ir.*prš-ça-, which M. says he cannot explain. Is it possible that this represents I.E. *pr̥k-sge-, while Av. porsa- < *pr̥k-ške-? If so, it forms an important parallel with the forms of Balt.-Slav. which, according to Brugmann (Grundriss, II, iii, p. 351), have -sqo- : Lith. jėškau, O.Sl. isku 'I seek' < *is-sq/-. beside Av. isaiti < *is-sk/-.

R. L. T.

A very interesting study on scientific lines, and the forerunner of others, it may be hoped, to appear in the same series. We hope, too, that the author himself will write more fully on Malayalam phonetics than the limits of this little brochure permitted. For there are several points which more information might illuminate. Thus, though no word ends in a plosive, words do end with the voiced continuants [n], [n], [j], [r], [l], [l], [l], [l], [m]; or the same words may be pronounced with a following (ə). But under what conditions?

The student of Indo-Aryan is struck by the great difference between the phonetic system of Malayalam and of I.A. in general: there are no voiced or unvoiced aspirates; there are no unexploded stops (the reproduction of unexploded final -t in Skt. loanwords as -l is interesting); there are three series of t-sounds, retroverted [t], alveolar [t], and dental [t]. Neither [t] nor [t] appear initially, although in later I.A. initial cerebrals become common.

A few points need correction. Sanskrit a was not [a], but at an early date had become [a] or at least was differentiated from [a:] in the direction of [a]. The word-stress in English is not necessarily on the initial (e.g. for’bid, al’low, etc., etc.), although this is a mistake frequently made by Indian speakers of English; nor is it in German.

R. L. T.


In this brilliant study Przyluski continues his research into the pre-Aryan population of India, and the reactions of their language on Indo-Aryan. Discoveries at Harappa and Mohen-jo-Daro disclose the existence of considerable civilizations in the Indus Valley. To help bridge the interval between these and that of which we have cognizance in the Vedic hymns, P. has studied certain facts about the ancient peoples of the Panjab, and in particular the Udumbaras, whose prosperity is attested by many finds of coins dating before the Christian era.

Madra (with its variants Malla, Māla, Mālava, Madda, and Maddava) is another form of Bhadra. They are names of the same
or adjacent peoples. But P. gives no full explanation of or parallel for the interchange of bh/m. Is the original *mhallā- > bhallā-? cf. Skt. mahīṣṭ > *mhaīṣṭi > Hi. bhaīṣ, etc.? Madra and Bhadra are learned Sanskritizations of Malla and Bhalla: cf. the existence of pairs like bhallā- alla- in the popular language (< *bhadla-, *ārdla-) beside bhadrā- and ādrā- in the learned. Bhalla > *bahlā- (by a change analogous with that which produced W.Pah. gōḥro < ghotaka-: but it must be remembered that we have no evidence of the antiquity of this latter): bāhlika- may then be derived from bhallā-; and Bhallika- was the name of a celebrated caravan leader. The Bahlikas were probably an Iranian or iranianized tribe.

These identifications, though tempting, are not too strong on the phonetic side. With the Udumberas P. seems on surer ground. The textile stuffs known in Pali as koṭumbera- or koḍumbera-, in Skt. as koṭambaka-, came probably from a country in the Sub-himalayan zone. Disappearance of initial k- (> kh > h) is characteristic of certain Austro-asian languages. koḍumbera- and koṭ may thus form a pair (Skt. *kudumbara-: udumbera- and udumbera-). ku- or ka- is a widespread Austro-as. prefix. The root is *tumba ‘gourd or cucumber’, borrowed in various dialectical forms in Indo-Aryan (type Skt. tumba-, lābu-, which correspond with Batak tabu, Malay labu). The name for ‘gourd’ was transferred to the Ficus glomerata owing to likeness in shape and in multiplicity of seeds. In the South Seas the names of peoples are frequently taken from those of vegetables, and several Austro-as. peoples trace their origin to a gourd or melon. In India Sumati, wife of Sagara, gave birth to a gourd whence came 60,000 sons. If then udumbera- is of Austro-as. origin, it may well be the name both of the Ficus glomerata and of a people. These are situated both in the Sub-himalayan zone and in Kach (Pliny’s Odonbeores). The Dravidians, found in Baluchistan (Brahui) and south of the Vindhyas, originally may have extended over the Panjab, whence they were driven by the Austro-asian speaking peoples. Later the Aryan invasion divided the latter into two. Evidence of their cultural importance is seen in loanwords in the West. The hesitation between b and p in Lat. carbasus and Gk. κάρπασος is not explained by Skt. karpāśa-, but may be explained by common borrowing (directly or through intermediaries) from Austro-as. in which the word for cotton contained a half-voiced labial.

Indo-Aryan is unique among I.E. languages in maintaining the voiced aspirates. This would be explained by an Austro-as. sub-
stratum: for the aspirates of Austro-as. are remarkable for their force and duration, and include voiced aspirates.

These conclusions reached by the author’s keen insight, are supported by a wealth of evidence, of which some may not be convincing in itself, but of which the cumulative effect is strong. Whatever may have to be altered or added to in the future, P. has written the beginnings of a most fascinating chapter in Indian history.

P. has offered an explanation of the name of the widespread caste of Doms (Skt. domba-) in the gourd from which various musical instruments are made. The examination of other modern caste or tribal names would be fruitful. I have elsewhere (Nature, May, 1928) suggested the study of Skt. odra-, which appears in all I.A. and some Dravidian languages either as the name of a tribe (the aboriginal inhabitants of Orissa) or of a caste of mud-workers. The archaic form in Sindhi odru suggests early contact between Aryans and Odras. Were they, too, an Austro-as. people in the Panjab?

R. L. T.


The author establishes and comments on the geographical equation Dantapura= Dantakūra- or Dandagoura (Ptolemy) = Paloura. The purely Aryan name is translated by the mixed Danta-kura- or the purely un-Aryan Paloura. pal- ‘ivory’ (= danta-) may be either Dravidian (= ivory) or Austro-asian (= tooth). kūra-, gūra-, ār- has connexions in Austro-as. (Munda *katū, Indonesian kata), eventually connected with a root meaning ‘enclose’. This has a parallel in Sumerian gar g’ar ‘enclose, assemble’, kar ‘wall’. The initial equation is probable; the later comparisons are possible, but as yet they lack the exact equivalence of phonetic particularities without which no etymology can be held proved.

R. L. T.

PRAKRITIC AND NON-ARYAN STRATA IN THE VOCABULARY OF SANSKRIT. By A. C. Woolner. (Extract from Sir Ashutosh Mukherji Memorial Volume.) pp. 7, 64 x 93. Patna, 1926.

Principal Woolner has written a suggestive article on the non-Indo-European vocabulary of Sanskrit and its descendants. He has contented himself with making some interesting lists of Sanskrit words, which are without known or sure etymologies, but which seem
to have at least some connexion among themselves, betraying perhaps
a common source of borrowing. Sometimes perhaps the author
unnecessarily throws away an Indo-European etymology. He
rejects the I.E. origin of āṇḍā-, which I upheld in J R A S . 1924, p. 565,
namely its connexion with the family of words represented by O.Sl.
jevdro 'testicle'. To the argument there adduced I would now add
firstly the fact that without doubt there was an I.A. dialect in which
-ndr- > nd. To the probable comparison Skt. āṇḍā- co Gk. δέντρον,
we can add the certain derivation of Skt. caṇḍa- < caṇḍrā-, since
Sindhi has caṇḍro 'passionate', just as it has caṇḍru 'moon' <
caṇḍrā-. That āṇḍā- represents *āṇḍrā- appears to be proved beyond
doubt by the Kalasha ondruk 'egg'. How then are we to account
for the fact that in all other dialects which normally preserve nδr,
or change it to nδr (as Sindhi) or nd (as, e.g., the Central and Western
groups) only the form āṇḍā- appears (> Pkt. aṇḍa- > Class. Skt.
aṇḍa-)? In India, at least, the word for 'egg', perhaps from its
association with 'testicle', appears liable to replacement either by
borrowing from another dialect, or by a completely new word;
while the phonetically correct descendant of āṇḍā- is retained either
in a specialized sense or as meaning 'testicle'. In the second category
we have Kash. thūl ( 'the big' < sthūlā- ); Nep. phul ( 'the swollen' <
phullā-), but āṛ 'testicle'; W.Pah. kōci pinnī, rāmpūr pinnī ('the
little lump' < pindikā ); E.Suketi bāttī, Bilaspuri and Mandeali
battī ('the round' < varta-). To the first category belong Class.
Skt. aṇḍa- (not aṇḍa-) from Pkt. ; Hi. aṇḍā 'egg', āṛ 'testicle';
Bṛg. aṇḍā 'egg', āriyā 'male'; Guj. aṇḍ 'egg, āḍ 'testicle'. Shina
gil. hanē, koh. hanā, gur. hanō all have an irregular h-

Since, then, for whatever reason, many of the Mod. I.A. languages
show this avoidance of the phonetically correct form, we may perhaps
assume with some degree of probability that the Rigvedic dialect,
which normally retained nδr (e.g. caṇḍrā-) replaced *āṇḍrā- by the
form āṇḍā- from a dialect in which nδr > nd (from which also come
canda- and danda-).

But āṇḍā- is only one of many words of unknown or uncertain
etymology. Przyluski in an article already referred to has shown
that Austro-asiatic tribes maintained themselves in all probability
till a late period in the Panjub. Himself situated in the Panjub, it
is to be hoped that Principal Woolner will continue his study of the
non-Indo-European elements in Indo-Aryan.

R. L. T.
THE SO-CALLED TAKHT-I-BAHI INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 103. BY
STEN KONOW. (Epigraphia Indica, vol. xviii, pp. 261-82.)

The inscription is read by Professor Konow from a new estampage, and is most illuminatingly discussed from the historical as well as the more strictly epigraphical and linguistic standpoint. Several points of considerable linguistic interest emerge. In these problems the modern languages can often bring help or confirmation and should never be neglected. K. is undoubtedly right in his interpretation of pache as pākṣe, since the ch is written with the form corresponding to Skt. ks, not cch. And it is precisely in the N.W., in the so-called Dardic dialects, that the regular development of ks is cch, not kkh, as I shall show below in another review. Whether the form without the bar (< Skt. ks) should be transliterated ks is doubtful. I prefer the form used by Rapson, namely čh. Shina distinguished this sound to-day as a cerebral (retroverted) ch, as opposed to palatal ch (< Skt. cch, thū).

The identification of böy- in boilna with Ir. *baug.-’to save’ does not seem to me certain. Would -g- or -j- in an Ir. loanword have become -y-? In other words, was it borrowed early enough?

K. notes the tendency of Kharos̱thi Inscri. to replace Skt. ēr by ĝ. The reality of this is completely confirmed by Dardic and by Syrian Romani: Skt. ēr > Shina ĝ; and in Syr. Rom., in which Skt. ĝ > s, ēr (like orig. ĝ) > ĝ.

K. ascribes the value ž to jh in words like daįha < Skt. dāsa-. I have suggested the same value for the symbol transliterated by Rapson as ĝ in the Niya documents. Again, in certain of the N.W. dialects intervocalic -s- has regularly become ž, e.g. in Kohistani Shina (basódu < vasantá-). It is, however, noteworthy that those languages which, preserving intervocalic -s- or changing it to -h-, have voiced breathed consonants following a nasal, have changed ž or s after a nasal to j or jh: e.g. Sindhi vaṅju < Skt. vamśá-, haṅju < Skt. haimśā- (beside Shina anzu).

I cannot agree that ayasa represents ādyasya. Pkt. has no form aįja- < ādya-, because the expected phonetic form of the latter would be *ādiya-, which survives in Pali ādiya- beside more common ādika-: Pkt. has other derivatives, ādima- and ādiilla-. ādya- cannot become ayya- (i.e. ayya-); the comparison with uyyāna- < udyāna- is beside the point. For in this case we are dealing with the final unexploded consonant of a word ud. These final unexploded stops are assimilated to a following continuant, and so have a different development from
the same stops in the middle of a word, where the explosion was heard through the following continuant. The same holds good of final (unexploded) -s before an initial stop, and s + stop in the middle of a word. Thus in the middle of a word -ts-, -ts-, -dy- > ech, cch, jji; -sk- -sk- > kkh; st > tth; st > tth; sp > pph. But niś c- > nicc-, niś k- > nik-, niś t- > niitt-, ut ś- > uśś-, ut s- > uṣṣ-, ud y- > uyy-. This principle is confirmed by the fate of ut sthā- (Gimnara uṣṭānam) which in N.W. dialects appears as uṣt- (and in Romani uṣṭo ‘stood’) and so regularly in Hindi, etc., as uth-. I hope shortly to write more fully on this problem of sandhi and its apparent exceptions.

R. L. T.


An important study of Indo-Aryan isoglosses of form and meaning. The past tense of ‘give’ in Mod. I.A. represents three earlier forms *dita-, *dittā-, dinna-. The first, though not found in Skt., is I.E. *deto- (= Lat. datus); the second is Skt. dattā- influenced by *dita-, and the third has the frequent -na- suffix of roots ending in a dental. There are other forms *diddha-, *dihia- (crossed with laddha-, lahia-). The author carefully defines (with the help of L.S.I.) the area of each form; and draws therefrom important conclusions as to the dialectical position of Skt. and Pali: the former (with dattā-) belongs to N.W. group, which now has *dittā-, the latter to the S.W.-Central which has dinna-. These isoglosses are crossed by others concerning the word ‘take’. The distinction of labh- as ‘acquire’ in N.W.-W.-S. (and Skt.) and as ‘take’ in Central and E. is perhaps of I.E. date (Gk. λαμψάω has both). Where labh- means ‘acquire’, grabh- means ‘take’ (as in Skt.). They cross with dā-, nī-, ānī-. This brilliant essay shows what information with regard to dialect division (one of the crying needs of Indo-Aryan comparative grammar) can be gained from an intensive study of vocabulary.

From the study of these forms T. reaches the same conclusion with regard to the so-called ‘Outer Circle’ as the writer from a study of sounds: namely, that the resemblances of the Outer Circle are due to conservatism, and therefore indicate no peculiar connexion between them. The innovations of the centre spread outwards and so formed an inner group with innovations in common. Thus I have pointed out elsewhere that the conservation of -m- in, say, Shina and Singhalese argues no especially close connexion, but only a common origin.
It appears to me doubtful whether *dinh- (p. 361) in Mar. dinhalā, etc., rests upon dinna- + diha-. The exact history of M.I. -nn- is yet to be written: but there is no doubt that Pkt. -ṇṇ- often appears in Mod. I.A. as -ṇh-.

Sindhi pāto is not for *pato influenced by pres. stem pā- (p. 387), but is the phonetically regular descendant of Skt. prāpta-. Panj. Lah. and Si. all preserve a Skt. long vowel as long even before original consonant group (see Turner, Transactions of 2nd Oriental Congress, Calcutta, p. 493). In Sindhi the consonant group is in both cases simplified, in Lah. only if an original long preceded it: thus vēkh-, ākh-, etc. (p. 384), require no special explanation. This consideration supports T.'s important contention that *dītta- is old (being formed on Skt. dattā-), and not simply a modern form after other past partt. in M.I. -tt- (< Skt. -kt-, -tt-, -pt-) : for the vowel of kītā (beside dīttā) can only be explained from kia- > kī-, which makes kītā a modern form compared with dīttā.

gidho (p. 379) is analogical, rather than < *gṛbdha-.

Sindhi kayo (p. 385) is scarcely a N.W. form kata- < kṛtā-; for N.W. development of tt appears to be at. Rather kiyo influenced by pres. stem kar-.

Bhadrawahi thlā- (of which T. questions the origin) is probably Skt. prāp-. In Bhad. bhr > dhīl. It is characteristic of several Dardic and neighbouring dialects that tr and pr, dr and br, dhr and bhr develop in the same way. Gaw. has ṣl for tr and pr.

p. 360, para. 5, for 'Part. Pass.' read 'Part. Präs.'

R. L. T.

ÜBER EINE UNGEWÖHNLICHE VERTRETUNG VON ṣṇ IM MITTELINDISCHEN. By H. Jacobi. (Indogermanische Forschungen xlv, pp. 168-72.)

With Mar. viṭhu, etc., as a name of Viṣṇu, Professor Jacobi compares viṭhu- in Ap. and in the Mahāpurāṇa of the Digambara Puspadanta. So, too, Digambara has Naravai-viṭṭhi- for Bhoja-vṛṣṇi-. Similarly in Mahāpurāṇa tīṭha = tṛṣṇā. J. compares pronunciation of ṣṇ as ṣṭ in Skt. loanwords in Mod. I.A. and considers that these forms with th are descendants of popular pronunciation of loanwords with ṣṇ. In this connexion it should be recalled that the Śikṣās mention a pronunciation of ṣṇ as ṣṭṇ. If J. is right in ascribing this pronunciation to loanwords only, they must be older than the change ṣṭ > ṭh, which is carried through in Pali, and in the more E. inscriptions of Aśoka.
But is it necessarily a development in loanwords only? The group šn, like any other group in which one consonant is not definitely unexploded and the other exploded, is peculiarly liable to divergent development, and beside uh (and perhaps -s*n-) there may well have been a development -štν > št > ṭh. The Śikhā reference has been given. But much more important is the parallel, which J. has missed in the development of šm, sm, sm. These, too, become either šš, šs or mh (and mbh, perhaps mph) or šp, šp, sp > pph. And the Śikṣās similarly mention the pronunciation špm, špm, špm. In Asokan sm > sp, pph at Shahbazgarhi (-aspi < -asmin), Kalsi ([t]phā < tásmāt), Dauli and Jaugada (tuphe < *tuśme, aphe < asme), Pillar Edicts (tuphe), Rupnath (tupaka). In addition to the dialectical variation there is positional variation (e.g. -sm- in termination in most cases > -ss-). Similar development in Pkt. (Pischel, p. 216). The number of words containing these groups and surviving in Mod. I.A. is small: it is therefore impossible to trace the dialectical boundaries. But cf. Khowar ispa < asma-, grīṣp < grīṣmā-; possibly also Sgh. api 'we', topi 'you' (otherwise Geiger). There seems no need to assume the intermediate stage -sv- with Pischel for Pkt. (loc. cit.) and Morgenstierne for Khowar (Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan, p. 70); sm may pass to spm through failure to co-ordinate closure of lips and of nasal passage; so, too, šn > štn. One of my children for a short while reproduced the English group sn- as t-, before changing it, a little later, to voiceless n.

R. L. T.


Jules Bloch is the acknowledged master of the Comparative Grammar of Indo-Aryan; and all that he writes is illuminating. In the first article here he discusses the forms exhibited by the optative in Middle Indian before its final disappearance from Indo-Aryan conjugation. Especially interesting from the point of view of the modern languages, in which some verbal terminations are almost certainly derived from personal pronouns, is the explanation of the ending of the 1st sing. act. -eham (for Skt. -eyam) as containing the pronoun ahām. In the second article a satisfactory starting-point for the analogical formation of the precative is provided.

R. L. T.
La première personne du présent kačmīrī. By J. Bloch.
(Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris, xxviii 2, pp. 1–6.)

Kashmiri has two forms of the 1st sing. of the Old Present, -a for roots ending in a consonant (e.g. čal-a), -ma for roots ending in a vowel (e.g. di-ma). The author suggests this is due to varying treatment of -m- according as it follows a palatal or a guttural vowel: demi > *dem + -aʊ or -a subsequently added; callāmī > *calāu > cala. It is perhaps true, as B. points out with other examples, that ɑ tends to absorb a neighbouring nasal earlier than a palatal, although a high vowel may lose its nasalization earlier than a low vowel (e.g. Guj. -e < -ena, beside -ʊ < -akam). But in this case such an explanation is not, I think, necessary. Normally -m- is preserved in Kash., but as part of a termination (JRAS. 1927, p. 227 et seqq.) it may lose its occlusion. But elements which have a special development in a termination may nevertheless have the normal development, when the whole word consists of only two syllables, that is to say when the element in question shares the prominence of the root syllable: thus -n- which becomes -u- in Guj. in the body of the word, but loses its occlusion in terminations, is preserved in disyllabic tēna > ten(e); or the termination -assa-, which becomes-aha > -ā in Nep., etc., is preserved as -as in tāsya > tas (op. cit. p. 233). Thus it is probable that verbs of the type Pkt. demi (after which *paāmī, khāāmī, piāmī, etc., were changed to *pemī, *khemī, *pemī) would in Kash. preserve -m-, while those of the type callāmī would lose it.

B.’s explanation of the 1st plur. of the type Hi. -ē (in opposition to sg. -ū) as being -āmah influenced by the pronoun amhe is possible, especially in view of what was said above of the suffixation of personal pronouns. But another possibility cannot be neglected, namely that it represents the Skt. type -āmasi (op. cit. p. 236).

On p. 5 B. appears to suggest that in Poguli -th of 2nd plur. represents Skt. -tha- or -ta. This cannot be; and I have suggested another explanation (op. cit. p. 237).

Lastly he tentatively suggests that the -kh of 2nd sg. in Kash. (with which he compares Syr. Rom. -ek) may represent a treatment of -s < -sī. This seems on the face of it unlikely, as there does not appear to be any similar development in I.A., and in other cases such a final -s remains -s in Kash. and Syr. Rom. (e.g. Kash. kāpas < karpāsah, mās < māsah, wās < vāsāh, hās < hāsah, etc., and in a termination gen. sing. -as < -asa < -asya; Syr. Rom. gas < ghāsāh,
dīs < divasah, bīs < busam, mās < māsah, -ās < *-asa < -asya). I can, however, offer no other explanation, except that it may be a suffixed particle (cf. Pkt. kkhu, and the -k of 3rd sg. imperat. in Beng.).

R. L. T.


As before, all the articles, with the exception of a short epigraphical summary by Mr. S. Paranavitane, are from the pen of Mr. A. M. Hocart. There is one article of interest to linguists, a survey of the Indo-European kinship system. H. gives a very lucid summary of the three chief systems of kinship: (1) the Descriptive or Individual, as generally conceived of in W. Europe; (2) the Simple Classificatory or Collective in which 'no relationship is peculiar to one man, but every one of his kinsmen is related in exactly the same way to a whole set of people as to himself'; and (3) the Cross Cousin system (a variety of (2)) in which there are two groups—(a) those related through people of the same sex (in which the terms are applied as in the Simple Classificatory system) and (b) those related through people of opposite sex. In (3) therefore, while the same term is used for Ego's son as for brother's son, a different term is used for sister's son. H. suggests that the I.E. system was in the main the Individual, although there are perhaps traces of the Cross Cousin system as in Latin nepos 'grandson, nephew'. Within the I.A. branch of I.E. Singhalese (the only mod. I.A. language dealt with) shows the Cross Cousin system; but Skt. and for the most part Pa. are true to the I.E. type. The almost complete neglect of Keltic and, above all, Slavonic and Baltic (not to mention Armenian and Albanian) and the failure to compare Iranian with Skt. make the conclusions less reliable. A few smaller points. It is not quite correct to say that Sgh. nādāyā is from Skt. jñāti-, nā alone represents jñāti-, dāyā is prob. der. dā < jāti-. What exactly is the (presumably I.E.) 'root nepotiya'? The vowel quantities are marked inconsistently in Latin: e.g. mātēr (a slip for māter), but matertera.

R. L. T.
THE NAMES OF RELATIVES IN MODERN INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES.
By Baburam Sakseña. (Fourth Oriental Congress in India, pp. 475–514.) 1928.

This should be a fruitful field for research. As A. M. Hocart has shown, in the above-noticed article, at least one I.A. language, Singhalese, discloses a system of kinship-designation quite different from that of its parent Sanskrit; and the new system agrees generally with the Dravidian. And in this more detailed study of I.A. Mr. Baburam Sakseña has collected a considerable amount of valuable material, which would not otherwise be readily available for the student. But by confining his attention too closely to the form of the words and their phonological connexion with Sanskrit, the author has missed some data and conclusions of a wider social interest. Nevertheless there are a number of acute and interesting observations. There is a tendency to call relatives by names properly used by others in a different degree of kinship. Thus B. S. notes that, e.g., Hindi-speaking children sometimes call their mother bhaujī or bhābhī or cācī. Evidence for the influence of the Dravidian system of cross-cousin marriage is seen in Pkt. attā ‘mother-in-law’. This is probably Dravidian: Tamil attai ‘father’s sister’, as also in Mar. ātē, ātyā. The girl being married to her father’s sister’s son, her husband’s mother is also her paternal aunt. Further evidence for the influence of the Classificatory or Collective system is seen in the fact that the nephew’s wife and the niece’s husband are treated like the son’s wife and the daughter’s husband.

The author is weak in his knowledge of the relation of Sanskrit with I.E.1: pitṛyea- (although not recorded in Vedic) is almost certainly original and not a formation after bhṛtṛyea- (cf. Av. tūrya-, Gk. πατρως, etc.). yātṛ- has nothing to do with yā- ‘go’, but < *ỵṃṇṭeṛ-, of which other ablaut-forms appear in Lat. ianitrices, Gk. εἰνάτρεπες. Awadhi baccā is not < vatsaka- (although in suggesting this the author rightly notes the irregular loss of aspiration) but is either lw. from Pers. bačca, or is < Skt. āpataya-. The Panj. vaac supports the latter derivation. Oriya bhāi-bo is not < Skt. bhṛtṛvadhu-, but is a new Or. compound of bhāi and bo. bhātiṣā not < bhṛtṛjaka-, but bhṛtṛiṇa-. devara- is post-Vedic and replaced deva-. The reason that māmā,
sālā, sasur can be used as terms of abuse in Hindi is surely not only because a certain disrespect attaches to the bride's people, but also because these terms imply a certain extra-conjugal intimacy between the speaker and the daughter or sister of the person abused.

The article concludes with a detailed list of the names for sixty-five different relationships in Skt., Pkt., fourteen of the chief modern I.A. languages, and (very usefully) Tamil and Santali. It is a pity that Kashmiri was not included. Certainly a very useful collection. It is to be hoped that the author will continue his research in this direction.

R. L. T.


In this very interesting essay Sir George Grierson has raised some controversial points. For the origin of Pali \textit{acchati} (Bg. āchā, etc.) he has returned to Pischel's derivation from Skt. \textit{rechāti}, rejecting Lévi and Meillet's proposal of *es-ske-. An etymology however must be considered from two main view-points, meaning and phonology.

G. supports his derivation of \textit{acch}- 'be' from \textit{rechāti} 'goes' by quoting Eng. \textit{go = become}, Pers. \textit{sudan 'go, become'}, Hi. jānā 'go, become (esp. in the passive construction)'. The semasiological development should then be: go > become > be. If then \textit{acchati} is derived from \textit{rechāti} we may expect its earlier meaning to be 'becomes' rather than 'exists, is'. On the contrary, its meanings (Rhys Davids and Stede: \textit{Pali Dictionary}, p. 8) are 'sits, sits still, stays, remains, leaves alone, is, behaves, lives'. With a pres. part. it forms a continuative present (e.g. \textit{aggīṇ paricaranto acchatī}, D.A. i, 270). There is no instance quoted with the meaning 'becomes'. This meaning of 'remains, exists' as opposed to 'becomes' persists into the modern languages: Rom. \textit{aceł 'stays, waits, stops, sits, stands'}; Hi. āchnā 'to remain, stay, exist, be'; Nep. cha 'is, exists' opposed to the copulative \textit{ho < bhāvati} (e.g. \textit{pāṇi cha 'is there any water?': pāṇi ho 'is it water?'}). Guj. uses \textit{ačch-} for the present (properly a tense of continuative action), and \textit{bhū-} 'become' for the future (which may be a tense of momentary action). There appears to be no modern language in which \textit{ačch-} has the meaning 'become'. G. has attempted to overcome this semasiological difficulty by suggesting that in several cases what we call a present is in reality a past tense \textit{*acchita- 'has become'} > 'is'. Phonetically this appears possible in the case
of Kash. *chuḥ*, but not in any other language. Nevertheless G. argues that the presence of fem. forms differentiated from masc. forms argues derivation from the past part. Nep. is a typical case.

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
m. & f. & m. & f. \\
\text{chū} & & \text{chā} & \\
\text{chas} & \text{ches} & \text{chau} & \text{cheu} \\
\text{cha} & \text{che} & \text{chan} & \text{chin} \\
\end{array}
\]

This is obviously derived from the present.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{acchāmi} & \text{acchāma} \\
\text{acchasi} & \text{acchatha \(-o\)} \\
\text{acchati} & \text{acchanti} \\
\end{array}
\]

Yet on the strength of the fem. forms G. maintains this is derived from the participle *acchita*-: on the contrary, the fem. forms are due to the influence of the real participial tenses on the old present. The difference is plainly observable in the conjugation of the past tense proper (based on the Skt. past part.).

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
m. & f. & m. & f. \\
garyā & & garyā & \\
garis & & garyau & \\
garyo & gari & garyā & garin \\
\end{array}
\]

Similarly the ‘immutable’ *cha* of Banjari and Gujarati beside the regularly conjugated present is not a participial form, but the unstressed form of the present, like Nep. 3rd sg. *cha < *chai* (seen in the negative *chai-na*).

√*acch-* thus is seen to mean ‘remain, exist, be’, not ‘become’. Meaning therefore does not support derivation from *rechāti* ‘goes’.

What of sounds? Pa. *-cch-* and the *ch* of most of the modern languages (*s* of Mar. and As.) can represent Skt. *cch*. But there are two important exceptions. The first has been overlooked. The Kharoṣṭhī Documents of Niya have *hāchati* ‘is’. Whatever the explanation of *h-* (contamination with *hū- < bhū- ?*) this can scarcely be separated from our word. *cch* represents Skt. *kṣ*, never *cch* (see above, p. 130). Similarly in Kash. while *cch* appears to become *tsh*, *kṣ* becomes *ch*.

*yitshun* (ycchāti), *bhyot* (*učchista*), *krošh* (Deś. *kaccha*-), *gaṭshun* (gācchati), *pritshun* (prycchāti), *mīsh* (mlekchā*), *osh* (*accha*).

*ačhur* (*aksara*), *āčh* (*aksi*), *ičch* (*ṛkṣa*), *kach* (*kaksā*), *kōch* (*kuksi*), *chāp* (*kṣapate*), *char* (*kṣara*), *chāwun* (*kṣapayati*), *chōr* (*kṣara*), *chir* (*kṣira*), *chombun* (*kṣumbhati*), *dach* (*drākṣa*), *pach*
(paksā-), bochun (būbhukṣata), bēchun (bhikṣate), máchī (māksā), rachun (rākṣati), lcch (rūksā-), lach (lakṣā-), līch (likṣā), wuchun (vikṣate), hēchun (śīkṣati), chiwun (kṣība-).

The Kash. chuh therefore also implies an earlier form with kṣ. But the change of kṣ to some sort of cch-sound (cerebral ch in Shina) is not confined to the North-west: it is regular in Mar. with further development in common with original cch to s, š. Thus Mar. ās- may have had original kṣ. Moreover since the change of kṣ to cch (cch) or kkh was early, loanwords in one or other form are frequent and widespread: thus kṣura- is almost everywhere chur-, *kṣvāt '6' (cf. Av. xśvāś) is everywhere cha (Mar. sahā, Sgh. haya) except in part of the North-west group which retains Skt. sāt. Thus the āch- of Hi. and Bg. (both kkh- languages) may be a similar early loan from cch languages.

Since the root meaning seems to be not 'become' but 'remain, exist', I have elsewhere suggested as the origin of the word Skt. ākṣeti 'abides, dwells'. One difficulty remains. Pa. has not *accheti, but acchati. But the majority of verbs in -eti are from Skt. causatives in -ayati, and are thus transitives: there was therefore every chance for an intransitive like *accheti to be changed to acchati. To this there appears perhaps a parallel in Maharāṣṭri suṇaī, jaṇai beside Śaurasenī suṇedī, jaṇedī.

The necessity of finding a form with original kṣ rules out also the derivation from *es-ske-.

R. L. Turner.


The Črautasūtras of the Veda are among the most dreary portions of Sanskrit literature, but they are the essential foundation of our knowledge of the Vedic sacrifice, and all work on Vedic religion is impeded by the fact that so little in the way of translation of these texts has yet been accomplished. It is, therefore, very fortunate that the Fondation Universitaire has been able to render available the funds necessary for the printing of M. P. E. Dumont's treatise on the Āśvamedha, one of the most interesting and curious of the great Vedic offerings. The work gives, first, a complete exposition of the essential features of the sacrifice as set out in the texts of the White
Yajurveda, the Vājasanyāi Sanhitā, the Čatapatha Brāhmaṇa and the Kātyāyana Črautasūtra, and then adds a translation of book XX of the Apastamba Črautasūtra, Book XV of the Baudhāyana Črautasūtra, and of the fragments of the Vādhuḷa Črautasūtra published by Professor Caland in Acta Orientalia IV, thus giving a very full presentation of the ritual of the Black Yajurveda. Finally there is given a version of the relevant portions of the Āyvedhika-parvan of the Mahābhārata. The questions of more general interest regarding the character and purpose of the sacrifice and of parallel rites are briefly indicated in the Introduction, but are not treated at length, nor, indeed, unless a fresh theory can be brought forward, would much purpose be served by a review of these much discussed issues. On the other hand, it is most convenient to have so clear, accurate, and complete an exposition of the horse sacrifice, and M. Dumont is to be congratulated on the successful accomplishment of a task always difficult and often extremely tedious.

M. Dumont's renderings of the Sūtras are trustworthy, and doubt as to their correctness is seldom possible save where the text itself is doubtful, as is too often the case with the text of Baudhāyana, which Professor Caland had to edit from very unsatisfactory manuscript evidence. Sometimes help can be derived from the fragments of the Vādhuḷa Sūtra; thus in Baudhāyana, xv, 8, the word vyudacadhvam is undoubtedly given probability by the occurrence in the Vādhuḷa of apodacya. In Baudhāyana, xv, 14, again ārohaṇamahānasāni is hesitatingly rendered "grands chariots munis d'échelles pour y monter"; but fragment 76 of the Vādhuḷa gives six kinds of anānsi, of which the first two are ārohaṇain ca mahānasain ca, and the constant parallelism of the two texts suggests that ārohaṇamahānasāni must be taken as a Dvanda compound. The Vādhuḷa again in fragment 81 enables us to emend with assurance two dubious passages in the text of Baudhāyana. The Vādhuḷa has: athaiteṣām bailvānāṁ edhācitānāṁ śodaṣa vā vinçatīṁ vā caturvinçatīṁ vā račāyām cinvanti, as printed by Caland (p. 189), who gives račāya as a noun in his index (p. 211), although he himself suggests the obvious solution, namely to read vāračāyam, and to treat this as a gerund in am, for which Baudhāyana has a parallel in ā́rmikāram (viii, 9). That this is correct may be seen at once from the Baudhāyana passages; in xv, 14, we have: bailvāṇi dārvācitāṇī

1 Keith, Taittiriya Sanhitā, i, pp. cxxviii ff.; Religion and Philosophy of the Veda, ii, 343 ff.

2 In Acta Orientalia, iv, 206, ac-upa, ud is given, but apodacya in the citation.
chindata tāni pravakalāni kṛtvācāyam cintuta in Caland’s text, but the one good manuscript M reads kṛtvāračāyam, and it is clear that this should be replaced in the text in the form kṛtvāračāyam. This is confirmed by xv, 19, where Caland prints: athaitesāṁ dārvācitaṁ vīcātāṁ vā caturvīcātāṁ vā madhyegner acāyaṁ cītvā, with M, but where it is clear that we have simply a case of haplography, a ra having dropped out, as constantly happens in manuscripts. A survey of the variants in these two passages will reveal that nothing can be made of them, whereas aracāyam meets every requirement of palaeography and sense. In Baudhāyana xv, 37, again, M, in dealing with the expulsion of the scapegoat, reads: athaṁ isujitāt prathamanti, which Caland alters to prathamanti and M. Dumont renders “en soufflant sur lui à la distance de la portée d’une flèche (?)” evidently sharing Professor Caland’s doubts as to the correctness of isujitā. But there can be no doubt that isujitā is correct, if we refer to fragment 69 of the Vādhūla Sūtra, where we find: etāṁ vićañ samvahati yāvad asyeśujitam bhavati, while in the parallel passage in fragment 99 to the expulsion of the scapegoat the words addressed to that unhappy wight are: mā me vijitē vātīh. It is clear, therefore, that all that is meant is “they expel him from the realm” or “he expels him from the realm”; the verb remains dubious, but prathamanti seems very strange and possibly it is better to substitute pramathanti or pramanthati, which is as easy a correction as prathamanti, and, on the whole, a less unnatural term. In other cases the Vādhūla merely gives us an equally obscure term; thus in fragment 76 it has mānaskṛt for the mayaskṛt of Baudhāyana and, though the context suggests that the term must mean “leather-worker”, neither form seems easily to yield this sense.

In Baudhāyana xv, 4, Professor Caland felt bound to allow the sacrificer to invite the Brahmins and the Kṣatriyas to confer on him by the horse-sacrifice success for the purpose of oppressing even the Brahmins; the reading, however, was even then unsatisfactory seeing that it compelled the assumption of an unusual form samāpayaṁ and an unexpected sense, whereas the opposite sense required no more than the reading: athābrahmaśādyatāṁ asmai sanjñāte in place of atha brahma as read in M, the only manuscript giving the words. In the Vādhūla, fragment 71, has twice unequivocally abrahamayatāyai,

1 Caland (Acta Orientalia, iv, 189) gives this as the reading of M., but see p. 218, n. 5 of the edition.
2 Contrast Baudhāyana, xii, 9: Soma is the King of the Brahmins.
and M. Dumont’s translation of Baudhāyana should no doubt be emended accordingly. On the other hand, it is needless to seek to make the two Sūtras agree in all details by emending; thus in Baudhāyana xv, 22, it is not probable that we should read devau devāv anyāe in order to make out that the Adhvaryu and the Pratiprasthātā are each replaced by two minor priests, so as to make Baudhāyana and Vādhūla agree in the number of priests who act during the night; if the author of the Baudhāyana had meant this, he would doubtless have expressed himself quite clearly. Nor again does it seem possible to construe the words digbhya vadabe in Taittirīya Samhitā, v. 6, 21, to mean four mares, one to each of the quarters, as Professor Caland has proposed 1; as M. Dumont himself remarks, Baudhāyana in various points differs from the Taittirīya; thus the latter mentions (v. 5, 24) but eight 2 as opposed to the eleven paryāṅgya victims of Baudhāyana, xv, 23, and in v. 5, 12–21, the Samhitā ignores the victims for Soma and Pūṣan and for Indra and Pūṣan recorded by Baudhāyana; it may well be, therefore, that the Taittirīya mentions but 22 as against 24 victims of Baudhāyana, and that this number was held to be asymmetrical by other authorities on ritual followed by Baudhāyana. Discrepancies between Kātyāyana and the older texts of the White Yajurveda are also known as regards the numbers of victims (p. 159).

The Vādhūla fragments raise many curious questions; fragment 69 with its elaborate system of notification by the king who desires to perform an Aṣvamedha to neighbouring kings, and the use of marriage alliances to secure acquiescence in his proposition, suggests a rather late stage in the development of the rite, and the passage may be late. Fragment 94 records the interesting fact that the boy who was to cut up the horse was led to the place with signs of mourning, as in the case of one about to die, clearly an intimation of the danger involved in laying hands on the victim so filled with the divine potency. But it is interesting to note that the mourning was preserved though the cause ceased to exist, for the chapter explains how Dirghatamas Māmateya invented a mode by which the boy might avoid the fate, although only through another meeting with death. The curious retention of a custom, when its rationale had disappeared, has caused the tradition of the text to be corrupted; it runs in the manuscript: yo ha smety āhur etasya purā prathama āchyati mūrdhā ha smāsyā

1 Acta Orientalia, iv, 193.
2 Rather ten; there are only eight distinct offerings, but in two cases there are two victims.
vipatiṣyatitī. The repeated ha sma, which is interesting, is, of course, conclusive that vipatiṣtatī is the correct rendering. The dittography shortly after suspected by Professor Caland is doubtless better explained as only apparent, and M. Dumont's emendations of the text in this case are to be preferred. It seems, however, dubious if we can accept as correct the restoration by the editor of kumārehi te 'hain tad vakṣyāmi, which gives an unlikely position of te, while the manuscript has to.

M. Dumont suggests (p. xii) that in the rite the chief queen by reason of her special rôle in relation to the sacrificial horse is regarded as the čakti of the god, i.e. the feminine form of the divine power, and the čakti of the king, i.e. the feminine form of the royal power, just as the horse is the symbol of Prajāpati and the king as sacrificer. The suggestion is ingenious, but is not apparently supported by anything in the texts. Nor is it altogether clear in what light the queens and their attendants were regarded in view of their participation in the rite. The Čatapatha Brāhmaṇa as M. Dumont points out, evidently contemplates (xiii, 5, 4, 27), that they were handed over to the four great priests who performed the rite, but in Kātyāyana, xx, 8, 26, already we find this practice negated on the score both that the wives have a right to share the profit of the sacrifice, and that it would really be impossible for the king thus to hand over his wives. Āpastamba also (xx, 10, 2) provides for the wives being made over to the priests, but clearly, as often, this prescription is based on the Čatapatha Brāhmaṇa and not on a Brāhmaṇa of the Black Yajurveda. Various explanations of the usage are possible; it is conceivable that the wives, with whom go in any event their retinues, were deemed too sacred, too much permeated by the divine power or mana, to remain in contact with the king when, the sacrifice completed, he resumed his status as king, which in theory is transferred to the Adhvaryu during the period of the sacrifice. Or we may merely have one more proof of the extension of Brahmanical claims. In the allocation it is noteworthy that the chief queen is given to the Brahman priest, not to the Adhvaryu, as might perhaps be expected if she really were regarded as partaking of the essence of the royal power as suggested by M. Dumont.

Some light is thrown by a citation of M. Dumont (p. 185) on the puzzling question why the Čatapatha Brāhmaṇa and the Sūtras of both branches of the Yajurveda should deny the existence of the omentum in the case of the horse, a fact which has naturally been

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1 See Keith, Taittirīya Sanskrit, i, p. xii.
adduced as a proof of distinct failure of observation. The explanations of the error given by M. Dumont from A. Chauveau is that “l’épiploon du cheval, surtout s’il s’agit d’un cheval de cours, est peu gras et transluçide”. The curious phraseology of the Baudhāyana Črautasūtra, xv, 30: nācvasya vapā bhavati candram īva medah parivṛktaṁ sācvasya vapā suggests that the sacrificial priests had observed the phenomenon of transparency.

One final example may be quoted of the help given by comparison, thus rendered easy, of parallel texts. The sacrificer and his favourite wife are to spend a night in continence, as is laid down in the Čatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii, 4, 1, 9. In the Vādhula Črautasūtra, after laying down this rule prefixed by tad āhur, the text continues: tad u vā āhur asty evātra kārīva yan nagnu nagnayā saja cāyijānantarhito ‘mithunābhavaṁ jāgarāyai vā etad rūpam jāgarayanta evopāśirann iti. Professor Caland doubted the interpretation of kārīva, which the comment misunderstood wholly, as it took kārīvayam together and glossed the passage garbhaṇpamādo vā, and his own version assumes that the opinion expressed is unfavourable to the practice enjoined. This, however, is clearly not the case: the Čatapatha explains that the sacrificer thinks, when he thus acts: “May I, by this self restraint, reach successfully the end of the year.” The abstention is not useless; on the contrary the sacrificer must keep awake and at the same time he accumulates force and strength in lieu of dissipating it; this view explains the following words, jāgarāyai vā etad rūpam, which are rendered meaningless if we assume that the practice is disapproved by the Sūtra. This view is probably held by M. Dumont, for he renders “Il est pur ainsi dire agissant (?) (karīva) ici”, but the construction rather seems to be kārī as neuter, and there seems no reason to alter kārī into kari.

M. Dumont expresses his obligations not only to Professor L. de la Vallée Poussin who encouraged him to undertake his laborious task, and to Professor Caland who initiated him into the mysteries of Baudhāyana and examined his work before publication, but also to the translation of the Čatapatha Brāhmaṇa by the late Professor Eggeling, “qui constitue, pour tous ceux qui étudient le rituel védique un instrument de travail presqu’indispensable,” a graceful and assuredly well deserved compliment to a pioneer work.

A. Berriedale Keith.

2 If masculine yo would be natural in lieu of yan.

It is not very often that a young scholar makes his début with a work so good as that presented by Dr. Rönnow. For it bears the stamp not only of scholarly thoroughness, but also of intelligence; the author can think for himself, and generally he thinks well. The only really unsatisfactory point about the book is that it is incomplete; the second part, dealing with the myth of Trita's battle with Viśvarūpa, the origin of the Sōma-sacrifice, and the Trita-legend as a whole, it not yet published, and until it appears we are unable to pass a final judgment upon the work. The present instalment, however, is remarkably good and interesting.

Trita Äptya in the Rgveda is a mysterious figure, and scholars have greatly exercised their wits and their imaginations to explain the part that he played in Vedic myth. Hitherto they have not been very successful, and it has been reserved for Dr. Rönnow to present a reasoned and reasonable view of the god's character which on the whole satisfies the requirements of the case.

In Dr. Rönnow's opinion, Trita was originally a hero of divine or semi-divine nature who with various other attributes was a dragon-slayer and associated with water and the purifying powers of water. His primitive name was Trīto-, practically the same as the Greek Τρίτος. But somehow he came to be regarded with special interest as the third of the Three Brothers in the well-known saga, which is spread over the Indo-European area, and hence (in the Indo-Iranian period?) his name was altered to Trita, "Third Man", whereupon his brothers in the legend were accordingly designated Ekata, "Number One", and Deva, "Number Two". The name Äptya, our author holds, is probably derived from āpt- "water", and denotes Trita's character as a water-deity.¹

¹ This etymology, I must confess, seems to me very doubtful. The Vedic āptya, which is perhaps connected, is of obscure meaning. An Indo-Eur. suffix -tio lack-evidence and so does an Indo-Ir. -tya after consonants. Even the Hindus were not quite happy about it, as we see from Taitt.-Br. III, ii, 8, 9 ff. (quoted by Dr. Rönnow on p. 30), which gives a double derivation, first taking the word as āpya-, from āp-, and then as ātma-, from ātman-. (Does not this fact, by the way, suggest that at the time of the composition of the Taitt.-Br. the Prakrit pronunciation of ātman- was already appa-, or something very like it ?). The Avestan Ādevyā indicates, as Bartholomae has remarked, that the early Indo-Ir. form was ātya-, a word which was already unintelligible in pre-Vedic times, and which was therefore altered by the Aryans of India to āptya-, by false etymology from āp- or āpta-, or both.
Dealing accordingly with Trita as a water-god, our author begins by showing the immense importance of the position that water holds in the religious life of early man and the wide variety of the rôles played by its deities, and he then proceeds to apply his view of Trita’s nature to the data of the R̥gveda. He accepts the theory that there were two main swarms of Aryans who invaded India, and that the first of these brought with them the gods generally styled Asura, at the head of whom stood Varuṇa, while the second swarm introduced the cult of Indra and the other Devas. The Asuras, and notably Varuṇa, had already become comparatively civilised and ethical deities when the newcomers, still quite barbarous in character, burst upon the scene. The two cults clashed; their opposition is still traceable, especially in the Vedic rituals, and gradually the Asuras as a class came to be identified with demons, rākṣasas, and the like.

In pre-Aryan times there was in Northern India a cult of serpents of Nāgas (mythically the same as dragons) as rulers of the waters and of the Sōma or Amṛta, which is the divine essence of water. Apparently Varuṇa took over from these serpent-deities the rule of both the earthy and the heavenly waters,¹ perhaps by peaceful penetration. But when the worshippers of Indra and the other Devas arrived in India, they waged furious wars upon the earlier gods, to which the R̥gveda bears witness, especially in its references to Indra’s battles with the dragon Vṛtra for the release of the kine or waters. Indra’s supremacy came to be acknowledged, and he became the chief deity of the Sōma-ritual. Trita had a career somewhat like that of Indra. He was represented as fighting, either alone or in company with Indra, whose greater glory has eclipsed his; he slew Tvaṣṭar’s son Viśvarūpa, as Indra slew Tvaṣṭar’s son Vṛtra. There are traces of a belief that once Viśvarūpa possessed the Sōma; hence it is possible that Trita was once reputed to have freed the waters, like Indra, and won the Sōma by conquest. Probably the same idea underlies the myths of the conflicts between the Devas and Asuras for the sacrifice; the Asuras were the earlier possessors of the Sōma, the Devas superseded them in the Sōma-cult. Trita in the R̥gveda pressè the Sōma and worships with it, besides possessing it, dispensing it to the gods and ruling over it in the waters (cf. R.V., IX, xcv, 4, where Sōma is styled Varuna, as is sometimes the case in ritual), by virtue of his original nature as

¹ It is worth pointing in this connection to the remarkable Varuṇo nāga-rājā, J.P.T.S., 1885, p. 14.
a water-god, for the Sōma—identical with *amṛta*—is the essence of water; but he does not seem ever to have become the centre of a Sōma-ritual himself.

In these constructions there is much that is attractive and probably also much that is true, but there are likewise some points that are doubtful. The conflict between the Āditya-cult (with Mitra and Varuṇa at its head) and the Indra-cult is notorious. But why must we assume that it arose in consequence of a second invasion? We see in Boghazkōi the Ādityas and Indra dwelling together in unity; was the Mitannian treaty preceded by two Aryan invasions? It is surely more reasonable to suppose that the two cults were, for the period with which we are concerned, contemporary and concurrent, though perhaps championed by different branches of the same race, and that in India they ultimately came into conflict. Nor do I understand why Dr. Rönnow should maintain, as he seems to do on p. 13, that the Sōma-rituals of the Asura-cults, afterwards taken over by the Indra-cult, were originally part of the worship of the native Indian serpents and dragons of the waters. Did the Aryans bring with them no similar legends and cults of their own; and were the Gandharvas, serpents, and dragons of Vedic myth all loans from the natives of India? Obviously not, for *ex hypothesi* Trīta himself is an old Aryan water-god and dragon-slayer. The Aryans came into India from regions where rivers, lakes, and springs existed, and where accordingly their mythopoeic fancy had abundant opportunity to create legends such as meet us in the Rgveda. The Gandharva as a spirit associated with the waters and Sōma, as I have shown in some detail in these pages (p. 703 ff. of the last number of this *Bulletin*), is certainly Indo-Iranian, and probably Indo-European also, and the Sōma-cult is of genuinely Aryan origin. It seems most likely then that the Aryans introduced water-cults of their own which were combined with those native to India, and they certainly imported the Sōma-cult.

I am also unable to agree with Dr. Rönnow in his view of the original nature of Viṣṇu and in his theory that the word *svadḥā* is etymologically a variant to *sudḥā*. But the matter in his book that calls for my assent and admiration is far more than that from which I must respectfully dissent. Besides the points to which allusion has already been made, there are several most instructive discussions, notably those on the evidence of the rituals, the character of Sōma-Amṛta as the essence of water or "Water of Life", the character
of the Gandharvas, and the study of the term svadhā, which are of high value. Much of this material has a special interest for me, because it tends to confirm and extend the views that I have set forth with far less skill in my paper on Yama, Gandharva, and Glaucus. The study of the book whets the appetite, and we hope soon to see the publication of the concluding volume. And when that volume appears, we trust that it will contain, besides a complete index, a full analytical table of contents, which will enable the reader to find his way with ease through the somewhat difficult pages of a work which, while excellent in its matter, is at times rather bewildering in its method of exposition.

L. D. Barnett.

Leipzig, 1927.

In this skilful and careful study Dr. Hertel shows that the text of the Avesta—the later as well as the earlier—is mainly metrical and intended for chanting, and he analyses the laws of its metrical composition by determining the length of lines and the incidence of caesura and arsis in them. While the Gāthās of Zarathuštra are strophic in structure, the verses of the later Avesta are here shown to fall into laisses or tirades, groups of lines predominantly octosyllabic, but in certain definitely fixed cases decasyllabic and dodecasyllabic, which vary in number while in sense forming a whole, and which are often internally connected by rhyme and assonance. In the later Avesta the lines regularly consist of even numbers of syllables, having a strong accent on the last syllable, while occasional catalectic lines occur at the end of tirades. In the Gāthās, however, the usual verses are of 7, 9, or 11 syllables; the first of these classes is derived from the catalectic octosyllabic line, the second from the hypercatalectic form of the same, and the third from the catalectic form of the dodecasyllabic line. The main results of the inquiry for Avestic metres essentially agree with those found for the Rgveda, except that Vedic metres are further characterised by quantitative distinction; they may be tabulated thus, it being premised that — denotes strong arsis, — medium, and — weak, and that the caesura always falls at the end of words:—
Octosyllabic

\[
\begin{align*}
(a) \ 4 + 4 & : \quad \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \\
(b) \ 2 + 6 & : \quad \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \\
3 + 5 & : \quad \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \\
5 + 3 & : \quad \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots
\end{align*}
\]

Heptasyllabic

\[
\begin{align*}
(a) \ 4 + 3 & : \quad \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \\
(b) \ 2 + 5 & : \quad \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \\
3 + 4 & : \quad \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots
\end{align*}
\]

Enneasyllabic

\[
\begin{align*}
(a) \ 4 + 5 & : \quad \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \\
(b) \ 2 + 7 & : \quad \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \\
3 + 6 & : \quad \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \\
5 + 4 & : \quad \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots
\end{align*}
\]

Decasyllabic

\[
\begin{align*}
(a) \ 5 + 5 & : \quad \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \\
(b) \ 4 + 6 & : \quad \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \\
6 + 4 & : \quad \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots
\end{align*}
\]

Dodecasyllabic

\[
\begin{align*}
(a) \ 4 + 4 + 4 & : \quad \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \\
4 + 2 + 6 & : \quad \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \\
4 + 3 + 5 & : \quad \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \\
4 + 5 + 3 & : \quad \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \\
(b) \ 3 + 4 + 5 & : \quad \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \\
3 + 3 + 6 & : \quad \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \\
3 + 5 + 4 & : \quad \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \\
5 + 4 + 3 & : \quad \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \\
5 + 2 + 5 & : \quad \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \\
5 + 3 + 4 & : \quad \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots
\end{align*}
\]

The heptasyllabic and enneasyllabic lines are limited to the Gāthās. Only in Rgveda and Gāthās is the catalectic form of the dodecasyllabic line developed into a regular verse; in the Later Avesta regularly, and occasionally in Rgveda, the earlier practice prevails, the lines being normally catalectic, with catalexis only at the end of tirades. The Vedic triṣṭubh has arisen from a catalectic form of jatā. The demonstration of these laws necessitates a certain amount of re-writing of the traditional Arsacid text of the Avesta: thus
omitted or wrongly supplied endings have to be supplied or corrected, and due consideration has to be given to the metrical questions involved in prothetic, anaptyctic, and svarabhakti vowels, hiatus and sandhi, slurring of vowels, alternative forms of words, and the like, all of which receives instructive treatment in a separate chapter. This is followed by a metrical analysis of Vendidad XXII and III, Haōxt Nask II, and the decasyllabic and dodecasyllabic verses of Yašt X, followed by a fully annotated translation of Vendidad XXII.

The work will be challenging to some, and stimulating to all. The establishment of the author's thesis entails considerable changes in the orthography of the text and some other alterations, which are sure to evoke discussion and perhaps some dissent; on the whole, however, his criticism tends to demonstrate the general soundness of the traditional text on main points. A singular but inevitable conclusion is that the Later Avesta, which in its present form is considerably later than the Gāthās, is metrically far more archaic than they, and this fact suggests ample food for thought. But space forbids us to enlarge upon these issues, and we must wind up our survey with thanks to the author for having made a really valuable contribution to Indo-Iranian philology.

L. D. BARNETT.


Indra was the god of battles. His epithet vytrahān- means 'slayer of enemies' rather than 'slayer of the demon vytrā-', for vytrā- in the R.V. more often means 'enemy' than 'demon'. This epithet corresponds with Av. voradrayna-, the angel of victory. Indra's quality as god of rain, was acquired later, being usurped from Trita Āptya. The demon Indra of the Vendidad is late and may be the less reputable Indra of the Purānas. The writer points out that the changes of meaning of Asura-Ahura and Deva-Dāeva can be explained as ordinary development without recourse to Haug's theory of a religious schism. This is supported by the development of Skt. devāh into Sindhi ġeu 'demon'. Even if all the writer's conclusions do not find general acceptance, this little paper deserves notice as representing work on scientific lines by one of the younger school of Indian scholars.

R. L. T.
NALA AND DAMAYANTI. By N. M. Penzer. 6½ × 8¼, pp. xi + 207. 

This is not a translation of the story of Nala and Damayanti as 
told in the Mahabharata, nor of any other Sanskrit rendering of the 
same theme. It is, says the author, an entirely original rendering of 
the tale based as closely as possible on the Sanskrit versions, but with 
additional descriptive matter connecting the various incidents. To 
those who know the story as told by the poets of India, either in the 
original or in translation (surely Mr. Penzer is wrong in suggesting 
that no English translation has been more than a mere abstract of 
the Sanskrit original), the addition of descriptive matter might seem 
superfluous, or even likely to spoil the beauty of the original. Never 
theless the work has been skilfully done, and makes a pleasing whole. 
But the simplicity, and the vigour, and with them the moving appeal, 
of the epic version has disappeared. Mr. Penzer has reproduced not 
epic, but kāvya and though kāvya may have great beauties, it is 
different from epic. A few details. Do deodars (p. 32) grow in Berar? 
On p. vii the form Saivite is used, and in the next line Shiva. Despite 
some aesthetic objections the use of diacritical marks, at least of 
that for long vowels, would help to avoid some of the hideous deformations 
which the many names are otherwise destined to suffer on the 
lips of readers unacquainted with Sanskrit. Vibkitaka appears on 
p. 150 for Vibhitaka and is repeated on the next page.

The work is beautifully printed on beautiful paper. But why 
will printers, for this class of work, use the conjoint ॆ and े, which 
serve no purpose but to distract the reader's eye? The ten miniatures 
by Mr. Zenker, in the Persian style, add to the charm of the book. 
May it have the success it deserves and show many what beauties 
await them in Indian literature.

R. L. T.

MAHĀVĪRACARITAM: edited with critical apparatus, introduction, and 
notes. By the late Todar Mall, revised by A. A. Macdonell. 
10 × 6¼, pp. liv + 351. Panjab University Oriental Publications. 
Oxford University Press, 1928. £1 4s.

The publication of this edition of Bhavabhūti’s drama will awaken 
keen regret in all Sanskrit scholars at the untimely cutting short by 
death, in 1918, of the promising career of its author. Pandit Todar 
Mall was Government of India Sanskrit Scholar in the years before 
the War. It was at Oxford under the supervision of Professor Macdonell
that he prepared this critical edition of the Mahāvīrācarita. The War came; and his work remained unpublished. After his death, Professor Macdonell despite the sacrifice that such labour would entail and in the midst of his own most pressing duties, undertook the work of revising and editing his late pupil’s manuscript. For this pious task students of Sanskrit all the world over will be profoundly grateful. The labour must have been great; but few tragedies are greater than that the accident of death should leave unfinished or unpublished the faithful work of many years.

It is not only that we should have lost this particular edition of a Sanskrit drama; but students, and particularly Indian students who have not been brought up in the critical school of the Western Classics, would have lost a model which must prove a fruitful incentive to similar work.

For, as Professor Macdonell says, “no classical Sanskrit text has ever been so exhaustively prepared by an Indian scholar.” Even those so prepared by Western scholars are all too few in number. One of the greatest gaps which the student of the Greek and Latin Classics feels when he comes to the study of Sanskrit is the absence for much even of the more famous classics of really critical editions.

Eighteen MSS. were collated, and their variant readings have been shown in footnotes below the text. The introduction is both exhaustive and illuminating. The explanatory notes are to the point, and do not include the often unnecessary annotations of many Indian editions; they are the more welcome because the editor (in tender regard for the diligence, and perhaps for the purses, of students) decided to omit the translation that the author had prepared. The excellent appendices contain the entirely different text offered by the Mysore MS. for the last three acts; the readings of two MSS. received too late to be collated with the text; an index of metres, of first lines, of noteworthy Sanskrit and Prakrit words. The whole deserves the beautiful type of the Oxford University Press, and the pains which both printer and reviser have lavished upon its outward presentation.

One general criticism only need be raised. As the reviser himself says, ‘if he had been the author, he would have made it more concise in many respects. That is a criticism which students, and particularly Indian students, should take to heart. The conditions of a scholar’s life in India has led to a prolixity (though in Todar Mall it has been severely pruned) which stands in queer contrast to the abbreviated conciseness of the sūtra style.
Finally may the widest publication be given to Professor Macdonell’s hope that this volume of Todar Mall’s “may help to inaugurate in India a new era, in which all the best classical texts will be edited anew by Indian scholars with a critical training in method ensuring the production of texts that will furnish a sound basis for further research”.

R. L. T.

Pāñcarātram of Bhāsa. Edited, with Introduction, English Translation, Notes, Glossary, etc., by Waman Gopal Urdh-wareshe. $4\frac{1}{2} \times 7$, pp. $16 + 110 + 72 + 116 + 16$.

This illustrates aptly the need of such a model, as that reviewed above, for Indian editors of Sanskrit texts.

R. L. T.

Śvapnavāsavadatta: Translated into Marathi by W. G. Urkhareshe. $4\frac{1}{2} \times 7$, pp. $7 + 168$

A lucid and accurate translation that may be recommended to readers of Marathi.

R. L. T.


In the Sabhā’s Annual Report on the search for Hindi MSS. for the year 1900, the existence in Jaipur of a MS. of Bīsaladeva Rāso written in 1612, was notified. This was commented upon by Syām Sundar Das and Rāmnārāyan Dūgar in the Nāgarī-pracārini-patrikā in 1901 and 1902. The 4th sarga of the poem was published by Lālā Sītarām in Bardic Selection in 1922. We have now for the first time the four sargas before us. To the text, with its foot-notes giving modern Hindi renderings of obsolete words, the author has added an excellent introduction in Hindi, in which he discusses the date of Visaladeva and of the author Narapati Mālha. He concludes that Visaladeva was ruler of Ajmere from 1153 to 1163, and that the Rāso was composed in 1155. But, alas, even if it was then written, we have no MS. so old; and, as the editor points out, between that date and the date of the extant MS. the language of the poem was doubtless greatly changed. As it stands, it is of the W. Hindi or even Rājasthānī type; the nom. sing. masc. in -o, gen. -aha, loc. -a; pres. indic. is formed by the old present with the verb “to be” (usually hā in 1st pers., chaī in 3rd pers.: karō hā, lāgai chaī); future usually
<Skt. -isyā-, e.g. rākhasyū (with y imported from Skt.), desai. In phonetics, intervocalic -n-, -n- appear as -n- (bhanaī, snaī, etc.) and a reduction of double consonants with compensatory lengthening has been carried through. There may be some doubt, however, as to the truth of the editor’s contention that it was originally composed in the ancestor of khari bolī. The editor is to be congratulated on his work, and his example commended to others, who may have, or gain, access to the wealth of Medieval Indian vernacular literature awaiting publication.

R. L. T.


The publication of books in Nepali continues apace. The work of the poet Bhānubhakta (1812-68), translator into Nepali of the Rāmāyaṇa, deserves to be better known. A good and complete edition of all his works is to be desired.

The reviewer may perhaps be forgiven a feeling of pride when he finds in the Nepāli Sāhitya an account of three very gallant men, one time his comrades: Havildar-Major Buddhīthal Thāpā, killed in action in the Judaean Hills, Rifleman Kulbir Thāpā, V.C. and Rifleman Karanbahādur Rānā, V.C., all of the 2/3rd Q.A.O. Gurkha Rifles.

The Nepāli Vyākaran is clearly written; but it suffers from the defect of so many modern Indo-Aryan text-books of grammar: a slavish adherence to the form and terminology of Sanskrit Grammar. To take an example. In declension there are in reality two cases only, direct and oblique. The syntactical relationships expressed by case-terminations in Sanskrit are expressed in Nepali by postpositions following the oblique case. These postpositions are the same for both singular and plural. Yet, in this Grammar, for every noun and pronoun there are set out seven cases in singular and plural, instead of at the most 3 forms only (two for the singular, and one for the plural).
Finally, let me make an appeal: that those who are trying to form Nepali as a modern literary language, should not imitate Bengali by quite unnecessarily replacing good native words with importations from Sanskrit.

R. L. T.


As usual, the Journal of Science is illustrated with a profusion of well-reproduced plates; in this number there are twenty-nine, illustrating the Commissioner's Archaeological Summary, and two admirable ones illustrating his article on "The Throne in Indian Art." In addition, there are six articles, of which perhaps the two most interesting are that dealing with "The Divinity of the guest" with parallels from Greece and New Zealand, and that offering an explanation of the hymns of the Rigveda—iv, 42 and i, 32—based upon the equation Sacrificer = Indra. All these articles are by Mr. Hocart, the Archaeological Commissioner. It seems a pity that a publication so lavishly produced should not attract other contributors.

R. L. T.

ESSAYS AND CRITICISMS By SYVAMACHARAN GANGLI, B.A., Hon. Fellow Calcutta University, and late Principal, Uttarpura College, Bengal. London: Luzac and Co., 1927.

This is a collection of papers contributed to the Calcutta Review and the Modern Review from 1877 to 1925. The author who was born in 1839, shows even in his earliest paper, first published as long ago as 1877, a surprising modernness of outlook. This paper, which is the most important of those contained in the book, deals with "Bengali, Spoken and Written". It protests against the Sanskritization of Bengali, so diligently promoted by the pandits of the nineteenth century, and urges that the only sound ideal is the assimilation of the style and vocabulary of written Bengali to the everyday speech of educated Bengalis. The venerable author is to be congratulated on having lived to see the development of the language which he desired, actually taking place. The modern school of Bengali writers headed by Rabinadranath Tagore have both in prose and poetry succeeded in emancipating themselves from the tyranny of Sanskrit, and from the
pedantry which insists on "calling common things by uncommon names", and have at the same time made Bengali a marvellously effective and living literary language capable of expressing with force and exactness the most delicate shades of meaning.

Perhaps the most interesting thing in the whole volume is the section in which the different points of view taken by the author and by Bankim Chandra Chatterji with regard to the Sanskrit element in Bengali are set forth. Bankim Chandra, though he undoubtedly did much to purge Bengali prose of its pedantry, never dared to make his characters talk consistently in the actual colloquial style universally employed by Bengali speakers, but put into their mouths, out of deference to the pandits' objection to the literary use of the true vernacular, many expressions and words that were grotesquely impossible as spoken Bengali. Symacharan Babu had undoubtedly a clearer and truer conception of the lines along which the language must develop than the great novelist who, it is interesting to note, was his fellow-student at the Presidency College.

The book also contains papers dealing with various suggestions for a common script for Indian languages. The writer rejects, and gives good reasons for rejecting, both the proposal to make the Devanagari such a common script, and also Mr. Knowles' suggested romanized script. He considers the script of the International Phonetic Association unsuitable for the purpose, and in this he would find most, if not all, of the members of the Association in agreement with him, for the International Phonetic notation aims at scientific accuracy in a degree that would be unattainable by any script intended for practical use for all the people speaking even one language, to say nothing of a script to be applied to a number of languages.

Some of the articles contained in the book deal with political and social subjects, such as the partition of Bengal, the reduction of armaments, self-determination, alcoholism, protection, etc., and there is a particularly interesting sketch of the author's views of religion.

The book is small but valuable as the record of the reaction of an alert Bengali mind to some of the problems and movements which have emerged in India during the last half century.

W. Sutton Page.
An Introduction to the Study of the Relations of Indian States with the Government of India. By K. M. Panikkar. pp. xxxi + 169. Hopkinson, 1927. 10s. 6d.

Mr. Panikkar's little book, to which Lord Olivier has written a foreword, is both interesting and timely. The author has aimed at surveying with historical exactness the development of the relations between the Indian states and the English Government from the close of the eighteenth century. The interest of his volume consists, not in the discovery and statement of new facts, for indeed we think he would not claim to have produced any, but in his attitude and the interpretation which he places on the acknowledged facts. The difference between his views and those of Lee-Warner afford an instructive contrast. Lee-Warner expounds with singular precision and clearness the policy gradually evolved in the Foreign Department down to the government of Lord Curzon. He illustrates and indeed emphasises the manner in which action in regard to one state was apt to serve as a precedent for action in another, although the treaties relating to the two states might be totally different; and he dwells upon the practice of "reading the treaties all together", much as if separate and individual rights had altogether disappeared in the process of time. And it was of course the fact that there was a strong tendency prevailing down to the end of the nineteenth century making against the effective survival of individual treaty rights. But with the accession of Lord Minto to the control of Indian state relations a reaction set in which has steadily progressed until the present day. It is this reaction which Mr. Panikkar represents; and its great objective is a restatement and revision of the treaties, so as to set up instead of documents obviously of impaired validity an authoritative statement of the principles governing the relations between the Government of India and the subordinate states. This is a political question which we cannot here discuss. But the historical part seems to us to state very fairly from the princes' point of view the development of policy from Dalhousie to Curzon. Sometimes Mr. Panikkar trips in his history. Rumbold was never accredited to the court of the Nawab of Arcot; it was Lake, not Wellesley, who beat Perron's troops, Perron himself having already abandoned Sindia. Nor do we think Mr. Panikkar quite fair to the policy adopted towards the Gaikwar in 1875. It seems to us to represent an attempt to find a method of dealing with erring princes in a more even-handed manner than had always been exhibited in the past, and so far it marks a step in advance.
As regards the gradual assumption of powers over the Indian states, his attitude seems to vary, and he clearly holds some of this justified by the interests of India as a whole. But his view of the full internal sovereignty of the principal states goes as far as that of H.E.H. the Nizam, which can only be defended on the basis that the treaties survive in full force—a position which appears to us untenable.

H. D.

SUTTEE. By EDWARD THOMPSON. pp. 165. Allen and Unwin, 1928. 7s. 6d.

This brief volume is an essay rather than the "historical and philosophical enquiry" announced by the sub-title. The rite of widow-burning has attracted attention of recent years owing to ill-advised endeavours to defend it on the part of Indian nationalists. That in certain cases it exhibited traits of great heroism nobody would deny. But Mr. Thompson very justly points out that these cases are, and necessarily must be, exceptional; that some of the most famous instances must be defended mainly on the ground that they saved the victims from a conqueror's harim; and that in general the practice was an unhappy correlative of that life of privation and contempt to which the Hindu social system condemns the widows of many castes. Viewed broadly the custom is, as the author urges, a relic of primitive, barbaric ideas, incapable of any general defence. At the same time he deals some shrewd and well-deserved blows at the hesitating, half-hearted endeavours to check the practice, made by the Company's government down to the time of Bentinck, but which had the undesired and most unhappy result of encouraging it, especially around Calcutta. With grim humour he reminds us of those annual lists of burnings which the collectors "had the pleasure" to submit for the information of the Nizamat 'Adalat, in accordance with the regulations.

H. D.

THE BRITISH WEST AFRICAN SETTLEMENTS, 1750-1821. By EVELINE C. MARTIN. pp. xi + 186. Longmans, 1927. 7s. 6d. net.

The history of our West African Settlements in the eighteenth century is not in itself a matter of strong interest. As Miss Martin observes, the Guinea Coast was not the scene of any incident specially striking the imagination. But nevertheless it well deserves the thoughtful and lucid study which she has devoted to it. It illustrates for example the way in which political pressure was compelling the
Home Government to take an ever-growing interest in the overseas dependencies. At the very time when the cabinet was beginning to concern itself actively with the affairs of the East India Company, it had just removed a section of the African coast from the control of the African Company in order to place it under a royal government; and the Humanitarian Movement, which modified so deeply the English attitude to Indian problems, led at the close of the century to the establishment of a new settlement at Sierra Leone entirely inspired by the idea of trusteeship. Miss Martin’s subject therefore offers to the student of eighteenth century India, a number of curious parallels and contrasts. Thus it is a familiar fact that from the Regulating Act onwards the directors of the East India Company consisted of a body of twenty-four persons, eighteen of whom held office while the other six were invariably re-elected as their turn came round. In like manner the committee which managed the affairs of the African Company seem to have consisted of a permanent body of sixteen, nine of whom held office in rotation. Again, the East India Company’s factories had been apt to seek to contract themselves out of the national obligations of war. Madras and Pondichery came to an agreement in 1703; Mahé and Tellicherry did the same in 1729, and again in 1744. The practice vanished before the growing importance of the political struggle in India, but seems to have persisted on the African Coast down to 1780, when the governor of Cape Coast Castle entered into a treaty of neutrality with the Dutch governor of Elmina. In another respect too, the African settlements continued to reproduce the earlier conditions of the Indian factories, for till the establishment of Senegambia in 1765 there was no court of justice of any sort, the Company not being so far trusted. The province of Senegambia too during its brief existence (1765–78) affords an example of factory administration under Crown management. Miss Martin regards it with more indulgence than the present writer is disposed to allow (cf. the Revue de l’histoire des colonies françaises, t. iv, pp. 267–300 1916). But she admits the difficulties of control, the lack of regular supervision, the absenteeism of officials. Altogether she is to be congratulated on producing a study of tropical administration in the eighteenth century of high interest for the light which it sheds on the general attitude towards problems not fundamentally different from those which confronted the East India Company.

H. Dodwell.

In Mrs. Grantham's vivid "Picture-Roll" not "10,000 miles of scenery" merely, but a ten-thousand-mile-long Lord-Mayor's procession of oriental splendour passes before the eyes of the reader.

Perhaps only encyclopaedic minds such as Macaulay's or Gibbon's could follow the roll and grasp its full significance, but Mrs. Grantham is to be congratulated upon the way in which she has succeeded in forming a vision of Chinese history as a whole, and reproducing that vision, century by century, dynasty by dynasty, reign by reign, in vivid, and often, indeed, lurid colours which convey something of the amazing alternation of virility and decadence which is characteristic of Chinese civilization. The sordid ugliness and detailed horrors of palace intrigues are over-emphasized, but through the magnificence of the reigns of worthy rulers and the complete desolation which existed under the degenerate, the personality of the great figures of China's history is impressed upon the mind.

The picture of Wên Ti's envoys carrying urgent requests for peace to Kajuk (p. 95) who "followed one another in such swift succession that they never lost sight of each other's official hats and umbrellas", the pathos of Liang Wu Ti's end (208), the terror-stricken court of Ch'ung Chêng on the arrival of the rebels (485–6), the summary of Wên Ti's work (230)—in these and many other passages there is a fulness of detail lacking in many histories of wider scope, and an intimate knowledge of individuals seldom granted to the western reader of Chinese history. The background is as distinct, and the characters are at least as real as the living but elusive War-lords of China to-day.

Not yet, however, has the history of the Chinese nation been written in full. This book, like most books on the subject, is a history of the rulers of China, of its governing class, its wars and its intrigues, but the more difficult task of writing the real history of the Chinese people awaits its John Richard Green.

The fact that the book was printed in Great Britain may account in part for errors and inconsistencies in the spelling of names. The author says that she has followed Giles' Dictionary; she may have done so, but her printers and readers have ignored her standard. So we find hyphens and capitals wandering at large, and the same name spelt in more than one way, a serious fault in view of the difficulty
presented by Chinese names even to the initiated. Thus, Confucius, the Latinized name of K'ung Tzü, which might well have been used throughout, since the book is intended for the general reader, is referred to in no fewer than five different ways. Despite this fault, however, and apart from a few lapses into language unworthy of the book as a whole and an occasional slight incoherence of style, Mrs. Grantham has presented to the general reader an eminentiy picturesque account of China up to the end of the eighteenth century.

E. D. Edwards.

Essai sur l'Histoire Antique d'Abyssinie : le royaume d'Aksu

It is always pleasant to find a retired diplomatist sitting down toa piece of learned work on some subject connected with the countryin which he has served, and we must congratulate M. Kammereron an attractive and useful book.

He has combined in it two somewhat remote subjects. The one isthe survival in Abyssinia of a number of pillar monuments, whichM. Kammerer compares with his native menhirs; they are clearlyconnected with some phallic worship—their date, neolithic or other,is uncertain; they have still to be studied, and the admirablephotographs here reproduced merely promise future elucidation. The greaterpart of M. Kammerer's book is occupied by an examination ofAbyssinian history of the period extending from the first centuryB.C. to the seventh century A.D.

In this, M. Kammerer does not claim to have made any newdiscoveries of importance. He has used the work of Littmann andConti-Rossini with intelligence, and sets out the available evidence(it is indeed slender, alas) clearly and agreeably, passes from AeliusGallus to the Meroitic kingdom, the introduction of Christianity intoAbyssinia, some account of the Axumite Empire, as it might almostbe called, and of its shrinking before the advance of Islam.

The book is admirably illustrated throughout and the represen-
tations of Axumite coins, with M. Kammerer's careful descriptions,call for especial praise.

S. Gaselee.
SANKAI KYÔ NO KENKYÛ : An investigation concerning the Three Degrees Sect. By YABUKI KEIKI. Tôkyô : Iwanami Shoten, 1927. 18 yen.

This is the most important work on the Tun-huang manuscripts since Pelliot and Chavannes' Un Traité Manichéen Retrouvé en Chine. Its late appearance is due to the fact that the first draft was destroyed in the earthquake of 1923. With a courage not unparalleled in Japan, but almost inconceivable to Western minds (I know of three manuscripts by European writers that were destroyed in the earthquake, and not one of these authors has had the heart to return to his task), Mr. Yabuki rewrote his book, which in this second version runs to some 1,300 pages.

I will not attempt to summarize the contents of this vast work; but I hope that the following notes will call attention to the importance of contemporary Buddhist scholarship in Japan, and to the necessity for all students of Northern Buddhism to be equipped with a knowledge of Japanese.

The history of the Three Degrees Sect stretches roughly from the end of the sixth to the middle of the ninth century. It derives its name from the theory that between the departure of one Buddha and the arrival of his successor there are three "steps" by which mankind climbs down to darkness. For 500 years his essence is still perceived and his teaching rightly apprehended; for a further 500 years an "idolon" or image of his person and doctrine can still reach the human mind. In the third stage (which lasts till the coming of the future Buddha Maitreya) the concept of Buddha has irredeemably vanished. We are all spiritually blind, sinful, incapable of perceiving the middle path between existence and non-existence, over-specialized ("sharp") in our sense-perceptions, so utterly corrupt as to defile the most generous action by the very fact that it is we who perform it.

This three-fold division of the period between Buddha and Buddha was a theory accepted by almost all sects and goes back to very early days. It was in the stress laid upon this doctrine and the consequences drawn from it that the San Chieh sect was peculiar and even, as was subsequently decided, heretical.

The Founder.—Hsin-hsing³ was born at Hsiang-chou in Honan

² The periods are variously given, but according to all reckonings the sixth century A.D. comes well within the third period.
³ 信行.
in A.D. 540. In his youth he was an invalid, and consequently unable to practise meditation or recite the scriptures. But from his seventeenth year his interest was centred on religion. He became a monk, and seems to have inhabited two different monasteries in his native town. Here he thought out the new doctrine and way of life which will be presently described. But at the age of 47 he had found only four converts; two monks and two laymen who were apparently both members of his own family. However, his name was rapidly growing, and next year (589) he was summoned to the capital (Ch’ang-an in Shensi) by the Emperor Wen of the Sui dynasty. In 594 he died and was buried in the Chung-nan hills. During his latter years he achieved an extraordinary reputation. The eulogies written after his death teem with resounding phrases, the “greatest of Śākyamuni’s followers”, “sole support of the Church”; but the anecdotes told concerning him, such as his excessive outburst of sensibility at the age of 4, on seeing a bull straining to drag a cart through the mud, are the stock-in-trade of Buddhist hagiography, and give us no clue whereby to distinguish him from rival saints. Moreover, we cannot be certain what part of the doctrine, as we know it from later writings, belongs to the founder himself, and what was added by his successors, so that our picture both of his personality and his opinions becomes somewhat dim. What emerges vividly from the surviving documents is the general complexion of San Chieh views during the time of the sect’s prosperity.

This age, then, is a dark chasm which divides the world that is gone from the world that is to come. We are like a traveller who, after the sun has set and before the moon has risen, must creep warily along the main high road. If he turns to right or left he may mistake a ditch for a dyke, a shadow for a stepping stone. And so we, if we turn aside to worship this Buddha or honour that saint, may in the darkness of our latter-day hearts, for all we know, be worshipping a pig or honouring a goat. And what is the main road, the general way, that is left to us?

Our inner, transcendental vision is lost; Buddha is no longer visible to us in his “true form” but only in the complicated, kaleidoscopic mirage that our physical senses convey; he is accessible only as mirrored in All Creatures that have Life. For this reason the followers of Hsin-hsing provoked ridicule by prostrating themselves

1 Owing to the theory that plants cannot feel and that life is consciousness, the vegetable world was specifically excluded.
in the street before any chance-comer, whether donkey or human being. Our behaviour must be appropriate to the Age in which we live. The followers of Śākyamuni in the First Age were able to fertilize their lives with meditation and prayer. But for us to imitate them would be just such folly as once led a fool to strew gold and silver on his field instead of manure, thinking that it was filthy to eat cabbages that were grown with the aid of dung. Nor can life in the cloister help us. Who are we that we should live in houses with fine rooms, when Buddha (i.e. mankind and all creatures) must often dwell in vile and nauseous places?

The followers of the sect accordingly did not live in monasteries, but were allotted courtyards and out-houses of monastic buildings. Their lives, however, were spent for the most part in crowded streets and markets. Here, rather than in cell or hermitage, they felt able to commune with the Tathāgata, the ceaseless undercurrent of life. For images and libraries of holy books they had little respect. "Such things," says a ninth century opponent, "they regard as mere lumber."

Another tenet of the sect was that, for men of the Third Stage, the attainment of individual salvation was impossible. We are like a carriage that has come to bits. The individual pieces are useless. But tied together with rope and a few sticks it may yet see service of a kind. And so must we, making ourselves as blind as possible (for our sharpened senses tinge the world for us with a false diversity and separateness) rumble along together, stealthily and unobtrusively creeping nearer to salvation, like a man who with his servants has been made prisoner in a foreign land. He escapes from his prison. But he still wears his Chinese clothes and if he were seen on the road he would at once be arrested. So he must go secretly, travelling only at night, and thus he may reach his own home.

The followers of the sect currently observed austerities that had indeed long been known as forms of occasional penance, but had never been adopted as a permanent way of life. They ate only once in the day and would take no food that they had not themselves received as alms. Their clothes were made of such rags as they could collect from rubbish heaps. Most conspicuous of all was the stress they laid on alms-giving: "Of all the Buddhas that occupy the diverse spheres of the Ten Quarters of the Universe, there is not one who gained his Buddhahood save by alms-giving." About 630 was founded the Inexhaustible Treasury, into which were tilted cart loads of silk and money. The great houses of Ch'ang-an poured out their wealth
in this anonymous donorship. From time to time the treasury was opened, and its contents divided into three parts. One was used in the repair of ancient monasteries and stūpas, for it was a tenet of the sect that the degenerate beings of this "third stage" are incapable of producing new buildings that would not be an insult to the ideas they were supposed to incorporate. A second part was distributed among the poor and hungry all over China, the rest being used in miscellaneous dedications. A certain P’ei Hsüan-chih whose piety had attracted attention for many years, was put in charge of the treasure-room. About 650 he was suspected of peculation. He got wind of this, and fled. On the wall of his sleeping-place the monks found the poem:

You put your lamb under the wolf’s care,
You left your bone in front of a hungry dog;
Knowing that I was not an Alohan.

How could you expect me not sometimes to steal?

In 713 was published an Imperial proclamation which stated that this treasury "supposed to succour the poor and weak, has in reality been squandered for improper purposes". It was therefore to be seized and officially distributed among Taoist and Buddhist temples. This was not the first time that the sect had suffered from governmental hostility. Their writings, accepted as orthodox by the official list of scriptures drawn up in 664, were denounced as heretical in the list of 695. In 699 a proclamation ordered the sect to abandon all practices and austerities save those of begging, eating only once a day, avoiding cereal food, and meditation. In 725 the followers of Hsin-hsing were ordered to destroy the partitions which separated their quarters from those of the ordinary monks. In 730 their writings were again denounced as unorthodox. However, it appears (not with absolute certainty) that in 800 their books once more appeared on the official list. In 845 strong measures were taken against the huge encroachments that monasticism had made on Chinese life. Thousands of monasteries were closed and their inhabitants compelled to resume a lay existence. After this date such faint echoes of the sect’s activity as still survive are to be sought in Korea and Japan rather than in

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1 It was considered an essential of alms-giving that it should be entirely impersonal, the donor neither disclosing his name nor having any control over the way in which his gifts were used.
2 Arhat, Saint.
3 Meditation was, however, theoretically discouraged by the sect.
4 The Chêng Yüan Lu.
China. The Korean catalogue of 1090 still contains two works of the San Chieh sect. In Japan, the Shōsō-in Treasury at Nara contains fragments of San Chieh writings that were copied in 747. Throughout the middle ages important works survived that have now completely disappeared, and even in 1792 Ensen, a priest of the Zōjō-ji, writes that he once saw a copy of the San Chieh Chi Lu (Hsin-hsing’s principal work), but could make no sense of it.

At the present moment there survives in Japan only one work, the San Chieh Fo Fa (in four chapters which are scattered over various temple libraries). All the rest of our knowledge concerning the sect is derived from the Tun-huang manuscripts brought back by Pelliot to Paris and Stein to London. Of these there are about 20; they were examined by Mr. Yabuki in 1916, and again in 1922.

One document (Stein 2137) incomplete at both ends, appears to be an extract from Hsin-hsing’s own writings. The rest date from the T’ang dynasty and in method of composition follow the practice of T’ang commentators; that is to say, they subject scriptural and exegetical texts to an elaborate and rather forced analysis, discovering in them hidden schematizations and cross-correspondences. The interest of the San Chieh sect was of course centred upon those scriptures that foretell or can be construed to foretell the coming of the Third Stage. Of Hinayāna works the most useful was the Mixed Āgama, which is frequently quoted; but the basis of San Chieh teaching is the Sūtra of the Ten Wheels (Nanjio 64) which explains how Buddha’s ten wheels (i.e. ten powers) can efface the ten Sin-wheels of humanity. The discourse is given at the request of the Bodhisattva Kshitigarbha, who arrives at the assembly clad as a monk. The worship of a particular Buddha was utterly at variance with the views of the sect, but the need for a central figure was felt, and in course of time it seemed at any rate to outward spectators that the Bodhisattva Kshitigarbha played much the same part in the San Chieh sect as did the Buddha Amitābha among followers of the Pure Land doctrine. Kshitigarbha is indeed preeminently the guardian deity of the Between-time—the gap between one Buddha and the next.

Each day at break of dawn he enters into successive meditations
And mentally visits every Hell, to relieve the sufferings of the damned.

1 One excellent practice of the sect deserves mention. In quoting they scrupulously distinguish between “the text”, “the purport”, or “general sense” of the text and “human opinion”, i.e. the commentaries.
In Buddha-less spheres of this World he saves all living things; in this life and the after life he can lead the way.

Thus Kshitigarbha assists Yama in the merciful judgment of the dead, and in China replaces him, Yama being relegated to a merely accessory position. Readers of *Un Traité Manichéen* will remember that Kshitigarbha figures there (p. 53) as the fourth of the Five Deities of the Macrocosm. Did Manicheism borrow the name from Buddhism, or did both religions draw on a common source? Other alternatives seem improbable.¹ *The Sūtra of the Ten Wheels*, first translated into Chinese early in the fifth century, seems to be a genuine translation from Sanskrit, and the cult of Kshitigarbha presumably existed in India, or at any rate in some sphere of Sanskrit culture in the fourth century. But it is not mentioned by any of the Chinese pilgrims, from Fa Hsien onwards.

Another link between the San Chieh sect and Manicheism is the *Great Cloud Sūtra*. In 690 the usurping Empress Wu Hou caused a "new translation" of this well-known sūtra to be made, with passages inserted in which it was foretold that Maitreya would one day descend to earth and rule China in the guise of a woman. The new translation was officially circulated throughout China, and Wu Hou was able to pose as an incarnation of the Future Buddha. Now we know that the Manichean temples erected in China in 768 and 771 received the name of Great Cloud Temples, and it has been suspected that there was some connection between Manicheism and the forged prophecies issued in the new *Great Cloud Sūtra* of 690. Finally, the San Chieh sect was currently accused of having had a hand in the concoction of these prophecies. It has therefore been suspected that there is some connection between San Chieh and Manicheism. All those questions, only alluded to in the final version of the book, were discussed at length in the draft which perished in 1923. We can only hope that Mr. Yabuki will find time to return to them, particularly in view of the increasing interest in Manicheism.

The intrinsic importance of the San Chieh documents, apart from the light they shed on an obscure chapter of Buddhist history, lies rather in the state of feeling that they express than in any intellectual subtlety, dialectic power or literary beauty, qualities in which they fall far short of the Indian Abhidharma. The controversies of the age were marred by the vastness of the accepted Buddhist Canon. Each

¹ It is, for example, unlikely that Buddhism derived the name from Manicheism.
party in the discussion quoted from its own favourite bunch of scriptures, which the other disputant accepted as orthodox, but chose for purposes of argument to ignore. The opponents, therefore, could never get to grips, and it was only fatigue or lack of ingenuity that brought the combat to a close. But as documents of psychological history the writings of the sect are of the greatest interest, all the more so since the secular literature of Hsin-hsing’s age (the second half of the sixth century), being mostly either trivial or wholly retrospective, fails to throw light on the contemporary mind of China. It is not difficult to trace a connection between the San Chieh creed and the desperate political situation of China at the time of Hsin-hsing’s birth. Four hundred years of disunion and disorder had followed the fall of the Han dynasty. Half and sometimes more than half of the country had been seized by successive barbarian invaders; public security had sunk to the lowest ebb. Finally, in Hsin-hsing’s prime had come the great persecution of 574, when 2,000,000 (?) Taoist and Buddhist monks were forced back into secular life. It seemed indeed as if the destruction of the Law so often foretold in apocalyptic works as marking the last phase before the coming of Maitreya, had actually taken place. But the Third Stage was to last 10,000 years, and by no reckoning could it be maintained that in the sixth century it had advanced more than a few hundred years. Maitreya was therefore a long way off, and he figures only occasionally and very dimly in the San Chieh books. Theirs is a dark and hopeless or at least desperate creed, that flattens out the spiritual world into one dead level of ignorance and folly. It could not long compete with the optimistic creeds that offered a swift and easy approach to Paradise.

The sect with which Hsin-hsing’s followers came chiefly into conflict was indeed the Pure Land (Japanese Jōdo) whose worship of Amitābha, a “separate Buddha”, seemed to them a perilous proceeding. With the other great Chinese sect, the Dhyāna (Zen) which arose almost at the same time, they came to a less definite issue, for though meditation was considered by the San Chieh to be “unsuitable” to the age, they did not altogether eschew it. The Tun Huang collections contain a large number of wholly unedited Zen documents. It is greatly to be hoped that Mr. Yabuki or one of his colleagues

\(^1\) The earliest Paradise scripture that survives in the Chinese Tripitaka is the Akokhobhya Sūtra, translated in A.D. 147. Whether An Shih-kao’s translation of the Amitābha Sūtra (attributed to the same time) ever existed is doubtful, in view of the extremely conflicting evidence about the extent of his activities.
will turn their attention to these and throw some light on the absolute darkness which surrounds the birth of the most famous and typical Far Eastern sect.

A. Waley.


This book, by Dr. T. Canaan, a Jerusalem physician who has made a considerable study of Arab folk-lore, who is a prominent member of the Palestine Oriental Society, and also author of Aberglaube und Volksmedizin im Lande der Bibel, gives a valuable and interesting account of sanctuaries and of saints who are the object of a popular cult in Palestine to-day. It is not limited, as the title would suggest, to Muslim shrines and saints only, but deals also with those venerated by Palestinian Christians.

The author discusses the sites of these sanctuaries and the reasons for their choice. "High Places" have always been associated with religion in Palestine, and monasteries as well as shrines are to be found on the summits of the hills there to this day, and that this preference was well-known even in the earliest days of Islam, is suggested by the tradition according to which the Prophet stated that after a certain period, "monastic life upon the tops of the mountains" would be lawful for his followers.1

The writer, in describing the structure and decoration of these tombs, gives several inscriptions, including that on the tomb of Fātimah (daughter of the Imam Ḥusayn, not Ḥasan as stated here), near Hebron, which is given more fully by Ibn Batṭūta.2

The association of trees with shrines and holy personages, of which the author gives several instances, was to be found also in pre-Islamic Arabia and is still existent among Muslims in India and Albania and North Africa.3

The types of tombs mentioned include the "maqām", a sanctuary of some size, sacred usually to a saint universally honoured, which

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1 Al-Dhahabi, Mīzān al-ittidāl, i, p. 377.
2 أَسْتَنَكَ مَن كَان فِي الْأَحَنَاء وَمَسَّهُ بِالْحَمْم مَثَلَّ بَيْنِ الْرَّبِّ وَالجَبَّر يَأْتِي فَاطِمَة بَنتُ الْأَلِيِّمَة بَنتَ الْأَجْمَرِ النَّزِير يُقُرِّرَ فَانِيَكَ مَن دِينَ وَمَن وَرَعَ وَمَن عَافَ وَمَن صُوْنَ وَمَن صَفَرَ (i, p. 119).
M. Clermont Ganneau has identified with the "makōm" of Deuteronomy, and the "high places" against which the Jewish prophets preached so often in vain.\(^1\) Another type is the "ḥuwayṭa", which in Palestine is the name given to a small enclosure of stones, and is also found in North Africa as a pyramid of stones, in the form of a circle or horse-shoe, erected over the tomb of marabouts, who are not of sufficient importance to be given a more pretentious shrine. At these shrines offerings are made, including animal sacrifices. The "muqaddam" (not "muqaddim") mentioned in this connection (p. 160) to whom Doutté refers (Magie et Religion) is not an "offerer", but a shaykh; the term is used in North Africa to denote the local leader of a group of dervishes.

To the saints venerated at these shrines, recourse is had in all difficulties; to them prayers are offered and vows made. As human beings once themselves, they understand human needs and weaknesses, and are easier of access than God Most High. To the Palestinians, as to Muslims all over the world, the saints have become minor deities and superstition has given them a place equal to—if not above—that of God Himself. As in other Muslim countries, women saints receive veneration equally with men, and though their shrines are fewer in number in Palestine than those of men saints, the author notes that 60 per cent. of the women saints enjoy a wide reputation as compared with only 31 per cent. of the men.

Like all Muslim saints, these Palestinian "walis" are popularly believed to have the power of working miracles, healing the sick and punishing those who do violence to their shrines, while they are also credited with ability to walk on the sea and to fly. The saints of Palestine naturally include many Biblical characters such as Nebî Mūsa (Moses), Dā'ūd (David), Ayūb (Job), Yūnis, (Jonah), and Khalil (Abraham) revered by Christians, Jews, and Muslims alike, and also saints of purely Muslim origin, including such famous leaders as al-Dasūqi, al-Rifa'i and Abū Hurayra, whose shrines are found here, though they were actually buried elsewhere. The woman saint Rābi'a (see p. 57), who is buried in the grotto of St. Pelagia, is Rābi'a bint Ismā'il of Syria,\(^2\) not her more famous namesake Rābi'a al-‘Adawiyya of Basra,\(^3\) who died and was buried at Basra.

It is a pity that this book, with its wealth of valuable material,

\(^1\) **Arabs in Palestine**, p. 209.
\(^2\) **Ob. A.H. 135.**
\(^3\) **Ob. A.H. 185.**
should not have been provided with a full index, a lack for which a detailed table of contents is no adequate compensation and it is also regrettable that a book so carefully compiled should be marred by want of care in proof-reading. "Wich" for "which", "wifs" for "wives", "backed" for "baked", "mediant" for "mendicant" are only a few out of numerous misprints. It is also unfortunate, since the book appears in English, that a system of transliteration more generally intelligible to English readers, should not have been adopted in preference to the German system.

M. S.

LETTERS ON RELIGION AND FOLKLORE. By the late F. W. HASLUCK, annotated by M. M. HASLUCK. London: Luzac and Co., 1926. 12s. 6d.

These are the letters of a scholar who had a wide knowledge of the religions, history, and folklore of the Levant, and had also made a close study of the unpublished records of earlier travellers. His contributions to the Annual of the British School at Athens and to "Folklore", and his other published work had made him an accepted authority on his special subjects, and his premature death at the age of 42 was deeply regretted by a large circle of those who were interested in the folklore of the Near East.

The letters were written to a personal friend, not for purposes of publication, and for most of the period which they cover the writer was an invalid, and as such precluded from as systematic a study as he would have liked to make of the topics he discusses. The letters have been selected and annotated by his wife, to whom the thanks of readers are due for the careful way in which she has carried out a task which in the nature of the case was difficult, but to which she brought first-hand knowledge of many of the subjects discussed.

The letters deal, as the title-page tells us, with religion and folklore, and mainly with the two great religions of Christianity and Islām and their interplay in the Near East, and there is much discussion of saints and sanctuaries. "Rabahet" (mentioned on page 189) should be Rābi'a bint Ismā'il, a well-known Syrian saint who died at Jerusalem in A.H. 135.

The book contains an interesting appendix on the Round Temple and Round Church, and is well illustrated by photographs and sketches, the latter by the author himself. The feeling with which one leaves
this book is that of deep regret that the gifted and scholarly writer of these letters should not have lived to work out and develop his interesting theories, and to give them in finished form to the world. This book makes the reader look forward to the longer work *Islam and Christianity* by this writer, also edited by his wife, which is now in the press.

MARGARET SMITH.

**The Difnar of the Coptic Church.** From the Vatican Codex Copt. Borgia 59. Edited by De Lacy O'Leary, D.D. pp. viii + 120. Luzac. 12s.

I reviewed the first part of this publication, covering the first four months of the Coptic year, in the *Bulletin*, vol. iv (1926), p. 406, the text of which was reproduced from the MS. of the Difnar in the John Rylands Library at Manchester; this is a welcome instalment, and I look forward to the final portion, which is also to be found in the Vatican MSS.—the present volume covers the months of Tobi, Mechir, Phamenoth, and Pharmouthi: Pachon, Paoni, Epep, and Mesore (and the *Epagomenae*) are still to come. For general remarks on this important liturgical book of the Coptic Church, I venture to refer back to my previous notice.

The following suggestions may be made in the names of the Saints commemorated:


18 Mechir. Malatinos (= Meletianus), given by the Coptic text, is wrong: the Arabic has the true name ملاتينوس = Meletius.

25 Mechir. The virgin saint martyred with Archippus (or Arsenius) and Philemon was not Pelikia but Lycia. Dr. O'Leary has printed ἐπεκραντι πελικία, which is ungrammatical, for the copula is needed: read ἐπεκραντι τις λικία. "her name being Lycia".

14 Phamenoth. Anodoros and Alindios: should be Agathodorus and Eplidius.

17 Pharmouthi. Eplanios: the Arabic of the *Synaxarium* gives the right reading, Blasius; he became so popular in the West that we sometimes forget his Eastern origin—an Armenian by birth, bishop of Sebaste.

19 Pharmouthi. Aristo: so shortened as to be almost a nickname; from Aristobulus. On this day there is also a commemora-
tion of seven martyrs, over the last of whom Dr. O’Leary has gone wrong, calling him (or her) Nikome. The Coptic is Πανικομ Ἱτε Ἱλαρίων; not difficult in itself, but made certain by a reference to the Synaxarium, which ends the list with وَالسُوس (Valesius) and then says of them كانا من قرى مصر. Dr. O’Leary should not have been deceived by a Greek word with the Coptic plural article.

Students of Egyptian hagiology should be grateful to Dr. O’Leary and to the Bristol Colston Research Society, whose generosity has assisted the present publication, and we must hope that they will continue their help to allow the work to be completed.

S. Gaselee.


Professor Benedetto, liberally subsidized as it appears by the City of Venice and by the Italian Geographical Society, has been able to devote himself for three years to the study of the text of Marco Polo, and the result appeared in a large well-printed volume at the beginning of 1928. The book is divided into two parts, Introduction and Text. It is evident that the text was printed before the Introduction and that the latter was printed off sheet by sheet as it was written, so that the author gives information on p. cii which he was unable to do on p. lxxxi. Very remarkable as the whole book is it might have been better still perhaps if it had been done more deliberately and had received a final revision before any part of it was printed. It has been said to be based on the study of “all the manuscripts”, but the author himself makes no such claim and indeed he could hardly have read, much less studied, all the 120 odd MSS. which he describes, in the space of two years or less, in addition to transcribing the longest of them all and large passages from several others.1 But it is clear enough that he has read and studied a large number of the more important MSS. and with regard to not a few of these he is the first scholar to record the results of such study. The Introduction consists of a description and reasoned classification of all the MSS. known to Benedetto. Such a classification has no doubt been attempted before,

1 Since writing this I have seen a statement in the Rivista Geografica Italiana that Prof. Benedetto studied the Marco Polo MSS. in the summer of 1924.
for example by Yule, but on nothing at all like the present scale. And though further study may modify some of the conclusions in some small points, it does not seem likely that Benedetto’s work will need to be done again. The MSS. are securely divided off into five families, of which four are in turn cut up—one of them with almost infinite intricacy—into subfamilies. It is characteristic of Benedetto’s method, or perhaps a mere indication of haste and want of revision, that he provides no list of MSS. with numbers or other fixed symbols by which he and his successors may refer to them briefly, and that A1 may mean the Paris MS. Fr. 5631 in Chapter II, while the della Crusca MS. at Florence is A1 in Chapter III; and that VB is used on p. clxxxi without any explanation of the initials or any statement that they are to be applied to a certain small class of Italian MSS.; that he calls leaves cc., ff., and (I think) pp., indiscriminately; and that he refers to his own printed text sometimes by the chapter and line, sometimes by the leaf and column of the MS. There are some misprints and many slips in the transcription of manuscripts.

The second half of the book is occupied by the text. At the head of each page is the text of F (Fr. 1116) correctly transcribed and well edited at last. The erratic spelling of the original is in some cases standardized and modernized, but this extremely difficult operation has been wisely and moderately performed. One would like to ask in passing how the sound of W was expressed in medieval French or Italian. Is uocan (which Yule identifies with Wakhan) necessarily modernized as Vocan, or may it remain Uocan? The still more erratic punctuation has been very thoughtfully and successfully modernized. And finally the very frequent gaps and mistakes of the original have been filled or corrected as the case may be. These additions and corrections are for the most part obvious and within the power of any careful reader to make, but some of them are more ingenious and difficult, and in any case here they are, clearly set down in print, and the famous text is perfectly intelligible for the first time. A very few of these emendations seem to be unnecessary, and one or two perhaps mistaken. At the foot of the page in smaller type are printed the additional passages not found in F from other sources, and pre-eminently of course from Ramusio (which remains the sole authority for many passages) and Z, a modern but hitherto unnoticed MS. found by Benedetto in the Ambrosiana at Milan. The success with which this awkward piece of arrangement has been carried out by printers and editor is very remarkable. The additions themselves are full of interest.
and some of those from Z appear in print absolutely for the first time. Of some of these new pieces one feels that their general suppression does credit to the good taste of the middle ages, but others are of quite extraordinary interest and we cannot be too grateful to Benedetto for having recovered them. Between these two parts of the page and in still smaller print come critical notes, the least satisfactory part of this most satisfactory section of the book. One need not complain that there is not, as one enthusiastic reviewer has said there is, a complete *apparatus criticus*; such a thing would merely be an unwieldy mass of useless matter. Wherever a change has been made in the text of F, the reading of the MS. is given below. Thus where sovran de is printed in the text (p. 210), *dou rane* (a slip for *ravenc*) appears in the notes. This is as it should be; but why space should be wasted by recording all the little mistakes in the French Geographical Society’s edition of 1824, it is hard to see. That text has done good work, and its publication was one of the greatest events in the history of Marco Polo studies. Nothing is gained by laughing at it now, and the great space thus wasted could have been filled to very great advantage first by giving the authority for the emendations of the text, and secondly by adding to the present very small selection of various readings, especially in the case of the proper names.

The illustrations are interesting, and well done, but of no critical value. It is specially disappointing and most surprising not to find a page of Z among the facsimiles of famous manuscripts. There is an admirable index.

In conclusion Professor Benedetto is specially to be congratulated on having given us an edition of one definite text (F), relegating all additional matter to footnotes and resisting the temptation to produce another eclectic text or to make any foolish attempt to restore an imaginary “original text”; and to this very notable edition his learned essay on the classification of the manuscripts forms a worthy introduction.

A. C. Moule.


Before his deeply lamented death last year, Colonel Luard had, with the assistance of Father Hosten, completed his edition of the *Travels of Fray Sebastian Manrique*, the first volume of which has just
been published by the Hakuyt Society. The whole work will certainly form a valuable addition to this great series of travels. Here and there the volume seems to have lacked the final touch. On p. 141 "fast" seems a misprint for "feast"; and there are notes which will never be needed by those who use the volume, e.g. the note on Masulipatam on p. 217. Nor do we like the practice of clubbing several notes together under a single reference number. But apart from these trifles, the volume is excellently edited, and the translation, which simplifies many of Manrique's involved sentences, runs with ease and with something of the true tone of the seventeenth century.

As a writer, Manrique cannot rank high. He is rhetorical, full of quotations from the Vulgate, the Fathers, and occasionally profane writers. He is not always honest, as we reckon honesty, and will cite native chronicles when his real source of information is Mendez Pinto. After the manner of Livy, he places in his own and other people's mouths prodigious harangues, which can never have been delivered. But his narrative of his own adventures is straightforward and at times vivid; and he himself must have possessed a most attractive personality. He was a zealous missionary, and yet tactful and discreet. He was evidently able to impress those with whom he came in contact—king, priests, or officials. We judge him to have been entirely free from the faults and vices which are commonly attributed to the Portuguese of his day in India; and he appears at once pious, humble, and humane. He compares himself with all his advantages of Christian upbringing with an Indian Christian, and was confused to think how little he was doing, although in fact he had risked his life time and again.

The principal value of the present volume consists in the account which it gives of the kingdom of Arakan in the second quarter of the seventeenth century. Manrique, who belonged to the Augustinian Order, was sent from Hugli to minister to the Christian population to the eastwards, and so proceeded to Dia, the port opposite Chittagong, and then to Arakan, where he was detained by the Magh ruler, who, like the Burmese kings, could not bear to allow foreigners to leave his dominions. It was some five years before he could effect his departure, and his narrative throws much light on a kingdom best remembered for the raids conducted by the Maghs and vagabond Portuguese in their service on the eastern districts of Bengal. Manrique's account of the Portuguese is probably more favourable than was warranted by the facts; at all events he displays their best
side to the reader, as was indeed natural in a fellow-countryman. His description of many of the Arakanese customs is very inconsistent with Buddhist principles; and it is sometimes hard to know whether he is mistaken, or whether more primitive customs had modified Buddhist practices. In one case at all events, his description of the Talaing spirit-dance, he is probably mistaken in introducing sacrifices. At the court Muslim influences were strong, as was natural owing to the neighbourhood of the great Moghul Empire. It had been exhibited by the adoption of Persian titles and the issue of medallions bearing the kalima, in spite of the king's Buddhist faith. At the court of Thirthudamma Manrique found a Muslim magician exercising great influence; and he is said to have induced the king to prelude his coronation by a huge number of expiatory executions; but these must have been due less to any specific Muslim influence than to the survival of more primitive ideas, as Mr. Harvey has pointed out. The coronation is described in great detail; and was preceded by the coronation of twelve minor chiefs so as to justify the King's assumption of the title "Lord of the Twelve Kings".

H. DODWELL.


The inequality of this book is due to the inequality of the authorities which have been used in its compilation. The author lays no claim to profound scholarship, and it would be unreasonable to demand of the writer of a history of India from the earliest times to the beginning of the eighteenth century ability to consult original authorities for all his facts, but it is not unreasonable to expect that modern authorities should be consulted. The book suggests that the author was engaged on it for some years, in the course of which he learned much, for while the record of the reign of Aurangaib and of the latter part of that of Shāh Jahān is based on the best modern authorities, the account of all that goes before that period appears to be drawn from the works of earlier writers who, for lack of material, could reproduce nothing more than the uncritical records of two or three Indian chroniclers. The author does not even seem to have consulted, for the reign of Akbar, the late Mr. Vincent Smith's illuminating study of that ruler; and the same author's small Oxford History of India would have saved Mr. Waley from many a slip; for instance, from the assumption that
Dihli has been from time immemorial an imperial city, and that its rulers in the twelfth century were Emperors of India, or even of Hindūstān. The use of the geographical term "Afghanistān", when speaking or writing of that country before the middle of the eighteenth century, is an anachronism, as is also the description of the mounted troops of Mu'izz-al-dīn Muḥammad as "Afghan cavalry". "Alik Khān" is an unfamiliar version of the name of Īlak Khān of Transoxiana; it is not safe to assume that two sons of a Muslim sovereign, born on the same day, are twins; the Saljūqs are better described as Turks than as "Tartars"; the genealogical tree of the Ghaznavids will be searched in vain for Mas'ūd's two sons, "Modud and Madud"; and Timūr was not "the Moghul". The correct name, or title, of the third of the Slave Kings (not "emperors") of Dihli was Īlututmish, not Altamsh: "Huluku" is a strange variant of the name of Hulāgū Khān; and the title of the brother of 'Alā-al-dīn Khaljī was Ulugh Khān, not Alāf Khān. The author's reticence on the subject of the relations between 'Alā-al-dīn Khaljī and Kāfūr Hazārdinārī (Malik Naīb) and between Qutb-al-dīn Mubārak and Khusrau Khān does credit to his delicacy, but amounts to concealment of relevant facts without a knowledge of which it is impossible to understand the course of events at this period.

The account of the mutiny of Muḥammad ibn Tughluq's army before Warangal is incorrect, but the details of the mutiny have been so garbled, perhaps intentionally, by the contemporary Indian chronicler that few European historians have succeeded in discovering the fact that Muhammad himself was the rebel, and that the principal officers of his army refused to join him. This prince committed many follies after his ascent of the throne, but was never so foolish as to contemplate "the conquest of that portion of the Himalayan range situated between India and China", that is to say, nearly the whole range. The title of the first king of the Bahmani dynasty of the Dakan was not "'Alā-al-dīn Ḥasan Shah Gangu Bahmani", but "'Alā-al-dīn Ḥasan, Bahman Shāh", and it had no connection with the caste-name Brahman. Mr. Waley was probably unaware of the latest results of epigraphical research. The circumstances of this King's election, too, are very imperfectly narrated, also the account of the reign of Firūz Shāh Tughluq, of whose campaigns in Sind and Bengal no mention is made.

The author is too ready to accept genealogical claims formulated, but never substantiated, e.g. the claim of Prithvī Rāj to descent from
the Pândava Yudhisthira; that of the Rāthors of Mārwār to descent from the Gaharwārs of Kanauj; that of Yūsuf ʿĀdīl Khān of Bijnāpur to descent from the ʿUthmānli Sulṭāns; that of Lakhoji Yādavrāo to descent from the Yādava house of Devagiri; and that of the Bhonsle clan to descent from the Sesodias of Mewār. On the other hand the statement that the Niẓām Shāhī kings of Ahmadnagar were "to a certain extent of Hindu extraction" is misleading. They were immediately descended of a Brahman family of Pāthrī.

Indiscriminate praise of Akbar is another defect of this book. He was undoubtedly a very great ruler, and in advance of his age, but he was not free from weaknesses, among which were inordinate vanity, love of conquest for its own sake, incontinence, and intemperance. The courtly fabrication that he chivalrously refused to smite the wounded Hemu has been too readily accepted, the account of the death of Jāimal at his hands is inaccurate, and ʿIbādat-Khāna does not mean House of Argument, but House of Worship. To assert that the apostate Christians who fell into Akbar's hands on the capture of Asīrgarh were "re-baptized" is to accuse the Portuguese priests in Akbar's camp, the best, be it remembered, that Goa could produce, of gross ignorance of Catholic doctrine and practice. Those whose baptism is doubtful are baptized sub conditione, but a lapsed Christian is not re-admitted to the Church by re-baptism, for the Sacrament of Baptism cannot be repeated.

"The famous Moghul clan of the Syeds of Barha" is a strange confraternity. A Sayyid is a descendant of the prophet Muḥammad, and therefore, by descent, an Arab of the Quraish tribe. He cannot be a member of a Mughul clan. The claim of the Sayyids of Bārha to the status of Sayyids has not invariably been admitted, but they have not hitherto been accused of being Mongols. No official of the emperor Jahānghīr could have been entitled "Kuli Khān", nor could the founder of the dynasty of Golconda have been entitled "Kuli Kutub Shah". His name and title were Sulṭān Quli Qutb Shāh.

Only a few out of many inaccuracies have been cited, but Mr. Waley’s work is, in spite of its errors, a praiseworthy endeavour to present the history of India to the English reader in an acceptable form, and it is to be hoped that it will arouse interest in this much neglected subject.

W. H.

It is well that Gertrude Bell should have been allowed to tell her own story. No adequate life of her could have been written out by a relation or intimate friend, and such a life would have been liable to depreciation on the score of partiality. Her letters show the woman as she was. From them each can form his own estimate of her worth, and few will withhold the need of admiration due to a personality so commanding and so charming. Materialists of the grosser sort may regard her life as wasted, in the sense that she missed some of its joys, and much of its physical comfort; but let them re-read this book to learn how joyful a life of sacrifice may be. No one was more capable than Gertrude Bell of deep affection, of appreciating to the full the happiness of intimate association with those whom she loved, and of the enjoyment of life's lighter pleasures; but she found a higher happiness in the work which lay before her, the work which none but she could have done so well. Wherever she was and however she was employed, she tasted life to the full. "Say, is it not rather refreshing to the spirit to lie in a hammock strung between the plane trees of a Persian garden, and read the poems of Hafiz?" is a strange question from one who was yet a girl. Her delight as "the best of all lady mountaineers" in Alpine climbing, in eluding Turkish officials and penetrating the country of the Druzes, in the strange gutturals and broken plurals of the Arabic language, which she afterwards acquired so perfectly; the great zest with which she entered into the spirit of archaeological exploration in Asia Minor, her tolerance even of Basra and her joy in her work in Irāq, all go to make up the picture of a full and happy life, to which the colour is supplied by her deep love and affection for her family.

The letters contain a few slips hardly to be expected from such a scholar as the writer of them. Among these we may instance yaila for yailaq, Jalal-ed-Din Zumi for Jalal-ed-Din Rumi, and the statement that the death of Husain is mourned on Muharram 15.

The present writer had the privilege of a slight acquaintance with Gertrude Bell, but never enjoyed an opportunity of improving it. It needs the pen of one who knew her better to do full justice to this wonderful woman. "Scholar, poet, historian, archaeologist, art critic, mountaineer, explorer, gardener, naturalist, distinguished servant of the State, Gertrude was all of these, and was recognized by experts as an expert in them all." Her family alone can estimate and
appreciate her love for them, but the evidence of that love which appears in her letters, portrays for the reader a most lovable character. Her learning, her ability, her energy, her devotion to duty, and, above all, her modesty after great achievements, complete the picture.

W. H.


This book, discursive, curious, introspective, and intermittently observant, breathes the joy of Persian travel, its pictures of which will awaken pleasant memories for all who have enjoyed traversing the open desert and the naked hills in leisurely fashion with a string of mules, and the conversation of muleteers, and of casual acquaintances among wayfarers and villagers. "The road stretches onwards to a long low ridge striped with salt." What traveller nearing the end of this long stretch, has not longed to see what lies over the edge of the ridge, only to discover that what lies beyond is even what lay on the hither side? The author has a sense of beauty, and the hashish-bred dream of Isfahan transcends the reality but by a little and merely restores faded glories; but Natanz might have left memories other than that of the hoary brigand Naib Husain. He will no more play his pranks on rotund Englishmen and Bakhtiyari warriors, for both he and his son Mashallah have long since expiated on the gibbet their lives of violent, if occasionally facetious crime.

It is a pity that the transliteration of Persian words should convey so little idea of their pronunciation, and that in the verses which the author reproduces quantity marks should be so misplaced as to destroy the rhythm. This is especially regrettable in the verses quoted on pages 59 and 60, where the author’s faulty and hardly intelligible transcription gives no idea of the stately rajaz, one of the most musical of all Persian metres. The verse translations need have lost neither beauty nor rhythm by closer adherence to the originals.

Sir Coleridge Kennard’s observation is not always exact. Mulas, for instance, do not wear red turbans. Some of his Persian words are impossible. There is no such name as "Gurbam Ali", nor are the questioners of the dead named "Nunkir and Mimkir", and these are only random examples of many similar errors which it would be worth while to correct should the book reach a second edition, from which the author’s gibe at his military hosts might well be omitted.

Wolseley Haig.

This is a much-discussed work—and discussed, in some quarters, with considerable venom, in spite of the fact that it is commendably free from bitterness and notably fair to all parties. It is also eminently readable, and may be recommended to the attention of anyone interested in East Africa, whether prepared or otherwise to agree with its conclusions. It must be said, however, that from any point of view, Mr. McGregor Ross's book provides abundant food for thought and deserves serious consideration. After a historical retrospect sketching in outline the events of four centuries, we have, in four most illuminating chapters, an account of the Imperial British East Africa Company and its activities, and of the various phases through which the land question has passed. The currency problem, a sore perplexity to outsiders, is also fully explained. We have a graphic picture of the various conflicting elements in the Colony and their apparently irreconcilable interests—but thoughtful readers will discover at least hints towards a solution. Due consideration to the questions here raised and discussed, would require at least the scope of a Quarterly article; suffice it to say that the whole book should be read and carefully weighed by intending settlers—more particularly, perhaps, Chapter VII. Those who eulogize in glowing terms the "ideal climate" of the Highlands are apt to forget that low temperature in equatorial latitudes is not everything, and that high altitudes, and perhaps other insufficiently investigated factors, may have a disastrous effect on the nerves, accounting in many cases for what used to be known in Germany as Tropenkoller. The same is true, to some extent, of Southern Rhodesia, a delightful region, but no place for people with, e.g., weak hearts. "For English children," Mr. McGregor Ross says, "the country is a forcing-house"—a point which parents will do well to bear in mind.

A. W.


This handsome volume was offered to Professor Meinhof—the doyen of Bantu studies in Europe, on the occasion of his 70th birthday, by a number of his colleagues and friends. The fifty contributors include representatives of Germany, Austria, Britain, the United States, France, Italy, Sweden, Norway, Holland, and South Africa.
Most of the essays deal, as is fitting, with African languages (Meinhof's name is chiefly associated with the Bantu family but he has not confined his attention to it, as readers of his *Sprachen der Hamiten*, not to mention numerous occasional essays, will remember)—but studies from other speech-families, and in general linguistics are contributed by Professor Meillet, Dr. Panconcelli-Calzia, Professor Boas, Mr. Sidney Ray, and others, and four papers, not strictly linguistic, by Dr. Thilenius, E. Cassirer, M. Schlunk, and T. W. Danzel. The volume forms a little library in itself, and would require many pages to discuss it adequately. A pathetic interest attaches to the second essay, "Classes nominales en Wolof", by the late Maurice Delafosse. Professor Westermann's recent work has placed the whole question of the Sudanic languages (in which I suppose Wolof must be included) in a new light, and the relationship of his *Klassensprachen* to Bantu calls for intensive investigation. The Wolof classes, though distinguished by prefixes, do not appear, on a casual inspection, to be identical with the Bantu system, and an important point of difference is to be found in the fact that the plural is not indicated by a change of prefix. Hansen Jensen (Kiel) discusses the negative particle in Bantu for which he postulates a primitive form *Ka*. I cannot here examine his arguments in detail, but they appear to me to supply a much-needed explanation of the enigmatic Vemba form *nshi-*1, the cause of serious heart-searchings to many students.

K. Roehl (Dar-es-Salaam)—author of a meritorious Shambala Grammar, has an interesting paper, headed "Eine fast verloren gegangene Klasse des Ur-Bantu"—viz. a class with the prefix *ku-.* In spite of the wide knowledge and careful research here evident, I am unable to agree with the whole of his conclusions. His first set of examples (Ruanda *uku-guru*, Nyamwezi *kugulu* "foot", Ruanda *uku-voko*, Herero *oku-oko* "arm", etc.) are clearly locatives, which, by a quite intelligible process have taken the place of the simple noun. (Cf. Bleek, *Comparative Grammar of South African Languages*, § 434, where the locative nature of the prefix is recognized, though he does not hint at the substitution of the locative for the primitive form.) This is more particularly evident in words denoting parts of the body, which in some languages are found in their original form—e.g. Pogoro *ligulu* "foot" (Mombasa Swahili *gwa*). Apart from these, Roehl places in his lost *ku-* class a number of nouns in which the *ku* almost certainly forms part of the stem, e.g. Swahili *u-kucha* "nail", *kose* "neck", *kope* "eyelid", and even *ki-fua* "chest" (as being derived
from a primitive -kəva) and even the almost universal Bantu kumi "ten". With regard to the last-named, one would like to inquire how Zulu has developed the form ishumi, whereas the ku-infinitive prefix\(^1\) (the locative is lost in this language except for some pretty obvious traces), retains its shape. Roehl divides the Shambala kuli "dog" a word "sonst unerklärlich" into the ku-prefix and li < lia "to cry"; therefore = "Heu! Vieh"! His idea is that this prefix denotes (a) parts of the body; (b) animals; (c) plants and parts of plants; (d) weapons, implements, etc.—a fairly comprehensive category. Not content with words obviously containing the syllable ku-, he adds several in which other consonants are derived by Meinhof from a hypothetical primitive k—which ex hypothesis forms part of the stem. Dr. Eiselen has written on the modifications produced by nasals in the sounds of Thonga—a language not yet sufficiently studied from the phonetic point of view, as Junod's valuable work does not appear to have been followed up.

I have necessarily confined my attention chiefly to the Bantu part of this work, but even to this it is impossible to do justice within the present limits. Such contributions as that of Professor Daniel Jones on "Words distinguished by Tone in Sechuana", Dr. Doke's "The Significance of Class Ia of Bantu Nouns", the Rev. W. Bourquin's "Die Sprache der Phuthi" certainly deserve the full examination which cannot be accorded them here. I must, however, mention Miss Stevenson's "Specimens of Kikuyu Proverbs", P. Blessing Dahle's transcription (with musical notation) of the Zulu song composed after the battle of Isandhlwana, and Dr. Cerulli's "Il gergo delle genti di bassa casta della Somalia"—which may be of value in clearing up the relation between these "Nilot tribes" and the Wasanye and Waboni of Kenya.

Of capital importance, to conclude, is Professor Czermak's very scholarly and suggestive essay "Die Lokalvorstellung und ihre Bedeutung für den grammatischen Aufbau afrikanischer Sprachen"—which I would commend to the attention of all language-students.

A. W.

\(^1\) I think it is generally admitted that the infinitive and locative prefixes are originally identical, though now differentiated in function.

Nsenga is a Bantu language, unwritten till within the last 25 years; the first attempt in this direction being made by the late A.C. Madan, who, in 1905, estimated the tribe as numbering some 50,000 individuals. Mr. Ranger gives the figure as 70,000. They live on the northern bank of the Zambezi (whither they appear to have migrated about a hundred years ago), to the east of the Lwangwa River, extending eastward to the border of the Nyasaland Protectorate. Mr. Ranger is of opinion that "with the speech of adjacent people, Chinsenga—beyond the usual Bantu affinities—has little in common. In its range of words it would appear to be richer than, at any rate, those to the east, and both in vocabulary and in syntax it bears a closer resemblance to Chiwiza and Chiwemba than to them." A cursory inspection, however, reveals a large number of words identical in form with those of similar meaning in Nyanja, while others are the same save for slight change, of sound. The comparative richness of two languages is difficult to gauge, unless one has a close acquaintance with both; a glance at the late D. C. Scott's Mang'anja (Nyanja) Dictionary—bearing in mind, moreover, that Dr. Hetherwick has collected between four and five thousand additional words—might suggest that this language need not fear a comparison with Nsenga. In the author's account of Nsenga sounds—though expressed in pre-phonetic terms—there seems nothing to which one could take exception, but he raises two interesting questions. One concerns the sound for which he uses the symbol w (elsewhere, e.g. in Lamba, denoting the bilabial fricative) and which is "spoken not with the lips pursed and the mouth contracted, but more softly, from the front of the mouth, and with the tongue pressed lightly against the lower teeth". Mr. Ranger expressly says that the sound is not quite the same as "what is usually denoted by a b in Chiwemba" (i.e. as I understand it, the bilabial fricative). It is probably similar to, if not identical with that referred to in Scott's Dictionary, which, according to information received from Dr. Hetherwick, is certainly not the bilabial fricative. Another point is the sound written as sy and said to be interchangeable with sh (/). I suspect it to be—Meinholf's "cerebral" (retroflex) s—a very common sound in Yao, and not always easy to differentiate from f.
As regards the arrangement of the noun-classes, I regret to see that *li-* and *lu-* are lumped together as Class 5, because both have plurals in *ma-* (consequently those *lu-* nouns which have plurals of Class 10 are classed under 9—here called 3). Confusions of this sort would be avoided if grammarians would follow Bleek's arrangement of counting singular and plural prefixes as denoting separate classes, recognizing the fact that they do not always correspond in pairs—that one plural may belong to two or more singulants, or even (as in Ganda) that a prefix may be plural with one class of nouns, and singular with another.

The remarks on the first—usually called the person-class—are extremely suggestive. "In Chinsenga & ... this class is by no means confined to words which stand for human beings & ... it comprises the names of ... the majority ... of the animals, birds, fishes, insects, reptiles, trees, bushes, grass and herbs. Yet the class is not limited even to animate beings, whether human or otherwise, for included in it are numbers of words which denote things not possessing life. In so far as it is possible to generalize, these inanimate objects may be said to include, to some extent, dances, scarification-marks, maladies and various foods in their prepared state."

As regards animals, it seems clear that, originally belonging to other classes (most usually the 9th or *n-* class as *nkandwe*, jackal) they are placed in the first class, and receive its plural prefix, by way of personification. With regard to trees and plants the case is more puzzling—but I might suggest that some confusion arose (though it does not seem to have done so in other languages) through the first and third prefixes (*mn-* or *m-*) being identical. Whether some obscure notion of personality attaches—or formerly did so—to the other objects enumerated, it would be interesting to inquire; it is at any rate worth noting that the Baganda places *kaumpuli* "small-pox" in the person-class.

The "alternative plural" in *ma-* (p. 10) is probably (though perhaps its original force has been lost or obscured in Nsenga) augmentative, implying either a large number of objects, or several objects of unusual size. It is curious to find that augmentatives in *chi-* (p. 12) are treated as nouns of the 7th class, and have plurals in *vi-* in Chinyanja they count as of the 5th and their plurals take the prefix *mo-*. The whole of this book tempts to further discussion, which, unfortunately, is impossible here. It includes a useful vocabulary and collection of phrases.

A. Werner.
EINFUHRUNG IN DAS STUDIUM DER KAUKASISCHEN SPRACHEN. Mit einer Sprachenkarte von ADOLF DIRR. Verlag der Asia Major. 9 1/4 x 6 1/2, pp. vii + 380. Leipzig, 1928.

This book deals with thirty-five Caucasian languages divided into three sets: those of the north-west (Ap’khaz, Ubych, Circassian), the south-west (Georgian, Mingrelian, Laz, Svanetian), and north-east (subdivided into the Chechen and Lesghian groups). The author makes clear his aim, which is not to speak of foreign languages now used in the Caucasus (e.g. Russian, Turkish, Armenian, Osset, etc.), and having an Indo-Germanic, Semitic or Ural-Altaic character; he limits his inquiry to those which, as a working hypothesis at least, may be considered to have sufficient in common to be called vaguely "Caucasian", though the isthmus is nothing but a "refugium gentium" and not necessarily the original home of any of them, and postulates the existence of a "Proto-caucasian" tongue at some early period. Dirr's book is meant to be a step towards the recognition of such a Proto-caucasian idiom, and thirty years' work have well prepared him for this effort to give to the world something better than the work of von Erckert (1888). Of Marr's "Japhetic" theory Dirr quotes his former opinion (Caucasica, i, 1924, p. 109) that there is much truth in the theory, whose discovery is comparable in importance with that of the unity of Indo-Germanic, etc., but adds that Marr has altered his thesis, or rather "Procrustean bed" on which he lays and maims languages, to such an extent that Dirr can no longer follow him, and must protest strongly against the attempt to bring into philology the political view now propagated from Moscow of the subjugation of the Orient by Indo-European "bourgeois colonial policy". The sketch-map at the end of the book is poor, as the author admits, but to improve it would have cost too much; the bibliography (pp. 378-9) also is inadequate; the cardinal numbers in the thirty-five languages (pp. 358-61) are given.

Dirr rightly insists on the importance of his work as an endeavour to bring the Caucasian languages into direct touch with Western Europe, saving students the trouble of learning Russian. For a century St. Petersburg strove to weaken the prestige of the literary languages of the Caucasus by patronizing the lesser languages; primers, catechisms, and school books, sometimes carelessly edited and inaccurate, were printed in quaint orthography for tribes who possessed no books or MSS. before, and in this way valuable material has been collected and preserved. This policy continues, with results which its authors do
not seem to realize; its tendency is not only to strengthen local tradition and desire for "self determination" and autonomy but, as the influence of books such as Dirr's and Marr's gradually becomes felt, to strengthen the sense of Caucasian unity.

While maintaining the kinship of the Caucasian tongues, the author rightly says this does not exclude their relationship to other groups; they form a branch but the branch belongs to a tree with common roots. His chapter (pp. 24–8) on the question whether the Caucasian languages are really "isolated" is of interest, and rejects the a priori theory of a "polygenesis".

The longest section is, naturally, that devoted to the Georgian group (pp. 57–131) which alone has a literature and, moreover, a strongly marked identity. Here the student will find a very short outline of the elements of Georgian grammar, though it is a pity that for the sake of economy all the examples are transliterated; the remarks on the nature of the Caucasian verb in general are clear and sound (from p. 62), though necessarily brief; a paragraph (p. 129) enumerates some of the characteristics of the group.

O. W.


The fourth part of Mr. Dirr's Caucasica contains two sections, of which the former is the conclusion of Armenisch und Südkauskasisch, ein Beitrag zur Frage der Sprachmischung von Gerhard Deeters, giving a mass of material for the study of Georgian and Armenian phonetics and etymology. Chapter IX (p. 13) deals with grammatical gender, Chapter X (p. 18) with the Survival of the Indo-Germanic case system and the final chapter (Das Armenische als Mischsprache) sums up the whole work and ends with a reference to Professor Marr's "Japhetic" theory, remarking that the question of the relationship of the Georgian and Armenian Languages must remain open till we have more certain etymological knowledge of the Kartvelian (Georgian) group.

The second article (to be continued) is Die Sprache der Ubychen, grammar, texts, glossary, and German index, by Adolf Dirr, of the language of the Ubychs, or Ubukhs, or Abaza, who formerly lived in the Western Caucasus, north-west of Sukhum, between the rivers Shakhe and Shatshe (cf. Bell's Circassia) but in 1864 all fled, like their neighbours, from the Russians to Turkey, and are now almost lost as a separate racial and linguistic group. To preserve what is
left of their language, Dirr was sent, in 1913, by the Russian Academy to Srpandža Göl (Ismid district) and he here gives the result of his visit. All the surviving Ubykhs speak Turkish, Circassian and a rapidly lessening quantity of their own tongue. The present article devotes 5 pp. to phonetics, the grammatical sketch begins on p. 72, and is followed, on p. 110, by texts, with German translation, and on p. 125, the glossary.

The fifth part of the journal Caucasica continues and concludes (pp. 1–54) the editor’s grammatical sketch, with texts, glossary, and German index, of the rapidly dying Ubych language. Professor Dirr also gives (pp. 55–9) as a specimen of the polyglot verse of the Tiflis costermongers (a jumble of four idioms: Georgian, Armenian, Tatar, and Russian), a love-song composed by A. Grišašvili, ten years ago the most popular writer of that kind of composition (collections of his works were published in 1910 and 1914), and (pp. 60–72) four Udian folk-tales with German translation. The last and longest contribution to this number (pp. 73–130, with a sketch-map of the Mediterranean, Black Sea, and adjacent regions) is by Robert Eisler, and deals with the names of the “sea-peoples” in Oriental documents; it is of great interest for all students of the history of the ancient world and deals with the etymology of names like Hellene, Dolop, Chalyb, Chaldi, etc.; the part played in the formation of these ethnic terms by the Caucasian plural endings in ni and pi, bi is insisted upon and the 30 pp. of notes full of bibliographical references show a vast amount of careful research. A further instalment of this important work is to appear in the next number of Caucasica.

O. Wardrop.

LEHRBUCH DER GRAMMATIK DER JAPANISCHEN SCHRIFTSPRACHE.

The book under review is, to the best of my knowledge, the first grammar of the Japanese written language compiled by a foreigner in which an attempt is made to illustrate the relation between the written and the spoken forms. The subject matter is fairly well arranged, being treated more or less under the direct method, and the explanation is short and clear, which is all that is required of a grammar.

Beside examples illustrative of grammatical rules, reading exercises are also copiously given, both in native and in romanized scripts,
taken from various elementary books and the newspapers. Added to these are excellent materials for translation from German into Japanese and vice versa. The brief explanation of the epistolary style given in the last chapter is extremely useful.

The book, however, is not faultless. Rather serious is the frequent omission of the long vowel sign. A writer of the Japanese language, when writing in Rōmaji, must always bear in mind that by ignoring the long vowel sign, or writing a single consonant for a double, he is, to the Japanese mind at least, shortening the word by one syllable, thus turning it into an entirely different term or coining a word. To quote a few instances from the present work Shodo-shima (p. 59) should read Shōdoshima (小豆島); mai-chō (p. 86), maichō (毎朝); ichi-dō (p. 102), ichidō (一同), in which last example the former meaning “once” and the latter “all”.

The author should also be advised to use a hyphen or a dot between two elements of a compound, whose first element ends in な, and the second begins with a vowel or the consonant が. Thus danyaku (p. 23) would become clearer if it were written dan’yaku (弾楽); koni-na (p. 65); koni’i-na (意念); unun (p. 79), un’un or unnun (云々).

Apart from these orthographical inaccuracies, there are some words erroneously transliterated, as, for example, Bantōtarō (p. 19), which sounds to the Japanese ear “Tarō, the head-clerk”, but is really Bandōtarō, another name for the River Tone; kiito (p. 19) should read kenshi (絹絲) if it does not mean “raw silk” (生絲); shōzei (p. 51) should be kozei (小勢), while ōzei (多勢; p. 51) would better be read tazei or tasei; moku-in (p. 85) should read kōke (木陰).

With these it may be mentioned that the phrase yuku tokoro . . . ja . . . (p. 64), should be yuku tokoro ja, for the word ja is not, in the present context, equivalent to de wa, “then”, but means da “am”, and tsukimiyo ya (p. 85) should read tsuki miyoya.

The native text is very well printed, the only error, as far as I have detected, being 身體 (Übungsstücke, p. 3), which should be 进退 if it means “das Vor- und Zurückgehen” (Lehrbuch, p. 23).

When these orthographical irregularities and a few mistakes in the exercises have been corrected, the book will undoubtedly render a great service to the elementary student of the Japanese written language.

S. Yoshitake.
Chinese Philology, or, to use Professor Karlgren’s term in its continental sense, Linguistics (p. 9), has until recently been an almost, if not entirely, unexplored field. In the middle of the last century Joseph Edkins carried out some researches which, though vitiated to some extent by theories which could not be substantiated have proved valuable to his successors. Towards the end of that century, and in the early years of the twentieth century, Schaank, followed by Pelliot and Maspero, made successive essays in the same direction. It remained, however, for Professor Karlgren effectively to open up this field, and to point the way to others both, as to the task to be attempted and the methods of its accomplishment.

Perhaps we may be forgiven if we appear to use a somewhat extravagant expression when we say that there is something fascinating about the Professor’s deliverances whether as a lecturer or as a writer. The fascination lies in the combination of a modest, simple, and lucid presentation with an almost unbelievably voluminous mass of material gathered together as the basis of that presentation. As some indication of what is meant, let the reader scan the pages of the small and unpretentious volume *Sound and Symbol in Chinese* (London, 1923) or of the volume now under review, and having noted their simple statements, turn to the author’s works *Études sur la phonologie chinoise* (Leyde, 1915–26) and *A Mandarin phonetic reader in the Pekinese dialect* (Stockholm, 1917), and note the enormous array of comparative tables which have been massed together before such lectures as those presented in this volume could be delivered. The Sinological world owes a great debt of gratitude to our author for his indefatigable labours.

The task to which the Professor has set himself and to which he invites others to set themselves, is a formidable one, to say the least. “The reconstruction of the Chinese language, as it sounded in different periods of the past,” which, he asserts, is an inevitable and central task in Sinology” (p. 66) presents a very different problem from those presented by corresponding tasks in other languages. The one fact that the written language has all through the many centuries of Chinese literature continued to be essentially a pictographic language means that a literary work of the seventh century B.C. could be read in any age and in any dialect with the pronunciation of that age or dialect without regard to the pronunciation of the period in which it was
produced, with the result that the original pronunciation was almost irretrievably lost. Add to this the further fact that since the period in which such a work was produced the spoken language has passed through such changes that if the work be read say in modern Pekinese, it will, though perfectly intelligible to the eye, be totally unintelligible to the ear, and that in the poetry of the period you have rhymes that do not rhyme, and it will be realized that the problem is in many respects unique.

Professor Karlgren, however, is not to be dismayed by any difficulties, formidable though they may be. He brings to his aid every available means for the achievement of his aim, and with undeniable success. The ground, it is true, has to some extent been prepared beforehand by Chinese scholars, and our author has not been slow to avail himself of all the help that can be derived from them. In the sixth century there were Rhyme Dictionaries, the most valuable of which was the Ts'ie-yün. Fragments of this have recently been discovered in Central Asia, and the rhymes and spellings have been preserved in later adaptations of the work (p. 68). Later, in the eleventh century came the work of Ssu-ma Kuang, the celebrated historian of the Sung period, who attempted to produce a key to the lexicon of the sixth century, based on the language of the eleventh century (p. 70). His tables of sounds were included in the famous K'ang Hsi Dictionary, published in 1716.

But the help derived from these sources is very meagre, and the investigator has perforce to turn to other sources for his material. Not the least fruitful of these is a comparative study of the Phonology of the many dialects which exist to-day (pp. 74, 78 ff.). It is an established fact that the progressive changes in pronunciation through the centuries have been of an assimilative nature. The process indeed is still going on. Within the last 40 years it is observable in some areas that two classes of sounds like *kien* (見) and *tsien* (見) have assimilated and both become *chien* as in Modern Pekinese. It is largely because of this that a literary work of the Ante-Christian period if read with modern pronunciation is unintelligible to the ear. The homophones abound to such an extent that it is impossible to distinguish between them. But such was not the case in the period in which the work was produced. From a comparative study of the different dialects, as well as of the different varieties of Mandarin, Professor Karlgren takes us back through these assimilative changes to the sixth century and even earlier, and shows by valid reasoning what must have been the pronunciation of that age (pp. 78–83).
A further aid in his task is furnished by loan-words in such foreign dialects as Sino-Korean, Sino-Japanese and Sino-Annamese in which are to be found many words borrowed from Chinese in ancient times the modern pronunciation of which often furnishes a key to difficulties not otherwise soluble (pp. 75–8, 83–5).

Of these and other methods of research most interesting examples are given in considerable detail, to follow which would carry us beyond the scope of a review article; but it may be of interest to call attention to an instance given by the author of the value of such linguistic researches from the point of view of literary criticism. A much discussed question in Sinology is the authorship of the Spring and Autumn Classic, or rather of the Tso-chuan, the famous commentary on the Classic. Various theories have been propounded, among which is that of Grube that Confucius himself was the author. Professor Karlgren discusses this from the standpoint of linguistics and instances the two words 諸 and 乃, which in Modern Pekinese are homophones, but which as late as the sixth century were respectively pronounced 乃 and 既. These two particles, which to-day are not only pronounced the same, but are also used interchangeably, in the most Ancient Classics present a rather interesting phenomenon. In the Shu-ching there is a practically exclusive use of 乃; in the sayings of Confucius and Mencius 諸 is used almost exclusively; whereas in the Tso-chuan both occur. Our author investigates this phenomenon in some detail, and reaches the conclusion that the last named work cannot have been produced by Confucius (pp. 102–8). Apart altogether from the question of the soundness of the reasoning, the case cited is interesting as suggestive of the possible developments we may see in the future of both linguistic researches and literary criticism.

J. Percy Bruce.


(For abbreviations see footnote.)

With Part I of this volume Sir George Grierson must feel that his work on the Survey is at an end, for Part II, a list of words, is in the Press, and Part III is to be by another hand. If it is the highest satisfaction to know that one has given pleasure to many people, Sir George Grierson and Professor Sten Konow must feel it in full as they contemplate the large volumes of this series, which are not only a mine of information, much of it not available elsewhere, but are so
brightly written that often many pages may be read at a stretch without a sense of weariness.

The first 200 pp. are a survey of the introductions to previous volumes and state Sir George's well-known views about "Inner" and "Outer" languages and about Sinâ's not being an Indo-Aryan language. There follows a most interesting description of two Dard languages, Tirâhi and Sinâ. The Tirâhi portion is entirely new; Sir Aurel Stein's extensive notes are the source of information, and the little grammar educated from them is very good. The Sinâ part of vol. viii has been rewritten from material recently supplied by Col. Lorimer which included a grammar and texts, and which made it possible to deal adequately with the Gilgitî dialect. I have noted with great pleasure the improvements in the section on pronunciation and regret only that my detailed accounts of Sinâ sounds (see footnote 1) were published too late to be used in the body of this volume. It shows an enormous advance on vol. viii, but some mistakes have been repeated and further corrections are therefore necessary. I accordingly mention the changes made and those still required.

The specimens underlying vol. viii, with the exception of 'Abdu'll Ḥakîm's, made no clear distinction between cerebrals and non-cerebrals or between aspirated and unaspirated sounds. In this volume they are all differentiated and consequently many new sounds are added to the previous list. To take two random examples; vol. viii had c and t, written at hazard in several ways. Here we have c, ch, č, čh, and t, th, t, th, all distinguished; that is eight sounds instead of two. This is a point of great importance. We cannot emphasize too strongly the wide difference in Sinâ between cerebrals and non-cerebrals and between aspirated and unaspirated sounds. They are as distinct as in North India. An Indian will recognize them easily, but he will make innumerable mistakes in writing them down unless he has had a long training in recording sounds. Indian alphabets indicate with great accuracy Sinâ t, d, r, n, t, d, r, n, and also the aspiration.

We are told on p. 329 that there are seven cerebrals in Sinâ, viz. c, g, j, z, d, n, r. This is correct, but we should add t, making a total of eight. On the same page occur the expressions "j or z" and "d or t". Put in phonetic language they probably mean that the

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two sounds in each case belong to the same phoneme. I have often thought that \( \z \) may belong to the same phoneme as \( j \), and \( \z \) to the same as \( j \) (B. 800), but we are not in a position to say definitely; all four sounds undoubtedly occur in the language, and must be recognized, whatever may ultimately be established as to the range of the phonemes. The problem is very complicated, and Professor Turner has made the remarkable suggestion that we are in the presence of two pairs of overlapping phonemes, four in all, as follows, \( \dot{z}, \dot{z} + j, \check{z}, \check{z} + j \).

In Śiňā \( d \) and \( r \) are different sounds just as they are in Panjabi and village Kašmīrī, and they are practically never interchanged. The word for "big", böru given on p. 329 with either \( d \) or \( r \), should be written only with \( r \). Bodu, much or many, is another word altogether (JRAS., April, 1927, p. 317).

Vol. i limits the occurrence of cerebral \( \eta \) to words which have another cerebral. This limitation is incorrect. On pp. 96–9 S.G. will be found a list, which could be enlarged, of words containing \( \eta \), and it will be seen that a majority of them have no other cerebral. It is stated that \( d, r, \eta \) are the same as in North India. This is correct, and the statement should be applied also to \( t \) (B. 802; J, 92; J, 559).

\( t \) and \( d \) are pure dentals the same as in India (B. 799, 801; J, 92).

Vol. i very properly distinguishes the unaspirated sounds \( c, c', t, t', k, p \) from the aspirated \( ch, ch, th, th, kh, ph \). Except for final plosives the distinction is the same as in India, and it is equally constant; thus khoĭk̡i, eat; khojoĭk̡i, ask; likhoĭk̡i, write; and thoĭk̡i, do, are fully aspirated.

It is correct to say that the sound of \( th \) in "think" does not occur; that of \( th \) in "then" is said to occur in loan words, but no example is given. In point of fact it never occurs.

The following list of errata takes account of consonants alone. I exclude words in which the mistake appears to be a printer's error, e.g. tiki, tiki, bread; šak, šak, full; yaksi, yaksi, suitable; bat, bat, stone; sum-, sum-, be tired; tore, tore, stumps, and others. (Correct forms tiki, šak, yaksi, bat, sum-, tore.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>As printed.</th>
<th>Correct form.</th>
<th>As printed.</th>
<th>Correct form.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hane, egg</td>
<td>( \eta )</td>
<td>šadar, servant</td>
<td>( \partial )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tari, ball</td>
<td>( th )</td>
<td>batso, calf</td>
<td>tsho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maroc, mulberry</td>
<td>( \partial )</td>
<td>khen, time</td>
<td>( \eta )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MALAYALAM SELF-TAUGHT. By DON M. DE ZILVA WICKREMASINGHE and T. N. MENON. Marlborough’s Self-taught Series, pp. 136. London, 1927. 4s.

To a foreigner undertaking the study of Malayalam, this book would doubtless prove a very valuable introduction inasmuch as it contains a good many conversational-phrases, a select vocabulary, and some of the elementary principles of Malayalam Grammar expounded in the clearest and most lucid manner possible. Besides, the phonetic system introduced in the book is so very perfect and simple that any one will be able to aim at the correct pronunciation without any outside help whatever.

But I should like to mention a few defects, too, which I have been able to observe in the course of my perusal.

The Malayalam idioms given in the book are in many instances colloquial and dialectical, and thereby are apt to be misleading. It would be well if instead of idioms and usages peculiar to a particular district of the Malayalam speaking country, forms and phrases of a more literary and widely accepted character were introduced.
p. 60. jōht’u (colloquial) jōht’i (literary).

p. 70. niṇṇalinkal—is nowhere used in language.

p. 80. ōṭṭa ōṭṭunu ōṭṭi ōṭṭum—the literary and correct forms will be ōṭikka ōṭikkunnu ōṭiccuc ōṭikkum (transliteration adopted here is not according to the Marlborough’s system of English phonetics).

p. 101. For “do you here?” kittō is incorrect. The correct form is kēttō.

p. 102. vallāte vēgam—vaḷare vēgam.

p. 102. For “I am sorry to trouble you so much” —niṇṇale inīnine upādravikkēnti vannatil vyasanikkunnu would be properly constructed.

In the portion dealing with the Malayālam alphabet and pronunciation it is stated that in addition to the primary vowel sounds of the Malayālam language, the Malayālam alphabet contains six more characters representing the Sanskrit letters ṛ, ṭ, ḷ, ḷ, ṭ, etc. The insertion of long ṭ among Sanskrit vowels must evidently be a slip, since ṭ has no long form in Sanskrit. The Malayālam language has borrowed the Sanskrit sounds only to enable it to represent correctly Sanskrit words which have been grafted into the Malayālam vocabulary from time to time. In Sanskrit itself words containing ṭ sounds are very rare. In Malayālam and some other Dravidian languages the long ṭ must have found its place in the alphabets as a result of proportional analogy.

p. 11. The pronunciation of n in “not” and in words like Malayalam “nāṭaka” is quite different. There are separate signs also to represent these sounds ṇ, ṇ.

Printers’ errors: p. 61, 2 2 instead of 2 2 ; p. 91, 2 2 instead of 2 2

It is hoped that the authors will rectify the mistakes noted above in the next edition of the book. The appearance of the book is excellent.

K Goda Varma.

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Professor Massignon’s new journal differs from its predecessor, the Revue du Monde musulman, not only in format, but as the change
of name implies, also in function. Alongside the usual contributed articles, replacing the treatises which filled the volumes of the old *Revue*, the editor lays special stress on the need of an analytical survey of the progress of Islamic studies. This is to be supplied by periodical bibliographies, under the title of *Abstracta Islamica*, the first of which is the personal contribution of M. Massignon to this volume. Under twelve rubrics (culture, histoire des idées scientifiques, linguistique, ethnologie, histoire littéraire, arts et métiers, législation et administration, dogme philosophie et mysticisme, modernisme etc., colonisation européenne et politique contemporaine, histoire des régions naturelles, bibliographie et divers) the output of contemporary research is first summarized as a whole, and then analysed volume by volume. The advantages of such a systematic review need no emphasizing, especially in view of the deficiency (signalized in the editor’s foreword) of “working tools” in all departments of Islamic studies.

The contributed articles cover a wide variety of fields. Cahier I opens, after the *Abstracta Islamica*, with the procès-verbaux of the meetings of the Algerian commission appointed to prepare legislative measures for the amelioration of the condition of Kabyle women (1925–6). One interesting feature of this report is the opposition of the Muslim jurist member to the nature of the proposed changes.

Achille Sekaly Bey opens in Cahiers I and IV a study of the constitution and teaching of al-Azhar. Here there are two points which the author appears to overlook. It is far from the case that only “during the last few years” political agitation has invaded this sanctuary “habituellement réservé a la prière, a la méditation, et aux études”; the second point is that if “reform” is pushed too far, there is some risk that al-Azhar will merely lose, in favour of some other institution, its present predominant position as a theological seminary. The *Souvenirs* of Mustafâ Kamâl, translated by M. Deny in Cahiers I and II, form an important supplement to the history of modern Turkey. Cahier III contains an article of peculiar interest on the influence of Bektashism in Albania and Macedonia. Much of Cahiers III and IV is taken up by a translation of the Chronicles of Walata and Nema in the western Sudan, from the eighteenth century to the present day, which, though doubtless of local value, are the most painful reading imaginable. It is to be hoped that any further literary productions of the same sort may be relegated to some colonial publication. Of the minor articles, some remarks on the article “Kalender” in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* call for notice as th
first of a number intended to criticize and supplement the data contained in that valuable compilation. There will be general agreement that M. Massignon's journal has made an excellent start.

H. A. R. G.


The recovery and reconstruction of early South Arabian civilization is one of the most astonishing feats of modern archaeology. In most other cases there was a vast quantity of more or less accessible remains, together with a mass of literary evidence, either recovered from the ruins themselves, or derived from outside contemporary sources. For South Arabian culture archaeological research has been dependent on a handful of explorers, whose ingenuity enabled them to make stealthy examinations of a few sites and escape with their lives and material, and a corpus of some 7,000 inscriptions from all parts of eastern Arabia, about half of which are incomprehensible. External sources are both meagre in the extreme and late. For the millennium prior to 300 B.C. there are but two Assyrian synchronisms; even the queen of Sheba does not help, since she came from northern Arabia, not from the Yemen. In addition to this the task of reading and interpreting the inscriptions has been left to a band of scholars barely exceeding a dozen in all. In this country in particular, though Englishmen played a prominent part in the early discoveries, they have received very scant attention, at least until the publication of Professor Margoliouth's Schweich Lectures on the Relations between Arabs and Israelites. This sumptuous "Manual", which is the joint work of all the greatest living authorities on the subject, and presents with a marvellous degree of completeness the hitherto ascertained results of South Arabian research, should go far to rescue from neglect a field which is of the first importance for many aspects of Semitic culture and studies. The volume before us contains five chapters of general introduction to South Arabian archaeology, dealing respectively with the general history of South Arabian research (by the editor), the history of the South Arabian communities (by Professor Hommel), their public organization (by Professor Rhodokanakis), archaeology
(by Professor Grohmann), and religion (also by the editor). Successive volumes are to contain selected inscriptions with a grammar and vocabulary. Naturally, with so young a subject, and one in which the data are still so fragmentary, it is not intended to serve as the last word, but rather as the starting point for further investigations. A great many conclusions still rest on deductions from isolated inscriptions or on indirect evidence, particularly in Professor Nielsen’s own subject, but it is safe to say that most students, like the present reviewer, will receive it with gratitude and admiration for the immense and fruitful labours of these pioneers.

H. A. R. Gibb.
NOTES AND QUERIES
ACCOUNT OF SOME SCIENTIFIC MANUSCRIPTS IN LIBRARIES IN PERSIA: by F. Krenkow

In a recent issue of the Arabic journal Loghat el-Arab, appearing in Baghdad, under editorship of Père Anastase, a brief account was given of valuable Oriental manuscripts preserved in the larger libraries of Persia, especially in Téherán. My attention was drawn to the remark that there were also several works by Ibn al-Haitham and I wrote to Sayyid Abu ‘Abd Allâh az-Zijnâni asking him if he could give me some particulars concerning these manuscripts. He has had the kindness of sending me a list of these works with the additional offer of having copies made of the works in his own possession. Several of these works are to be found in European libraries, but it may be of interest to know where additional copies are to be found, which probably could be utilized in the way of having copies made, should the occasion arise. I should have been happy to have had access to the treatises of Ibn al-Haitham on the Halo of the moon and the rainbow, which form a kind of appendix to his large work on Optics, when I prepared the edition which is to be printed in India. The text of these two treatises is particularly faulty in the Indian manuscripts and the one preserved in Leiden, which is the only copy available in Europe. For the notice on the three manuscripts in Téherán we are indebted to the Persian Minister of Education who was on a visit in Zijnân when my informant received my letter and he kindly sent the particulars to be enclosed in Zijnâni’s letter.

MANUSCRIPTS IN TEHERAN
(1) Risâlah fil Aštarlâb by Abû Raihân al-Birûnî. MS. is incomplete.
(2) Risâlah fi Tarbî’ ad-Dâ’irah by Ibn al-Haitham al-Misrî.
(3) Kitâb al-Maṭâli‘ by Hypsikles translated by Quṣṭâ ibn Lûqâ, revised by al-Kindi, and edited by Naṣîr ad-Din at-Ṭûsî

MANUSCRIPTS IN ZINJÂN
(4) Išlâh Kitâb Manâlāûs fil Ashkâl al-Kurîyyah by Yaḥyâ b. Muḥammad b. Abî Yashkur al-Qurtubî; followed by an appendix by the same author with the title: Hâdîhi Maqâlah al-haqqah Ibn Abî Yashkur ḏâkara fiḥâ mâ yatafarrâ‘u ‘an ish-Shakl al-Qaṭṭâ‘ min an-Nisab al-mu’allîfa ‘alâ sabîl al-Ijâz wal Ikhtisâr. This
manuscript is old and furnished with mathematical drawings in red ink.

(5) Translation into Persian of the Taḥrīr of Euclides by Maḥmūd b. Maṣṭūd b. Muṣliḥ ash-Shirāzi, the commentator of the Ḥikmat al-Iṣrāʾīl.

The last leaf of this manuscript containing the date is lost.

(6) A volume containing several treatises by al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Haitham, not dated, but apparently written before the tenth century of the Hijrah.

(a) Qaul Ibn al-Haitham fid-Ḍau′.
(b) Qaul Ibn al-Haitham fi Aḍwāʾ al-Kawākib.
(c) Risālah ibn al-Haitham fi Tarbiʾ ad-Dāʾirah.

(7) Sharḥ as-Sarkhādī ʿalā Risālah Maʿrifat al-Asṭārāb by at-Ṭūsī.

(8) Sharḥ Tadkhirat at-Ṭūsī by ash-Sharīf al-Jurjānī.


(10) Risālah fi Inʿīkās ash-Shuʿāʾīt wa Inʿītāfīhā by Naṣir ad-Dīn at-Ṭūsī.


(12) Risālah fi Maʿrifat ash-Shakl al-Qaṭṭāʾ wa Barāhīnīhī by an unknown author, who states in the introduction that he had written a large work on the same subject in Persian and had been asked by some friends to make a translation into Arabic. This work has five Maqālahs as follows:—

(a) Maqālah tashtamil ʿalā an-Nisab al-Muʿallīfā wa Aḥḵāmīhā.
(b) Fil-Shakl al-Qaṭṭāʾ as-Satḥī wan-Nisab al-Wāqiʾa fihā.
(c) Muqaddimah al-Qaṭṭāʾ al-Kūri wa fīmā la yātimmu sh-Shakl illā bihā.

(d) Fil Qaṭṭāʾ al-Kūri wan-Nisab al-Wāqiʾa fihā.
(e) Fil Uṣūl tanūbu ṣan ash-Shakl al-Qaṭṭāʾi fi Maʿrifah Qisīyi d-Dawāʾir al-ʿIzām.

MANUSCRIPTS IN THE POSSESSION OF SAYYID ABDU ‘ABD ALLĀH AZ-ŻINJĀNĪ

(13) Risālah fil Ārī at-Ṭabīʿīya allati yaqūl bihā l-Ḥukamāʾ by Flūtkhūs al-Yūnānī copied from an ancient manuscript dated 677 A.H.
(14) Risālah Aristāṭalis fi ‘Ālam wal-Makhlūqāt known as ar-Risālat ad-Ḍahabiyah.
(15) Risālah fil-Kulli wa Ḥarakatihi by al-Iskandar al-Afrūdīsī.

Notes

(1) Br. = Brockelmann, i, 476, No. 5.
(2) Br., i, 469, No. 9.
(3) Br., i, 204, No. 1g.
(4) Br., i, 474, No. 12, 11.
(6a) Br., i, 470, No. 32. (6b) Br., i, 470, No. 24. (6c) = No. 2 above.
(7) Br., i, 512, No. 48.
(8) Br., i, 511, No. 40.
(10) Br., i, 511, No. 37.

(11) These two treatises form an appendix to the great work on optics by Ibn al-Haitham in the press in Hyderābād.

(13) An Arabic translation of this work of Plutarch appears not to be mentioned elsewhere.

(15) Cf. Ibn al-Qifti ed. Cairo, p. 40; Ibn Abī Usaibī’a, i, 69-71, where this work does not appear to be mentioned among those enumerated, though several have similar titles.

PRESENTATION FROM TOKYO UNIVERSITY

The Library of the School has recently benefited by a handsome gift from the University of Tokyo in acknowledgement of the assistance rendered by England to that University in the reconstruction of their Library, which was destroyed by earthquake in 1923.

The gift is a facsimile of four scrolls containing a commentary on the Saddharma Pundarika Sutra, one of the Sacred Books of Buddhism, written by the Prince Imperial Shōtoku-Taishi, who was Regent of Japan from A.D. 593-622, and who is generally held to be the founder of Japanese civilization. The copy presented is a photographic reproduction of the beautiful original manuscript, now in the archives of the Imperial Household, and the decoration on the scrolls as well as the wooden case which contains them are also faithful copies of the original.
THE "BARON MAX VON OPPENHEIM-Foundation"
(Oriental Research Institute)

A laudable example has been set by the well-known Orientalist and collector, Baron Max von Oppenheim, in establishing during his life-time the "Baron Max von Oppenheim-Foundation" (Oriental Research Institute), in which he has invested his entire fortune. An important part of the Foundation is the Library of about 40,000 volumes, collected personally by Baron von Oppenheim in the course of many years. The Oppenheim library with its supplementary collections of maps, photographs, pictures, Oriental manuscripts and book bindings, as well as its rare objects of the art of writing and printing, and specimens of the material culture of the Near East, will be continually augmented and brought up-to-date in order to serve as a basis for research.

The granting of scholarships for the purpose of study, of travel in the East, of visiting foreign museums and libraries as well as of aiding the publications of gifted students, will be a principal object of the Foundation. In addition, the "Oriental Research Institute" will eventually take an active part in the excavations and research expeditions in the East.

The home of the Foundation will be in Berlin. It is proposed to establish the institution in its own building, which, in the nature of a club, will contain living quarters for young students, and will offer the possibility for illustrated lectures and a variety of educational entertainments.

The following subjects are to be particularly cultivated by the Foundation:—

1. The old East, principally the Babylonian, Assyrian and Hittite civilizations.

2. The Islamic world.

After the death of its founder the work of the Baron von Oppenheim-Foundation will be carried on by a Board of Trustees, comprised of a number of scholars and officials. At present the Foundation is under the protection and supervision of the Prussian Ministry of Science, Art, and Public Education.
ALL INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

The Fifth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference will be held at Lahore, from the 19th to the 23rd of November, 1928.

The Conference will be divided into a number of sections, the provisional list of which is as follows:—

(1) Vedic; (2) Classical; (3) Philosophy; (4) Philology; (5) Fine Arts; (6) Arabic, Persian and Zend; (7) History and Archaeology; (8) Urdu; (9) Hindi; (10) Panjabi; (11) Anthropology.

All Orientalists are invited to become members of the Conference by paying a fee of rupees five only to the Honorary Treasurer, Mr. A. C. Woolner, M.A., C.I.E., University Hall, Lahore.

We are asked to print the following letter.—EDITOR.

SIR,—May I ask for your assistance in tracing a work of considerable linguistic importance. During our stay in Agadez in 1927 the late Sieur Dufail mentioned a small vocabulary of Air Tamazheq which he had just completed and hoped to publish on his return to France.

I do not know whether he had already placed the volume in the hands of a publisher or whether the intention was cut short by his tragic death in Southern Air. The care and the attention which the French authorities and the University of Algiers in particular have devoted to the study of the languages of North Africa are sufficient guarantee that this unique document will be made available to students if its existence has become known to them.

However, in case it should have been forced by the accident in Tegama into undeserved oblivion, perhaps this letter may help to rescue it. The publication of this, the only work on the language of Air, would constitute the best memorial of the gallant officer who was its author.

Yours, etc.,

PETER RENNELL RODD.

25 CAVENDISH SQUARE, W. 1.
OBITUARY

Canon W. H. T. Gairdner

In Temple Gairdner, who died at Cairo on 22nd May, Oriental studies have lost not only an accomplished scholar, but one who contributed in an outstanding degree to the spread of Arabic studies in this country. The works by which he established the study of modern Arabic on new and sounder lines will long hold their own as the model of their kind. During his latter years he was eager to strengthen the ties between this school and the Cairo School of Oriental Studies, which was his own creation, and his personal contacts with members of the staff were supplemented by regular correspondence. In carrying out the programme which we had planned in common, we shall miss very deeply the knowledge and experience which he always placed so freely at our disposal.

H. A. R. G.

The Rev. William T. Balmer

The death of the Rev. William T. Balmer, which occurred at St. Mary’s Hospital, Paddington, on 15th May, removes another landmark in the history of African language-study. Mr. Balmer, though too little known outside the ranks of his own society (the Wesleyan Methodist Church) had worked for many years as a missionary in West Africa—on the Gold Coast, where he was head of the Mantsipim High School, and later at Sierra Leone, as Principal of the Boys’ High School and Vice-Principal of the Fauah Bay College. This institution is under the joint management of the C.M.S. and the Wesleyan Missionary Society, and a colleague belonging to the former body writes 1: “His lecture list was full to capacity, but he was never so happy as when adding to it the private helping of little groups of backward students. He even undertook a course of University Extension lectures outside.” He produced a number of text-books in English for the use of Native schools—but it is his work on the Twi language which chiefly concerns us. At the time of his death he was engaged on the revision of Christaller’s great Dictionary—practically the only one in existence—and it is much to be regretted that he was unable to complete it. Several translations

1 Methodist Recorder, 24th May.
and, I understand, a collection of Twi folk-tales and traditions, still in MS., are in the hands of the Society with which he was connected, and await publication. Mr. Balmer was an active member of the Committee convened by Mr. Welman in November, 1924, to consider the question of a uniform system of orthography for Twi and Fanti, and it was he who drew up the report of that Committee. It was tentative, and in some respects unsatisfactory; but after his return to England, he took up the study of scientific phonetics with great enthusiasm, and, though not able to be present at last year’s Conference at the Gold Coast, would certainly, had he lived, have cordially co-operated in carrying out the views of Professor Westermann. He had just introduced the new scientific script to the missionaries on the Ivory Coast, whither he had gone “to help in the attempt to reduce the Adjukru language, spoken by thousands ... satisfactorily to writing”, when he was overtaken by fatal illness, and compelled to return to England.

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IN his article, "The Manuscripts Collected by William Marsden, with special reference to two copies of Almeida's History of Ethiopia," Sir Denison Ross gives a description of MS. 11966, formerly in King's College, now in the School of Oriental Studies. The bulky volume contains four different works:

1. The final version of Fr. Manoel d'Almeida's History of Ethiopia.
3. Appendix II, containing another refutation by the Patriarch D. Affonso Mendez S.J., under the title: "Informacao em que se mostra, em que tempo se pregou o evangelho em Thiopia e começou a vida monastica, e quaes forào seus instituidores e pregadores."
4. Appendix III (f. 80r-94v), a treatise about the means of opening Ethiopia to the Gospel, bearing the title, "Informacao sucessita sobre a reducção do Imperio Abexino pera Sua Alteza vêr e seus Ministros." The last date mentioned in this last third Appendix is 1669. About its author Sir Denison Ross writes: "The authorship of Appendix III remains a mystery, but it is obviously the work of a man intimately acquainted with Ethiopia and with recent happenings in and around the Red Sea."
The author of Appendix III is nobody else but the famous author of the monumental “Conquista temporal e espiritual de Ceylão” and elected Patriarch of Ethiopia, Fr. Fernão de Queiroz S.J. ¹

The following writings of Queiroz have come to our knowledge:


2. Conquista temporal e espiritual de Ceylão. Colombo, 1916 (the original MS. is in the Bibliotheca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro; a rough draft is in the Bibl. da Ajuda, Lisbon, Codex 51–9–9; the English translation by Fr. S. G. Perera S.J. is in the press).


4. Letter to the same, Goa, 19th January, 1672 (publ. ib. 448–51).

5. Letter to Fr. Assistant Francisco de Almada S.J., Cochin, 15th December, 1681 (published below).


8. Theological and Philosophical Treatise (MS. lost, mentioned in his Necrologue below. Cf. also his letter of 1681).

9. Perfeito Missionario (unfinished MS. lost, mentioned ib., and in his letter of 1681, and probably also Beccari, xiii, 446).


11. Other MSS. which all perished in the flames, 1664 (Basto, Preface, 4v and Beccari, xiii, 446).

Let us now sketch the life of Fr. Fernão de Queiroz in a few words.

1617. Born in Canavezes near Amarante, Portugal.²

1631, 26, xii. Enters the Society of Jesus in Coimbra.³

¹ About Queiroz and his “Conquista de Ceylão”, see G. Schurhammer and E. A. Voretzsch, Ceylon zur Zeit des Königs Bhuvaneka Bahu and Franz Xavere, 1539–52, Leipzig, 1928, 40–9. We are indebted to Fr. A. Kleiser S.J. for many dates about Fr. Queiroz taken from the MSS. in the possession of the Society of Jesus. The MSS. quoted are from the same provenience, where no other place is given.

² So the MS. Catalogus triennalis of the Portuguese Province of 1633. The Goan Catalogues give always the better known Amarante as birthplace.

³ C. Sommervogel S.J., Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus, Bruxelles, 1895, vi, 1341.
1635 Sails to India with the famous Fr. Mastrilli and thirty-one other Jesuit Missionaries (Basto, 210, 224, 541).


8, xii. Lands in Goa. Rector of St. Paul’s College is Fr. Manoel de Almeida S.J., who came from Abyssinia, 1634 (Beccari, xiii, 35; v, p. xxxv).

1636. The Patriarch of Abyssinia, D. Affonso Mendez S.J., arrives in Goa, banished from his Mission (Beccari, xiii, 106; MS. 11966, App. iii, f. 86v).


1637, 9, i. Letter of Patriarch Mendez to Manoel Severim de Faria, Goa. Speaks of the “mintiras” and “sonhos” of Frei Luis Urreta and adds: “pella qual causa fiz hum tratado em que se mostra o tempo, en que comessou em Ethiopia a pregaçam do Evangelho e a instituição da vida monastica, de que mando a V.M. huma copia por duas vias” (Beccari, xiii, 121–2; this “tratado” is Appendix II of MS. 11966 of the School of Oriental Studies).

1640. Restoration of Portugal’s independence.

1641. Queiroz begins Theology in Goa (MS. Goa, Catalogus triennalis, 1641).

1645, 1, iii. Br. Pedro de Basto dies in Cochin (Basto, 532).

20, xii. Letter of Patriarch Mendez to Pope Innocence X, Goa. He says he wrote a book “haud mole tenuem”, which he dedicated to the Propaganda Fide, in the hope that this Institution would publish it, and recommends this to the Pope. The book is his “Bran Haymanot”, Light of the Faith (Beccari, xiii, 251).

1646, 6, i. Letter of Patriarch Mendez to Fr. Assistant Nuno da Cunha S.J., Goa, about the correction and impression of the “Bran Haymanot”. He is sending it to Portugal in two copies “por duas vias . . . escrito por Canarijs” (Beccari, xiii, 262–4).

1 R. P. Marcelli Mastrilli e Societate Jesu et xxxii sociorum, ac xvi aliorum Religiosorum, Iter in Indiam, S. P. Francisci Xaverii Patrocinio feliciter peractum. Ab eodem Marcello descriptum atque ad Catholicam Hispanicarum Reginam transmssum, Antverpiae, 1637, gives a detailed description of this voyage.

2 Mendez alludes to the work of Frei Luiz de Urreta O.P.R., Historia de la Sacrada Orden de Predicadores en los remotos Reynos de la Etiopia, Valencia, 1611.

1647. Queiroz "taught 1–2 years Humaniora, was Vice-rector in Diu, and is now destined to teach Theology" in New St. Paul's College, Goa (MS. Goa, Cat. trien. 1647), where he is still teaching, 1649 (MS. Goa, Cat. trien. 1649).

1647, 14, x. Letter of the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda Fide to Patriarch Mendez, Rome, proposing to publish first a summary of the "Bran Haymanot" (mentioned Beccari, xiii, 329–30).

1649, 20, iii. Letter of Patriarch Mendez to the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda Fide, Goa, accepting this proposal, but declaring himself unable to do the work himself (ib.).

1652, 1, i. Queiroz emits his four vows as Profess of the Society of Jesus (MS. Goa, Cat. trien. 1653).

1653. In the Profess House of Goa. Rector of the College of Thana (ib.).

1654, 2, i. Letter of Patriarch Mendez to Fr. Procurator Francisco Velho S.J., Chorão (Goa) speaking of his past illness and his old age (75 years), and of his two works (the "Bran Haymanot" and the "Expeditio Aethiopica"), which he sent to Rome to get printed, and recommending to him for the same purpose Fr. Queiroz, "Ite encomendo muito o padre Fernão de Queiros, porque hé bom paesano, et in eo requiescunt viscera mea" (Beccari, xiii, 387–9).

13, i. The same to Fr. Procurator Pedro de Valadares S.J., Chorão, saying he is sending ch. 29 of the 7th book of "Bran Haymanot" in its new form, and another copy of the "Expeditio Aethiopica" as the first one got lost at sea, and that he sent last year 1,000 cruzados for the impression of the "Bran Haymanot" (ib. 389–95).

1656. Patriarch Mendez dies (ib. 421–3).

12, v. The Dutch conquer Colombo.

1658. The Dutch drive the Portuguese completely out of Ceylon.

1659. Queiroz "taught two years Theology, was Rector of Thana, and is now Rector of the College of Bassein" (MS. Goa, Cat. trien. 1659).

1660. B. Telles S.J. publishes in Coimbra the "Historia geral da Ethiopia a Alta . . . composta na mesma Ethiopia pelo P. Manuel de Almeida".
1662. Queiroz in New St. Paul’s College as “praefectus recessus” (MS. Goa, Cat. trien. 1662).

1663. The Dutch conquer Cochin. The Jesuit archives of Cochin are destroyed (Basto, Preface, 4*).

1664. Queiroz in New St. Paul’s College, Goa, Prefect of the Juniors (MS. Goa, Cat. brevis, 1664); the fire in the College on the 5th December destroys all his manuscripts except the Autobiography of Br. Pedro de Basto (Basto, Preface, 4*, Beccari, xiii, 446, and Letter, 1681).

1671. Queiroz is nominated Patriarch of Ethiopia by the king of Portugal. He is Praepositus of the Profess House, Goa, and occupied with writing the Life of Br. Basto (Basto, 224–6).

1, x. Letter of Queiroz to Fr. General J. P. Oliva S.J., Goa, about his nomination, the impression of the works of Patriarch Mendez, the “Expeditio” and the “Bran Haymanot”, and his own works: “. . . me acompanhou sempre hum grande zelò da reducçâo de Ethiopia . . . Se Deos me dêr vida, tambem levaré ao cabo huma obra polemica, em que tenho trabalhado, e com metodo mais constringente refuto es erros modernos e antigos, entrando tambem os de Ethiopia. . . . Tenho já composta a vida do venerável irmão Pedro de Basto, e como se trelzadar, a remetterey a Portugal . . . E na monçâo seguinte de janeiro farey por inivar hum tratado sobre os meyos que se podem e devem tomar, pera a entrada em Ethiopia, porque consideradas as rezões divinas e interesses politicos me persuado poderá obrar muito na corte de Portugal . . .” (Beccari, xiii, 444–6). The last treatise mentioned is a copy of Appendix III in MS. 11966 in the School of Oriental Studies.

1672, 14, i. Letter of Fr. Dionisio de Paço S.J. to Fr. General J. P. Oliva S.J., Goa, about Queiroz’ nomination (Beccari, xiii, 447–8).

19, i. Letter of Queiroz to Fr. General J. P. Oliva S.J., Goa, about his nomination and his treatise on Abyssinia: “. . . Sobre o outro [ponto] das disposições presentes de Ethiopia lhe remetto tambem hum papel, em que resumo as difficultades e os meyos, que se devem e podem tomar pera se abrirem de novo aquellas portas; . . . e . . . me dé licença
péra viver em huma quinta ou freguesia neste circuito de
Goa, aonde possa acabar algumas obras comessadas, em
quanto não vejo outros efeitos da disposição divina . . .
" (Beccari, xiii, 448–51). Here, too, Queiroz speaks of a
copy of Appendix III of MS. 11966.

1673. Queiroz "was for sixteen years Deputy of the Inquisition of
Goa and twice three years Praepositus of the Profess
House there " (MS. Goa, Cat. trien. 1673).

1674. Queiroz is writing the Life of Br. Basto (Basto, 217) and finishes
it before Ml. de Faria y Souza publishes 1675 the last volume
of his "Asia Portuguesa " .

1675. He sends his Life of Br. Basto to Europe (cf. Basto, 402).

1677. He is Parish-priest in Salsette, Goa (MS. Goa, Cat. trien. 1677).

He sends Missionaries to Bengal, Nepal, and the North.

1678, 7, x. Letter of Queiroz to the Fr. Provincial of the Augustinians
about sending Missionaries to Bengal, Goa ? (MS. Copy,
British Museum, Add. MSS. 9855, f. 127v).

1679. D. Luis de Menezes, Conde da Ericeira, publishes in Lisbon
his "História de Portugal restaurado " after the completion
of Queiroz ' Life of Br. Basto in its first form (Basto, Preface,
5v) and before its impression (ib. 254).

1681, 15, xii. Letter of Queiroz to Fr. Assistant F. de Almada S.J.,
Cochin, about the impression of the "Bran Haymanot 
and the "Expeditio Aethiopica", the necessary revision
of his Life of Br. Basto, and about his "Perfeito Missionario"
and theological treatises (see below).

1684, 18, xii. Date of the Introduction of the "História da Vida do
Ven. Irmão Pedro de Basto " in its final form. His "Con-
quista de Ceylão " is already begun (Basto, Preface, 5v,
255, 378).

1685, 26, xii. Date of the Imprimatur of the "História da Vida do
V. I. P. de Basto " in Goa.

1687, 4, iii–1689, 4, xi. Dates of the various printing licences in
Lisbon for the same.

1 "Depoys desta Obra composta sahirão à luz dous Authores Portuguezes . . .
Manoel de Faria & Sousa . . . & o Conde da Ericeira Dom Luis de Menezes "
(Basto, Preface, 5v). "Antes desta obra se imprimir, sahirão de novo dous Authores
Portuguezes, Manoel de Faria & Sousa . . . & o Conde da Ericeira " (ib. 254).

2 See Necrologue below.

3 See H. Josson S.J., La Mission du Bengal Occidental, Bruges, 1921, i, 89
1, x. Date of the Dedication of the "Conquista de Ceylão", Goa.

1688, 6, i. Date of the Imprimatur of the same, Goa.

12, iv. Queiroz dies in Goa (see Necrologue below).


1900. P. Courtenay (Pseudonym for Mgr. L. Zaleski) publishes his "Le Christianisme a Ceylan", Lille, for its greatest part an adaptation from Queiroz' Conquista de Ceylão (s. Schurhammer, Ceylon, 59).


These are the chief dates about Fr. Fernão de Queiroz. His "Conquista de Ceylão" earned him the title of "the greatest Portuguese historian of Ceylon"; his "Historia da vida do Ven. Irm. P. de Basto" is in many of its parts a correction and supplement to the works of Faria y Sousa and D. Luís de Menezes, as Queiroz expressly states,1 and a very important source of information about the wars between the Portuguese, Dutch, and English in the seventeenth century; and also his Treatise about the Reopening of Abyssinia to the Gospel (Appendix III of MS. 11966 of the School of Oriental Studies) is full of historical interest and deserves to be published. A few words about this latter work may follow.

The title of the Treatise is: Informação succinta sobre a redução do Imperio Abexino pera Sua Alteza vêr e seus Ministros. It occupies f. 80v–94r, and shows a handwriting different from those of the other

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1 "Faria & Sousa . . . & o Conde da Ericeira . . . omitirão varios acontecimentos dignos de memoria; e informados por homens & documentos menos calificados nos sucessos mais modernos, sem quererem, se desvião algúas vezes da verdade . . . Era obrigado aos reformar, pera declarar a verdade . . . Resolvi . . . remeter os [successos] de Ceylão à obra particular daquela conquista, que já tenho disposta, os mays tocaos somente aqui por mayor, & aonde nos Authores ouvér dissonancia da verdade, não deyxarey de o advertir" (Basto, 254–5).
parts of the same volume, and that of Fr. Queiroz. The work tries to show the obstacles which Ethiopia presents to the Reopening of the Mission, the means for overcoming them, and the political and religious importance of conquering Abyssinia for the Gospel. The treatise consists of a short Introduction and ten chapters, namely:

1. First obstacle: the variety of nations and languages, and that there are at present in India no missionaries left who know them.

2. Second obstacle: the antiquity of the errors of the Abyssinians and the variety of religions in their country: pagans, Mahometans, Jews, schismatics.

3. Third obstacle: the constant interior and exterior wars; the Gallas have already conquered half the country.

4. Fourth obstacle: the absolute power of the Abyssinian Emperor.

5. Fifth obstacle: the inconstancy of the Abyssinians in their faith (here Queiroz defends the Abyssinians).

6. Means to overcome these obstacles: armed intervention in favour of the friends of the Portuguese in Abyssinia, if friendly negotiations are of no avail.

7. Importance of this step and its facility: the past and present ambitions of the Turcs in those places.

8. Projects for expelling the Turcs and forcing the entrance into Abyssinia by sending a fleet to Massowa and Archico and fortifying the latter place.

9. Conclusions to be derived from this treatise.

10. A Reply to those who think otherwise.

The author of the treatise says that 300 men will be enough to force Abyssinia, a small number in comparison to the 500,000 employed by Portugal for the "Conquista de India" (90°), adding that these 300 will soon be joined by the descendants of the Portuguese, who entered Abyssinia 1541 with Dom Christovão da Gama, "highly esteemed in Abyssinia, . . . according to those, who come from there, more than 10,000, . . . dispersed over various parts of the kingdom by the Emperor" (85°).

The name of the author is not given. But a perusal of his Manuscript shows him well read—he even quotes the "Gazeta" of Amsterdam of 1669! (88°)—and well acquainted with the history of Portuguese India and its neighbours, and especially with Abyssinia. With regard to this latter country he corrects Telles' "History of Abyssinia" (80°), and adds that he read the work of Fr. Ml. de Almeida in the original, when it came to India (85°), speaks of the tears of Sela Christôs
and the persecution of Fasiladas (82) and adds, that he talked often about the country with the Patriarch Affonso Mendez, whose "Bran Haymanot" he mentions (80°), and other former Missionaries of Abyssinia after their arrival in India (84°), and also with the Conde de S. Vicente, the Viceroy João Nunes da Cunha (1666–8) about sending an embassy to the Emperor of Abyssinia (87°, 89), and concludes:

"Nem isto são fervores novos, em quem de novo se vê encarregado da salvação de hum Imperio; porque o serem conhecidos ha bem de annos excitou o desejo do Patriarcha defuncto para sollicitar esta eleição" (94°).

In this latter passage the author betrays himself. The late Patriarch is D. Affonso Mendez, and his successor, whose election as Patriarch he solicited, is Fr. Fernão de Queiroz, who writes about his election, 1672:

"Bem hé verdade, que os padres desta provincia se persuadirão ha bem de annos, que o senhor Patriarcha Dom Affonso Mendez me tinha proposto não só aos superiores de Roma e de Portugal, mas também a Sua Majestade para este lugar, e posto que tive por couza certissima ser falsa esta noticia, ao menos no que tocava a el Rey, pelo que sabia das maximas, por que este prelado se governava, ainda que numqua ignorey o amor que me tinha e o conceito, que tinha formado de meu pouco cabedal e do zelo, que me acompanhava do bem daquella christandade, posso afirmar a Vossa Padernidade . . ., que outros tantos annos ha, sou o alvo de seus tiros." (Beccari, xiii, 449).

The author, therefore, is Fernão de Queiroz, and as his Manuscript mentions the "Gazeta" of Amsterdam of 1669 (88°), and says, that the name of the actual Emperor of Abyssinia is John, who reigned from 1667–82 (86°), the treatise was written between 1669 and 1682.

So far we are led by the Manuscript itself.

In his Life of Br. Basto, Queiroz, speaking of the Abyssinian Mission, develops ideas similar to those of our treatise, the persecution of Fasiladas, the Patriarch D. Affonso Mendez, the History of Fr. Telles, whose three chief errors he corrects here too, the History of Fr. Ml. de Almeida, "who died here in Goa," and concludes:

"E se Portugal, por serviço de Deos and por utilidade propria, aplicar os meyos convenientes à recuperação do perdido, com muyto menor risco do que alguns Ministros seus ajuizarão, & com pouco dispendio poderá conseguir húa das mayores emprezas de sua piedad
& utilidade, como por bem fundadas rezoens se pode vir a entender, que
por alheas deste lugar, se reservão para melhor tempo & occasião" (224).

Here Queiroz alludes to his treatise on Abyssinia, of which he
clearly speaks in his letter of 9th October, 1671, to Fr. General, where
he says he is going to send in January, 1672, "a treatise about the
means, which can and must be taken to get an entrance into Ethiopia,"
destined for the Court of Portugal, where he is convinced that a
consideration of the religious and political motives will make an
impression (Beccari, xiii, 446), and in his letter, which accompanied
the Manuscript, dated Goa, 14th January, 1672, in which he says:
"I am sending a paper about the present disposition of Ethiopia, in
which I give briefly the obstacles and the means, which must and can be
taken in order to open those gates again" (Beccari, xiii, 450).

Let us hope that it will soon be possible to publish the important
document of the famous author of the "Conquista de Ceylão". In
the meantime we give two unpublished documents as Appendix to
our present study, Fr. Queiroz' letter of 1681 and his Necrologue,
written shortly after his death.

I

Fr. Fernão de Queiroz S.J. to Fr. Assistant Francisco de Almada S.J.,
Cochin, 15th December, 1681 (Original)

Por via de Alepo tenho escrito a V.R., dando-me a mim e aos mais
os parabens, por termos a V.R. nesse lugar,\(^1\) de que tanto depende o
bom governo destas Provincias,\(^2\) ainda que muito recee a jornada
para Roma no coração do inverno.\(^3\) Faça Deos, que V.R. logre nella a
saúde que todos seus servos lhe desejamos, e que seja isto disposição,
para os mais lugares, que cabem á pessoa de V.R. ; e porque escrevo
mais largo a nosso Reverendo Padre \(^4\) em hũa 2a. via reformada, e
também toco nella os pontos mais essenciaes do governo, remetendo-
me ás ultimas informações que mandey, só tratarey nesta de algúas
couzas particulares.

Muitos annos ha que estão em Roma douss tomos manuscritos do
Santo Patriarcha Dom Affonso Mendez, cujo primeiro título hé :
"Branaymanot," ou "Speculum Fidei" sobre os erros de Ethiopia,

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\(^1\) Fr. Francisco de Almada S.J. became, 1681, Assistant for the Portuguese
Provinces in Rome.

\(^2\) The Goa and the Malabar Province.

\(^3\) The journey of the Assistant from Portugal to Rome.

\(^4\) Fr. General John Paul Oliva S.J.
em tudo accomodado á disposição daquella gente, que só admitte arguments da Escritura e dos Padres, e á grande erudição, continuo estudo, e prodigiosa memoria deste Prelado, porque só a Clave dos nomes dos Santos Padres corruptos naquelle lingua pediu hua adversencia de hum anjo. Foi tambem remettido a Lisboa outro Livro seu intitulado: "Expedição Ethiopica," e para a impressão deste está dinheiro em S. Antão na mão dos Procuradores da India, que o Padre Patriarcha mandou em sua vida. A obra mayor foi dedicada á Sacra Congregação de Propaganda Fide, cuidando como Prelado pobre, que lh’a mandasse imprimir; porque bem conhecia, que não era obra para o uso de todos, mas propria para aquella missão, e para doutos e coriosos. O Eminentíssimo Presidente lhe escreve, que se tinha encomendado ao Padre Nuno da Cunha, mandasse fazer hum resumo della, para se dar aos missionarios, e que depois se trataria da obra. Não pareceo isto conveniente ao Padre Assistente Nuno da Cunha, porque depois de lhe tirarem a sustancia, não se lembrarião do original. E confesso a V.R., que formey então conceito destas repostas, que nem huns, nem outro o tinhão lido; porque pouco se pode cortar, que não seja da erudição e da sustancia, ou do modo sustancial, com que aquella gente se deue doutrinar.

Primeiro me escreveo o Padre Adrião Pedro, que não avia mais dinheiro, do que o de Lisboa; e se os Padres Províncias se não aproveitarão delle em tantos annos, pudera estar augmentado, porque a causa e a pobreza parece que tudo cohonestavão. Depois me escreveo, que o Padre Assistente Francisco Lopes tomará muito a peito esta impressão, mas por falta de dinheiro ficará a obra impatada. O Padre Nuno da Cunha dizia, que se queria concertar com hum impressor de Leão de França; mas como acabou o governo, acabou o intento; e as impressões de Leão são hoje muito erradas. Por quem V.R. hé, que se compadeça da memoria de hum tão illustre varão, e daquella christandade, pois Deos não pôe tempo em mudar tempo; e quando isto se não possa effetuar em Roma, nem esses senhores se disponhão a fazer esta esmola, convinha fazer diligencia com algum impressor estrangeiro, para que tomasse esta obra por sua conta, dando mais ou menos volumes ao Author. Porque se isto se encomendara aos Padres Flamengos ou Francezes, pelo que tem de coriosos em materia de

1 The College S. Antão Novo in Lisbon, at present the Hospital S. José.
2 Fr. Nuno da Cunha S.J., was Assistant for Portugal, 1646-9.
3 Fr. Francisco Lopez S.J., was Assistant, 1678-81.
4 Lyons.
Controversias, ajudarão muito a impressão desta obra; que se fôr esquecendo mais com os annos, virá de todo a prescrever. Nem V.R. espere que algum Superior da India lh’o recommende, pelo que tenho de experiencia, nem pareça que o faço pelo que me toca, mas por zelo do bem commun e pelo particular affecto que devo á memoria do Padre Dom Affonso Mendez.

Já V.R. terá noticia, que mandey a Portugal huá obra da Vida do Veneravel Irmao Pedro de Basto; porque vendo o descuido dos Padres do Malavar aqui e em Cochim, fiz tirar oitenta testemunhos, e ajudando-me de varias certidões, e da obra, que elle mesmo ditou, que por mercé [223'] de Deos escapou da ruina de Cochim,¹ e no meu cubiculo do incendio do Collegio de S. Paulo,² de dispôr na melhor forma que alcanssey. Recomendava ao Padre Procurador de Portugal, que se o tempo aconselhasse, paçasse a obra á Roma, pera lá se imprimir, porque me não temia de doutos e eruditos. Mas o Padre Sebastião de Lima a deu para se ler no refeitorio de S. Roque,³ contra o que lhe recomendára. E ainda neste anno me escreverão, que em se chegando a ler o Quinto Imperio,⁴ a mandára recolher o Padre Luis Alvares.⁵ Hia a obra de cá approvada, e também me quizerão dizer, que o Padre Bento Ferreira⁶ a mandára de novo rever em Portugal. Daqui resultou mandar nosso Reverendo Padre que fosse revisto, e fazendo o Padre Adrião Pedro diligencia pelo parecer de Roma, somente lhe responderão, conforme me escreveo, que naquella forma não estava para se imprimir. Fez diligencia em Portugal, e achou, que repararão em quatro cousas: no Quinto Imperio, nas revelações contra Castella, no muito numero de visões, e nas muitas historias da India que relatava. O mesmo me escreveo o Padre Francisco Lopes, dizendo que fora hum dos Revisores. Com esta noticia escrevy a nosso Reverendo Padre, dando rezão de todos estes quatro pontos, e sobre as muitas historias da India dizia, que por parecer de muitos as incluira naquella obra, por não ter sahido Author algum, que falasse nestas cousas modernas; e porque se não podia formar pleno juizo, sem noticia dellas, de duas proposições do Irnão

¹ When the Dutch conquered Cochín, 1663.
² S. Paulo o Novo in Goa. The fire broke out after midnight in the morning of 5th December, 1664 (Basto, Preface, 4'').
³ The Profess House S. Roque in Lisbon.
⁴ About the Fifth Empire see Basto, 416–450.
⁵ Fr. Luis Alvarez S.J. was Provincial of the Portuguese Province, 1675–8 (F. Rodrigues, “A Companhia de Jesus em Portugal e nas Missões,” in Revista de Historia, Porto 10 [1921], 168).
⁶ Fr. Bento Ferreira S.J. was Provincial of the Goa Province, 1674–7 (ib. 171).
Basto,\(^1\) em que diz, que depois de tomada do Morro de Chaul,\(^2\) nenhūa couza de momento succedēra na India, que Deos lhe não revelasse. Mas supposto ter já sahido Manoel de Faria e Souza \(^3\) e agora o Conde da Ericeira,\(^4\) e ambos mal informados das cousas de India, já seria necessário reformar que eu dizia. E como tinha outras coriosidades, tudo poderia sahir junto, em remetter-me a minha obra. E este foi hum dos intentos, com que outra vez a mandey pedir.\(^5\)

Agora me escreveo o Padre Adrião Pedro, que tivéra ordem de Roma, para mandar os pareceres dos Revisores, e falando ao Padre Pantalião Carvalho,\(^6\) lhe dissēra que tal couza não sabia. Falando porem com o Padre Luís Alvares, respondēra, que logo então os mandāra á Roma; e que por não aver tempo para mais, me fazia somente este aviso. Já na outra carta falava neste particular a V.R., a que tomo por juiz nesta causa. Se os pareceres dos Padres não vierem muito conformes, com quem delles me hey de conformar? E se presumy dos minhas rezōes em contrario, que mereciāo ser ouvidas em Roma, como os hey de ter por meus juizes, em quanto Roma depois de me ouvir não discidio esta causa? Mandando-me dizer o que devo cortar, accecrerentar, ou mudar; e o al, sem andar toda a vida fazendo novas preguntas, ou arriscar-me a trabalhar outra vez debalde, sendo hum religioso pobre, a quem a Religiao não soccorre para isto com hūa folha de papel, nem com hum pardon para pagar ao amanuense. Não tenho determinação de bulir mais nesta obra athē Roma não determinar o que devo fazer. E pois V.R. está nesse lugar e sabe o pouco que hoje se favorece este zelo, encarecidamente pesso, seja V.R. servido acabar com nosso Reverendo Padre, que ponderadas as minhas rezōes, me ordene o que devo obrar. Porque estou muito prompto para a fazer vindo a resolução por esta via.\(^7\)

Sendo Preposito desta Casa Professa, fui testamenteiro da Senhora Dona Francisca Cabral, e sobre lhe deixar cinco mil xerafins para

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\(^1\) About these visions see Basto, 256 and 406.

\(^2\) 1594 (see Basto, 256, and D. do Couto, Decadas da Asia, xi, c. 32).

\(^3\) Mi. de Faria y Sousa, Asia Portuguesa, Lisboa, 1666–75.

\(^4\) D. Luiz de Menezes, Historia de Portugal restaurado, Lisboa, 1679.

\(^5\) The MS. was sent back to India.


\(^7\) "Antes de começar a referir o que Deos mostrou a seu servo Pedro de Basto sobre os successos de Portugal, cabia relatar aqui algúas visoeoas tocantes à Monarchia de Hespanha... Mas pode tanto o respeyto aos Senhores Reys Catholicos de Hespanha, que depoys de nove annos de consultas e repostas da India & de Espanha me vim a desenganar, seria esta remora poderosa pera impedir a impressão desta obra, se pelas insinuaçōes de Roma não desistisse desta relação." (Basto, 402).
diversas disposições. Por crecerem oito ou nove mil, depois de alguns trinta e quatro mil de legados, fiz diversas esmolas, e ainda a casa ficou com seis ou sete mil com aprovação do Provedor Mór dos Defuntos. Daqui tirey também oitocentos xerafins, que a título de obra pia forão remettidos a Lisboa em diamantes para a impressão da obra sobredita, e fizerão lá mil e secenta xerafins. A minha tenção era imprimir esta obra e tirar da impressão o que bastasse para outra, e o que sobejasse, ser para esta Casa Professa. Mas como soubérão, que se não imprimirá, dando já este intento por acabado, com novas interpretações do meu, escreverão [224*] ao Padre Adrião Pedro, que o dinheiro era da Casa Professa; do que o Padre me fez aviso, para saber que eu o mandára, como testamenteiro, e com o beneplacito do Padre Provincial Bento Ferreira, e que eu o ratificára sendo Provincial. E posto que avia outro testamenteiro secular, tudo me cometteo a mym, e não estou agora certo, se era já morto neste tempo. Deixando porem intentos secundarios, o primeiro ainda está im pé. Porque nem eu disisto de imprimir a obra, nem de Roma se me tem mandado o contrario. Pelo que estimára, que V.R. fizesse com nosso Reverendo Padre, que ordenassa [sic] aos Padres Procuradores da India em Lisboa, que conservassem este dinheiro para o mesmo intento. E se se julgar que pode andar a ganhos, se dé sobre penhores de ouro e prata, para que me não fação na India em cada monção hũa demanda; pois hé presente a V.R. que não tenho donde me venha outro. E este foi hum dos inconvenientes destas demoras, porque como neste tempo, em que estou vago, vou continuando com outras obras, da primeira impressão determinava tirar o com que pudesse acudir a outras; e agora fiquei de todo desarmado, ao menos em quanto Roma me não deferir. E se parecer a nosso Reverendo Padre, que se large este dinheiro em Lisboa á Provincia, pondo cá outro tanto a ganhos, para daqui tirar algum socorro, com que possa acudir aos gastos dos amanuenses, sem nunca entrar pelo proprio, isto era o que mais me servia. Mas obrarey nesta materia o que Sua Reverencia determinar.

Tenho pedido a nosso Reverendo Padre, que me mande impetrar licença para ler livros prohibidos, particularmente o Alcorão, porque me não fio na, que me pode dar o Tribunal do Santo Officio. E porque as occupações de Sua Paternidade poderão dar pouco lugar a estas miudesas, pesso a V.R., que seja servido aver-me esta concessão, para que não seja sempre necessário allegar em fé alheia na obra em que trabalho,1 para armar de todo hum missionario contra Atheos, Ethnicos.

1 The Perfeito Missionario (see Necrologue).
Mahometanos, Judaeos et Haereticos. Porque tenho advertido que não podem levar livrarias, e que, não hindo feitos nestas materias, não podem pregar com proveito; e por meus peccados todas estas dezaventuras se achão nesta Asia. Pelo que torno muito a pedir a V.R. que me faça este favor.

Quando por aqui passou o Padre João de Britto, levado de sua coriosidade quiz saber os principios, por que eu defendia o ponto da liberdade divina; e depois me disse, que o avia de defender nas conclusões ad gradum. Agora me escreveo, que tocára nestes fundamentos a V.R., e que V.R. me fizera graça de aprovar a minha especulação. Se eu soubéra mais cedo, que o Padre Francisco de Almada estava em Roma, e não estivéra tão occupado com o que tenho escrito, visto o Padre João de Britto me abrir a porta, ouvéra de mandar este e outros pontos discutidos, como alguns affectos por vezes me tem aconselhado. Mas confesso, que me não resolvey a o fazer por falta de confiança, e por me não arriscar a se julgar, que era mais vaedade do que desejo de apurar a verdade. Mas como a benevolencia de V.R. me deu já estas alças, quando chegav a compôr estas questões, não as mandarei ao prelo, sem primeiro saber, o que V.R. e os letrados de Roma julgar sobre elles, e particularmente sobre a questão da subsistencia, origem da ruina da Igreja Oriental, para que não torne hum Facilaz a escrever ao seu Patriarcha: “Nos bem entendemos:

1 Queir佐 was of the opinion that it was absolutely necessary for a missionary to know the language and beliefs of the people with whom he had to deal. About acquiring the language he writes, the many languages spoken in Abyssinia were one of the greatest obstacles for the conversion of its inhabitants: “Está húa das maiores dificultades, que tem a conversão dos Abexins. Porque nemum missionario estrangeiro as pode aprender todas e falar em todas. Nem o vulgo se pode doutrinar bem mais que com a propria de seu uso, como persuade facilmente a rezão, e tem mostrado a experiencia em todas as outras missões. Porque quem não vê, quanto desproporcionada coza seria doutrinar o volgo Portugaliz em Francêz ou em Latim?” (Appendix III MS. 11968, School of Oriental Studies).

2 Fr. João de Britto S.J., the future martyr, arrived in Goa 5th September, 1673, and left it April, 1674, for Malabar (História do nascimento, vida e martirio do Ven. Padre João de Britto da Companhia de Jesu, composta por seu Irmão Fernão Pereyra de Britto, Coimbra, 1722, 30-1, and H. Doering S.J., Vom Edelknaben zum Märtyrer, Der selige Johannes de Britto S.J., Freiburg, i. B. 1920, 31-5).

3 In Goa Britto finished his theological studies. “In cinque soli mesi... percorse tutte e tre le parti della Somma di S. Thomaso, e si offrì senza eccezione a difenderle eziando in pubblico e solenne esperimento. Fu stabilito che ne desse un esame privato, e fecelo con tal soddisfazione e meraviglia del suo saper, che i quattro letteri deputati ad esaminarlo giudicarono concordemente, non aver lui bisogno di farla per pio anni da scolare, mentre in pochi mesi avea acquistato tanto da poter essere maestro” (G. Boero S.J., Vita del Beato Giovanni de Britto, Roma, 1853, 32).

4 Facilaz reigned 1632-67 (G. K. Rein, Abessinien, Berlin, 1918, i, 74).
como da humanidade de Christo e da Pessoa do Verbo se pode constituir hum Christo; mas não entendemos estas vozes subsistencias". Nem se persuadu o Padre Balthazar Telles, que lhe satisfaz com dizer, que mentia, e que nem todos o dizião assim. Porque se não diz isto a húa cabeça coroada, ainda que tenha córes pretas, e dizia o elle, de quem dependia tudo. E como a Igreja athé agora não defenio, que fosse realidade com Arriaga,\(^1\) ou modo com Soarez,\(^2\) ou negação com Escoto\(^3\); depois de lidos os Concilios e consultados os Padres e o Symbolo de Santo Athanasio, tenho assentado, que o conceito da subsistencia, ou em mayor rigor, da sistencia, se deve explicar de outro modo. E dando-me Deos vida, a seu tempo ouvirey os pareceres da Curia sobre esta e sobre outras materias.

[224\(^v\)] Tambem tinha escrito a nosso Reverendo Padre, que convinha impetrar hua escomunhão, para que a ninguem se mostrasse o corpo de S. Francisco Xavier. E referindo isto ao Padre Primaz,\(^4\) Su Illustissima o approvou muito dizendo, que serviria de mayor veneração. E depois que se fechou e deixou de se mostrar no seu dia, não sey que ouvesse pessoa algüa, que o reprovasse. Porque ainda que se consolavão com o ver, não deixavão de alcansar, que era pouco respeito. Se a falta da resposta nasceu de esquecimento, não fará V.R. píqueno serviço ao Santo em fazer vir esta prohibição.\(^5\) Tenho enfadado a V.R. com muitas petições, mas são pensões de quem está nesse lugar, e posto que tive em Roma conhecidos, sempre tive por mais conveniente não escrever mais que a nosso Reverendo Padre e aos Reverendos Padres Assistentes. Bem alcanço, que as novas demandas, em que me metterão, terão diminuido muito meu credito para com V.R., mas como V.R. por experiência conhecer, que couza

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\(^1\) Fr. Rodrigo de Arriaga S.J. (1592–1667) taught Philosophy in Valladolid and theology in Salamanca and Prague.

\(^2\) Fr. Francisco Soarez, S.J. (1548–1617), Professor of Theology in Rome, Alcala, Salamanca, and Coimbra, "Doctor Eximius," the greatest of the Jesuit theologians.

\(^3\) Duns Scotus O.F.M., "Doctor Subtills," the great English theologian, died 1308 in Cologne.

\(^4\) Archbishop of Goa and Primas of India was D. Frei Antonio Brandão O. Cist., 1675–8. His successor was D. Manuel de Sousa Menezes, 1681–4 (C. C. de Nazareth, Mitter Lusitanas no Oriente, Lisboa, 1804, 184, 188).

\(^5\) Fr. Gaspar Affonso S.J., who was Provincial of Goa 1685–8, wrote 20th January, 1686, to Fr. General, that he had forbidden under pain of excommunication the opening of the tomb of St. Francis Xavier. The Vicar-General of the Society of Jesus, D. Maria de Marini S.J., in his answer 8th February, 1687, approves of this measure and orders several keys to be made for the coffin of the Saint (MS. Goa, 2). This order was executed, as Fr. Francisco de Sousa wrote to Fr. General 26th January, 1708 (Monumenta Xaveriana, Matriti, 1912, ii, 778).
hé a India, achará que nestes longes crescem os brios, e que a mayor culpa de quem governa hé persuadirem-se, que os conhece. Avendo couza de gosto e serviço de V.R. será para mym o mayor favor ver-me ocupado. Na benção e Santos Sacrificios de V.R. muito me recomendo.

Goa, e de Dezembro 15 de 1681.
De V.R.
Humilde servo,
Fernão de Queiroz.

Address: Ao Mto. Rev. P. Francisco de Almada da Companhia de Jesus, Assistente pelas Provincias de Portugal, etc.
Em Roma.
Da India. Unica Via.


II

*Necrologue of Fr. Fernão de Queiroz*

[320r] . . . O P. Fernão de Queiros, nobre descendente dos de seu appellido na fresca Provincia de Entre Douro e Minho, entrou na Companhia em Coimbra no anno de 1631, sendo de idade de 14 annos, e foi tão fervorozo logo no principio, que pedio com grandes instancias, [320v] vir pera a India, e o alcançou sendo ainda do Recolhimento com muita repugnancia dos Padres da Provincia de Portugal, que já vião o grande homem, que perdia naquelle Irmão. Acabou seus estudos em Goa com grande satisfação, porque era de engenho agudo e felicissimo, a memoria rara e a inclinação tão natural ao estudo, que avia mister divertido, e não estimulado. Leo Theologia por algum tempo, e depois de a ler foi mandado por Rector do Collegio de Tanna, que governou com muito acerto, como tambem o de Baçaim. Foi Preposito da Caza Professa 6 annos, e depois Provincial desta Provincia. Era tão venerado dos Seculares, que as suas resoluções ainda nos negocios mais arduros [sic] deste Estado se estimavão como oraculos, assim pela grandeza da pessoa, como pella do juizo. Respeitando as suas letras e a sua qualidade o elegeo Sua Magestade por Patriarcha de Ethiopia, dignidade a que elle mostrou grande repugnancia. O Tribunal da Inquiziçao o escolheo pera seu deputado, officio que exercitou muitos annos com grande credito e satisfação.

Compôs sendo ainda moço húa Theologia e Philosophia, que não sahio a luz. E depois escreveu a *Vida do Irmão Pedro de Bastos*, que

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se imprimio em Lixboa, e outro livro da *Conquista Espiritual et Temporal de Ceylão*, obra não menos util pello interesse que polla religião, que está pêra se dar ao prelo.

Porém estas, cousas, que em outros tanto se estimão, foi a menor parte da grandeza deste varão a todas as luses grande. Porque entre os rayos das letras sobresahião os resplandores das virtudes, que posto não parecessem ser das, que applaude a maravilha, era com tudo nos exercícios ordinarios e comuns perfeitissima a sua vida. As acções, as palavras, os afectos erão tudo húa bem temperada armonia; sempre o mesmo semblante, a mesma pas, a mesma composição, o mesmo homem. Era igualmente grave com os grandes, que affavel com os pequenos; porém com tal medida, que nem a gravidade o fazia pezado pera com aquelles, nem a affabilidade facil pera com estes. Donde procedia ser igual em huns e outros o respeito, com que estavão em sua prezença, e fallavão em sua ausencia. Entre as virtudes grandes deste varão avultou muito o zello das almas e dezo e de ver estas regiões sogeitas á fé de Christo, de que procedia sentir tanto a quebra da reputação de nossas armas, e as perdas, que nos derão os hereges Europeos nesta Conquista no discurso de mais de 53 annos, que viveo na India, por saber que á sombra do respeito dellas vinhão os Prîncipes iníeis em admitir pregadores da fé em seus reinos, ajudados tambem do interesse e do proveito, que o trato com os Portugueses lhes grangeava. O que tudo enfraqueceo e se diminuio, tanto que as naçoes do Norte introduzirão na India novo poder, e não só se fizerão nella respeitadas, mas tambem aspirarão a conquistar e perverter as terras, que nos obedecião, fasendo-nos igual guerra com as armas e com o comercio, com o que poderão divertir da nossa amizade muita parte dos reinos do Oriente e impedir os grandes progressos, que nossa santa fíce hia fazendo em todos elles.

Sendo Provincial desta Provincia abrio a nova missão de Bengala, por outro nome de S. Antonio do Rozario, aonde mandou Religiosos nossos, que fizerão muitos serviços a Deos, posto que depois se retirarão por impedimentos, que lhes puzerão os Padres de S. Agostinho com resolução muito alheia da que esperavamos e lhes mereciamos; por motivos menos conforme ao credito de tão graves Religiosos, os quais posto que sejão em grande abono desta Provincia, deixamos em silencio assy porque não hé costume nosso escrever louvores proprios com discreditos alheos, como por me constar se déra deste ponto larga relação á Roma.1 Tambem tratou muito de veras da conversão dos

1 About these differences see H. Josson S.J., *La Mission du Bengal Occidental*, Bruges, 1921, i, 89–90.
gentios do Norte,¹ que vivem nas [321°] nossas terras; e com não menor zelo mandou ao Nepal os Padres Marco Antonio e Pedro Phelippe Faíra a descubrir aquella nova missão tantas vezes intentada e nenhûa conseguida.² Agora já velho tinha pera este fim entre mãos hûa obra, que elle intitulou "Perfeito Missionário", em que confutava os erros de todas as seitas, obra de muito trabalho, muita erudição e muito proveitoza; e quando tratava de lhe pór a ultima mão, foi Deos servido chamallo pera sy por meyo de hûa doença, que ao principio não pareceo perigosa, mas como cahia sobre outra, de que não estava ainda convalescido, e sobre tantos e tão continuos trabalhos, bastou pera lhe tirar a vida brevemente e mais de preço do que se cuidava neste Collegio de S. Paulo aos 12 de Abril de 1688 sendo de idade de 71 e da Companhia 57 e de Profissão 39.


¹ The Bassein Territory and Damão.
² Fr. Marc' Antonio Santucci S.J., missionary in Patna, and Pedro Phelippe Faíra S.J., his companion, both Italians. About the visit to Nepal, 1679–80, see Jasson, i, 91.
THE PALACE OF DARIUS THE GREAT AND THE APADANA OF ARTAXERXES II IN SUSA

By J. M. Unvala

(PLATES III, IV)

THE long dynasty of the Elamite national kings, who ruled over Elam for nearly 1,500 years, was, after a long and unequal struggle, brought to a close by the Assyrians under Assurbanipal in about 640 B.C. The Assyrian rule in Elam collapsed soon after the death of this conqueror in 625 B.C. The Elamite kingdom was there-upon divided into two different monarchies, Perso-Anzanite and Susiano-Babylonian. After the defeat of the last Babylonian king Nabunaid in 539 B.C., Cyrus the Great, the fourth Perso-Anzanite king, became the founder of the great Achæmenian dynasty. After the death of his son and successor Cambyses and the suppression of the revolt of Gaumata the Magian, Darius the Great, a descendant of the younger branch of the Achæmenides, became the inheritor of the vast empire of Cyrus in 521 B.C. During the early years of his reign he had to subdue many revolts in different provinces of his empire. It seems that the political troubles ended in about 518 B.C., and the great king began the work of rebuilding and embellishing Susa, which he had made the capital of his empire, as well as Persepolis and Hamadan. This work was carried on with great zeal by his son Xerxes, who was a far greater builder than his father. Owing to the free use of huge blocks of stone in the palatial buildings of Persepolis their ruins have for centuries drawn the attention of travellers by their colossal dimensions and gigantic magnificence. But the memories of the palaces of Susa and Hamadan are preserved only in certain allusions in the Bible and in the works of ancient writers. Their traces were nearly wiped out by time, whose ravages the less durable materials, bricks and wood, of which they were constructed, could hardly resist.

The palace of Darius in Susa is mentioned in Daniel viii as Shushan, the palace situated in the province of Elam. It was in this palace that Xerxes, Ahasuerus of the Book of Esther, married the Jewess in the seventh year of his reign. The ruins of this palace and those of the adjoining apadâna were so prominent in the days of Loftus, that he identified them easily as those of Shushan of the Bible. He carried
on excavations, which had been begun by Sir W. F. Williams, for
a season and succeeded in discovering the sites of the palace of Darius
and the apadâna of Artaxerxes II. The subsequent and thoroughly
scientific excavations of these buildings were carried out by
M. Dieulafoy, M. J. de Morgan, and M. R. de Mecquenem of the French
Archæological Mission in Persia.

As at Persepolis the palace and the apadâna in Susa were built
on an artificial terrace overlooking the plain of the Kerkhah. This
terrace was formed by the ruins of an Elamite temple and the encircling
necropolis. Thus it is possible that Josephus alludes to the palace
of Darius in Susa and to that in Hamadan, when he says that it is
built on the tombs of ancient kings.

**Apadâna**

Loftus describes the sensational discovery of the Great Hall of
Columns at Susa in the xxvith and xxvith chapters of his
*Travels and Researches in Chaldaea and Susiana* (London, 1857), of
which he gives a plan on p. 366. He succeeded in determining the
positions of twenty-one columns out of the thirty-six forming the
inner phalanx, on which the edifice of the audience-hall rested. The
bases of the third and the fourth columns from the left in the first and
the second rows from the north were inscribed with trilingual cuneiform
inscriptions of Artaxerxes II Memnon, which ran as follows: “(Thus)
says Artaxerxes, the great king, the king of kings, the king of the
lands, the king of this earth, son of king Darius (II), of Darius son of
king Artaxerxes (I), of Artaxerxes son of king Xerxes, of Xerxes son
of king Darius (I), of Darius son of Hystaspes the Achaemenide. This
apadâna my forefather Darius (I) had built. Later on under (the
reign of) Artaxerxes (I) my grandfather, fire burnt it down. According
to the will of Ahuramazda, of Anâhita and of Mithra I rebuilt this
apadâna. May Ahuramazda, Anâhita and Mithra protect me from
all opponents, and may neither destroy nor injure this, which I have
built.” (F. H. Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achaemeniden*,
Leipzig, 1911, pp. 122 seq.) There were two rows of six columns each
to the east and to the west of this hall pertaining to the porticos,
which were separated from it most probably by walls. The bases of
the thirty-six columns of the hall itself are massive square blocks of
limestone hewn in such a way as to form apparently a pile of four
blocks each smaller than the other, laid over one another with their
axis in a straight line perpendicular with the axis of the columns
which they supported. These blocks are 2 m. 44 × 2 m. 44, and their height is 1 m. 50; this dimension varies sometimes by one or two centimetres. But the bases of the third and the fourth columns in the first and the second rows from the south were of two pieces, the lower one square and the upper one round and bell-shaped. The former is visible ten centimetres above the ground, but the latter has completely disappeared. All these bases are placed at an equal distance from one another, viz. 8 m. 25, from axis to axis. In the middle of the space enclosed by these bases there is another base, perhaps of a statue of the Great King, curiously composed of two blocks of limestone, one 1 m. 5 × 2 m. 40, the other 1 m. 30 × 2 m. 40, placed side by side at their broader sides. These blocks may have perhaps appertained to the apadâna of Darius the Great.

There were two rows of six columns each, one to the east and the other to the west of the apadâna, pertaining to the two porticos, at a distance of 19 m. 70 from the apadâna itself and separated from it most probably by walls. The bases of the columns supporting these porticos were at a distance of 8 m. 25 from one another. Those of the inner phalanx were square, while those of the outer ones were bell-shaped. The shafts were fluted and had double-bull capitals. These columns supported wooden beams, on which a flat terrace-like roof was laid.

**Palace**

To the south of this hall of columns was situated the palace of Darius, whose main entrance must most probably have been situated to the east. It was protected by guards, whose quarters were situated to the north. Immediately to the west there was a big paved court, with a porch at its north end, whose traces are still visible. The waiting-room for the common people and the servants' quarters were to the north, north-west, and west. Further to the west there was another court, followed by a set of royal private apartments, which were separated by corridors. Then there was another court and another set of private apartments. The main grand hall was to the west at the further end of the palace. The gynécée or the harem was situated to the north of these two latter courts and sets of apartments; to their south there were two big halls, perhaps for the reception of the nobility. There are traces of further constructions to the south. The apadâna and the palace were protected by a wall of sun-dried bricks, nine metres broad, supported and protected
from moisture by an inner layer of gravel, whose breadth is generally nine metres under the royal buildings and sixty centimetres to one metre under the buildings close to the biggest court. This wall is well preserved only on the east, and few traces of it are visible on the west, while they are wholly absent on the north and the south. It was decorated to the east of the apadâna by the famous friezes of archers, which M. Dieulafoy wrongly supposed to have appertained to its façade. He was also of opinion that friezes of lions formed the decoration of big pylons built to the south of the apadâna. But no remains of these were found, perhaps on account of former excavations, during whose course they may have been removed unobserved. It is now supposed that no pylons existed at Susa, but that there was a wall three metres high, which had two gates leading to the apadâna. The friezes of archers are formed of a number of baked bricks, decorated with low reliefs, some of them are glazed and polychrome. Finally, it must be said that the supposition of M. Dieulafoy, which consists in separating the porticos of the edifice of Artaxerxes from the main building of the palace, very plausible from an architectural standpoint, could not wholly be confirmed. There are no traces of the two rows of six columns, which are supposed to have formed a portico to the north, as at Persepolis; on this side the apadâna was left open, and offered a magnificent view of the mountains. But we may suppose that the porticos to the east and the west were separated from the main building by walls, thick enough to contain a staircase leading to the roof, which required yearly repairs, particularly after torrential rains.
POISON-DETECTING BIRDS

By Jarl Charpentier

THE Arthasastra of Kauṭilya¹ in the chapter of the first book dealing with the measures for safety within the royal harem has the following passage (ed. Jolly and Schmidt, vol. i, p. 25, 13 seq.):—

ṣuṣaḥ śārikā bhringarājo vā sarpaṇaśaṅkāyaṁ kroṣati |
kraiṇco viśābyāse mādyati | glāyatī jīvajīvakaḥ | mriyate mattrakok-| ilah | cakorasākśiṁi virajyete ||

"The parrot, the maina, and the Malabar bird shriek when suspicious of snake poison; the curlew becomes quite tipsy in the neighbourhood of poison; the pheasant swoons; the amorous cuckoo dies; the eyes of the cakora partridge change their natural colour (i.e. become red)." ²

Kāmandaṅki has, of course, copied this as most other passages of the Kauṭilya, cf. Nītisāra, vii, 11–13a–b:—

bhringarājaḥ suṣaḥ caiva śārikā ceti paksinah |
kroṣanta bhrṣam udvignā viśapannagadarśanāt || 11 ||
cakorasāya virajyete nayane viśadarśanāt |
suvyaktam mādyati kraiṇco mriyate mattrakokilah || 12 ||
jīvaṇjīvaya ca glānir jāyate viśadarśanāt |

"The Malabar bird, likewise the parrot, and the maina, these birds shriek in high excitement upon seeing poison or snakes; the eyes of the cakora partridge change their natural colour at the sight of poison; the curlew becomes most obviously drunk and the amorous cuckoo dies; finally the pheasant falls into a swoon at the sight of poison."

Suśruta in the first adhyāya of the kalpashāna deals with the same subject though in details he sometimes diverges from the authorities

¹ In spite of the arguments proffered by the late MM. Gaṇapati Shastri it seems clear to me that the form Kautalya is of no value (cf. Jolly, Zechr. f. Indologie, v, 216, seq.; Keith, History of Sanskrit Literature, p. xvii). Dr. J. J. Meyer, Das altind. Buch vom Welt- und Staatsleben, p. xxiii, has made no plausible contribution towards the solution of this problem.

² Dr. Meyer's translation, "wird toll," is not quite to the point; cf. the commentary on Kāmandaṅki (cf. infra): mādyati viśeśabhaevati.

² Cf. also Ocean of Story, i, 110; Jolly, Journal of Indian History, 1925, p. 113.

⁴ Comm.: virajyete svabhāvaśvāvatāpyāt.
on nitiśāstra. The passage that would interest us here is the following 1 :

\[\text{cakorasyāksivairāyam jāyate kṣipram eva tva} \text{ ||}
\text{duṣṭānam viśasamśrtaṃ mriyante jīvajīvakāh} \text{ |}
\text{kokilaḥ} \text{ svaravaiktīyam krauñcas tu madam ṛchati} \text{ ||}
\text{ḥṛṣyen mayūra udvignaḥ kroṣataḥ śukaśārike} \text{ |}
\text{hamsaḥ keśadati} \text{ cātyartham bhṛgarājaśca kujati} \text{ ||}

"And suddenly the eyes of the cakora partridge change their colour. Pheasants die from bad food mixed with poison; the cuckoo alters his voice, and the curlew becomes drunk. The peacock becomes highly excited, the parrot and the maina shriek; the goose cackles beyond measure, and the Malabar bird keeps cooing."

A somewhat similar passage is found in Medhātithi’s commentary on the Manusmṛti, vii, 217, where it is said that the kokila dies at the mere sight of poison, the jīvaka becomes withered by merely looking at poison, and the eyes of the cakora become destroyed.5

Kauṭilya, Suśruta, and Medhātithi thus testify to the belief in the powers of certain birds to make known, by various signs, the presence of snakes and poison. Unfortunately such a tradition cannot be proved to go back to any very remote age; for, uncertain as is the date of Kauṭilya and Suśruta 6 alike, they cannot well in their present shape date from an earlier period than the second or third centuries A.D., and Medhātithi most probably belongs to the eighth century of our era.7 But we here meet with a popular belief which may well be of very old standing, though it has perhaps not found its way into Brahmanical literature until rather lately. As snakes have always been of far greater importance in India than throughout the Western world, such ideas, no doubt, are innate in that country and have not been borrowed from elsewhere which may as well be remarked already here.

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1 Vol. ii, p. 246, 2 seq., in the edition of Sri Madhusudana Guptá (Calcutta, 1836), the only one available to me here. The text is partly in a shocking condition.
2 The lines immediately preceding deal with the signs exhibited by a fire tainted with poisoned food.
3 Text : ko kalab.
4 Text : keśadati.
5 Thus the translation of Gangānāth Jhā, Manusmṛti, iii (1924), 419, which I have had to use as the text of Medhātithi is not available to me here. The words “becomes withered” are probably a not very good rendering of glīyatī; “become destroyed” is, of course, entirely wrong.
7 Cf. Winternitz, loc. cit., iii, 494.
As far as I have been able to find out this piece of folk-lore has not been made the subject of any investigation by scholars. I am therefore bringing together here the few scattered notes upon poison-detecting birds that I have been able to gather from various works, and which may be of some slight interest. There is scarcely any need to remark that I in no way aim at completeness; no doubt, a prolonged and strenuous sifting of sources which are partly or wholly inaccessible to me—e.g. the Arabian ones—would yield much more and weightier material.

That the parrot and the maina shriek when in the neighbourhood of poison is apparently the common belief of Kautilya and Susruta. Unfortunately, I have not been able to trace this belief in any other old or modern Hindu source; but it is a curious fact that Aldrovandi in his Ornithologia, vol. i, p. 649, tells us that the parrot notices if poison is brought into the house where it is kept (psittacus agnoscit si quis venenum in domum importet). It is scarcely doubtful that we have here the Indian tradition brought to Europe through the writings of the Arabian physicians and naturalists of the Middle Ages.

The cakora (Perdix rufa) at the sight of snakes and poison, changes the colour of its eyes; the eyes become reddened which according to Hindu opinion is a sign of anger. That such is the case here is distinctly stated by Kullūka in his commentary on Manusmṛti, vii, 217:—

\[ \text{tattrātmabhūtaiḥ kālajñair ahāryaiḥ paricārakaiḥ} \\
\text{suparīkṣitam annādyam adyān mantrair vīśāpahaiḥ} \]

Comm.: tatrāntahpuren atmatulyair bhjanakālavedibhir abhedayaiḥ sūpakārādibhiḥ kṛtam suṣṭhu ca parīkṣitam cakorādīdārṣanena | saviṣam annam drṣṭvā cakorākṣiṇī rakte bhavata itibhi vīśāpahair mantrair jāpitam annam adyāt || Kullūka apparently gives it as a well-known fact that at the sight of poison the eyes of the cakora become red; and he gives his statement in the form of a quotation.

In the Sanatkumārācarita v. 744, there is a description of the preparations for the king’s meal in the following words:—

\[ \text{vāratarunīhi sāravijjanti} \text{ nīva-bhōyani vejja < vara > - } \text{mantatantavāihi} \text{ pahuttih} \]

1 Ulysses Aldrovandi (1522–1605), professor at Bologna and a famous naturalist, the author of a series of bulky folios on natural history.


3 With this verse cf. Yājñavalkya, i, 326: Vīśvā, iii, 85; 87–8.

bhunjaya-jāni āgayai | bhūya-deva-āhuhi āhunti ||
turiu cakora-panjarihi | samśāricjjantehi ||
vāyasa-pīndihī taru-sihara-phalangi khijjantehi ||

"Courtesans prepare the king's dishes, physicians and various incantators gather together; the table-servants present themselves, offerings are made to demons and gods; the cages of the cakoras are speedily carried about, the crows eat their rice-lumps on the . . . of the tree-tops." ¹

In the Pārśvanāthacarita of the late lamented Professor Bloomfield, p. 196, there is an additional note giving the story of Surendradatta and his faithless queen Nayanāvali from the Samarādityasanākṣepa: the queen tries to poison her husband, and "in order to elude the eyes of the poison-detecting cakora birds, she sets unpoisoned food before him, but gives him a poisonous magic pill with his rinsing-water." I owe the full reference to the kindness of Dr. Barnett, the book not being available to me here.

In this connection the epithet "cakora-eyed, with the eyes of a cakora" should perhaps be remembered. It means nothing to our present subject of investigation when in the Mṛcchakatikā, act i, v, 3. King Śūdra ārakā is styled cakoranetra, or when the nurse in Raghunāṁsa, vi, 59, addresses the princess Indumatī with the epithet cakorākṣi. But it is somewhat different when in the same poem, vii, 25, we read the following:

nitambagurvi gurunā prayuktā vadhūr vidhātpratimena tena |
cakāra sā mattacakoranetra lajjāvati lajavisarygam agraun ||

The eyes of the young bride, Umā, are red from excitement and shame (lajjā), perhaps also from the smoke of the sacrificial fire, like those of the excited cakora. And an allusion to the same subject seems to be found also in the Bālacarita—ascribed to "Bhāsa" ²—act iv, v, i :—

ētā mattacakorasāvanayanānāḥ prodhinnakamrastanāḥ kāntāḥ pras-phuritādharosthruca visrastakesasrajaḥ | sambhrāntā galitotariyava-sanāḥ trāśkutavyāḥṛtāḥ trastā mām aṁuyānti pannagapatiṁ ṛṣṭvaiyā gopaṁgānāḥ ||

¹ Jacobi, loc. cit., p. 98 n. 1, correctly suggests khajjanthi; phalangi (a loc. sing.) is unhappily of unknown meaning.
² As regards the "Bhāsa" problem, I am nowadays wholly on the side of Dr. Barnett. Neither the arguments of Professor Thomas, J.R.A.S., 1928, p. 877, seq., nor even less those of Professor Keith, History of Sanskrit Literature, p. xii, seq., seem to me to carry any conviction.
That the *cakora* is a detector of poison and an inveterate enemy of the snakes is a tradition which has found its way into Western literature, and which seems still to be alive in modern India. Thus Aldrovandi ¹ assures us that tame partridges cry out loudly if poison be prepared in the house where they are kept. And in Bochart’s *Hierozoicon*, ed. Veesey (1690), ii, 426, there is a very curious piece of information which must, as far as I can see, go back to the same tradition; it runs as follows: “tradunt *Arabes*, quosdam *India* reges, *Machmudi* jmp. ² altera inter dona obtulisse avem, *palumbi specie*, cuius oculi, admo to cibo venenato, flent, et lacrymæ in lapidem obdurescunt, qui cum contritus super latio ra ponitur vulnera, ea ipso claudit momento.”

The well-known Carmelite missionary Paulinus a S. Bartholomæo, ³ in his *Viaggio alle Indie Orientali* (1786), p. 178, ⁴ tells us that “l’aspid o il *Nallapamba* ⁵ è mangiato dal Cervo, dal Cingiale, dall ucello *Vechambel*, ⁶ dall ucello *Cumbotta*, in lingua Sanscrit chiamato *Ciagora*, e *paparrão* ⁷ em Portuguez.” And he adds that these animals eat only the body of the cobra and not the head; he has also informed himself that the flesh of this snake is an ingredient of the *Materia medica* of the Malabaris. And in a quite modern work ⁸ we hear about the Vêlans (a title assumed by certain Kusavans, and also by Paraiyans in Travancore) that they are experts of magic and sorcery; and amongst the incantations used by them against the evil eye is the following one: “... even as the great Vâsuki vanishes at the sight of the Chakora; even as the poison vanishes from his head; so may the potency of the evil eye with thy aid vanish.” ⁹ And in another work ¹⁰

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¹ *Ornithologia* (quoted by A. de Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, ii, 228).
² The person in question must, as far as I can understand, be Sultan Mahmûd of Ghazni.
³ On him cf. Windisch, *Grundriess der indo-ar. Phil.*, i, 1 B, p. 20, seq., where, however, the dates of his birth and death are missing. These dates are 1748 and 1806.
⁴ In the French edition *Voyage aux Indes Orientales*, i (1808), 475, seq.
⁵ *Nalla pâmbu*, the Tamil name of the cobra.
⁶ This is apparently the hornbill, cf. the quotation from Paulinus in the *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, ii, 61.
⁷ This name—only known from the passage quoted above—is left without an explanation by Dalgado, *Glossario Luso-Asiático*, ii, 167. For it is scarcely an explanation when Dalgado suggests that the name was given "por *papar* cobras, se é verdade ". The name may well be a native one.
⁸ Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, vii, 352, seq.
⁹ Identically the same passage is found in Anantha Krishna Iyer, *Cochin Castes and Tribes*, i, 166.
¹⁰ *Ethnographical Notes in S. India*, p. 280.
Mr. Thurston tells us that the flesh of quails and partridges is thought to possess medical properties, i.e. to be used as an antidote.

The **cakora** is said to be a very pugnacious bird, which, when kept tame, wants to fight indiscriminately all sorts of domestic animals.\(^1\) But it seems scarcely probable that it would try to fight poisonous snakes, and that in such a way it would have acquired its fame of being their inveterate enemy. The idea that the **cakora** should be able to detect the presence of poison—even if that be hidden—is more probably connected with another popular tradition concerning this bird.

The **cakora** is said to subsist on moonbeams. Such a belief is attested by passages in Sanskrit literature, e.g. *Ocean of Story*, ii, 235; *Brahmavaiarttapur. i*, 10; Bhartṛhari, *Śṛṅgāraṣat*. 71; *Gītāgov. i*, 23, 10, 2, etc.,\(^2\) and is still alive in India; cf. e.g. Temple, *Legends of the Panjab*, ii, 257; iii, 48, 142, 373. It seems to be an admissible suggestion that a bird which lives from the very purest of food—the **sudhā** or **amṛta** contained in the moon—would by this diet not only be immune against poison but also automatically react towards venom and venomous animals. It cannot, of course, be pretended that such an explanation is absolutely certain, but it still seems to be fairly probable.\(^3\) In this connection we may also remark that the Afghans and Persians seem to believe that this bird can eat fire.\(^4\) Whether this idea is a misinterpretation of the Indian tradition or not I cannot decide, but it certainly seems remarkable that we should find also outside India an idea that the **cakora** subsists on a somewhat unusual diet.

Other birds besides those enumerated by Kauṭilya and Suśruta are said to be the enemies of snakes or to possess antidotal qualities.

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\(^1\) Cf. Jerdon, *Birds of India*, ii, 566.

\(^2\) Cf. also Tawney, *Kathāsarit-Sāgara*, ii, 243.

\(^3\) Other traditions concerning the partridge in India have got nothing to do with the topic dealt with here. On omens in general from the **cakora**, cf. Hultzsch, *Vasantarāja’s Śākuna*, p. 59 seq. It is generally believed that when a partridge appears on one’s right side that portends evil, cf. *Ocean of Story*, ed. Penzer, ix, 76 (this idea would underlie the old story of India and Gṛtsamadā if the *Bṛhaddevatā*, 4, 18, were right (cf. A. Kuhn, *Ind. Stud.*, i, 118)); Temple, *Legends of the Panjab*, ii, 395; when it calls in the night it is a good omen, cf. Temple, loc. cit., i, 161; again, when it cries at the start of a journey this is an entirely bad omen, cf. Temple, loc. cit., i, 269, 271. As for the etymology of the word **cakora**, nothing definite seems to have been ascertained; the word seems to be widespread outside India; cf. Yule-Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, \(^p\) p. 194 seq. Yule suggested that it should be found in one passage of Marco Polo, cf. his *Marco Polo*, \(^p\) 1, 287.

That the Brahminy kite (Haliastur indus),¹ which is looked upon as a manifestation of Garuḍa, should be considered an enemy of snakes is nothing curious; I have dealt to some extent with this bird in another work.² Thurston³ tells us that if only the shadow of a Brahminy kite should fall upon a cobra the snake becomes stupefied; and a person who has a Garuḍa mark or mole on his body possesses absolute power over cobras be they ever so furious.

I can find no clear indication that tame fowls have been thought by the Hindus to possess the above-mentioned qualities. It is fairly well known that chickens are sometimes cut up and applied to snake-bites, with the idea that their bodies would absorb the venom; and in one passage I remember having read about the liver of a cock being used as an antidote. But it is doubtful how much importance we ought to ascribe to such beliefs. It is, however, quite certain that in the West the cock and hen were thought to furnish antidotes against snake-poison ⁵; and there is another curious testimony to the same belief. The idea of the poison-damsel, who is nourished from childhood by poison (be it snake-venom, aconite, or something else) until she is so soaked with it that she kills everyone that comes into contact with her, is well-known.⁶ Now Rhases (Abu Bekr ar-Rāzī, d. 932) and Avicenna (d. 1037) tell us⁷ that the spittle of the poison-damsel is especially dangerous to tame fowls, and that hens do not come near it. Avicenna seems to refer to the physician Rufus of Ephesus (c. A.D. 100), but this is scarcely correct, and as the idea of the poison-damsel did almost certainly originate in India it is possible that the belief about the hens testified to by the famous Perso-Arabian physicians is also of Hindu origin.

We have seen above⁸ that at least one author, Paulinus a S. Bartholomeo, thought that the cakora eats snakes; but this is most probably a misunderstanding. Otherwise there is not known to me any Hindu testimony to the idea that certain birds eat poison or even

¹ Cf. Yule-Burnell, loc. cit., p. 112.
² Cf. Die Suparṣasage, p. 345 seq.
³ Ethnographic Notes in S. India, p. 282.
⁴ Manucci, Storia do Mogor, transl. by Irvine, iii, 196.
⁵ Cf. Aldrovandi, Historia Serpentum et Draconum (1640), p. 43.
⁶ On this idea cf. especially the admirable work by W. Hertz. "Die Sage vom Giftmädchen" (Abh. d. Bayerischen Akad. d. Wiss., phil. hist. Kl. xx, 2, 1897), as well as Penzer, Ocean of Story, ii, 275–313, and J. J. Modi, Folk-Lore, xxxviii, 324 seq. Mr. Penzer has chiefly simplified the materials of Hertz and made little additions of his own.
⁷ Cf. Hertz, loc. cit., p. 146 seq.
⁸ Cf. p. 237.
wholly subsist on poisonous matters. Such a bird, according to Pliny, is the quail, and according to Galenus the starling is another. Mithradates the Great, who, with Mahmūd Bigarha of Gujerāt (1458–1511), was perhaps the most famous of poison-eaters, had concocted an antidote, which chiefly consisted of the blood of Pontic ducks; for these birds fed entirely on poison.

Before winding up these short and cursory remarks, I have to add a few words on the peacock, which is mentioned in the quotation from Suśruta given above; Kauṭilya, as is well known, just before the lines quoted by me, has the sentence mārajāramayūranakulaşatotsargaḥ sarpān bhaksayati. I have dealt shortly with the peacock as a bhujagāśana and generally as an enemy of snakes in two other passages and have little to add to what has been brought together there.

Mr. Penzer tells us that the feathers of the peacock become ruffled at the approach of poison, but he has, unfortunately, forgotten to quote a source for this statement. But the general idea apparently is that the peacock becomes much excited, dances and emits shrill shrieks at the sight of snakes and in the neighbourhood of poison. Such ideas have apparently spread westwards—partly at least through acquaintance with the writings of the Arabs—for we find them again in the zoological literature of the Renaissance. Aldrovandi, Ornithologia, ii, 17, gives the following information concerning the peacock: “... non agnoscant tantum venenosì medicamenti apparatum, verum ad locum etiam, ubi ciuscmodi insidiae machinantur, procurrant, clamitent, alasque quatiant, et medicamina e vasis dispergent, immo quod amplius est, si defossa sint terra, eriant atque eo modo, imminentes insidias manifestent”; and, further, loc. cit., ii, 18: “Pavo, si authori, quisquis ille est, de natura rerum credimus, serpentes terret et animalia omnia venenata non pollit tantum, sed haec ipsa etiam

1 Nat. Hist., x, 33, 69; 92, 197.
2 Opera, ed. Kühn, xi, 601; xiv, 227.
3 Cf. Hertz, Die Sage vom Giftdärchen, p. 156 seq., with literature; Sir Denison Ross, C.H.I., iii, 315.
4 Cf. Hertz, loc. cit., p. 134, with n. 3.
5 Dr. J. J. Meyer, Das altind. Buch vom Welt- und Staatsleben, p. 684, has apparently totally misunderstood my remark on this passage in the Festchrift E. Kuhn, p. 283, as a perusal of my words there can leave no doubt whatsoever what I mean by saying that the text is ”unfortunately corrupted”.
6 Cf. Die Suparnasage, p. 379 seq.; Festchrift E. Kuhn, p. 283 seq.
7 Ocean of Story, i, 110 n.
8 It almost seems as if the above-mentioned statement of Mr. Penzer originated in a passage like this one.
audita eius voce sponte fugiunt nec prope morari audent."  

And, finally, loc. cit., ii, 26: "Rasis et Avicenna eos, qui sibi a venenatis animalibus metuunt, Pavones et Mustelas iubent alere, quod illi clamore suo ea fugent, hae eadem devorent." It is unknown to me whether any such ideas were already current during classical antiquity. However, Pliny speaks of a traditional friendship between the peacock and the pigeon. This may mean nothing more than that such tame birds were often kept together; but it has at least been interpreted as meaning that the peacock protects his friend from serpents and other venomous creatures.

Peacock's feathers are believed to contain a powerful antidote whether smoked in a pipe or otherwise used. Prince Salim, later on the Great Mogul Jahāngir, at one time busied himself with extracting from peacocks' feathers "copper" which was then to be used as an antidote. Another use of peacocks' feathers as a charm is recorded, e.g. by Frazer, The Golden Bough, v, 2, p. 167.

Finally I must add a few words to clear a misunderstanding; and though these final remarks do not refer to poison-detecting birds, they do, however, refer to similar animals, viz. deer and antelopes.

In the Festschrift E. Kuhn, p. 283, I discussed the passage of the Kauṭiliya quoted above according to which the letting loose of cats, peacocks, mungooses, and spotted antelopes (prṣata) "sarpān bhakṣayati", and suggested that all these animals really were thought to eat serpents. Dr. J. J. Meyer objects to this, and shows that bhakṣ- in several passages of the Kauṭiliya does not mean "eat", but simply "annihilate", and that consequently we cannot conclude

1 The very same words are given, with a few insignificant additions, in the Historia Serpentum et Draconum, p. 25 seq.
2 The mustela, of course, is the mongoose, the nakula. Its enmity with the serpent is mentioned already in the Av., vii, 139, 5; in viii, 7, 23, the tradition is mentioned that the mongoose fortifies himself by the use of a certain drug. cf. Mil. Pañha, p. 394: nakulo uragam upagacchanto bhesajjena kāyam paribhāvetvā uragam upagacchati.
3 Nat. Hist., x, 48.
4 Cf. de Gubernatis Zoological Mythology, ii, 324, n. 2.
5 Cf. Crooke, Popular Rel. of N. India, ii, 250; Entroven, Bombay Folk-lore, p. 136.
6 Cf. V. Smith, Akbar the Great Mogul, p. 314.
7 In a note on the same page I also suggested that the meat of peacocks and antelopes was really considered an antidote, and that this was perhaps the reason why Asoka last of all gave up eating it. The plausibility of such a suggestion is somewhat enhanced by the fact that the meat of certain birds—and, according to Dioscorides—the marrow of deer, is really thought to annihilate poison.
8 Loc. cit., p. 684.
from this passage that there ever existed a belief in India according to
which the spotted antelope eats serpents.

I admit the validity of the argument concerning the use of bhakṣ-
by Kauṭilya; and I also admit that in consequence of this our passage
cannot prove the existence of such a belief as I am not able to adduce
another passage from an Indian writer pointing in the same direction.
But still the argument is a little beside the point. For my chief reason
was this: the common tradition of classical antiquity is that deer are
the most bitter enemies of serpents; in one way or other—there is a
discussion about this between the naturalists of those times—they
draw them out of their holes and either tread them to death or eat
them. And it is even said that the deer does this as a cure against
intestinal worms, and that in consequence of eating serpents it gets
very thirsty.\footnote{Classical testimonies are collected by Aldrovandi, De Quadrupedibus bisulcis, p. 800 seq., and Historia Serpentum et Draco-
num, p. 25 seq. The oldest classical authors to mention such a belief seem to be Theophrastus and Lucretius, De rerum
natura, vi, 765 seq. Other authors are Plutarchus, Pliny, and Aelianus, as well as
Lucanus Pharsalia, vi, 673. Cf. further Lauchert, Geschichte des Physiologus, p. 27.
and Thorndike, A History of Magic and Experimental Science, i, 84.} Whether there is any trace of reality underlying such a
belief I cannot decide. But it seemed and still seems probable to me
that it is much more likely to have originated in India with its
innumerable snakes than in Europe where snakes, as far as I am aware,
have never in historical times been any real danger. It does not appear
improbable that Theophrastus, a disciple of Aristotle, could have got
hold of an Indian idea and transplanted it to the West. However, I
am fully prepared to say that at the present stage of our knowledge
it cannot be proved that such an idea originated in India; and if
Dr. Meyer or any other scholar would like to suggest that it rose in
the West, and from there was carried eastwards to India, I should feel
constrained to admit that I could offer no proof to the contrary,
though greatly doubting the probability of such a theory.
ENGLISH WORDS IN PANJABI

By T. GrahaMe Bailey

Conclusion

Note.—Northern or Western Panjabi is the dialect spoken to the
north and west of Amritsar. It is distinct from Lāhndi, which used to
be called Western Panjabi. Southern or Eastern Panjabi is spoken
south and east of Amritsar.

† is prefixed to a word to show that it has another form which does
not illustrate the rule under consideration.

A GLANCE at the following pages will show apparent confusion in
methods of word-formation. We must remember, however,
the different influences which have been brought to bear.

(i) Some, especially older words, are fully naturalized; others,
probably more recent, are only making their way.

(ii) Some have been taken from newspapers and handed on to
illiterate speakers; they remain subject to the influence of those who
try to preserve what they believe to be English pronunciation. This
accounts for much diversity of treatment.

(iii) ištū, stew, and aštūm, stamp, show us that some have come
through the U.P. to which many servants in the Panjab belong and
in which English institutions were established earlier than further
north and west.

(iv) Tax and ticket which both become ṭiqaṭ and ṭikas, remind us
that borrowed words are often altered to make them resemble other
Panjabi words whether former loan words or not.

Pj. æ, when it represents Eng. [e] or [ɛ], is shorter than when it has
any other origin. Thus æ in hædd, head, is shorter than œ in gab,
gap, karnæl, colonel, or lāftæn, lantern; so in jauntærnæn, gentleman,
the first æ is shorter than the second. An exception to the general rule
is luftæn (œ long), lieutenant. Other interesting words in this con-
nexion are 'arikæn, hurricane; 'acisæn, Hutchison; pūfisæn (also
paɪæn), Paterson: these have the longer æ. 'acisæn and pūfisæn
are also heard.
Stress

The stress is generally on the same syllable as in English, but in the following words a change has been made. The stress mark is placed after the stressed vowel.

agency, ajə’ni.
agent, ajə’nt.
Africa, afri’kə, phari’kə.
America, amri’kə.
April, aprə’l.
assistant, asə’tə’nt.
August, agə’st.

B.A., bə’yə.’e.
banyan (vest), bəna’n, banyə’n.
barrister, bali’star.
bearing, bara’iɡ.
bulldog, buldə’g.
calendar, kala’ndər.
canister, kna’stər, kana’stər.
cement, si’mi’st, si’mi’nt, si’rma’t.
chocolate, † ca’le’t.
colonel, karna’l.
cigarette, si’ɡrət.
croquette, ku’rka’t.
death-house, dəd’əu’s.
decree, də’ɡri.
engineer, anjə’nyər.
entrance, en’tra’ns.

F.A., ə’ffə.
furlong, farlə’ɡ.

general, jarnə’l.
hotel, ‘o’tal.
lecturer, lekcarə’r.
licence, lasa’ns.
M.A., ě’mmə.
manager, † manə’jar.
monitor, manə’tar, mnə’tər.
necktie, nakə’tə.
papa, pə’pə.
passenger, psa’njər, pasa’njər.
platoon, pa’lən.
police, puləs, pu’las.
pudding, pəfu’ni, pəfu’ni.
putty, pəfu’ni, pəfu’ni, and pa’fi’n.
register, ra’i’star; so ra’i’stri, registered.
report, † ra’pa’t, † ra’ba’t; so ra’pi, ra’bəi, ra’bəi, reporter.
second, sak’i’nt, sak’i’nt.
secretary, ska’ṭtar, saka’ttar.
warrant, varə’nt.

In addition to the above there are words with a double stress. Such are bicycle, bə’iska’l; commissioner, kami’šna’r; də’gdə’r, doctor; quarantine, ku’rəfi’n.
Transposition

There are several instances of the transposition of r so that a stop + r + vowel becomes stop + vowel + r.

breeches, birjas. croquette, kurkaṭ.
brake, † birk. February, farvārī, pharbarī.
brush, būrē. gross, guras.
cream, kirm. trump, turap.
cricket, kirkat. trumpet, turam.

l is transposed in paṭṭan, platoon; falākun, flannel; ka’laf, club; pilsan, pencil, is an alteration of pinsal, and raṭbī, reporter, of rabī.

Stressed Vowels

The symbols between square brackets are phonetic.

English [a] appears twenty-three times as ā, in two words it is ā, plastar, plaster; kastrel, castor oil. There is also the alternative form klärk for klärk, clerk.

[ə] The theoretical pronunciation of this vowel is ē, but the examples show that actually this is rare.

ā occurs ten times: bārāk, barracks; † bālīštār, barrister; brāndī, brandy; jākat, jacket; jām, jam; lāltān, lantern; mācas, matches; rāsn, ration; āstām, stamp; tāpiū, tapioca.

æ eight times: † akt, act; baet, bat; kace, catch; faśan, fashion; laṇdo, landau; † manjar, manager; man, man; gaeb, gap.

ā five times: bāmbū, bamboo; bānk, bank; kāmpū, camp; lāmp, lamp; mākrūnī, macaroni.

ı twice: † ikat, act; tikās, tax.

e twice: pletfārm, platform; mēm, ma’am.

[ə] twenty-one times becomes ā, occasionally it is ā, bāmb, bomb; āfsār, officer; bākās, box. We may add perhaps āktūbar, October, † cāklet, chocolate, and āpresan, operation, in which the ā is unstressed.

[a] when initial or medial is o or ă; when final, ăi or ăi: exceptions are rāfūl, rifle; † mūl, mile; javelā, July; ām (or tēm), time.

Even [ai] becomes o, e.g. fœr, fire; dāvrī, diary; dāmūl, diamond; via, is viā or vāyā; bioscope > bāiskop.

[a] twenty-four times remains ā, but we have ā three times: turap, trump; turam, trumpet; būrē, brush; also kawmpānī, company; † kāṃṭēbāl, constable; sāṭāpiū, stuffing. In gavrmnūt, government, the vowel is influenced by the e.
[au] is represented by aw seven times, sometimes pronounced [ʊʊ]; twice by o: kampośar, compouder; and pošar, powder; flour is flour.

English short [e] or [ɛ] appears in various forms. ě or í is the commonest; this ě is very low, practically [ɛ], and may as a rule be equally well written a: next in frequency is i, then ā and lastly ě.

e, ae, sixteen times: sākan, second; sūprintėndant, superintendent; sēnār, centre; darēktar, director; ďēd, dead; ēffē, F.A.; jāntālman, gentleman; hēd, head; āi inspēktar, inspector; lēkvarār, lecturer; spēl, spelling; tānis, tennis; ēmmē, M.A.; raseś’s, recess; rezidant, resident; prezidant, president.

i thirteen times: bīlī, belt; brīnc, bench; cīk, cheque; dīptī, deputy; āi īnān, engine; āi īnspīttar, inspector; miss, mess; mimbar, member; pīlsan, pencil; pīnsan, pension; pippalānt, peppermint; sīsan, session; sīdd, shed.

ā twelve times: bānc, bench; dasambar, December; satambar, September; navambar, November; fararā, February; jānral, general; lammē, lemonade; ā laftānt, lieutenant; samlānē, semolina; santrī, sentry; āi anjan, engine; āi anjīnār, etc., engineer.

a: occurs in ā laftān, lieutenant.

e six times: brēs, breast; darēs, dress; darēsar, dresser; darēssī, dressing; kēlī, kettle; prēs, press.

[s] or [ɔ] > ār, six times: jarman, German (and jārmanī, Germany); yark, jerk; sarvanā, adjectival formation from servant; varmsēlī, vermicelli, karnāl, colonel.

ār, once: ā tharā, third (r here is fricative cerebral).

ā, twice: āfāst, first; ā thādd, third.

ā, once: gādar, girder.

ār, once: tārātn, turpentine.

ae, once: nās, nurse.

[ei], twenty times e.

ā, twice: glās, gilās, grace; vāskat, bāskat, waistcoat.

ae, twice: gētas, gaiters; caan, chain.

ai, once: maā, May.

i, once: birk, brake.

[ei] occurs in bearer, ba‘rā; and in phaeton, fitān.

[ε] i, twenty-seven times.

i, seven times: kamīsan, commission; diśi, distant; dis, dish; mil r mil, mill; pīn, pin; tin, tin; slīpat, slipper; phubīn, puśin, pudding.
**ENGLISH WORDS IN PANJABI**

* e, three times: kamefī, committee; gegan, gingham; † dalef, drill.
  * ā, once: sangal, signal.
  * ō, once: † omei, inch.
  * ū occurs in huskī, whisky and tūl, twill, where it stands for "wi" or "whi" (unstressed in biskuṭ, biscuit, kunān, kurān, quinine).
  * ū stands for "wi" in tūl, twill.
  * [i] appears seven times as ī.
  * Once as ī: kirm, cream.

Twice as ō: kunān, kurān, quinine; fanael, phanael, pharnal, phenyle. In these words it is based on a pronunciation [-am], [-ail].

* [ou] seventeen times o.

Three times ū: makrūnī, macaroni; aktūbar, October; tāpū tapioca.

Twice ū: uvarkot, overcoat; puṭas, poultice.

* aw once: ‘awldar, holder.

* [ɔ] becomes e : bēl, boil; æl, oil (in castor oil).

* [o]; (i) words without the letter "r", becomes ā : bāl, ball; cāk, chalk; ālt, halt; kalāth, kilāth, cloth; āl, hall; mālā, Malta; sās, sauce. Exception, agast, August.

(ii) Words with "r" : five times ā : kāk, kāg, cork; kāṅflawer, cornflour; drāz, drawer, drawers; āḍar, order; kuṭar, quarter.

* ār twice : farmā, pharmā, forme : ardālī, orderly (note the different treatment in "order" above).

* [u], twice ū : † futt, phutt, foot; bulūg, bulldog.

* Once ū : būlī, bull-terrier.

* Once ī : † fitt, foot.

* [u] occurs ten times as ū, and once as ī : bigal, bugle.

**Unstressed Vowels**

Final [ɔ] unstressed spelt with "r" becomes -ār twenty-eight times.

-ār, twice : lēkarār, lecturer; dāγdār, doctor.

-ā, twice : dāllā, dollar; bāw'rā, bearer.

-at, three times : † rabaṭ, rubber; silpāṭ, silpāṭ, slipper; † slīpāṭ, sleeper.

-ar, once : † rabar, rubber.

With these should be connected -o in moto kāṭ, motor-car. Cf. also gātas, gaiters; ardālī, orderly; pippalmint, peppermint; anjnīr, etc., engineer; plesfār, plate-layer.
When not spelt with "r" it becomes -ā, as amrīkā, America; mālītā, Malta.

A closely related question is that of all vowels which in English spelling require the letter "r". There are approximately fifty words in which such vowels are found. Of these thirty have the r sound in Panjabi, and twenty have not.

Examples: rapot, report; käg, kāk, cork; gāḍ, railway guard; nās, nurse; sārjan, sergeant; karnāl, colonel; mārc, March.

Unstressed Vowels nearly always become -ā or disappear. [-i] > -ī; [-i-] > -ī- or -ī- (-ū- in biskut, biscuit). Occasionally a "spelling" pronunciation is heard, as constable > cons-table < kanstēbal.

CONSONANTS

b > f, in kalaś, club; p in tāp, tub; and is inserted in bāmb, bomb. ch > j in birjas, breeches.

Representation of English d and t. I have dealt with this in a special article in Bull. S.O.S., Vol. IV, Pt. II. The following words were given there in which t and d have become dental.

t: dāgdār, doctor; agast, August; stambhar, September; aktūbar, October; ketlī, kettle; kanastar, canister; tōs, toast; trel, tray; santrī, sentry; hāthīcok, artichoke; turap, trump; turam, trumpet; tārpin, turpentine.

d: dasambar, December; ardālī, orderly; drāz, drawer, drawers; darjan, dozen. To these should be added tārkol, tar coal; plastar, plaster; † bārāgmastrī, barrack-master's office; † rajistrī, registered; rāved, round; dāl, military drill; dres, dress; dressī, dressing.

d is changed to t in kāt, card; lāt, lord; lamnet, lamlet, lemonade; māmlet, marmalade; pare, parade; phūţin, pufin, pudding; skint sakint, second (part of minute), and to l in dāmal, diamond; to nī, in infarminţam, intermediate.

d is omitted in sākan, second class in train; sikan, second course in meal; kamāniar, commander.

d is inserted in tandal, tunnel.

f > p in cīkōt, chief court; † satīptak, certificate; jāmpapp, jam-puff; satāping, stuffing; tīpan, tiffin.

f always tends to become ph in the Southern dialect.

English h occurs (only initially) in about fifteen words. It always gives rise to the low-rising tone. See vocabulary in last article.

j > j except in yark, jerk (used in cricket).
k usually remains k, but \( >g\) in \( \dag \) bärāg, barrack; \( \dag \) kāg, cork; 
\( \text{dīgrī} \), degree; \( \dag \text{dāgdār} \), doctor; rangrūt, recruit; tīgāt, tax or ticket.
\( kt > \text{tt} \) in \( \dag \) inspīṭār, inspector.

k is omitted in \( \text{tāpiū} \), tapioca. See "qu".

l, see also n, r.

l immediately preceded by a cs. becomes -ūl, as bāūbal, Bible; rafal, rifle.

\( l > l \) in saṅgal, signal. It is added in trel, tray.

l and n are interchanged in lokal or nokal, local (used of trains); not or lot, note (money).

The word "number" is usually nambar when standing alone for "number", but lambār when meaning village headman who is called lambārdār or simply lambār.

l is omitted in pleśtar, plate-layer, and inserted in pippalīmūṭ, peppermint.

l is interchanged with r in darīl, dāl, military drill; jāntalīmūn, jāntarmān, gentleman; rūl, lūl, (wooden) ruler; fēr, fēl, fire.

l and n are transposed in fūlālūn, flannel.

m is omitted in papp, pump; turap, trump.

n, see also l.

n is omitted in kampoda, compounder; kānphraēs, conference; \( \dag \) anfrēs, entrance; \( \dag \) laws, allowance; frāśbin, French beans; kūrāsfin, quarantine.

n is inserted in rangrūt, recruit; omitted in dresī, dressing; and changed to g in gegeam, gingham.

n > l or l in \( \dag \) simīlī, cement; lāltān, lantern; dāmal, diamond; 
\( \dag \) pilsan, pension.

n > nī, in cimenī, chimney; \( \dag \) bānaēn, banyan; iūnān, engine; nān, line.

n > r in \( \dag \) kuvaēn, quinine.

p is omitted in stambar, September; aśtām, stamp.

p > f in tēmfīs, timepiece, and b in gab, gap, \( \dag \) rabāf, report.

\( qu = kw \), rejects the "w" sound in kurāśīn, quarantine; kūnān, kurān, quinine; kōram, quorum; but retains it in kuekaēr ot, Quaker Oats; kuātār, quarter.

r; see also l and the vowels [ə], [œ], and [œ], and Unstressed Vowels.

r is inserted in brinc, bench; \( \dag \) sirīf, cement; tāmātār, tomato; pataētīr cāp, potato chop; darījan, dozen.

r > l in baliśṭār, etc., barrister; gilās, glās, grace (banking).
s is omitted in tül, stool; † tesan, station.

s > š in ašṭām, stamp; balištar, barrister; māśtar, master; ištū, stew; † phaštālās, first class; huśkī, whiskey; † ašṭant, assistant.

šh always tends to become s in the Southern dialect; in the Northern this occurs in three words: † burs, brush; dīs, dish; rāsn, rations.

s + cs. does not present much difficulty; school, Scotch, Scotland, slate, sleeper, slipper, speech, spell, station, study, stuffing, can be pronounced without an extra vowel. When the vowel is introduced it is usually between the s and the cs.: ištū, stew; ašṭām, stamp, come from the UP.

t: see above t and d.

t is omitted in sārjan, sergeant; tos, toast.

It becomes d in dāgdār, doctor, and s in kaṭlas, cutlet.
The forms dīsī, distant; laftān, lieutenant, should be noted.

[th] > th: kalāth, cloth; tharmāmeṭar, thermometer; thāṛd, third (also thāddī); thṛū, through.

[ŋ] > d; fādar, father.

v becomes Pj. v: sīval, civil; ḍărāvār, driver; uvarkōṭ, overcoat; navambar, November; sarvanṯī, servant; varmselī, vermicelli; viṇa, vāyaṇa, via; vīpi, V.P.; nāval, novel.

v > b in grebbī, gravy. In gavrmṇt, government avar > avr.

u becomes b in S.P. bāskat, waistcoat; bāraṇṭ, warrant; biskī, whiskey. For cs. + u, see under [i] and qu.

Addenda to Last Article

gavrmṇt, government. sāgu, sago. prāivēṭ, private.

Jarnelī ṣarāk (not r), general road, i.e. Grand Trunk Road.

Corrigenda to Last Article

For kārnflaur, cornflour, read kānflauer; for bASKAT, waistcoat, read bāskat; for pleśī’ar, plate-layer, read pleśī’ar; for ḍarāvār, driver, read ḍarāvār; for vārland, Ireland, read vārlād.

z remains in the words for baptise, braces, drawers, president and resident.

z > s in birjas, breeches; fīs, fees; gātās, gaiters; mācis, matches. z is omitted in ēḏkuṭār, headquarters.

In S.Pj. z > j.
FURTHER LIGHT ON THE ARCHAIC MARATHI जा GENITIVE

By W. Doderet

THIS form of the genitive occurs in the Nāgāra inscription, set forth at pp. 37–42 of Vol. V, Part I, of the School of Oriental Studies Bulletin. Its origin is discussed at pp. 551–2 of Vol. IV, Part III, of the School Bulletin. On a reference to India, to ascertain whether any other instances of the जा genitive had been noticed, Mr. B. A. Bhide, writing in No. 2 of the Mahārāṣṭra Sāhitya Patrikā of June, 1928, quotes verse 364 of the sixteenth chapter of his copy of the Sakhare edition of the Jñāneśvari as follows:

ज़राजेचिन झाटोपे। रोमो भक्तेंसे जब्ले।
चातुर्दी संकल्ले। जाण ते तासे॥

"Know that owing to their imagination they babble in the same manner as a sick man owing to the violence of his fever chatters nonsense." Maṛḍāgaśkar has ज़राजेचिन. ज़राजेचिन is the Instrumental of the archaic जा genitive. This is important confirmation of the use of the जा genitive as an alternative form of the more common चा genitive. Further Mr. Bhide points out that there are words in the language current to-day, which are spelt indifferently with च or ज. He gives the following examples:—कुचका, कुजका "rotten"; खाचकुरली, खाचकुरली "cowhage"; चोबले, चोबले "breasts"; बोबर्य, बोबर्य "a loose pack"; जाल्का, जाल्का "teased", "tormented"; टिचिंर, टिचिंर "of the measure of a span between thumb and forefinger"; मेंौंक, मेंौंक "flexure of a joint". To these may be added मेंौंण, मेंौंण "to measure" and others if the Dictionary be searched. Further Mr. Bhide quotes verse 241 of chapter xvi of Rājvāde's edition of the Jñāneśvari,

"And his mind is the creation of a snake, his eyes the discharge of arrows, when he speaks it is a downpour of live coals." The Sanskrit word for "arrow" is झाराच. Mr. Bhide adds that even at this date we say झार्चपासून for झार्चाौसून "from him"; तिचिंरें for तिचिंरें "towards her", etc. Mr. Bhide does not enter into the question of the derivation of the जा and चा
genitives, but would lead one to infer that he regards the unvoiced and the voiced forms as mere linguistic variants. It is a moot question whether this tendency to interchange in the body of words would sufficiently account for the variation in a case ending. Moreover it would leave wholly out of account the clear evidence we possess from the other allied Indo-Aryan vernaculars that abraded forms of कल्य and कार्य, used as postpositions, became the forerunners of the present genitive suffixes. The evolution varies according to the particular language under consideration, and in the end the descendant of one form ousts the others. Thus in Gujarāti kero < kārya and co < kṛtya gave place to no < tano, while in Marāṭhī cā < kṛtya prevailed over jā < kārya. There is no reason to think that the evolutionary process was different in Marāṭhī from that in the sister languages and hence no reason to doubt that cā and jā are referable to different origins and are not merely, as Mr. Bhide seems inclined to believe, variations of the unvoiced and voiced palatal.
SOME REMARKS ON SVETADVIPA

By Kasten Rönnnow, Ph.D. (Upsala)

SVETADVIPA, "The White Island," is the name of an island, situated in the far North, inhabited by Nārāyaṇa and by pious White Men, who worship him. The description of their worship, which can be read in that part of the Śāntiparvan, the twelfth of the Mahābhārata books, devoted to Nārāyaṇa, is distinguishable to an obvious degree from the stories of other cults found in the Brahminical literature, and has led researchers of both earlier and more recent date to try certain more or less successful interpretations. The attempt at solving the problem of Śvetadvipa, which has, during more recent times, attracted the greatest attention, is that of Garbe. In his work, Indien und das Christentum,¹ he has examined critically the previous studies on this subject, which have been presented by Lassen,² Weber,³ Sir George Grierson,⁴ and Kennedy,⁵ and finally gives his own opinion. That this opinion cannot be considered a satisfactory one has for years been my opinion, and this now becomes still more evident. Dr. Barnett ⁶ rightly emphasizes the impossibility of a simple geographical localization of the place. The last contribution which is by Clark ⁷ chiefly contains a very noticeable investigation concerning the position of Śvetadvipa, as seen from the Hindu geographo-cosmographical point of view. The final conclusion of the author—with which I fully agree ⁸—is that the points of contact with Christianity emphasized by Garbe and others, must be rejected. The problem, however, should present other sides besides those already touched upon, and upon them I shall try to throw some light in the following pages.

The point in common to Garbe and to the investigators he quotes is this: In the stories of Śvetadvipa (Mbh., 12, 338 (B 336), 1 seq.), they find information, even if veiled, of Christian influence on the

¹ (1914), pp. 192–200.
² Ind. Alt., ii², 1118 seq.
⁴ ERE., ii, p. 549a ; IA., 1908.
⁵ JRAS., 1907, p. 481 seq.
⁶ Hindu Gods and Heroes, p. 84.
⁷ JAOS., 1919, p. 209 seq.
⁸ The chief part of the present paper was already finished when his article came into my hands.
Hindu life of piety. The prototype of the White Island, with its population of pious men constantly worshipping their god with prayer and rapturous praise, and which lies to the north of Meru in Kṣīrodā, according to them was a Christian community, lying north or northwest of Northern India (there is no unanimous opinion as to any closer localization), and the Brahmins—who visit the place according to the Mahābhārata stories—should have received impressions there, which have not been without influence on the origin of the Pāñcarātra—or Bhāgavata—religion.1 We immediately think of the Nestorians, and with good reason, for we have trustworthy evidence, dating from the sixth century A.D., of their appearance in these districts. Regarding the expedition itself—beside Nārada, in the great epic the notorious messenger and go-between of the gods, three Brahmins, Ekata, Dvīta, and Tīrītā, journey to Śvetadvīpe—one must bear in mind the existence of Brahmins in Bactria, where they could easily have obtained some knowledge of the Nestorian religion.2 We know now that the story, earlier considered as a pure legend, of the visit of the Apostle Thomas to India rests on a tradition which is probably historically correct,3 and one would be pleased to find the connexion between Christians and Hindus clearly indicated by such a tradition, corroborated from purely Hindu sources. In this respect we are not quite without available material, but it is derived chiefly from a later age than that of the great epic. The question is whether it may be considered possible, on tenable grounds, to move the date of that mutual intercourse back to a time so remote? The question is this: Can we depend on the history of Śvetadvīpe?

Any unprejudiced person trying to investigate the problem of Śvetadvīpe must first of all find out to what extent the description of the island can be interpreted from a purely Hindu standpoint. It appears to me that the researches carried out to the present date fail in this respect,4 as an uncritical position has been taken up in favour of—in some cases against—the asserted connection with the West. It is true that the texts do not give us much, and what we are

1 While in this respect Weber, Lassen, and Kennedy look upon communication with "the White Men" as being of great importance in regard to Hindu piety, Garbe (loc. cit., p. 199) expresses himself with more reserve: the Hindus should simply have found outside Hinduism proofs of bhakti leading to communion with God.
3 Cf. Charpentier, Kyrkohistorisk Årskrift, 1927, p. 21 seq.
4 Exceptions to this are Senart in his remarkable work, Essai sur la Légende du Buddha, and Clark, loc. cit.
able to learn is partly of an extremely peculiar kind; but the abstruse details must not be overlooked as has almost universally been the case. However, so much can already be said that a conscientious regard to them makes the Christian hypothesis strictly impossible. How could the members of a Nestorian community be characterized by the following words which concern the White Men:—

chatrākṛtiśirṣā meghahananīdāh samamuskacatuskā rājivacchadapestāḥ

ṣaṣṭīyā dantair yuktāḥ śuklair aśtābhīr daṁstrābhīr ye jihvābhīr ye visvavaktraṃ lelīhyante sūryaprakhyam

"Their heads are formed like sunshades, their voices are like a mass of thunder-clouds, they all have four testicles, and their feet are like lotus-leaves. They are furnished with sixty teeth and eight eye-teeth, and with their tongues they lick the whole face which is like the sun." 2

These distinguishing marks belong to the lakṣaṇas of the god and the islanders, and these in their turn characterize a Mahāpuruṣa; this circumstance should give a hint as to the direction in which researches ought to be carried out. I shall go more closely into these matters later on.

In his paper in JAOS., 1919, p. 209 seq., called "Śvetadvīpa and Śakadvīpa", Clark, as mentioned above, has rejected the hypothesis advanced by Garbe and others, and has instead urged the purely Indian origin of the descriptions of Śvetadvīpa. He lays stress on the fact that by the Hindus the districts in the North, round the Himalaya, have been considered from times of yore highly sacred and as places of abode for divine beings, who there in a wonderland like Paradise live

1 Senart deals with these details explicitly. But he does not succeed in giving any plausible explanation of the Śvetadvīpa episode. Sir George Grierson's method is scarcely quite plausible, IA., 1908, p. 374. He picks out three characteristics of the inhabitants of Śvetadvīpa which suit his purpose. "Amongst other wonders their complexions are white, they are clean from every sin, and blast the eyes of sinners who look upon them." Cf. also JRAS., 1907, p. 315 seq.

2 The text in some places is not clear, and is therefore translated hypothetically. Cf. e.g. Diāha N., 3, 2, 11, 19: Buddha pops out his tongue and covers his ears, nostrils, and forehead with it. Such a marvellous tongue belongs to his thirty-two lakṣaṇas, which are treated of there. But even the White Men's characteristics are lakṣaṇas, cf. below. The equipment of the Mahā-puruṣas is similar. Deussen's translation ("mit ihren Zungen den Sonnen-strahlen gleich nach allen Seiten züngelnd ") consequently is incorrect. Regarding rājīvacchadapāḍāh it is fairly indubitable that the known webbed skin (jāla-pāda or -bhuj) is referred to, which distinguishes a Mahāpuruṣa. Its origin is obscure. For my own part I believe that most likely in this lakṣaṇa we have a residue of Viṣṇu as hamsa, i.e. the sunbird. For another theory cf. von Le Coq, Buddhistische Spätantike, vol. v, p. 10.
continually, and where neither old age, illness, nor earthly wants are to be found. And he has also given instances of these ideas from Hindu literature. He is, as far as I understand, evidently correct in his criticism and in his opinion that the legend of Śvetadvīpa, in its present form, has been built upon the foundation of descriptions of the Paradise of Nārāyaṇa, situated in the Milky Sea, and of the life carried on there. Afterwards the pronounced tendency of the Nārāyaṇiya of exalting bhakti at the expense of other means of salvation caused considerable modifications. This, together with a theory concerning the situation of Śākadvīpa and Śvetadvīpa according to mythical geography, forms the main contents of Clark’s paper. One may suggest, with some probability, that the Christian hypothesis has thus been incontrovertibly confuted. In the following I shall only underline the purely Hindu elements in the story of Śvetadvīpa and lay stress upon some points in it which connect it still more firmly with the Hindu life of piety and conception of the universe.

As regards the situation of Śvetadvīpa Clark has correctly pointed out that it is placed to the North of Meru because of the extraordinary holiness of this region. Those countries are described in a fabulous manner, as being like Paradise and inhabited by divine beings. This feature is common to the Brahminical, Jain, and Buddhist cosmography. The conception of a Paradise in the north is derived from Vedic times, for Aū. Br., viii, 14. 23, speaks of the Uttarakurus, the well-known legendary race north of the Himālaya, and of the impossibility of penetrating into their country, which belongs to the gods. The reason is that Atyarāti Jānaṁtapi raises the question of conquering it. In later literature (the great epic) there occur, together with repeated intimations of its impossibility (see e.g. Mbh., iii, 90, 163; v, 111, 18 seq.), at least three actual attempts to penetrate into it, which, however, were all duly unsuccessful. One can even speak of a distinct motif, viz. the unsuccessful attempt to penetrate into the country of the gods, and this for the reason that, according to my opinion, we may well believe that the stories of the expedition to the country of the gods has wandered from India towards the West and reappears in the romance of Alexander the Great.

During the digeijaya of the Pāṇḍavas Arjuna, who had got the north as his share, subjugated Śvetaparvata, inhabited by the Kiṃpurusas, Hāṭaka, inhabited by the Guhyakas, and the district of Māṇasa, where the Gandharvas live, Mbh., ii, 28, 1 seq. From
Harivarṣa he wished to push forward to the Uttarakurus, but the
guardians of the boundary prevented him from entering, pointing
out the dangers awaiting a man who forces his way into the territory
of the gods. Arjuna was then obliged to return. loc. cit., v. 7 seq.

uttaram harivarṣam tu sa samāśādyā pāṇḍavaḥ |
iyēṣa jetun tam desam pākaśāsananañdanah || 7 ||
tata enam mahāvirya mahākāya mahābalāḥ |
dvārapālāḥ samāśādyā hṛṣṭa vacanam abruvan || 8 ||
pārtha nedam tvayā śakyam puraṁ jetun kathamcana |
upāvartasva kalyāna paryāptam idam acyuta || 9 ||
idam puraṁ yaḥ praviśed dhruvam na sa bhaven narah |
priyāmahe tvayā vīra paryāpto vijayas tava || 10 ||
na cātra kiṃcij jetavyam arjunātra pradṛṣṭaye |
uttarāḥ kuravo hy ete nātra yuddham pravartate || 11 ||
praviṣṭo 'pi hi kaunteya neha drakṣyasi kiṃcana |
na hi māṇusadehenā śakyam atrābhivikṣitum || 12 ||

i.e. "The Pāṇḍava, the son of Indra, arriving at the country of
North Harivarṣa, proceeded to conquer this country. Then valiant
door-keepers of huge bodies and endowed with great strength met
him and said with contentment: 'O son of Prthvī, this stronghold
can never be conquered by thee. Return hence, O excellent one, thy
work is accomplished, O Acyuta. The one who entereth this firm
stronghold certainly is not a human being. We are satisfied with
thee, O hero, thy conquests are (now) finished. And nothing is seen
here that can be conquered, O Arjuna. The Uttarakurus live here
and there cannot be war among them. Even if thou goest forth,
thou wilt not be able to behold anything, for one with a human
body can see nothing here.'"

There is no doubt that the unsuccessful expedition of Ekata,
Dvita, and Trita to Śvetadvipa is another proof of the occurrence of
this subject. Certainly the story of their journey is wholly and solely
characterized by and made to suit the tendency pervading the
Nārāyaṇiya, viz. the glorification of īhakti; but apart from that,
够enough remains for us to recognize another version of the journey to
Paradise. It is according to my opinion unnecessary to waste any
words on the question whether Śvetadvipa really is the Paradise of
Nārāyaṇa. The goal of the journey undertaken by the three rṣīs
is, according to the description quoted here, to behold the god, for

1 Cf. p. 271 seq. below.
which they considered themselves apt on account of the extraordinary penance they had practised. But they proved unsuccessful and were exhort ed to leave immediately. They were not holy enough, had not attained already during their human life the necessary condition, which characterizes the blessed in their existence as divine beings (cf. jivanmukti). They are, in other words, human beings who are not yet possessed of the power of association with the Highest God. The story is intended to inculcate the fact that only yoga leavened by bhakti makes this possible, not that penance upon which those ascetics depended; nor is sacrifice, by which Brhaspati sought to obtain the sight of the god, of any avail. There is certainly a great difference between entering the divine world by means of penance and sacrifice, and Arjuna’s warlike attempt to force his way into it. However, this world is in both cases situated in the north. Neither Arjuna nor the three ascetics could distinguish anything there; the guardians of the boundary who met the former say: “... one possessed of a human body can see nothing here”; the latter are certainly successful, owing to renewed tapas, in seeing the White Men, but not the god himself, and a voice informs them that this is not possible (Mbh., xii, 338 (B 336), 54 seq.). There is also this conclusive similarity: to Arjuna as well as to the ascetics, at the close of their respective visits, a kind of compensation is offered, consisting in a favourable promise to be fulfilled in the future. As we shall see, this feature is met with in the romance of Alexander. The guardians of the boundary ask Arjuna to tell them if he has any other wish, upon which he answers that he desires the dignity of a chakravartin for Yudhishthira. The three ascetics, on the other hand, receive in compensation the power of completing a great task, viz. in the future to become the helpmates of the gods (Mbh., xii, 338 (336), 56 seq.) in their great fight against the demons, and a later passage (xii, 341 (339), 86) in prophetic style promises the descendants of Ekata and Dvita to take part, metamorphosed into apes, in the war between Râma and Râvana.

Bhîma’s invasion of the North furnishes us with another example of the same motif. According to Mbh., iii, 143, the Pândavas, driven by their longing for Arjuna, set off to Mount Gandhamâdana. On arriving there they for some time stay together; a wind from the north-east wafts to Draupadi a golden lotus, having the most enchanting fragrance, and she begs Bhîma to get her more of the same saugandhika lotuses. Bhîma wanders through marvellous regions
towards Gandhamādana till he comes to a banyan grove, where Hanumat meets him. The latter prevents him from proceeding any further by declaring that here begins the region of the gods. Even one of the ways leading to heaven started from this place. Hanumat here plays the same part as the frontier guardians meeting Arjuna. He and Bhima, however, become good friends after it has become known that they are brothers (both are sons of Vāyu), and finally Hanumat promises his brother the fulfilment of a wish. Like Arjuna, Bhima desires success for the Pāṇḍavas in their fight against the foe. So far the story follows the usual course, but in spite of Hanumat’s farewell speech, containing the significant words: “Return to thine own place!” Bhima proceeds further into the country of the gods. It is therefore possible that this further penetration is a later addition. That the text has been interpolated in various places I shall show presently. By and by Bhima reaches the lake belonging to Kuvera, where the ardently desired lotus flowers bloom, and begins to gather them, taking no notice of the warnings given by the Rākṣasas, who watch over them. When they attack him he kills them. Yudhiṣṭhira, who with the other Pāṇḍavas arrives at the place, upon seeing him in the midst of the defeated demons, makes an admonitory speech. Meanwhile, by permission of Kuvera, they all stay there for some time. When Yudhiṣṭhira plans a further journey to the god’s own dwelling-place, a divine voice is heard which utters: “You will not be able to penetrate into this inaccessible place. Return this very day from this country of Kuvera to the place from whence you came, the hermitage of Nara and Nārāyaṇa.” To this they obey. The appearance, outside the promised land, of a warning voice without any corporeal form occurs also in the history of Ekata, Dvita, and Trita, as well as in the romance of Alexander. The three ascetics were admonished to return without a moment’s delay to the place from which they had come, for they would never be able to see the god (Mbh., xii, 338 (336), 53 seq.). To Alexander I shall return presently.

We may now point out that the adventure of Bhīma was immediately repeated. There are duplicates of it. The Pāṇḍavas return to the peaceful dwelling of the hermits, that of Nara and Nārāyaṇa, i.e. Badari; that of Vṛṣaparvan, which they visit afterwards; and finally that of Arṣiṣena. The latter preaches to his guests a not unjustifiable sermon on the dangers of going beyond Kailāsa which is, however, quite wasted. Bhīma’s adventure is repeated in about the same form as before, that is to say, a wind brings flowers,
Draupadi's desire for the forbidden regions awakens anew and she turns to Bhima with the prayer that he will gain them admittance. Thus he starts off again to the struggle with the guardians of the boundary. These are killed, the Pāṇḍavas arrive and behold, as before, their redoubtable brother standing amidst the beaten demons; once more Yudhiṣṭhira addresses an admonitory speech to him. At this very moment, however, Kuvera himself appears on the scene and gives the Pāṇḍavas express permission to stay in his kingdom. We thus see that this variant has another conclusion than the usual one.

As regards the interesting question as to why Ekata, Dvita, and Trita also made the journey to Śvetadvīpa, I must unfortunately admit that I cannot explain it satisfactorily. The following is only a mild suggestion. Trita is, of course, an old Vedic god, probably at the beginning ruling over the waters; however, he survived in the minds of the Hindus chiefly as the hero of a legend of which fragments are already to be found in the Rigveda, and in which it is related how he himself and his brothers went to a distant region to fetch a certain precious thing, guarded by a dragon, presumably a means for regaining health or youth. The brothers were unsuccessful, but Trita himself was victorious, whereupon the former, envious of him, left him in a well on the way home, from which, owing to divine interposition, he was later on rescued. This legend offers the earliest evidence of the so-called saga of the three brothers. In the epos most of the points mentioned above are forgotten, the three brothers are ascetics of primeval times who perform sacrifices for pious kings, receiving cattle in return as daksinā's; on these occasions Trita is the most conspicuous one. On one occasion, when they are on their way home from such a sacrifice, his brothers, intending to seize his possessions, leave him in a cavern at the Sarasvati into which he had fallen. Trita is saved, and he punishes his brothers by turning them into wolves; their descendants were to become leopards, bears, and apes (Mbh., ix, 36). Perhaps the most important proof of the epical legend of Trita is found in the Nārāyaṇīya, and this shows—which seems to me to be of importance—that its author knew this legend. For, under such circumstances, it scarcely was by chance that these very ascetics were chosen for travellers to Śvetadvīpa; on the contrary this must be seen in connection with the legend which the author of this section had in mind. Besides, we can prove that the version he knew

1 Cf. my work, Trita Āpīya, eine vedische Gottheit, i (1927), p. xxv seq.
does not agree entirely with the one appearing in Mbh., ix, 36, but tallies rather with an entirely different traditional line. According to Mbh., ix, 36, Trita frightened by a wolf falls into a hole, whereas RV., i, 105, as well as Sāyaṇa’s introduction to this hymn, says that Trita was pushed into the well by his brothers.\(^1\) Mbh., xii, 343 (341), 46, agrees with this: “Trita, pushed into the well, O Prśnigarbha, Trita pushed in by Ekata and Dvīta, mayest thou save!” Another parallel is furnished by the fate of the brothers. Mbh. ix, 36, makes Trita change them into wolves, and their descendants into leopards, bears, and apes; according to JB., i, 184, one of them becomes a bear, the other one an ape; there is no mention whatsoever of wolves here. Mbh., xii, 341 (339), 86, states that Ekata and Dvīta on account of the way they mishandled Trita should be reborn as apes. This clearly comes nearer to the Brāhmaṇa versions than Mbh., ix, 36. On the contrary, the history of Trita related there agrees so completely with the version of the Brhadd-devatā, that it might almost be said, as a whole, to be built upon it. But I shall not go further into this subject.\(^2\) The detailed epical narrative of Trita and his brothers (in ix, 36) in all probability has thus preserved an old, otherwise unmentioned feature when representing the murder attempted by the latter ones as originating in their jealousy of the younger brother’s superiority and greater success in acquiring the sacrificial cows. In the RV. we get to know still more concerning the original circumstances: the cows had not been obtained by sacrifice, but were taken from a dragon, Viśvarūpa; see RV., x, 8, 7 seq.; x, 99, 6; 48, 2; ii, 11, 19; cf. i, 187, 1. It is therefore in war against him that Trita particularly distinguishes himself.

We have remarked above that the saga of the three brothers brings home a point in their history, which is lacking in the Hindu literature, but which we can still approve of owing to the logic of circumstances, namely, that it is even in an attempt to capture a certain booty

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1 According to JB., i, 184 (Oertel, JAOS., 18, 1897, p. 19 f.), Trita steps down into the well of his own accord, to give his brothers water; they drink, and then cover the opening of the well with a wheel.

2 Brhad., 3, 139, and Mbh., ix, 36, agree chiefly on the following points: (a) According to Brh. the Sālavṛksasūtāḥ push Trita into the well not his brothers. The “sons of the she-wolf” evidently owe their origin to the wolf, mentioned in RV., i, 105, 18, and whose rōle is obscure. Thus fratricide (at least in name) is avoided. The epic has borne this in mind: the wolf frightens Trita and he falls in; (b) Brhadd.: Brhaspati listens to his prayer; thus also ix, 36; (c) Brh.: Trita presses Soma in the well, thereby summoning the gods to his aid; the same thing occurs in ix, 36.
from this dragon that the brothers fail while Trita, on the contrary, is successful. Further, it may be suggested with a fair amount of probability that the information given in RV. that the booty consisted of cows is misleading. I have proved in another passage\(^1\) how this idea arose, and also what other idea it may have supplanted. Judging by RV., x, 18, 7, the father at the starting-time of the expedition is still alive. Trita endeavours to fulfil his ḍhūṭi, his wish, which, if we may trust the saga of the three brothers, was to find a means for restoring his father’s health or youth. As far as I can see, Trita’s possession of such a means is, moreover, connected with the fact that as a water-god he disposes of ṛṣṭa. With this, however, I am not concerned here.

Whatever the booty to be taken, it is certain that the demon-dragon, owner of wondrous things, eagerly coveted by weak mortals, must be looked for in a far distant region. The imagination of the common people easily ascribes miraculous things to the remote unknown. Thus the Paṇis, the demoniacal guardians of wealth par préférence, hide their treasure beyond the Rasā, i.e. outside the world inhabited by mortal men. But where did the Vedic Hindus as well as those of later times find the regions, cherished in their imagination, if not in the North, in the mountainous districts? There, according to the epic, dwell the gods and half-gods in a paradise, where many supernatural conditions exist, and which stretches into heaven itself. The unsophisticated minds of the people never abstained from populating the Himālaya and the adjacent regions with these super-natural beings. From the strict Brahminical point of view as preserved in, e.g. the Rigveda, these beings, originating in the popular religion, are above all demons, against whom Indra wars, and it is noticeable that his chief enemy is a serpent-being, an Ahi, a dragon, viz. Vṛtra. For, undoubtedly serpent gods were worshipped in these districts, as they are even to-day. Now I believe and have tried to prove that Trita’s opponent, Viśvarūpa, was such a serpent god, holding sway in the mountains. This opinion is strengthened by his being identical with the Aži Dahāka, against whom Ṭraētaona-Feridūn fought; and by this the origin of the saga can pretty certainly be located to the mountainous districts between India and Irān. Therefore, according to the legend, the journey to his “kingdom” has been both long and toilsome and has led into a region situated outside the world of mortal

\(^1\) Loc. cit., p. 100 seq.
men. The three brothers who undertook it must have won well-founded renown as daring pilgrims into the unknown. In this way I should like to explain why the author of the Nārāyaṇiya makes them and no others to start off to Śvetadvipa.

The obvious divergence between the saga of Trita and the story of Śvetadvipa, however, is this, that in the former two of three fail, while in the latter all of them are unsuccessful. Now it is scarcely probable that the author of the story has himself totally revised the tale of their adventures in order to render it more suitable to his object which was to show the reason for the total failure of all three. For, under such circumstances his story would hardly have had a convincing effect. To those who took an interest in it a certain confusion must in such a case have arisen as they would not have been able to understand why the otherwise victorious Trita must here share the fate of his elders. We may assume instead that there really has existed another version of the legend, no longer preserved, according to which all three started for the wonderland in the North, but in which all three failed and became known because of their failure. Our author took advantage of this version, then extant, and altered it so that it could be used as an example of religious perverseness and its sad consequences. Perhaps it is now possible to explain how the idea of the total failure might have arisen. Connected with the journey to the distant wonderland in the North and, in epic times, still more popular than the pilgrimage of the brothers were certain variations of another motif of which an account has been given above: the unsuccessful penetration into the land of the gods, exemplified by Arjuna's attempt to enter the land of the Uttarakurus. Leaving open whether this explanation is really correct, I still venture to think that the history of Ekata, Dvita, and Trita has been influenced by this motif and duly altered already before its appearance in the Nārāyaṇiya.

Already during Vedic times the imagination, as mentioned above, played with the idea of the country of the gods in the North and the possibility of penetrating into it. This conception, therefore, was originally a Hindu one, and when it crops up in the later literature one has no reason for considering it as a foreign loan, e.g. from the Babylonians or the Greeks. The subject appears in a specially striking

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1 As regards the former alternative one immediately thinks of the epos of Gilgamesh. But he only intended to meet and confer with Ut-napištim, not to rob him of his kingdom. It obviously has quite another tendency.
manner in the romance of Alexander: he also, another Arjuna, during his digvijaya attempts the daring conquest. However, the comparison with the Hindu material first of all requires a few words as to what the Greek sources have to tell us of Alexander's expedition to Paradise.

The narrative concerning this appears in Pseudo-Kallisthenes, in the later letters to Olympias. These are filled with all kinds of fantasies; Alexander and his people march through extraordinary countries, inhabited by fabulous people, and among them experience one adventure after another. To put it otherwise: an abundant amount of the stuff of which popular stories are composed has been incorporated with the romance of the expedition of Alexander; and among this and in a very suitable environment, we meet with Alexander's attempt to reach the well of life and the land of the blessed. It has been proved¹ that in the description of this adventure two different stories have been patched together, the journey to the well originally being in no way connected with the journey to Paradise; and that afterwards the two episodes merged into one, when at the same time the well was placed in Paradise—of course, those two stories were bound to attract each other. If for the moment we put aside the well of life and the circumstances connected with it, the following remains to be considered.² The statements differ very widely as to how Alexander reached Paradise. In the Hellenic-Semitic literature the Ganges was regarded as the river of Paradise, Pison (cf. Pseudo-Kallisthenes, ed. Müller, iii, 7), and, consequently, Paradise itself was localized in India. When Alexander departs in search of Paradise he therefore marches up the Ganges and so reaches his goal. This pilgrimage up a river is found at least in some of the Oriental versions, though in the Talmud and the Hebraic romance of Alexander (Friedlaender, loc. cit., pp. 47 and 301) it has later on been contaminated with the pilgrimage to the well of life. It stands out foremost in a Latin text called: Alexandri Magni iter ad Paradisum, which is undoubtedly founded upon an old Jewish (or Christian) Haggada, and which in its present condition comes down from the twelfth century (Friedlaender, p. 40). The Jewish narrators identified the Brahmans living on the Brahmin's Isle in the Ganges (Pseudo-Kallisthenes, ed. Müller, iii, 7) partly with the descendants of Seth

² Cf. Friedlaender, loc. cit., p. 50 seq.; 247 seq.
and partly with the Rechabites; and already in early times they were looked upon as the blessed ones in Paradise.\footnote{Wesselowsky, \textit{Iz istoriji romana i powiesti}, i (1886), p. 280 seq.; Friedlaender, \textit{Jewish Quarterly Review}, N.S. i, p. 252 seq.; Gaster, \textit{J.R.A.S.}, 1897, pp. 488, 497; Hopkins, \textit{J.A.O.S.}, 26, p. 20 seq.; Budge, \textit{Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great}, ii, p. 129.} According to Friedlaender the journey to Paradise has, however, been influenced by another motif, viz., Alexander's journey to the world's end which he undertook in order to acquire knowledge.\footnote{Still it seems to me doubtful if such a motif has ever really existed; cf. below.} Where this is the case Alexander fares over the ocean surrounding the earth or marches through the land of darkness and thus reaches the land, or isle, of the blessed. Here, of course, we again find traits of the Babylonian cosmography.

Alexander's idea is to conquer Paradise. But a thorough humiliation awaits him. Not only is he prevented from entering, but birdlike beings with human faces\footnote{In the Arabic versions as well as in the Ethiopian they are angels.} preach him a sermon, in which they strongly emphasize the impropriety of his enterprise and admonish him to return. In \textit{Pseudo-Kallisthenes} (Friedlaender, p. 11) one of them says: "The country which thou enterest, O Alexander, belongs to God alone. Turn back miserable (creature) for the land of the blessed (\textit{μακάρων χώρων}, C; \textit{μ. γῆς}, B; \textit{μ. νῆσους}, L) thou canst not enter. Return, therefore, O mortal, go back again to the land given thee and do not bring tribulation upon thyself." From the continuation it is evident (cf. also the Armenian version, Friedlaender, p. 12, a. 4) that it is a divine voice speaking through the birds, these being simply the medium it makes use of. I shall return presently to the importance of this circumstance. The bird, however, has still one more thing to say to him, which may well be considered a joyful message: Alexander, after his return from the unsuccessful journey to Paradise, will conquer Poros.\footnote{Cf. Ausfeld, \textit{Der Griechische Alexanderroman} (1907), p. 84. According to Josippon (Friedlaender, p. 22a) a bird says: "O Alexander! Return, for thou canst not enter the land of the worshippers of God! Thou hast no power to enter into the house of God and his servants. For thou canst not penetrate into these islands where the saints of God and the descendants of his servant Abraham dwell." Another bird gives him the intelligence of the approaching victory over Poros. The Armenian version agrees in the main with Josippon (Ausfeld, loc. cit., p. 84).} It is evident that the appearance of the birds really belongs to the saga of Paradise, and not to the interwoven episode of the well, because their and their message are still incorporated in versions in which this episode is lacking, e.g. in Josippon's Hebraic
and in the Armenian version. In all the sources Alexander trembles or shakes before the birds and obeys their message.

I consider the birds through whom God speaks as belonging to the original elements of the real story of the journey to Paradise. Their part is not so much to declare to Alexander that he has now reached the end of the world and must now return as to guard the land of the blessed. This is corroborated by those versions, chiefly Arabic ones, in which the birds are replaced by angels (here Paradise is also called the "Land of the Angels"). Ibn Hischām, e.g., relates that after Alexander had traversed the darkness he came to a country where the ground was white as snow. There he came upon a solitary white house in the door of which a white man was standing. The latter addresses an admonitory speech to him and exhorts him to

1 The Syrian version is well acquainted with the Saga of Paradise, but probably not with the episode of the well (Friedlaender, p. 51). The Syrian version, which according to Nöldeke, in *Denkschrift. d. Kgl. Ak. d. Wiss. Wien. Ph. H. Kl.,* 38, 1890, is a copy of a Pahlavi translation of *Pseudo-Kallithenes,* made by an East Syrian in the ninth century, contains an episode which in some way must be related to the journey to Paradise. After Alexander has heard the message of the birds, he returns (I follow Rysse’s translation in *Archiv. f. d. Stud. d. neueren Sprachen u. Litteraturen,* Bd. 90 (1893), p. 365). He arrives by another road to a mountain upon the top of which stood a temple. He enters it. It is exceedingly splendid and adorned with golden statues, etc. Upon a golden couch lies an immense human figure and a glory like that of the lightning radiates from him. Alexander makes a sacrifice and then wants to leave. When he stands in the portal of the temple, "erscholl sogleich eine schreckliche Stimme wie der Schall des Donners und wie das Geräusch des Aufruhrs und der Brandung des Meeres; und als das Sturmgeräusch stille wurde, hörte ich wiederum eine Stimme aus dem Tempel heraus, und so sprach sie zu mir: 'König Alexander! Ruhe aus und lass ab von deiner Mühsal, und nicht wirst du in den Tempel der Götter eingehen und ihre Mysterien entthüllen können. Denn der, den du auf dieser Lagerstatt gesehen hast, das bin ich, Dionysos; und ich sage, dass es dir verliehen ist, in diesem Kriege, zu dem du dich gerüstet hast, zu siegen und in unsere Heimat zur Ruhe einzugehen, und man wird dich in unsere Zahl hinzurechnen!' Alexander afterwards has his Hindu guides put to death, because they had led him "auf solchen Wegen und in solchen Gegenden"; the adventure evidently belonged to his military expedition in India. Dionysos also was said to have dwelt in India. In the description of Alexander’s meeting with Dionysos the prohibition against entering the temple and unveiling the mysteries as well as the prophecy concerning his coming victory (i.e. over Poros) probably have been borrowed from the journey to Paradise.

2 Cf. Friedlaender, p. 24; Alexander obeys because his wish (viz. to reach the end of the world) has been fulfilled; I should feel more inclined to say because he had to do so. Friedlaender himself in another place (p. 39) admits that one can discern a form of the legend, according to which the return of the expedition was by no means voluntary; Alexander’s desire to conquer Paradise was checked. It is quite certain that this form, which runs through both the version of *Pseudo-Kallithenes* and the Armenian one, and which is also modified by influences from the accounts of Alexander’s journey to the world’s end, may be considered the original one.
return. The other details belonging specially to the Mohammedan saga-cycle I shall leave out. In the Ethiopian versions (Budge, *Life and Exploits*, ii, p. 245 seq.), the sermon of the angel, on account of Alexander's presumption, is still more vigorous. Without going any further it is quite obvious that the angel is a guardian of the land of the blessed.

Parallels to the appearance of the birds of Paradise found in Hindu literature have already been dealt with above. Arjuna and Bhima, as well as Ekata, Dvita, and Trita are prevented from entering or paying a visit to the land of the gods. Arjuna, who wishes to conquer it, is met by the guardians of the boundary, who, exactly like the birds in the romance of Alexander, remind him that he has now made sufficient conquests and that any further advance is impossible. I have pointed out that Arjuna was granted some kind of compensation, viz. the acquisition of supremacy by the Pāṇḍavas, headed by Yuddhiṣṭhira. In the same way the birds inform Alexander that he will conquer Poros. Arjuna who evidently does not want to return empty-handed demands a tribute exactly in the same way as in certain Oriental versions (Friedlaender, p. 41) Alexander makes the following request to the inhabitants of Paradise: "Give me something." In both cases this is clearly a condition for their return. But this may perhaps be only a fortuitous coincidence. Bhima is prevented by Hanumat from going further, and afterwards he and his brothers hear a divine voice commanding them to leave the country of the gods. We now come to the three ascetics. A divine voice proclaims to them: (a) The god is beheld by the white men; (b) they, on the contrary, are to depart immediately; (c) the god can only be seen by those who love him, i.e. the saints; (d) they will be allowed (in compensation as is clearly the meaning) to help the gods in the completion of their work. If we now think it probable that the Nārāyanaśīya contains a revised version of the story of Trita, then the message of the voice given here must originally have agreed in its essentials with the message given to Arjuna, Bhima, and Alexander—there can be no doubt about that. The question is whether even a special point in this saga, which is missing in the rest of the Hindu versions, has not its analogy in the history of Alexander. The ascetics (xii, 338 (336)) before their arrival at Śvetadvipa had practised severe self-discipline on the shore of the

Milky Ocean, in order to be able to behold Nārāyaṇa; however they did not know how this could be accomplished. They then heard a voice which indicated that they should proceed to the land north of the ocean, to Śvetadvipa. Through the voice the god himself is speaking; for, in spite of being mentioned in the third person, he reveals himself at the end of his speech: “... there shall my real nature (i.e. the god’s) be manifested.” In Pseudo-Kallisthenes, at the end of chap. xli, we hear that after Alexander had returned to his people from his journey to the blessed ones he is met by men-like birds who tell him: “He who returns upon the right road will see marvellous things.” Friedlaender (p. 16a 1), however, quite correctly emphasizes that these marvels can scarcely refer to the experiences described in the next chapter, these being too insignificant, but possibly to Paradise. This view is confirmed by the fact that the right way, as mentioned in chap. xlii, is understood as leading to Paradise. For Alexander caused an inscription to be set up with these words: “Those who wish to enter the land of the blest must choose the right way.” Friedlaender supposes that in the description of the message of the birds we have to do with a fragment of another story about Alexander. I consider this as probable because, in other cases, the appearance of the birds occurs in connexion with Paradise, and I think that even these words of the birds originally did so; but torn out of their connexion and placed at the end of the chapter, their meaning has been changed and made to allude to the adventure of the return journey in the next chapter. If we approve of this then the agreement with the story in the Mahābhārata may be expressed thus: *in both cases there is a divine voice which tells the pilgrims the way they must follow in order to reach the promised land.*

Leaving it open whether this is more than a plausible suggestion I wish to draw attention to another point where, to me, the connexion appears still more evident. When the rṣis arrived at Śvetadvipa they could see nothing at all because they were dazzled by a great lustre (xii, 338 (336), 33), like that of a thousand suns (40). It proceeds from the godhead itself [38; cf. 345 (343), 35; 57 (with reference to Brhad Ār. Up. 4, 3, 6); 346, 5]. In these northern regions neither sun nor moon shed their light, Rām. iv, 43; the light dispersed there is, consequently, of another kind and quite impossible for an ordinary human being to endure. The guardians of the boundary repeatedly impressed upon Arjuna, that he would not be able to see anything among the Uttarākurus. The Buddhist Paradise is radiant with light,
which emanates from the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. It is said about a person born in the paradise of Amitābha that he cannot behold Amitābha until after a time because his mind is not sufficiently clear. This mutual interrelation between spiritual clear-sightedness and yoga I shall touch upon later on. As regards the story of Alexander it must be emphasized that when Alexander drew near to the land of the blessed he saw a light without any sun, moon, or stars (Pseudo-Kallisthenes, chap. xl, Friedlaender, p. 11). Similar information is given by Josippon (loc. cit., p. 21) and by Ibn Hishām (loc. cit., p. 200): beyond the land of darkness (or the mount of darkness) Alexander is met by a dazzling radiance which, however, is not the light of the sun. Naturally the conception that Paradise is illuminated by a supernatural light, eventually emanating from the godhead itself, is universally prevalent. But its strong accentuation here and the stress laid upon its not being ordinary sunlight makes it seem probable that it has accompanied the motif in its migration from the East.

The view that the romance of Alexander's journey to Paradise and to the well of life has been directly influenced by the epic of Gilgamesh (which has been urged first of all by Lidzbarski, Zeitschr. f. Assyriol., vii (1892), p. 109, and by Meissner, Alexander and Gilgamos, 1894, passim) has been rejected with every right by Friedlaender, loc. cit., p. 35 seq. However, Friedlaender mostly dwells upon the episode of the well of life. As regards the journey to Paradise he considers it to have arisen secondarily from the excursion to the end of the world, the latter story being thus modified that Alexander is reminded in a humiliating manner of his human powerlessness and is forced to return. On account of its religious colouring this idea has specially attracted Jews and Christians, and with them Paradise has been substituted for the world's end (loc. cit., p. 39 seq.; cf. p. 23 seq.). In Pseudo-Kallisthenes these themes have become contaminated with each other. To me, again, the motif of the journey to Paradise seems to be the primary one. Paradise is situated either in India (cf. above), or, in accordance with the Babylonian cosmography, at the end of the world. Alexander desires to invade it clearly not with the sole intention to obtain knowledge, but driven by his longing to go still further after he had subjugated the world of men. He presumptuously believes that he can defy the supernatural. To me it seems wrong to accept Friedlaender's idea.

2 When he tries to fly up to heaven he again meets a bird-like being that reproaches him for aspiring after the heavenly world.
(loc. cit., p. 23 seq., 38) that there are two motifs, viz. the journey to the world’s end and the one to Paradise in which Alexander is respectively extolled and disparaged. Alexander is, in reality, nowhere extolled for his bold enterprise. On the other side no real distinction is made between the world’s end and Paradise: when Alexander has pushed forward to the former, he learns that the blessed dwell there, which only enhances the impropriety of his enterprise. The birds which turn him back, are, as I have emphasized above, no “signs” found at the world’s end (Friedlaender, pp. 24, 38). Friedlaender believes that they are alluded to in Pseudo-Kallisthenes, § 34 (p. 15), where it is said: “Alexander understood from these signs that even there was the end of the world.” But by this was probably meant the stones, which, in appearance quite common ones, were collected outside Paradise and which afterwards turned out to be gold and precious stones (§§ 28, 30).

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The ascetics were at the beginning dazzled by the strong radiance and could see nothing. They then practised rigorous penance, tapas, for hundreds of years and through this became able to behold the White Men but not the god himself, xii, 338 (336), 34 seq. He could only be seen by his bhaktas, i.e. the White Men, and not by means of tapas, but only by bhakti and yoga. By means of this comparison we are led, as I have already pointed out, to a point characteristic of the Nārāyaṇīya theology. In opposition to the orthodox Brahminical conception, represented by the rṣis, the Bhāgavatas asserted that the transcendant world could only be won by means of bhakti culminating in samādhi. The worshipping japa of the White Men is spiritual, i.e. it takes place in a condition of yoga; at the same time they emit radiant light. The god finds pleasure in this (xii, 338 (336), 36 seq.). When they are spoken of as subhasāropetāḥ, Nilakanṭha not unbecomingly explains this by the words: sukho yogaprabhāvajah sāro balam tenopetāḥ. A concession to a timehonoured belief, as it is expressed e.g. in xii, 297 (295), 12 seq., and xiv, 15, 14 seq. (cf., too, Dhaumya’s and Gālava’s description of the North, where only those who knew the Veda and had practised much tapas could win an entrance, iii, 90; 163 and v, 111 respectively), is made in xii, 345 (343), 22: “The holy god, adored by the world, may be seen through asceticism”;

1 Cf. Barnett, Bhagavadgītā, p. 66 seq.
and in 342 (340), 46, the gods, led by Brahmā, attain their goal by learning from Puruṣa how their own existence and that of the world can be secured, viz. by practising that most terrible asceticism, the Mahāniyama. But it is expressively stated that Nārada was happier than all those who practised tapas because his power of vision originated in the favour of the god himself, 341 (339), 13 seq.; 107 seq. The difficulty of seeing the god can be estimated by the circumstance that neither the gods nor the Dānavas know his manifest form (Bhag. 10, 14; 11, 52); nay, indeed (according to 12, 346 (344)), not even Brahmā; cf., however, 342 (340), 91 seq. The privilege of beholding the god is reserved for those who are devoted to him, such as Nārada, Arjuna, and Vyāsa (cf. 342 (340), 25). Arjuna is admonished to worship by means of yoga (xii, 8, 9); and he tells us that he wishes to learn through contemplation the form in which the god reveals himself, 10, 14. However, in order to do this there is required a “divine eye”, which the god endows him with (11, 8), for a mortal eye would not be able to endure the divine brilliancy. The beholding of the god in the Bhagavad-gītā is therefore a phenomenon of yoga, and even the revelation of Nārāyaṇa to Nārada can be explained in the same way. The three devotees beheld the White Men, but not until after they had prepared themselves by continuous spiritual exercises. Moreover, stress is laid upon the fact that those men are images of the lord of the island, furnished with those same peculiar characteristics (cf. above) which belong to him. These laksāṇas, which but slightly agree with the immaterial nature of the white, radiant beings, must be considered as residues of the popular Vishnuite conception of the god. It would take us too long here to investigate the problem of the laksāṇas, which is certainly very complicated.1 We may, however, imagine that Śvetadvipa, in its quality of Paradise, has had a history and that this paradise has not always been looked upon in the same light as is now the case in the Nārāyaṇiya. The island is certainly an earthly region even if situated at a fantastic distance, in regions which fancy has peopled with supernatural beings. If it be looked at from this point of view an abundant amount of material for comparison is found in the Indian cosmography. The description of the inhabitants of the more distant parts of Jambudvipa and of the ring-continents is pretty much the same.2 They enjoy greater happiness and live longer than ordinary

1 Cf. below, p. 284.
2 Cf. Kirfel, Kosmographie, pp. 92 seq., 114, 128; Pargiter, Mārkandeya Purāṇa, p. 282, 389; Wilson, Viṣṇu Purāṇa, p. 172 seq.
mortals and are just and pious. A large wishing-tree, which gives its name to the continent in question, provides them with numerous good things, youth, etc. They worship Vishnu in the form of one of his Avatars. Most extensively described are the conditions among the Uttarakurus; and these have also supplied the model to which other and later descriptions of Paradise have been framed. The step from these abodes of bliss to the real heavens where the god resides with his devotees is, of course, fairly short. The more concrete and graphic features in the description of Śvetadvipa (except the somewhat misplaced depiction of the laksana equipment) are missing, but we possess other notices about the island, which give it a less sublime stamp. It is therefore evident that in the Nārāyanīya we only possess the last and most spiritualized stage of the Śvetadvipa conception. Now, what is the reason of this spiritualization? And in what connexion are we to consider the fact that the place is only perceptible in a vision of yoga?

It is to Buddhism that, in my opinion, we first of all ought to turn. The significant part of meditation within this religion, above all within the Hinayana, is well known. The attainment of Nirvana occurs during a stage of the deepest meditation; and when the meditator has not attained such an inward perfection, dependent upon morality and concentration, he must needs stop at a lower goal, viz. in one of the highest of the heavenly spheres; which one again depends upon how far he has carried his contemplation, which stage of dhyana he has reached. The stages of dhyana correspond to the divine heavens belonging to the Rupadhatus, the inhabitants of which possess

1 Cf. Jacobi, in ERE., ii, p. 698; Pargiter, Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, p. 132; Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, p. 345; Kirfel, Kosmographie, p. 19.*

2 The world described in Māh., xii, 192, 8 seq. belongs to these descriptions of Paradise. No illness is found there, and the food and housing are excellent. The inhabitants live up to a high moral standard. The country which lies on the north side of the Himalaya, in a region which is the holiest and best of all, is thus like heaven. The unhappiness and iniquity upon earth is put in contrast to the glory of this world. Here we again find features characteristic of the land of the Uttarakurus. But there is no similarity to Śvetadvipa except its situation in the North. In spite of its approaching so closely to the description of Śvetadvipa (12, 337 (B 335), 8 seq.), it is therefore scarcely correct to suppose, with Sir George Grierson, I.A., 1908, p. 373, that that very island is meant ("evidently the White Continent").

3 Above all in the Kathāsaritasāgara 54: Naravāhana-adatta is taken through the air to the island where he sees and worships Vishnu, who is resting upon Śeṣa with Garuḍa and Śri at his side, together with his cakra and other attributes. N. receives Apsaras from the god; cf., too, loc. cit., 115; Rājatarangini, 3, 471; 8, 2435 (with a reference, in Stein’s note, to Haracaritacintāmani, ii).
etheral bodies. Below these is the region of Kāmadhātu distinguished by coarser matter and sensuousness, which includes the lowest of the heavenly worlds, the earth, and the hells; at the top are the Arūpa worlds, which can only be characterized by negations, and whose correspondence in the scale of trance is really similar to a kind of lethargy. Even in these worlds, the meditational correspondences of which are the four āyatana-stages, there are divine beings; but the fact that in the fourth stage of dhyāna Buddha won the highest enlightenment and passed from thence into Nirvāṇa seems to prove that they cannot have much real significance. In the Ānutt. Nīk. v, p. 302, Buddha narrates how as Bodhisattva he passed from stage to stage of meditation by which, with ever increasing clear-sightedness (nāṇadassanam parisuddhataram), he came into touch with one class of gods after the other. At first he was only able to see a shining light (obhāsa), then he saw forms and colours but was not yet capable of talking with the bearers of these. But at last he in turn succeeded in: (1) talking with them; (2) knowing to which class each one of them belonged; (3) knowing what karma had led them hither; and (4) finally knowing everything else about these beings and whether he himself had met them before. It is obvious that, as a Bodhisattva, he did not reach Nirvāṇa; but the transcendent stage that he reached during his meditation brought him nearer to it. Just as the earthly life of one who is completely released, in reality is nothing but a semblance of life, as he has already reached Nirvāṇa and now only waits for death to cast off, for the last time, the form composed of different aggregates (upādhiśeṣa-nirvāṇadhātu, or jīvanmuktā; the contrary nirupādhiśeṣa-nirvāṇadhātu), there is something analogous also in a person who is still striving for deliverance; for after his earthly existence he becomes himself a companion of those gods, with whom he has had communion during his meditation. Such a doctrine, founded upon yoga, has led to the origin of the terms nirmāṇakāya and sambhogakāya, which together with dharmakāya form the trikāya, "the one consisting of three bodies," viz. the Buddha. Sambhogakāya indicates even that heavenly form which a Bodhisattva or a Buddha shows to the blessed in one of the heavens, and which is supernaturally resplendent and adorned with the thirty-two lakṣṇas. Nirmāṇakāya, again, is the

1 Cf. with this and the following, Stecherbatsky, The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa, p. 10, and passim.
2 Cf. Beckh, Buddhismus, ii, p. 68.
3 Cf. also, loc. cit., iv, p. 267, on Anuruddha’s visions.
earthly body of such a saviour of the world, and one is reminded of the fervid discussions concerning that body's quality of being substantial or unsubstantial. The Docetic conception regarding this question advanced by a certain sect, the Vetulyakas, was rejected, during the reign of Asoka, by the council assembled at Patāliputra, in 246 B.C. This shows that men's minds were occupied with this problem at rather an early date. Ancient foreshadowings of it may undoubtedly be found in the older Pāli texts, cf. de la Vallée Poussin, *JRAI*, 1906, p. 969.

Indubitably some of the ideas reproduced here may be found also in Brahmanism, which is, of course, quite natural, the starting point of the *yoga* meditation being common to this religion and Buddhism alike. The theoophanies of Nārāyaṇa and Kṛṣṇa in the Nārāyaṇiya and the Bhagavadgītā are nothing but the manifestation, in all its radiance and glory, of the god's *saṁbhogakāya*, otherwise only shown to the inhabitants of heaven. Consequently, Arjuna must have a "divine eye", in order to be able to behold the god. And just as well, Kṛṣṇa fighting the Kauravas and the ascetics Nara and Nārāyaṇa in their hermitage may be said to possess *nirmāṇakāyas*, which they are able to cast off in order to take upon themselves their divine shapes. The latter show themselves to Nārada in Badari with *lakṣaṇas* etc., and wholly identical with the god in Śvetadvipa, 12, 345 (343), 34 seq.; 40 seq.; 48 seq.; cf. 346, 4, 23. But on the contrary an Avatār-like Rāma does not change his outward manifestation. Certainly some of the Brahminical gods are credited with the power of changing their form owing to their *māyā*; but this does not mean that a god, who for some considerable time has appeared as a human being, does suddenly throw off this shape to show himself on one occasion or other in the form of a god. It is a question of another matter; the god, for some special purpose, incidentally changes himself into any form he chooses, often an animal one.

The very terms, *saṁbhogakāya* contra *nirmāṇakāya*, may belong to the later Buddhism; the scheme itself can probably lay claim to a much greater age (cf. above on the Docetic tendency). As regards its shape in the *Mahābhārata* one may ask if the general environment be really such that we must go outside the bounds of Brahmanism to explain it, if, in other words, Buddhistic influence must be accepted. This at least, according to my opinion, is the case of the Nārāyaṇiya. Śvetadvipa holds the same position as a Buddhist heaven. The importance of meditation for the *bhaktas* I have already discussed;
it dominates very much in the Bhagavadgitā, where it is described as the exalted means for union with the godhead, but the Nārāyanīya certainly does not lack expressions pointing in that same direction. In xii, 346 (344), 19, we read:—

samāhitamanaskāś ca niyatāḥ samyatendriyāḥ |
ekāntabhaveṣvaṁ vāsudevaṁ viṣanti te ||

The deliverance attained already upon earth through contemplation is called Nīrūṇa, 342 (340), 8 (cf. 337 (335), 14), and the delivered one is united with god:—

mokṣaṁ coktas tasyā brahmaṁ nīrūṇam paramāṁ sukham |
ye tu muktā bhavanītha punyapāpavivarjītāḥ ||
te sahasrārācīsaṁ devam praviṣantāḥa suśrūna ||

The word iha, here, means on earth; in 341 (339), 25 the same word is found referring to the White Island ¹; deliverance takes place there. In the same way the Bodhisattvas in the different heavens strive after the same thing. The released after death are numbered among the White Men and take on the same appearance, 337 (335) 14, tesāṁ lakṣaṇam etad dhī tṣachvetadvipaṁvāsinām.

Their condition is characterized comprehensively in 341 (339), 19 as: anindriyāhāra madbhaktāḥ candravarcasaḥ. Their manifestations are spiritual, homage is rendered to Nārada manasaḥ, 340 (339), 2. They are radiant beings; the whole of Śvetadvipa shines with a dazzling radiance (cf. above), especially, of course, the god himself; when he practises asceticism his glory is still more effulgent than that of the island, xii, 345 (343), 57. The heavens of the Buddhists, together with their inhabitants, exhibit the same features. They also distinguish a series of special "light-heavens", characterized by various degrees of radiance. One must call to mind here that this radiance is purely spiritual, and not derived from any of the heavenly bodies. Corresponding to the second stage of dhyāna and belonging to rūpa-dhātu there are three such heavens, inhabited respectively by: (1) Parītbhā (pāli Parittabhā) devāḥ, "gods whose glory is limited"; (2) Appamāṇabhā (p. Appamānabhā) devāḥ, "gods whose glory is unending"; and (3) Abhāsvarā (p. Ṭabhassarā) devāḥ, "gods with radiant light" (? var. ābhāsura). The next stage of meditation opens the way into three other heavens, whose inhabitants are specially remarkable for their "purity" or "beauty"; they are called

¹ Deussen, Vier Philosophische Texte, p. 772. translates less correctly: "hier und daen."
respectively Parītta-ṇabhā (p. Parītta-ṇabhā), Apramāṇa-ṇabhā (p. Appamānaṇabhā), and Śubha-kṛṣṇa (Subhakṛṣṇa) devāh. This division into "heavens of light" and "heavens of purity" or "beauty" is, of course, artificial to such a degree that their characteristics can scarcely be distinguished; it is clearly arranged in such a manner as to correspond to the four degrees of meditation. The names of the heavenly inhabitants in the other degrees are colourless and do not enlighten us as to the imagined exterior of these beings. We may therefore say that the emphasis laid upon the radiance and purity in the dhyāna heavens sufficiently show off their essentials. This is seen, too, from the use of the term Ābhassara. Several early texts use this name not to denote the gods belonging to the third category in the second stage of dhyāna but as a general cognomen of those gods who are above the world of Brahman (Sāmy. Nik., i, 114), or as the general name of the gods in the second dhyāna stage (Ang. Nik., ii, p. 127). Cf. Aung and Mrs. Rhys Davids, Compendium of Philosophy, p. 64. From these beings three classes of gods and three heavens have afterwards been formed. Dīgha Nik., i, 2, 2, relates that when the world was destroyed there remained only the radiant beings called Ābhassarā. Their bodies are ethereal, their nourishment joy (cf. iv, 2, 8, 8); they shine by their own light, move through the air, dwell in radiance and glory, and live very long. From their host a spirit separates itself, which passes into the palace of Brahman and proclaims: "I am Brahman!" Brahman is pre-eminent the representative of the rūpa world, so that this world is simply "Brahman's world". Some of the old schemes for the classification of the gods (e.g. Dīgha Nik., xi, 67 seq.) end with Mahā-Brahman as the Supreme Being; next below come the thirty-three gods with Indra as their

1 It was pointed out above that the White Men are śubhasāropetāh. Cf. Buddhaghosa's comment on the word in Mahāniddāna Sutta, as rendered by Childers in his Dictionary: "Subhakṛṣṇa means filled and pervaded by lustre, their bodies radiant with lustre, dense with colour. For the radiance of these angels is not intermittent (or partial) like that of the Ābhassaras, but in the course of the five dhyānas men are born of limited lustre, of unlimited lustre, or of pervading lustre according as they have exercised the fourth dhyāna in the lower, middle or superior degree." Here -kiṃśa quite correctly is taken as the equivalent to the Sanscrit kīṃsa, not to kṛṣṇa.

2 In the first degree there are different categories of Brahma-gods; in the fourth gods who: (1) receive great recompense; (2) who have no consciousness; (3) who make no exertions (? Ayīhā); (4) who are without any sufferings; (5) who have a clear sight; (6) who are beautiful; and (7) who are the highest of all beings. Cf. Kueppen, Die Religion des Buddha, ii, p. 260 seq. On the heavens of the commentaries on the Yogasūtras, see Kirkel, loc. cit., p. 142 seq. For other names in Buddhism cf. Beal, Catena, p. 90 seq.
leader. When Brahmā visits them he must take upon himself a grosser form, approaching more closely to their more material condition. His chief distinguishing mark on such an occasion is the radiance emanating from him (Digha Nik., xviii, 17); "this is the herald sign of the manifestation of Brahmā when the light ariseth and the glory shineth," we read in xix, 15 (Dialogues, ii, p. 264). The series of gods with Brahmā at their head we find already in the Upanishads (Brhad. Ār. Up., 4, 3, 53 seq.; T.U., 2, 8). A very interesting passage is found in MBh., iii, 261, where Durvāsas describes the heavenly worlds to Maudgalyā: in a way that reminds one of the later Buddhism, the worlds of Brahmā, in which karma still rules, are distinguished from the seat of Para-Brahmā, which is Vishnu's abode. This is an "unfailing region", and thither come those who have practised yoga. But already the inhabitants of the former worlds, represented here by Ṛbhūs, are immaterial and shining with light. The scheme in Patanjali's Yogasūtra (3, 26, 'Wood's translation, p. 254), which is found again in the Purāṇas, very much reminds us of Buddhism; the highest worlds (Janar-, Tapas-, and Satyaloka) bear Brahmā's name. A Chinese Sūtra (Beal, Catena, p. 87) says: "In the Rūpaloka, in consequence of the practice of contemplation, and the absence of all impure desires the Devas attain to the Samādhi, known as the 'brightness of fire' (agnidhātusamādhi) and their bodies become more glorious than the sun and the moon. This excellent glory results from their perfect purity of heart." In connexion with this one must also look at the colour of the heavenly dwellers. According to Abhidharmakośa (Beal, Catena, p. 88), the Brahmā gods are white like silver while those belonging to the Rūpadhātu are yellow and white. According to another sūtra all the eighteen classes of gods, from the Brahma-kāyika up to the Akaniṣṭha-sphere, have bodies shining like silver while their palaces are yellow like gold (loc. cit., p. 97). The inhabitants of Śvetadvīpa, as we may remember, are really white (śvetāh, Nil. śvetāḥ sūdhāsattvānādhiḥ). But above all Nārāyaṇa is the white god. He is the special god of the Kṛta-yuga and at that time was white; during the other ages the colours are respectively red (Tretā), yellow (Dvāpara), and black (Kali), MBh., iii, 149. Madhu and Kaṭabha attack the white Puruṣa, resting on the water, i.e. Nārāyaṇa (12, 349 (347), 66; cf. also 13, 126, 3 seq.; 1, 197, 331 ?); Hopkins, Epic Myth., p. 124; Mrs. Stevenson, Rites of the Twice-born, p. 170, note. On white as the colour of meditation see too Mahāparinibbāna-Sutta, 3, 32.
The most popular heaven in later Buddhism is really that of Amitābha, and it is in the speculation which has accumulated round this that, in a long row of similarities which cannot depend on pure chance, we find the nearest parallels to Śvetadvīpa. Amitābha, whose very name is significant of his radiance, is the Buddha to whom one most constantly attributes the conception of a Paradise of his own, viz. Sukhāvatī, the pure land of the West. He himself lives in a still higher sphere, Akaniṣṭha-bhāvana, which constitutes the highest stratum in the world of forms (rūpa-dhātu). But from him has emanated a Bodhisattva, Avalokiteśvara, and it has been said that the latter, rather than the fairly unapproachable Amitābha, is the real ruler of Sukhāvatī. The most remarkable feat in Amitābha and his paradise is its boundless glory, and we have every reason to remember that the dhyāna heavens are characterized by their immeasurable glory; cf. the name Apramānābha, “whose glory is boundless.” This radiance, however, is a product of meditation, and this coincides with the fact that Amitābha is one of the five Dhyāni-buddhas, thus belonging to the rūpa-dhātu. His radiance, consequently, does not proceed from his original nature of being a sun-god or his paradise the sun itself. On the other hand, it is quite true that it is described in a way that makes it quite irreconcilable with the immaterial and wholly spiritualized world of meditation. This is because Amitābha and his paradise soon became a focus for the popular piety, which saw in an all-absorbent belief and devotion to Buddha the only condition necessary for salvation, and which saw in a blessed, Buddha-worshipping existence in Sukhāvatī, a paradise full of all kinds of precious things, jewels, lotus-lakes, etc., even this very salvation. Upon the degree of devotion shown by the pious during their earthly life depends their higher, or lower, condition in paradise. While the most perfect have very nearly attained Buddhahood the Bodhisattvas of a lower rank still have to become perfect by hearing the law and worshipping the Buddha. In this connexion we may well remember the very great importance of a person’s condition at the moment of death. The conception that this is a moment decisive to one’s status in the next existence, and eventually to the entrance into Nirvāṇa, is common to both Buddhism and Brahminism. The idea appears also among the

2 Cf. Monier-Williams, Buddhism, p. 203 seq.
3 Cf. Haas, Amida Buddha, p. 113, on those who are born in a “corner of Sukhāvatī”.
Bhāgavatas.¹ On the whole the tone of the Nārāyaṇīya very much reminds us of the Sukhāvatī-writings, although, as can be seen plainly enough, the former one is written in a less popular style and more strictly applies itself to the character of the island as being a dhāyāna-sphere. Common to both is the idea that devotion and faith alone lead to the summum bonum, and that Bhagavān’s (this name is common to both) mercy is bestowed upon the faithful, by which means in spite of ethical defects they are able to approach him. As regards Sukhāvatī it is often inculcated that listening to the holy writings about Amitābha and spreading them abroad creates endless merit. Thus already Milinda-Paṇha SBE., 25, p. 124; Saddharma-pundarika, xv: “He who writes this book, or causes it to be written, wins eternal merit,” etc. The same thing is said in the Nārāyaṇīya, Mbh., xii, 341 (339), 128 seq.; 342, 113 seq.; 345, 2 seq.; 17.

I have endeavoured to point out here some of the coincidences between Śvetadvīpa and the Buddhist heavens. The conception of these is intimately connected with what has within the later Buddhism been called “Buddhology”, together with the various forms it takes on in the different schools—a very obscure and complicated question, which I must leave aside entirely. Not the least interesting are the relations to Brahminism, both Vedānta and Sāṃkhya, which can undoubtedly be found, and which have been noticed above. Now it appears to me that the Nārāyaṇīya to some degree offers a Brahminical analogy to the Sukhāvatī literature; however, we must make it quite clear that here one only gets some glimpses of what is more fully developed and made out in Buddhist dress. But the relations between devotion and contemplation are about the same in both directions. Already the older Buddhist scriptures describe how, on important occasions in the Buddha’s life, the inhabitants of the divine spheres appear on earth and offer him homage. At his death e.g. the Buddha sends away a disciple from his side, explaining that the latter forms an obstacle to the numberless hosts of gods, who, unseen by others, have assembled round him and now complain that they are unable to see him. This reminds one of

an episode in the Nārāyanīya. When, in 341 (339), 18 seq., Nārāyaṇa has shown himself to Nārada and spoken with him, he commands him to go immediately: “For these my worshippers shining like the sun and living without organs of sense or food (i.e. like gods) would be able to direct their thoughts whole-heartedly towards me, and I should not like them to be hindered in this.” Buddha himself shows (in the Mahāparinibbānasutta) the four places, which alone should form the goal of pious pilgrimages (the place where he was born, etc.) and stresses that the man whose heart is touched thereby and afterwards finds peace, will after death enter into the heavenly spheres. This instruction is chiefly directed to the Buddhist lay-community and enables us to understand that a form of piety very nearly akin to bhakti could thus easily arise. Probably also the circumstances were like that at an early date.¹ Buddhism’s bhakti-mārga can be followed independently of the intention of the worshipper himself to become a Buddha (Buddhayāna) and independently of every philosophical speculation (prajñāyāna or jñānamārga).² However, meditation is of great importance. In Amitāyur-Dhyāna-Sutra a large amount of space is taken up by describing the various stages of samādhi, during which are seen in succession Sukhāvatī itself—at first dimly, afterwards with increasing clear-sightedness and more in detail—and afterwards various Bodhisattvas with shining bodies and multifarious laksānas. Here, then, Paradise with its previous things are purely spiritual entities and, in the same way as Śvetadvīpa, belonging to rūpa-dhātu. It is in this world that, for the benefit and edification of the Bodhisattvas and Arhats, the Buddhas manifest their sambhogakāyas, magical visions, which are distinguished from those nirmānakāyas that they show on earth only by a higher degree of material refinement and cosmicality (lokottarata). For in reality both are an expression of Buddha’s māyā, illusion; he has united himself with another higher “body”, dharmakāya, which is nothing but Nirvāṇa or Śūnyatā, to use the term of the Mādhyamikas, but also, as such, the Absolute, the Vasumātra,³ of the Vijñānavādins and Yogācāras, the Brahma of the Vedānta. Dharmakāya in this latter significance is the opposite pole to nirmānakāya, conceived

² Cf. de la Vallée Poussin, *ERE.*, s.v. Mahāyāna, p. 331:
³ Synonymous terms for dharmakāya are: svabhāvakāya, buddhakāya; when realized in trance it is also called samādhiśīratā; cf. de la Vallée Poussin, *J.R.A.S.*, 1906, p. 146.
as including the manifold world, which governed by māya is then proceeding from the former by emanation. Such a doctrine has been developed by the Vijñānavādins.\(^1\) Now, that a Brahminical doctrine concerning emanation can be illustrated by copious passages from the Nārāyaṇiya need not be specially explained here. Cf. 12, 341 (339), 42:

\[
\text{maṭṭāḥ satvaḥ sambhavati jagat sthāvarajaṅgamam} \\
akṣaram ca kṣaram caiva sac cāsac caiva nārada
\]

But—and this is the special point of the Bhāgavatas—those who here (i.e. in Śvetadvipa) love me, they will be saved and enter into me, says the god in continuation; while to ordinary mortals the procedure is more circumstantial as they must pass through several stages of emanation (\(> \text{the sun} > \text{Aniruddha} > \text{Pradyumna} > \text{Sankarṣaṇa} > \text{Ātman, 12, 346 (344), 13,}\)\(^2\) it takes place directly in the case of bhaktas, a way which is beloved by Nārāyaṇa; cf. 350 (348), 3. Even as the Buddha vision in the rūpa heaven is only an illusion, māya, thus the manifestation of Nārāyaṇa in Śvetadvipa is of the same kind. The god says to Nārada when he shows himself that his real presence is na vijnayam; rūpavān uti dṛṣṭaye (341 (339), 44 seq.) and he adds:

\[
\text{īcchaḥ muhūrtān naṣṭeyam iśo'han jagato guruḥ} \\
māya hyesā mayā sṛṣṭā yan mām paśyasi nārada
\]

But on the contrary he is perceptible to mankind in his four revelational forms (mūrticatuṣṭayam). These are mentioned in 336 (334), 9 being Nara and Nārāyaṇa, Hari and Kṛṣṇa. The two first mentioned are the ascetics in Bādari who appear time after time in the Nārāyaṇiya. These cannot be regarded as real Avatārs—this opinion is naturally applicable to the sect, whose tenets are codified in the Nārāyaṇiya and in similar writings—as I have already pointed out, but are more likely imaginary copies, and perceptible to the senses, of that Nārāyaṇa who is identical with Brahma or Prakṛti. One observes that at 341 (339) an obvious distinction is made between Nārāyaṇa as caturmūrtidhara and his prādurbhāvāḥ (106). The latter are Avatārs, here ten in number. It seems strange that among those the Sātvata prince Kṛṣṇa occurs, although just before (101) it is announced that Nārāyaṇa will send a terrible visitation upon the Sātvata princes and upon Dvāraka. This gives an expression to the

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\(^1\) Cf. de la Vallée Poussin, \textit{JRAS.}, 1906, p. 974 seq.

Pāñcarātra disapproval of the Kṛṣṇa cult,¹ and also explains why that Kṛṣṇa who is regarded as one of Nārāyaṇa's own mūrtis is called Kṛṣṇa Svayambhū.

The ascetics Nara and Nārāyaṇa could don the same laksanās as the god, but there exists a difference of degree: they belong to the manifested (vyakta), not to the unmanifested (avvyakta) as he does. Cf. 345, 48, Nārada is speaking:

adyāpi cainam paśyāmi yuvām paśyan sanātanau ||
yair laksanair upetaḥ sa harir avyaktarūpadhṛk |
tair laksanair upetau hi vyaktarūpadharau yuvām ||
dṛṣṭau yuvām mayā tatra tasya devasya pārśvataḥ |
ihāva cāgato'smy adya visṭṭaḥ paramātmanā ||

Cf. 346 (344), 23 seq. Their relation to the god in Śvetadvīpa thus agrees with that of Avalokita to Amitābha. The foundation in both cases is laid by the scheme of emanation. Undoubtedly from a certain point of view the ascetics are identical with Nārāyaṇa, and if one sees them one sees him, cf. above. Their neighbourhood is indicated as being the place upon which the foundation of the worlds is laid, 336, 15 seq., and Nārada worships Nārāyaṇa, who is practising tapas there, as the eternal creator, the supreme immortal being, in whom all things are found (loc. cit., 25 seq.). Whom then can this Nārāyaṇa worship in his turn? The answer to this is indicated as being a great secret (avācyam etad vaktavyam atmaguhyaṃ sanātanam), 336, 29

yat tat sūkṣmam avijñeyam avyaktam acalāṁ dhruvam |
indriyair indriyārthaī ca sarvabhūtaī ca varjītam ||

That is to say Brahma, from whom all things, including the ascetics, have proceeded. They themselves relate that Nārāyaṇa is their existing prakṛti, 341, 47, in Śvetadvīpa, from whom they have emanated, 336, 42 (cf. 32), and who is avyaktayoni, 346, 2; and in 337, 2 we are told that Nārada will himself depart to Śvetadvīpa to see their prakṛti. They practise tapas, worship and make offerings in Badarī, but they do this (336, 32 f.) in homage to Prakṛti, the god who is their ātman. To him they bring their sacrifices, both divine and ancestral ones. In this respect they resemble the White Men; and in accordance with the position of our treatise, which is the intermediary between old and new, it is emphasized that the sacrifices are only legitimate if all of them are offered to the god. But the penance of the ascetics also has a more altruistic purpose: it is indicated (346, 21),

though in an obscure way, that it is performed for the success of the
god’s future manifestations, i.e. for the extension of truth and for
conquering evil. This double aspect characterizes the Bodhisattvas
too: on the one side the struggle for personal salvation by the aid
of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas (cf. 350, 75); on the other, willingness
to endure self-sacrifice and suffering for the sake of one’s fellow-
creatures. It must, however, be said that in the Nārāyaṇīya one is
scarcey reminded of the latter point of view, nor is it of essential
importance in the Amitābha religion.

Finally, we should like to draw attention to a few more points of
contact with Buddhism. Bhandarkar (Vaiṣṇavism, p. 7 seq.) has already
pointed out that the Nārāyaṇīya, in common with Buddhism and
Jainism, rejects the sacrifice of animals. Vasu Uparicara, the
mysterious patron and promulgator of the Bhakti doctrine, is a great
sacrificer—it is really at a “horse sacrifice” arranged by him that
Ekata, Dvita, and Trita relate their history—but the sacrificial
beasts were replaced by cakes, etc. It is asserted that his precipitation
into an underground cavern was in consequence of his once advising
the sacrifice of a goat. The only peculiarity is that the gods (with
Nārāyaṇa at their head) take his part in the matter. They certainly
could not prevent the curse uttered by the ascetics from taking effect,
but Nārāyaṇa carried nourishment to his devotee, and when this one
has “worked out” his punishment in the hole, he sends Garuḍa to
fetch him up after which the king enters into Brahmā’s world.
Garuḍa otherwise is not mentioned in the Nārāyaṇīya. One gains,
on the whole, the impression that the sympathies of the author lie
mostly with the king, and it is probable that the episode of Vasu’s
“fall”, which scarcely harmonizes with the spirit of the treatise, is a
secondary interpolation. Ahimsā distinguished the Kṛta age, when all
were righteous, and the Bhāgavatas follow a higher dharma than do
others, by applying themselves to it. On the other hand, they do not
reject sacrifice, as sacrifice, but, on the contrary, its necessity is often
inculcated. Their conservatism is also expressed in their respect for
tapas, although bhakti is of greater worth. Their struggle for
reformation is kept, therefore, within orthodox Brahminical bounds,
but apart from this it is undeniable that the struggle appears in a
similar form in both Buddhism and Jainism; and the similarity
appears to be greater in the Nārāyaṇīya than in the Bhagavad-Gītā,
if one takes into consideration that the former teaches ahiṃsā,¹ but

¹ Cf. Patañjali’s Yoga-Sūtra, ii, 30.
not the latter, in other words that the development has tended towards agreement with this non-Brahminical principle. Neither can one avoid associating bhakti and maitri (metta) the latter of which must also be considered in connexion with meditation and is a necessary postulate for the attainment of Nirvana. Those who in meditation have penetrated through all earthly regions by means of metta pass after death into Brahma’s world, one of the highest spheres (Aung. Nik., ii, p. 129). Belief in and devotion to Amitabha has already been spoken of.

While considering the lakshanās of Nārāyaṇa, we are also led on to Buddhism. The connecting link between Nārāyaṇa and Buddha is of course the Mahāpuruṣa conception (cf. Senart, Légende, p. 87 seq.). Because of this Buddha, as is the case in the Lalita-Vistara, receives the epithet nārāyanasthāmavān, “possessing N.’s power,” nārāyaṇa iva durdharsah, “unconquerable as N.,” indeed he is N. himself, nārāyaṇatmadhavah (Senart, loc. cit., p. 123). Certainly in the epic the identity of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa with Mahāpuruṣa is in general an acknowledged fact, but in no other passage beside our treatise are his lakshanās represented in a form so completely in accordance with those forming the equipment of the Buddha-Mahāpuruṣa. Nārāyaṇa’s (and the White Men’s) signs are all found again among Buddha’s thirty-two principal lakshanās and eighty minor lakshanās (anuvayaṇjanas), as an investigation shows quite clearly. They characterize on one side the supernatural figure of Nārāyaṇa and on the other that of Buddha, his saṁbhogakāya, shown on extraordinary occasions, and specially in the heavenly spheres, cf. above. The Mahāpuruṣa-conception, as such, is Brahminical not Buddhist, but the lakshanās of the inhabitants of Śvetadvipa, not found in any other Brahminical source but almost identical with those of the Buddhists, are, taken in connexion with the general character of Śvetadvipa, quite sufficient to lead back again to Buddhism.

1 Cf. Beckh, Buddhismus, pp. 28, 37, 60, 132 seq.
SITA FORLORN, A SPECIMEN OF THE KASHMIRI RAMAYANA

Edited and Translated by SIR GEORGE GRIERSON, O.M., K.C.I.E.

DIVAKARA PRAKĀSA BHĀṬṬA is said to have been alive during the eight years of the reign of the Hindū king Sukhajīvana Simha, of Kashmir, who came to the throne in A.D. 1786, and to have lived in the Gōjawār (Skt. Gulikāvatikā) quarter of the city of Srinagar. He was the author of a Kāshmirī version of the Rāmāyaṇa, entitled the Rāmāvatāra-carita. This is a long epic poem of about 1800 verses in various metres, and is divided into two parts. The first part corresponds to the first six cantos of Vālmiki’s poem, and ends with the return of Rāma in triumph to Ayōḍhya after the conquest of Laṅkā. The second part corresponds to the latter half of Vālmiki’s seventh (Uttara-kāṇḍa) canto, describing Sitā’s banishment and the subsequent occurrences down to the death of Rāma. It is entitled the Lava-kusā-yuddha. The earlier part of Vālmiki’s seventh canto, called by Professor Jacobī “the Rāvaneis”, is inserted by the Kāshmirī poet in the earlier half of the poem, in the section where Hanumat visits Laṅkā in search of Sitā. There he meets Nārada, who tells him the history of the place and describes Rāvana’s birth and exploits.

Although the whole Kāshmirī poem thus roughly corresponds to Vālmiki’s epic, the two works differ widely in detail. In the first place, in agreement with the Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa and the Jaina tradition, Sitā is represented as the daughter of Rāvana and Mandodāri, although Rāvana was unaware of the fact. According to our poet, when Sitā was born in Rāvana’s absence, her horoscope showed that she would kill her father (i.e. Rāvana), and that, if she were allowed to marry, she would become a dweller in the forest, and would come from there to destroy Laṅkā. Mandodāri, on hearing this, tied a stone round the baby’s neck and threw her into a river. The baby was washed ashore, and was found by Janaka, as in the ordinary tradition. Mandodāri never ventured to tell Rāvana of this. When he brought

1 See Bulletin S.O.S., iv, 13 ff.
2 According to our present poet, Rāma seems to have become aware of this; for, when Hanumat returns from his visit to Laṅkā, Rāma anxiously inquires about the attitude of her brothers—Indrajit, etc.—towards him for taking Sitā with him into banishment.
3 The Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa adds that Rāvana was fated to die if ever he should look on his own daughter with lustful eyes, and she should refuse to yield to him.
Sitā to Laṅkā, she recognized her, but was afraid to do more than warn him in general terms.

In the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa, Rāma was induced to banish Sitā after his return to Ayodhyā, owing to scandalous reports that she had lived with Rāvana in Laṅkā. Here the reason is different. The story given is that Sitā had a sister-in-law who hated her with jealous treachery. She persuades Sitā to draw for her a portrait of Rāvana. This she promptly takes to Rāma, saying that she had seen Sitā gazing at it and weeping over it. Without further inquiry, Rāma believes her and is filled with anger. He orders Lakṣmanā to take Sitā away, and to abandon her in the forest. Here again, there is a grave variation from the Vālmiki story. In it, at Sitā’s request, Lakṣmanā takes her on a visit to Vālmiki’s hermitage and abandons her there, safe in the saint’s keeping. There she has twins—Lava and Kuṭa—who are brought up by Vālmiki and taught the Rāmāyaṇa. When they have learnt it, he takes them to Rāma’s court, and there they recite the poem.

In the Kāshmīrī poem, Lakṣmanā abandons Sitā in the heart of a forest. She wanders forlorn till she stumbles on Vālmiki’s hermitage. There she has one son—Lava—to whom Vālmiki becomes attached, and whom he loves to care for in Sitā’s temporary absence. One day she goes out, taking the baby with her. Vālmiki, who is not aware of this, jumps to the conclusion that it has been carried off by some wild beast. So he takes a wisp of Kuṭa grass and prays over it. The wisp becomes alive as an exact replica of Lava. In this way Sitā gets two sons, the second, from his origin, being named “Kuṭa”. When they grow up Vālmiki gives each a set of magic arrows that never miss their marks.

In the meantime, at Vasiṣṭha’s advice, Rāma arranges for an Aśvamedha sacrifice, and the sacrificial horse is left to wander, protected by Bharata and Śatrughṇa at the head of a large army. The horse comes near Vālmiki’s hermitage, and Kuṭa mounts it and rides it in spite of the protests of the army. The army tries to stop him by force, but in vain. Then Bharata, struck by his resemblance to Rāma, advances in friendly fashion, but Kuṭa wounds

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1 This story is not confined to Kashmir. It is also found in the Rāmāyaṇa of Candravati, written in Eastern Bengal. According to it, the sister-in-law was a daughter of Kaikēyi, and was named Kukū. See Dineshchandra Sen’s The Bengali Ramayanas, pp. 196 ff. The Malay Rāmāyana, which in other respects closely follows the Kāshmīrī account, has also the same story. See Ziesemiss, Die Rāma-Sage bei den Malaien, ihre Herkunft und Gestaltung (Hamburg, 1928), pp. 61, 105.
him with one of his arrows. Bharata, in self-defence, wounds Kuśa. Lava comes up and joins Kuśa, who has revived. After mutual abuse, Lava kills Bharata, and Kuśa Śatrughna. They then attack the army and slay many. The few survivors escape to Ayōdhyā and report to Rāma, who sends out Lakṣmaṇa at the head of another army. It also is defeated by the boys, Lakṣmaṇa being slain. Then Rāma, with his monkey and bear allies, sets out with a huge force. They meet the boys. Rāma, moved instinctively by parental affection, makes friendly advances, but they refuse to trust him, defeat the army, and kill him.

The boys collect the crowns of the slain commanders, and return triumphantly to Sitā. She recognizes Rāma's crown, and hastens lamenting to the scene of the combat. There she is joined by Vālmiki, in answer to whose prayers amṛta falls from heaven. All the slain, in consequence, come to life, and return home rejoicing, taking with them Lava and Kuśa.

Rāma returns to seek for Sitā in the hermitage, but she, in a revulsion of feeling, refuses to see him or to listen to his prayers that she should return home with him. Vālmiki intercedes with her, but to no effect. At his advice, Rāma returns to Ayōdhyā to complete the Aśvamādaḥ sacrifice. All the great saints assemble at it, but complain that the rite cannot be completed without the presence of Sitā. Rāma sends Śatrughna to Vālmiki, who with great difficulty persuades her to attend it. On her arrival, before all the assembled holy men, she proclaims her chastity, and calls upon Mother Earth to bear witness to it. The ground opens, Mother Earth emerges, receives Sitā on to her chariot, and disappears with her into the chasm, which then closes up. The rest of the poem, dealing with the remainder of Rāma's life and his ascent into heaven, closely agrees with the account given in the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa, and need not be repeated.

The following specimen of the poem is taken from the passage describing Sitā's forlorn condition after being abandoned in the forest by Lakṣmaṇa. Quite unsuspecting, she has gone forth with him, and now the time has come for him to leave her. It is ninety verses in length, and corresponds to the brief 48th chapter of Vālmiki's Uttara Kāṇḍa. In translating the text, I have not been literal. I have attempted to reproduce the slightly archaic style of the original, and where words are necessary to explain the sense to a Western reader, have not hesitated to introduce them.

1 Bombay edition.
The metre of the extract is the well-known Hassaj, — — — —, — — — —, — — — —, but many licenses are permitted. The influence of stress-accent, or even merely the necessity of metre, often affects the quantity of a vowel. Thus, in verse 1169, sūtā sūtā must be scanned as if it were — — — —, and, in 1175, pyēmũtũ must be scanned — — — — (i.e. — — —, see below), while, in 1176, it must be scanned — — — — (i.e. — — —). In connection with this, it should be mentioned that a conjunct consonant of which the first member is a nasal does not necessarily make the preceding vowel long by position. Thus, in verse 1175, nēndũr must be scanned as an iambus, — —.

Two short syllables may always be taken as the equivalent of one long syllable. Thus, in 1169, hyotũnas (— — — —) is to be scanned as if it were — — —. Similarly, dini (1174) is equivalent to —, the words kam dini lujuũ being for — — —, and in pariĉe (1175) — — — is for — — —.

A closed syllable with a long vowel may generally be given additional short instant after the final consonant, if the next word begins with a consonant. Thus, a word ending in ān may, in such a case, be scanned — or — — at option, provided it is followed by a consonant. A good example is in verse 1174, maṇen gōs gāsh kam, which must be scanned — — — — — —. Here, though there is a long vowel in the closed syllable gōs, and though the word is followed by a consonant—the g of gāsh—no short instant is added; but in the word gāsh (a similar closed syllable), the metre requires it to be scanned — — —, as if the word were gāshē. On the other hand, in 1168, we have divēcān ōsũ. Here, as ōsũ begins with a vowel, the syllable ān is necessarily long without any additional short instant, and the whole must be scanned as — — — (the final u-mātrā at the end of the line not being sounded). Again, in the same line, we have dapān wārā. Here, although wārā begins with a consonant, ān scans merely as one long syllable, and the whole scans — — — —. In 1203 we have kārih yēk-sān dyutũ dōn, which must be scanned — — — — (— — for — —), in which sān has to be read as if it were sāna. Again, in 1197, kaṇen kyūh cākh sōpānũ is scanned — — — — — —.

The treatment of mātrā-vowels is quite arbitrary. They are sounded or not as the metre requires. We have already seen ōsũ treated as one long syllable, and this is always the case at the end of a line; but in cases like Lākhũman (1168) or hyotũnas (1169) we may scan Lākhũ and hyotũ either as each consisting of two short syllables, or each as consisting merely of one long one. In the former case we treat
the māṭrā-vowel as forming a syllable, and in the latter case we ignore it. In 1173, we must scan būjās pōrzān as — — — — —, in which the ū-māṭrā counts as forming a syllable, while the i-māṭrā is not so counted. [It will be observed that, as explained above, the final ān is scanned — —.]

A conjunct consonant is sometimes to be read as though the members were separated and a vowel inserted by svarabhakti. Thus, in verse 1242, āsmānay must be scanned — — — —, as if the word were āsaṅmānay. Similarly, in 1187, arth must be scanned as an iambus ( — —).
दपान वारा सुह लेखिनम-खुब रिखाव चौमु ॥
पकान पयः-कुन नजर फीरिश दिखाव चौमु ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥
वदन-सूय गोस्त्रम दंत ज्ञात्वनस दिखाव चार ।
बुकान चौमु सात सात बव ठियत्स चार ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥
बनान सीताय वंगु तस लेखिनमस-कुन ।
चहु वतत्म वार अचाकु खाह म्य सौप्पु ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥
जतन-हदु रथ वतन नायम रह काथा गोम ।
हुह खाम जानान रह बिद्वीश मा कंहक्स चौमु ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥
द्वपुस लेखिनम-जवन माधाक्स दितिय वपां ।
विगार दंदु नेर बंतू खाम शीर-शीत यडह ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥
हह कध बस्तिक दस्तिक बुन लंजु खने बाह ।
चङ्गस पारिजान यिध पासच लक्स यंं ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥
मजन गोमस गाध कम दिनि जंजुः कजन पेह ।
द्वपुस तस चावतम वहु दावतम चेः ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥
सुह गवृ अड्डश चनुन तस पोशु सूरिय ।
बुकुन वेंमू मंडेर तस परिय हरिय ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥
सरिकु सूतिन वारिय बुस्तक विनि क्षिमंच चामु ।
पदर अव पोश-चंकु जन वर गमचू चामु ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥
वकुन जन गव गमचू अद्वा-जुवन्य-कुफ ।
गोनिमैठ चौमु तमस सन-शिन जलों बुँख ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥
चनुन पॉलोट भाव्यान बलिस-कुन ।
हतंून ताम तस बुखिस-पट पोशु पथुव ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥
तिखप फीरिश सुह लेखिनम जाभ रिखावन्य ।
विखप काहु किंतु रापीय मारनिन निखावन्य ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥
वदान बुस्तक-किंति पदर बासू बसिय पावान ब्रह्मु ।
तिहः मा तसम्यान पदान बल्स घावान चौमु ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥
उमारी चमा कर्तम खुन्नम पाक ।
म्य कुम बालिस्त खुब चानू चा कुय जाफ ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥
द्रया कर्तम छायः स्वयं किंत हंडळ ग्रान ।
पजन तस यस्म म्य हिलु दण्डु ब्रास्त संतन ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥
म्य कर ताक्ष्य च्य-कुन बुकुसस दुवारय ।
हछाय बल्सय पदान-प्यट वार वारय ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥
1168–9. They tell us that in heavy sorrow did Lakṣmaṇa lead Sītā to the forest, for in his heart there had been formed a chasm full of fire. Again and again looked he back, at each moment hoping that perchance to Rāma pity might have come.

1170–1. They say that Sītā asked him: "What be this that in the end hath me befallen? Why is it that with the blood of my feet the way is sprinkled? Full well I know that this hath been devised for me by the sister of my lord." ¹

1172. Quoth Lakṣmaṇa: "Sit here to rest awhile. Whither shall I go from hence? For burnt is my heart, and as it were flames are pouring o'er my head."

1173. As though smitten by poison, fell she down. Her tender form consumed by flaming heat, swooning she lay.

1174. Dim went the pupils of her eyes, the very stones did she begin to lick. Said she: "First give thou me to drink, if me thou must abandon."

1175. So he went forth and searched, and from a great way brought he water. Unconscious, like an angel or a fairy in her sleep, he found her.

1176. Prone on her face she lay, withered like a flowering shrub that by an axe is severed from its stem.

1177. When he saw her, the fair daughter of the gods, lying corpse-like there, seized he the opportunity for hasting far away.

1178. Upon a near-by tree he hung the jar, so that from it water trickled on her face.

1179. Sorrowing set he out for home, going slow-foot, as they lead a man to death.

1180. Lamenting, again and again falling on his face in his despair, as though bidding to her feet farewell, went he.

1181. "O, Fair as Umā, forgive the sin that I commit. Wounded to the heart am I, for sudden death to thee hath come.

1182. "Grant thou me pardon, whether deep sleep hath fallen on thee, or whether thou hast ceased to breathe. Unworthy of thee am I, who love thee as a son his mother.

1183. "Never again shall I have strength to look towards thee, and slowly, slowly, to thy feet say I farewell.

¹ According to the poet, Rāma's decree of banishment was the result of a false calumny told him by Sītā's enemy, his step-sister.
श्री गौतम चार्विच चित्ररंग पटृ दिशा चित्रान ब्राह्म ||
शरण रिया माया स्ववरण-पट करान पास ||

स्य कर गंगु रामजस्वु डक्कम चर्चून ||
बुढ़ कर तस्म चार्टां दिशा काम्य सोजून ||

नतय बहु नोच मायारस व-शर्मार ||
ब-खारी खालि डुकुम काहसम च्यु मूल नेर ||

नतय साता च्यु बोमुपु काम्लाहै ||
अर्थ अर्थ द्रो कहुँ क्रांतु कालु कहुँ माने ||

बंजु निदु गोस नवधंस रमलवु रव ||
भस्मकाराहै करिघ शहरस चन्द्रे गव ||

सपूणे बंदार सोता पाँ-फणसू सूच ||
गूगी गर्मा-मूर्तिन वसतरे वत्मानत ||

वुकुन ललिन खटार तस्निम गम्भु दुह ||
गम्भी लंजू जन सच्चालि लंजू चाव-संखु सूक ||

दंपुन काहु गोम चंधि सर्पस्न वंजुम नाल ||
पानम मा काल नवट इति मा खन्नम शाल ||

दोन-सूतिन च्यु छात तस्म गाह कम गोस ||
मुहु मा ललिन तमिस चार्विच प्रजान छोरु ||

रिवान डुढ़न रिवान जन पाणसंय-कुन ||
बमाह क्रिघु बाँड-तल गैब सर्परु ||

वरान लंजु क्वाव-पाणस-कुन स्वांदर माल ||
दोन-सूतिन कल्पस मा बुजु नछाड लाण ||

तत्व मा कुम न ललिन द्रूढ रिवान ||
बिंगी लंजु पकालि रिक सस्हुन दरवान कल ||

बमाह क्रिघु मुहु मा क्रोलुन गराय गोम ||
मा चार्विच चूरि कंकास दूये कहु गोम ||

दोन लंजु दादि सर्वन शाल सर्परु ||
बरिघ शतरान कान बाँह चाकु सर्परु ||

दोन-सूल राजवार्त साल सहजाव ||
वनस्पि मनु डेंडुखु रहि वाइत पंजाव ||
1184. "To hasten home, with bandaged eyes I leave thee. (But thou wilt forgive me), for mothers ever espouse the cause of children who with them refuge seek.

1185. "How was it right for me to yield to Rāma's hest? How was it right for him to send me on this task?"

1186. "Why did he not rather slay me with his sword, when basely to me he gave command to go forth with thee?"

1187. "Or else, perchance, was this thy fate? Is that the cause, or must some other ground be sought?"

1188. He wept till, as it were (through his dimmed eyes) the lovely sun became a moon,¹ and, with one last reverence paid, to the city he returned.

1189. As the water dripped on Sītā she revived. Wet through were her garments with heat and sweat.

1190. She saw that far from her had Laksmaṇa gone. All spent was she, trembling as a branch quivers in the wind.

1191. Cried she: "What hath happed to me? What serpent hath entwined my neck? Ere long the crows will fall on me, and jackals me devour."

1192. Dimmed became her eyes from weeping, as she pondered whether Laksmaṇa had abandoned her.

1193. In the far saw she him woebegone and halting, as though homeward bound: for but a moment stayed he, and then he disappeared from view.

1194-5. Fair Sītā betought herself that perchance her eyes were dimmed with tears, and that hence Laksmaṇa she could not see: so, listening for sounds, from her seat she rose to walk.

1196. For a moment waited she, and so made sure that he had home departed. What else had happened, save that he had secretly abandoned her, and left her far away?

1197. In her agony again she wailed—the cypress branches, nay, the very stones (around her) rent. May such be the fate of all our enemies!

1198. The melody of her weeping overwhelmed the (sweet voices of the) birds. Distraught from the forest did they flee and to the Panjāb² haste.

¹ I am not certain of this translation. MSS. differ.
² The writer, of course, is picturing the whole as happening in Kashmir, which lies immediately to the north of the Panjāb.
गुली खली पुकु तबंदु वृष्ण जम यथं खाय।
राठू जरी मच्छ तन कुण रंगूरक घाय॥

7705॥

तेरितन हा स तेरी वाह कुम्भू जम॥
कढ़ी काठी सुमिता यश्-सान संपेल॥

7706॥

चांगु-चिनं चांगु चोटी खोरी हंसन खून।
पणवान बुधी-किनं वसिङ्ग चर्मन लंजुस जल॥

7707॥

वननि लेजू खंतु मुख गव यंसि नार सांजुस।
सहं कंजु गव यंसि बुझ कस्मिन गात लांजूस॥

7708॥

सहं कंजु गव यंसि कांस चाद नार-निश्च सन।
सहं कंजु गव यंसि कारिव यव-सान दिस इन॥

7709॥

सहं कंजु गव यंसि कांस उन्नत्तन चन्वर।
सहं कंजु गव यंसि कांस उन्नत्तन चन्वर।

7710॥

स चल नौऊछ चटन बिय डू किर गर्राव।
आयिम स्त्रीवर्ण वर्ता-रंकू वारा।

7711॥

दह चूरिम चूर जम मकोदरिय साय।
जनमक राजास सवस संगतन साठा हाय॥

7712॥

बदनि लेजू जय गवस कंजु वाव लेजू वन।
वनस-जल जल्ल गवस हजू मछू मर्डू।

7713॥

वनस-दज दीय वनाह गन्निनय कनन भास।
छाड़ कोनाइ जार वनान चाम बह जनी बोज़॥

7714॥

खबर खेंद्र छाम न कर फुज्यांन तमस मन।
तवर भ् ताप-सुख दंगू नार हजु हजु॥

7715॥

खबर खेंद्र छाम न तस बनि दह कंसम वाह।
कांडी-मूर्ति नीमनिचं बाजफ वाद॥

7716॥

खबर खेंद्र छाम न कर मूलूस अतीतन।
तिमो टांपिम घह नयपरतीह सांपन।

7717॥

खबर खेंद्र छाम न कर तस-मयूः कंसम नाय।
तवर दुन रक्षा सबुच्छ हिय पयाम हाय॥

7718॥

खबर खेंद्र छाम न कम काकान म्य चाँसिर।
तिमो टांपिम घह सांपन यच परंसिव।

7719॥

खबर खेंद्र छाम न कम बोज्ञ तमस स्तीर।
तवर दिस्तम वरिष्ठ वालिङ्ग रंकू तीर॥

7720॥
1199. When the roses looked upon her (sorrowing) face, soot as it were fell on them: yellow did they turn, and low on the ground they hid themselves.

1200. Utterly alone was Sītā. Lonely indeed was she. Her only companions were thorns and broken sticks.

1201. From her eyes tears, and from her hands and feet blood she dropped: prone did she fall, a veil, as 'twere of moonlight, coming to her eyes.

1202. Cried she: "Where is he gone, who me in fire hath burnt? Where is he gone, who on Fate's shoal hath cast me?"

1203. "Where is he gone, who brought pure gold from fire? Where is he gone, who two in one united?"

1204. "Where is he gone, who now hath made me homeless? Where is he gone, who into fire cast me?"

1205. Delicate of frame was Sītā, and eke heavy with child: moreover, a woman, desolate and lacking her lord, was she.

1206. In the fourth place, of Mandōdarī was she the daughter, born in stealth (and by her abandoned). Long may Janaka, Sītā's foster-father, live!

1207. She wept. Dumb became her tongue with grief. To a forest came she, and into it she fled, her swan-neck all awry.

1208. Once in the forest, spake she these words—hearken thou to them with both thine ears. Without measure did she lament—and in thine ears let thou her words abide.

1209. "No memory have I that e'er his will I disobeyed, yet with burning heat is each limb of me consumed by fire.

1210. "No memory have I that e'er with him I quarrelled, yet (as a punishment for that) with thorns ligid have become my rosy feet.

1211. "No memory have I that e'er at the poor I scoffed, yet even they have said to me, 'Be thou no longer trusted.'

1212. "No memory have I that e'er with him I banded words, and yet on me—a jasmine of paradise—hath fallen soot.

1213. "No memory have I that e'er did any wish for me this fate, yet have they said of me 'Be thou utterly forlorn.'

1214. "No memory have I that e'er of him a secret I betrayed, and yet this arrow hath he buried in my heart.

1 An allusion to Sītā's ordeal by fire in Lānkā.
2 I.e. who took her back after the ordeal.
वकाय तथा याम न तस्य-प्रद कर दितम लाफः।
तवय सिद्ध गोम मतय रूप खाय तथा कस्म पाफः।
पकाय गय रथ खाय वार त सीता।
वनाय तस राम्यांद-कुण स शिला।
चाह बोधाय कोय धुष कुद्र ना वियान सार।
म्य काय केशमय बुध भेद्य अरु गिरिफ्तार।
वहु इकसत्म मसनदम-पद्म निश्चु बुधी-सान।
वहु शून्या रधु कंडाय-पद्म हालि-हैरान।
खंतम काय याप बुध रक्तम परन-तन।
गयस वाराय वाराय कुट त कीचन।
वनाय चोलिय कंड मधु राज्य धुष धनाय।
वुकिवा उतकाय केशम मा भेलिय याैर।
वुकाय कुख-ना गम्य खाय चस्य घवाय।
बलन-सौतनन बलन गोम पार-पार।
वुकिवा उतकाय अस्तित्व चाय रथ बुध चावाय।
वुकिवा वर्ष रावव सन मा कोय धुष हावाय।
चह दुप्पुष्म-ना धुष चाय नोलखु गुल-चन्द्रम।
वुकाय कुख-ना धुष उतकाय काह वनिच खाय।
चह दुप्पुष्म-ना धुष चाय बागवृंग चंद्रराज।
वुकाय कुक-ना गक्खाय काहु कुम कंडाय-तल।
चह दुप्पुष्म-ना धुष प्रकृति चाय रक्तवंस।
वुकाय कुख-ना पकाय काय चाय कुउरू बुधु।
चह दुप्पुष्म-ना चह नोलखु काय बलन तन।
वुकाय कुख-ना म्य कीहिय बंदिक किन्ह खोराय।
चह दुप्पुष्म-ना चह कौमस्या रक्तिय जाय।
वुकाय कुख-ना तनि ति मा मोहु रुद्ध पाय।
चह दुप्पुष्म-ना धुष चाय सांहिति उक्षिय गाय।
वुकिवा उतकाय म्य मा जह वेंसिसः हज़ माय।
कुहू राम्यांस कुनृय क्षीमुख नध म्योलु।
गयस ज्ञान पाप-सुख राज म्य म्योलु।
कनिस लट राज म्य पायस कानि कोमुस।
चिर्ध स्यु मुग्नु नितह मा जह वेंसिस कोमुस।
1215. "No memory have I that e'er before him I showed pride of self, yet such a sin must I have done, for on me hath humiliation fallen."

1216. So wailing, on went Sītā, blood dropping from her wounds the while, and as the way she traversed, thus to Rāma did she make lament:—

1217. "Ah, why dost thou not hear me? Doth no pity come to thee? What have I done that thou in misery hast prisoned me?

1218. "While thou in comfort thus art seated on thy throne, seemly is it that I on thorns should be distraught?

1219. "What fault have I committed? Now at thy feet I fall; ah, shelter me. No home have I, alone and lorn.

1220. "Once was I called 'the princess, daughter of King Janaka', and now, behold, there is none to show me friendship.

1221. "Dost thou not see how desolate I have become, and how, from my weeping, crushed to pieces hath become my body?

1222. "Behold how from my eyes 'tis tears of blood I shed; behold how, if I lose my way, no one is there to lead me right.

1223. "Didst thou not once say to me, 'Thy form is tender as a rose', and dost thou now not see what hath befallen me?

1224. "Didst thou not once say to me, 'Of the garden art thou the daffodil', and dost thou not see how beneath thorns I fare?

1225. "Didst thou not once say to me, 'Thou art the moon ashine in all its glory', and dost thou not now see how all alone I walk?

1226. "Didst thou not once say to me, 'Very tender is thy form,' and dost thou not now see how, when they look upon me, the very thorns shrink from me in fear?

1227. "Didst thou not once say to me, 'Well will Kauśalyā keep thee safe,' and dost thou not now see that even she hath not my body clasped?

1228. "Didst thou not once say to me, 'Thou art a light unto the eyes of all?' and, behold, now in no one have I hope.

1229. "Once was I thine alone, and thou alone wast mine; and now, for my sins, am I unwanted; now my true price I know.

1230. "On whom may I lay the blame for this my woe? What I must suffer was in my fate decreed, and no one is there who can it from me remove.
झमा कुम इय मनसः कारिन ना झमा ब्रजः
मनसः धवतः म्य मशरावतो न मो ब्रजः
|| १२३९ ||
मन्यम चाई म्य ग्रीम छाम इय मनसः रायः
बुहः मशराविच वा विय काहः म्य कुम रायः
|| १२३२ ||
म्य येतु तांमय कड़न वझः तन दूह जामयः
पराय भामय बुहः तेतु तांजः राम रामयः
|| १२३३ ||
मन्यम बलिन तनि गन्धम बलिन सारिसंय मूरः
नशखः दूर्वरः ब्ह-निगः सम्चं दंडमुः हरः
|| १२३४ ||
प्रलयः भालि सीप्यमः बलिन तन बुहः नाववः
सुप्रिरिः सीन शियम सुरार्कः हाववः
|| १२३५ ||
प्रलयः बलिन बलिन पनजः तन नार गाजः
सयवः तेतू तांजः दयसः कंजः हावलयः
|| १२३६ ||
बुहः कुल आवागः म्य च वावा कणण जोरः
तिहः मा गंजःहः दूहः शायनः-यटः हंतुमः बोहः
|| १२३७ ||
कुलः पंजः यसः पायः बमः तस्स वाति दानुः प्रानः
झमा न जः पजः चियः-यटः दूहः करणः हानः
|| १२३८ ||
म्य पायी-रसः कखुमो मित्रजः
वितमः तन-कुत मातः रेजः-रेजः
|| १२३९ ||
तिह मा वंजःयः पंजःयः सोशः म्य दाम रचः
चः मा कमकः झमा तिहः छयः न दाणः
|| १२४० ||
दूहः मा गंजःहः म्य मा मंदःकण चियम नावः
दपः मा लुहः केम-संघः रजः चानी ब्रावः
|| १२४१ ||
द्यामः काँयः कबु त्रेमिनस कुमः मकायः
दपः बुध-कमिनः चयसः तुजः आकायः
|| १२४२ ||
द्यामः चऽ पंजः चः ताजः काहः कियः वनानः नावः
|| १२४३ ||
द्यामः सायणः गोकुः रोजःनिकुमः क्रावः
|| १२४४ ||
द्यामः चऽ चिति गणःयः चासःकृ वहनः चायः
दपः सायणः गोकुः तय जाय यतियः चायः
1231. "Still one hope there is within my thoughts, that haply he may even now show mercy. Ah, bear thou me in thy mind; forget me not.

1232. "If e'er I forget my love, then, in my heart, sure am I of this alone—that if I do aught forgetting it, then no other shift have I.

1233. "Until they drag these very garments from my body, so long shall I do naught but let the cry of 'Rāma, Rāma' pass my lips.

1234. "Ne'er shall I it forget, until to ashes is my whole form reduced. Farness from thee is Hell, and in it I, an angel of Heaven, am here consumed.

1235. "When destruction cometh to me, then only will I my body bathe: come thou to me, and my bosom will I unveil, and show to thee the wounds (that thou hast pierced).

1236. "Then only will my destruction come, when with fire I consume my flesh; and then, and only then, shall I be delivered to the care of God.

1237. "Exalted in the heavens art thou, and is it meet that me thou shouldst oppress? Hast thou not bethought thyself that on my shoulders mounted is this load?

1238. "True is it that his life should forfeit be, whose guilt is proved; but never is it seemly thus (causelessly) to torment a woman.

1239. "Mine is no guilt, and, lo, thou showest me no mercy: ah, come thou to me, even if thou must to pieces rend me.

1240. "Have not I said to thee, 'In truth, (if the task need it) take thou all my blood,' and mercy hast thou then ever shown? Nay, such was not thy way.

1241. "Hast thou never bethought thyself that disgraced would be thy name; that men will ask, 'Whose queen is this that to such distress hath come?'

1242. "If any man say such words to me, (I can but answer make that) on the earth is (but now) my abiding place. To them will I say that down from heaven am I fallen prone.

1243. "If then he ask me, 'Tell, of a truth, by what name art thou called?' 'Tis the fate of all,' will I reply, 'from hence to go; for who has ever come to abide for aye?'

1244. "If then he say to me, 'Here is it meet for thee to find a place to rest,' Then will I answer make to them, 'Tis the fate of all to go thither whence they came.'
किल्ले म चद  काश्रि क्षले चनु युत हाराम्।
अपलु वनस पंगु हरन-कान सक क्षारान्।
न तथ विजजन दय दय विय झाँह म झिन।
दुन सोन शि तम-निस मदु सुक्षि।
विशामलन नबस वंगुम ढुह श्रीतार।
ढुह दोस नेळुर कारिय रूति रूति इह धौकार।
तिह मा चासु म खवर सीताय चाच्यम।
स भीता सब जनम मा मन्द्रकालम।
तिह मा बजुकह इह मा इह-पुरि मिरुजार।
कुह मा दोन रुरुकु जंगु राजाय।
बनान गय दय संबेद्येस खोर खंबर्य।
पकत लजु ताव-कुह लमु आय मुडेन।
पकत गय रश कान कोसम चाँदी-संक।
कजु सूरात गय तस्तीदु कांकी-संक।
पवान वंसि वंसि गडगाण जुड़ जन गुजान।
चाँदी-सुंक घम कारिन लजु जूड जालन।
बनस मजु ताज बुकु रुख रंगु मकानाह।
कारिय बुजुकु सढ़ धरविय नाबर्यानाह।
चाँदी खोरी भक्त तूरी-कुन पकान।
सुहाह अख तंडोवु जन लंबु दय।
सह वान्धीकी श्रीशार्य मालि-संकु गोर।
बहानस फेरुकु जातुपु बुकोपेर।
निराश गामभु ततिय तिहु तम-निरिस भाय।
उद्दिग मजु-बाण बनान तम-रंगी कांकु जाय।
सुहृ भुलु आजग रंगु माघ बिय आय।
प्रजवलसुः सूर्य पवंत-वत ववर द्राय।
1245. "If then he ask me, 'Why dost thou shed so many tears? ' To them will I answer give, 'True, I am shedding tears—nay pearls I scatter.'

1246. "If God will not hear my plaint, let no other hear. Over my secrets, let there be a veil twixt me and Him.

1247. "To my father declared Viśvāmitra, 'He is incarnate God. To him, in marriage, do thou the damsel give, for well to thee will he perform the duties of a son.'

1248. "Little did my father guess that me—Sītā—Rāma would abandon, or that Sītā would for seven births put him to shame.

1249. "Nay, surely thought he, 'This youth hath the pure nature of a suckling babe. A king is he, with whom the unhappy and the poor take refuge.'"

1250. So on she wandered, her feet sinking into the gravel sharp, and as she walked, came burning wounds upon her tender limbs.

1251. Along went she, blood dropping from her saffron hands, and at her words the very stones on which she trod were pierced.

1252. Stumbling and falling as she went, each gaping wound a (crimson) rose, as with her hands she grasped the thorny shrubs.

1253. At length, in the forest, came she across a dwelling fair—a mere shade of birch-bark to ward off the sun.

1254. Led thither by her hands, her feet, her eyes, descried she a holy man, on whom she looked as God;

1255. For he was no other than Vālmīki, her Father's Guide in Grace. O'er the whole world had he roamed, and of the compass had each quarter visited.

1256. Despairing, just as she was, to him she came; and he, as her he saw, made place for her, as though she were the apple of his eye.

1257. Dawn came to her, and darkness fled away; again did daylight shine. From beneath the (fabled) mountain came forth the radiant sun.
LES INFLUENCES POPULAIRES DANS LA CHANDOGYA-UPANISAD

By J. Przyluski

Dans les sociétés les plus diverses, le regard de l'homme est considéré comme omnieux. Il exerce une influence qui, suivant les circonstances, peut être faste ou néfaste. La croyance au "mauvais œil" a entraîné l'emploi de mesures prophylactiques. Puisque l'œil est le siège d'une force redoutable, il faut neutraliser le maléfice et diriger la force du regard vers des conséquences heureuses. Ce résultat est souvent obtenu au moyen d'une formule qui peut se réduire à une simple exclamation. Tel est sans doute le sanskrit bhadramukha, pali bhaddamukha, dont on se servait pour aborder les personnes. Ce composé signifie "celui dont le visage (ou la vue) porte bonheur". Employé au vocatif, il était destiné à provoquer le fait énoncé, ou du moins à empêcher que le contraire ne se produisit.

Du skt. bhadramukha, cité par Pāṇini et fréquent dans la littérature bouddhique, on peut rapprocher un vocatif analogue employé dans la Chāndogya-upanisad, iv, 1, 2. Des oiseaux hamsa volent dans la nuit. L'un d'eux interpelle son compagnon pour lui signaler une lueur qui pourrait être dangereuse : "Ho! ho! yi! bhallākṣa, bhallākṣa..." Bhallākṣa est sans doute l'équivalent populaire de sanskrit bhadrākṣa, "celui dont l'œil porte bonheur." ¹ Ce n'est pas nécessairement un nom propre ainsi que le suggère la traduction de Böhtlingk (p. 36).

Bhadramukha et bhallākṣa permettent en outre de préciser la valeur du composé fameux piyadasi qui, dans les inscriptions d'Aśoka, désigne le monarque lui-même. Priyadarśin pourrait signifier "celui qui regarde avec affection" mais nous ne devons pas séparer de piyadasi l'autre composé qui l'accompagne régulièrement : devānampiyya. Si nous traduisons celui-ci par "favori des dieux" il faut entendre celui-là "qui regarde avec faveur". Les deux termes sont sans doute complémentaires. C'est parce qu'il a la faveur des dieux que le grand roi, par son regard, est favorable aux hommes.

On peut soulever une objection contre cette interprétation : bha-

dramukha dans l’usage courant est un vocatif, tandis que piyadasi est employé par Aśoka, parlant de soi, comme si c’était son propre nom. La difficulté n’est pas sérieuse. Un adjectif de bon augure, āyusmat par exemple chez les Bouddhistes, pouvait servir indifféremment à interpeller une personne ou à parler d’elle hors de sa présence ; ce pouvait être encore le substitut d’un nom qu’on croyait avoir avantage à taire. Ces trois aceptions apparaissent clairement dans l’emploi de bhagavant usité tour à tour comme épithète, vocatif et comme équivalent du nom de Viṣṇu et d’autres divinités.

On vient de supposer que les Indo-aryens, comme tant d’autres peuples, croyaient à la puissance du regard. Cette idée s’exprime nettement dans la Chānd.-upan., iv, 15, où l’esprit (puruṣa) qu’on aperçoit dans l’œil reçoit, entre autres noms, celui de Vāmā. Vāma “bon, cher, agréable” est synonyme de priya. Vāmāni (de vāma + ni) est exactement traduit dans le Dict. de St. Pétersbourg par “Güter bringend” et peut être rendu par “porte-bonheur”.

La présence dans la Chānd.-upan. d’une forme populaire telle que bhallākṣa invite à poser le problème des sources de cet ouvrage. Déjà dans l’Introdution à son édition critique (p. x), Böhtlingk disait de cette Upaniṣad : “Sie macht überhaupt den Eindruck, als wenn sie aus verschiedensten Werken zusammengestoppelt wäre”. En fait plusieurs morceaux, comme l’histoire des oiseaux hamsa et celle de Satyakāma Jābāla, iv, 4–9, semblent des emprunts au folklore. Ce sont probablement, comme certains avadāna bouddhiques, des contes enchâssés dans une œuvre didactique. Ainsi pourrait s’expliquer la présence, dans ces histoires, de mots imparfaitement sanskritisés. Mais l’œuvre didactique elle-même ne contient-elle pas des formes analogues ?

On rencontre dans des passages d’un caractère exclusivement philosophique (v, 11 et 14) le nom propre Indradyumna Bhāllaveya. Śaṅkara considère Bhāllaveya comme dérivé du patronymique Bhāllavi, lequel dériverait lui-même de Bhallavi. Malheureusement, nous ne savons si cette explication a été puisée à une source sûre ou si elle a été imaginée par le commentateur pour les besoins de la cause.¹

Parmi les maîtres qui sont mentionnés dans les Brāhmaṇa et les Upaniṣad, quelques uns ont trois noms : un premier qui leur est

¹ Böhtlingk (Chānd.-U.p., p. v) se montre justement sévère pour ce commentateur.
personnel, un second dérivé du nom du père, un troisième dérivé du nom de l’aïeul. Par exemple, Aruña Aupaveśi a pour fils Uddālaka Āruṇi lequel a pour fils Śvetaketu Uddālaki Āruṇeya :

\[
\text{Aruña} \\
\text{Uddālaka Āruṇi} \\
\text{Śvetaketu Uddālaki Āruṇeya}
\]

Bhāllaveya paraît être formé comme Āruṇeya ; il dériverait alors de *Bhallava par l’intermédiaire de Bhāllavi.

Il y a une autre éventualité à considérer. Après avoir nommé Indradyumna Bhāllaveya, la Chānd.-upan. cite un peu plus loin Āśvapati Kāikeya. Kāikeya désigne un peuple bien connu du Nord-Ouest de l’Inde. Bhāllaveya pourrait être également un ethnique ou un adjetif dérivé d’un ethnique. Ainsi bhālleya dérive de l’ethnique Bhall (Pāṇini, 4, 2, 80). De fait :

Bhāllaveya est à *Bhallava comme Bhālleya est à Bhall.

Faut-il choisir entre les deux termes de cette alternative : Bhāllaveya dérivé d’un patronymique ou d’un ethnique ? Non pas nécessairement, car l’un n’exclut point l’autre. Puisqu’à partir de *Bhallava on peut avoir des dérivés Bhāllavi, Bhāllaveya, on conçoit qu’un maître de la tribu *Bhallava ait reçu le nom de Bhāllavi et que son fils ou son disciple ait été nommé Bhāllaveya. Cette induction est fondée sur le fait que Bhāllavin au pluriel désigne les membres d’une école. Or Bhāllavin est exactement comparable à Āruṇin qui désigne les disciples d’Āruṇi.

Au total, si la série des dérivés : Āruṇi, Āruṇeya, Āruṇin s’explique à partir d’un nom : Aruña, la série parallèle : Bhāllavi, Bhāllaveya, Bhāllavin peut s’expliquer en partant de *Bhallava. Et d’autre part, puisqu’un ethnique Bhall a un dérivé Bhālleya, Bhāllaveya peut venir d’un ethnique *Bhallava qui serait à Bhall comme l’ethnique Mālava est à Māla.1 Toute cette onomastique obéit à des règles particulières, auxquelles Pāṇini fait seulement allusion, et c’est pourquoi il semble difficile de séparer des formes comme Bhālleya et Bhāllaveya.

Il sort des faits analysés plus haut que l’auteur ou les auteurs de

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la Chând.-upan. avaient probablement des attaches dans des milieux sociaux extérieurs à l’aristocratie brahmanique. L’expression bhâllâkṣa trahit une origine populaire. En outre Bhâllaveya, s’il faut le rattacher à la série Bhalla, Bhadra, etc. . . . nous invite sans doute à regarder vers les régions excentriques, ethniquement bigarrées, où les influences anaryennes ont continué longtemps à se faire sentir.
SANSKRIT AND PRAKRIT IN THE ARYA ELUTTU—A NOTE

By K. R. Pisbaroti

The editions of Sanskrit dramas based entirely on manuscripts written in the local vernacular script, called Ārya Eluttu, present interesting subjects for linguistic study. The Prakrit of many of these dramas, and especially the dramas wrongly assigned to Bhāsa, has been examined by various scholars, and the general conclusions derived thence have been utilized as one of the arguments in support of the Bhāsa-theory. But careful study of the original texts and the printed edition of them shows that in transforming the original Malayali script into Devanagari print some liberties have been taken by the local editors, including Mm. Dr. T. Ganapati Sastri, the late lamented editor of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. The first thing that arrests the attention of the student who examines the manuscripts is the presence of small circles written by the side of the letters, as for instance in: MUHUoṬĀ, EoVĀ, etc. The general principle that has guided the editors has been to double the consonant following the small circle, when it stands by the side of the letter, and to treat it as an anusvāra when it stands above the letter. This procedure of giving two different values to the same symbol is, however, very much open to question.

The present Malayalam script, known also as Ārya Eluttu, i.e. the Aryan Script, was originally used by Malayalis for writing Sanskrit, and not the vernacular. The original script for this latter was the Vatṭeḷuttu, the “Round Script”, which was given up in favour of the Ārya Eluttu when Malayalam withdrew from its former close affinities with Tamil and connected itself more with Sanskrit. This Ārya Eluttu is a full and perfect script, every symbol of which has its own fixed phonetic value. Moreover, the symbols used after consonants to represent vowels, including nasalized vowels, affect only the preceding only and never the following, except in the case of the vowels -e-, -o-, and -ai-, and even here only partially. Again, symbolic representation of the doubling of a consonant or word is never used in this script. There is, indeed, a form of reduplication denoted by a symbol; but this always refers to a sentence, and the only symbols used in it are -ח- or -ל-, and the sentence doubled is always the preceding, and never the following; as for instance, in the
sentence JAYATU MAHĀRĀJAH, which represents JAYATU MAHĀRĀJAH JAYATU MAHĀRĀJAH. In the case of sounds and words reduplication is denoted by writing twice the sound or word to be doubled, and never by means of a symbol, if we are to be guided by the local representation of Sanskrit. Thus neither the native genius of the script nor the practice of it allows us to regard a consonant following a small circle as doubled in Prakrit.

The accepted phonetic value of the small circle also invalidates the practice of the editors. The small circle has one, and only one, value in the Ārya E uttered: it stands for anusvāra as such or as convertible into -m-. Take for instance the following: (a) KĪ Eovā; (b) RĀMAo VANDÉ or VANDÉ RĀMAo. In the first of these examples, the first and the last small circles represent anusvāra (or -m-), while the middle one is taken to denote the doubling of the following consonant -v-. In the second instance, the small circle stands for anusvāra in the first case and -m- in the second case. In Sanskrit this symbol occurs only in one position, and that is always by the side of the letter, and there it is understood only as anusvāra or -m-. In Prakrit, however, it occurs in two positions, above the letter and by the side of the letter, and the modern editors have assigned to it two different values in these two positions: the value of an anusvāra (as in Sanskrit) when it is above the letter, and as denoting reduplication of the following letter when it stands by the side of a previous letter. It will thus be seen that the same symbol, the small circle, is given different values in the same position in Sanskrit and Prakrit, and in different positions in Prakrit. When it is remembered that the local Ārya E utta is a full and perfect script, having a fixed phonetic value for each one of its symbols, it appears unwarranted to give two different values to a symbol, especially as no sufficient reasons have been adduced. Prima facie, therefore, we cannot accept this interpretation of the small circle as denoting reduplication of the consonant following it, and would therefore attempt a new explanation.

In accordance with the general practice of the script, and in the light of the accepted value of the symbol in Malayalam, in Sanskrit, and in one position in Prakrit, we incline to regard the small circle as having a value allied to the anusvāra: in other words, we should rather take it as a symbol denoting the nasalization of the preceding vowel. Why then, it may be asked, is the symbol used in different positions in Prakrit? The answer is that the circle above the letter indicates the anusvāra which Prakrit possesses in common with
Sanskrit, while the same by the side of the letter denotes nasalization peculiar to Prakrit. The view that this symbol indicates nasalization is based not merely on the scribes' practice, but also on one of the traditions of stage-practice and the fact that the female characters, whose speech is mostly Prakritic, use a nasalized utterance. When one speaks in a sing-song tone, he is generally compared to the Nangyar women, who alone are allowed to impersonate the female characters on the orthodox local stage. These are proverbial for their nasal pronunciation on the stage, a feature which marks them even to-day; and this clearly suggests that the Prakrit of the local stage is characterized by an excessive nasalization. We are, therefore, justified in assuming that the small circles that appear so profusely in the Prakrit as represented in the local Ārya Eluttu correctly represent the natural proneness of this Prakrit to nasalization. If this view is right, we have here a specific feature of the Kērāḷa stage-Prakrit. At what point this tendency to nasalization set in, and what the circumstances are which favoured or necessitated it, are subjects for future research.¹

We have now referred to one aspect of our script, probably the most important. A couple of other peculiarities, scarcely less important, may also be mentioned. They arise from (1) the carelessness or ignorance of scribes, and (2) the phonetic habit of Malayalis of pronouncing initial t- in a consonantal compound as t.

To the first of these is due the abnormal change of p- into v-, which, on account of the similarity of these letters in writing, need not be regarded as a peculiarity of the local stage-Prakrit. Even here it is

¹ This view implies that Kērāḷan Prakrit turned into anuvṛtra or anunāśika a short vowel before a consonant reduced from a group of two or more consonants, e.g. āvā, mukūtā (cf. Pkt. āvā, dvāvana, from āsā, darāna; Pischel. Gramm. d. Pkt.-Spr. § 74). It may be asked how far this theory, which explains the small circle of the MSS. as a nasal sign, is applicable to spellings like AoA (Skt. ārya), or SuoA (Skt. sārya). On any hypothesis it is difficult to find a phonetic explanation for spellings of this kind. If the little circle denotes reduplication of the following consonant (as is assumed in the editions of the Trivandrum texts), the a following the circle, not being a consonant, cannot be reduplicated; if the circle stands for a sound something like -yy or -jj (Pischel, § 284) it cannot be followed by a syllable beginning with a-; and if it represents an anuvṛtra or anunāśika, it is hard to find exact analogies for the change of e.g. ayya and suyya (Skt. ārya, sārya) to amā or da and suṇa or sīna. But the last hypothesis, that of Mr. Pisharoti, seems on the whole to present the least difficulties; in Apabhramśa the change of -yya to -vya (Pischel, § 254) and of -va to -vā (id. § 261) is well attested, hence we may assume a process ayya, suyya > avya, suvya > dvā, sīva > da, sīva. The Prakrit of the dramas is certainly not Apabhramśa; but perhaps the peculiar conventions of stage-pronunciation in Kērāḷa might have produced there the same phonetic phenomenon in this connection as that which occurred in Apabhramśa.—L. D. B.
not maintained consistently, as can be seen from the illustrations EoKĀ PI and AHĀ VI; such variation suggests only carelessness of scribes. Another phenomenon is the result of confusion, due mainly to ignorance, regarding the proper use of anusvāra and the parasavarna vidhi; it is illustrated in the spelling of the common word KĀPĀ and KANPĀ.

The second peculiarity is the habit of pronouncing t as l when it is the initial member of a compound, whether the latter is initial, medial, or final. This change of the dental occurs only when it is compounded with gutturals and labials (excluding the nasals) and with -s- and -s-. Some persons find fault with this pronunciation of the Malayalis, forgetting that it is derived from the Rg-vēda as recited in this corner of India. This utterance has naturally affected the script also, and thus has created much confusion: to mention but one instance, we have VĀLMĪKI side by side with VĀTMĪKI and VĀNMĪKI, where the latter two forms are evidently the result of false analogy. Thus the scribes' ignorance of the proper use of anusvāra and parasavarna vidhi and the habit of pronouncing t as l are responsible for a series of peculiarities which can be scarcely regarded as phonetic: they are mainly scribal.

There are thus in the dramas popular on the local stage two sets of peculiarities, one linguistic and the other scribal. The first of these is the presence of an excessive nasalization in the Prakrit, a feature that has been obliterated in the printed Dēva-nāgari editions by an unwarranted evaluation of the small circle as a symbol for doubling of the following consonant. The scribal peculiarities are suppressed in the Sanskrit portion, but inconsistently kept in the Prakrit passages. These features, therefore, should be borne in mind in studying the Prakrit of these dramas from the printed texts alone.

It will not be out of place, I hope, in this connection to point out that the so-called Prakritic peculiarities of the dramas assigned to Bhāsa ought to be reconsidered in view of the facts set forth above, while all the arguments of the Bhāsītes in support of their theory which they base on linguistic peculiarities noted by them from the printed texts, without reference to the local Ārya Elūttu in which these texts are preserved, stand invalidated.
STUDIES IN CONTEMPORARY ARABIC LITERATURE

By H. A. R. Gibb

II. MANFAL_UTI AND THE "NEW STYLE"

In the preceding survey of Arabic literature during the nineteenth century,1 special emphasis was deliberately laid on two aspects of the subject, the struggle between the old and the new conceptions and ideals, and the gradual emergence of a simplified Arabic prose style. If it is asked why a point of view apparently so narrow and exclusive should have been adopted, to the prejudice of a more detailed investigation of the personal and literary characteristics of the individual writers, the answer is twofold. These two questions in fact overshadowed the literature of the time, as indeed every aspect of life in the Arabic East was overshadowed by the similar conflict of old and new ideals and the problem of a new technique. In the second place, it must be admitted that the literary productions of the century were of little merit in themselves, and important only for the influence which they exerted in one or the other direction. There are few young men in Egypt and Syria to-day who know even the names of the writers of the seventies and eighties, and practically none to whom their works would make any appeal. With the single exception of Nāṣif al-Yāzījī, who was in reality a belated representative of mediaeval Arabic literature, the writers of the nineteenth century faithfully reflect the ideas, conditions, and problems of their own day and community, and with the gradual change which these have undergone have lost all but a historical value.

It is desirable therefore to pause at the threshold of the twentieth century, and inquire into the exact nature of the problem which, in its literary bearings, lay before the writers of the new generation, and how far the experience of their predecessors had guided them to a solution.

To this problem there are two sides, one psychological, the other stylistic. The former is the more fundamental, but to deal with it fully would far outrun the limits of this article. Its roots lie in the methods of education adopted in Egypt and elsewhere, the twist so

1 Bulletin, Vol. IV, 745–60. See also the additional notes at the end of this article.
given to the minds of the literate classes and their consequent capacity, or lack of capacity, either to adhere to the orthodox Muslim worldview or to assimilate the intellectual basis of Western thought and literature. It is obvious that the imitation of Western models initiated by the violent impact of Western life on the East remained and must remain sterile until such assimilation can issue in a community of intellectual method and aim. The earlier literature of the nineteenth century, swaying between a lifeless reproduction of mediaeval Arabic models, and an imitation of Western models without sufficient intellectual preparation, could not but be feeble and unfruitful. The whole intellectual life of the people was thrown into confusion by the contradiction in principle between the old system of thought with its dogmatic basis and the intellectual freedom of Western scientific methods.

In Egypt, at all events, this duality of method and the resulting confusion continued throughout the century, and has even yet not been eradicated. Its seeds are sown in the school, where shaykhs from the theological colleges and graduates of European universities teach side by side,¹ and its vitiating effects are only too obvious in the prevalence amongst educated Egyptians of cynicism, the inevitable companion of intellectual instability. Down to 1914, at least, only a small proportion of serious students succeeded in overcoming the handicap imposed upon them by their early training. It is largely owing to this that Syrian writers, educated from the outset on consistent Western lines, became the leaders of the movement of emancipation in the last decades of the century.

Literature of necessity followed a parallel course. The mediaeval and the modern views rested upon opposite conceptions which admitted of no reconciliation. For the mediaeval view of literature made of it privilege confined to the few. It was a mystery, in which only the scholastically educated might participate, and its aim was to supply not only intellectual recreation but also intellectual exercise. The mediaeval writer scorned simplicity, and repelled the simple by adopting a recondite style, strewn with obscurities and graced with literary allusions and erudite wit. But the spread of education and the increasing literacy of the population itself created a demand for simple, intelligible, and interesting books. The problem was in essentials

¹ See on this subject an excellent analysis of Egyptian educational methods by Professor Ahmad Amin in Mijallah al-Majma' al-'Ilmi, Damascus, vii (1927), 481 ff.
the same as (though more complicated than) that which confronted English writers at the beginning of the eighteenth century, when Defoe, Addison, and Steele led the way in breaking up the stately periods of Caroline prose. The very efforts of the teachers of Arabic in the schools to stem the tide furthered the reaction. "The student who begins the study of Arabic and a foreign language simultaneously finds that he makes more progress with the latter, and consequently embraces its cultural heritage and neglects Arabic. . . . In Western literature he sees vigour of thought and congruence with the present, and a spirit, a life, an activity which he cannot find in Arabic. For where are the Arabic novels which portray our social life? Where is the Arabic poetry that represents our modern feelings? Where are the elegant and attractive Arabic books which we can place in the hands of our boys and girls for their education, where the pleasing illustrated stories which we can present to our babes?" 1 Another teacher, Dr. Ṭabā Ḥusayn, has frequently stressed the result of this contrast in creating a dislike of Arabic literature in the minds of the students and in strengthening their preference for Western literature. To which might be added that a desire so stimulated is not likely to seek satisfaction in the best Western literature.

It was into this widening breach that the Syrian writers of the eighties and nineties stepped. Under the leadership of Gurgî Zaydân they set out to write new and interesting articles in language intelligible to all readers, "preferring" in the apt phrase of Manfalûtî 2 "that the ignorant should learn of them than that pedants should approve of them". But great as were the services of the Syrian school to neo-Arabic literature, they did not, and could not, solve the problem in either of its aspects. They could not solve the psychological problem because they were Christians, and whether Arabic literature was to have any future must of necessity rest with the overwhelming Muslim majority. Nor, for similar reasons, could they solve the stylistic problem. In the whole history of classical Arabic literature, there is only one Christian who stands out as a master of his craft, the poet al-Akhṭal. The canons of Arabic literary style were laid down by Muslims on Islamic literary models, above all on the Qur'ān and the Traditions. It was neither possible, nor was it desirable, that modern Arabic literature should completely sever itself from the Islamic past, however far it might proceed on the path of adaptation to new conditions. It might well throw off the accumulated rubbish of centuries,

1 Professor Ahmad Amîn, loc. cit.  
2 an-Naṣṣarît, iii, 145.
but only to drink yet more deeply of the mainsprings of its existence. And from those mainsprings the Christian, in the impressionable years of education, was debarred.

Among the older generation of Muslim writers, as we have seen, religious conservatism was too deeply bound up with the entire heritage of Arabic literature to allow of any kind of simplification. But here too the reform movement led by Muḥammad ʿAbdūh brought about a profound change. In returning to the writings of the early centuries, the new generation discovered afresh an Arabic literary style which was simple and direct, not yet tainted with the erudite "refinements" of the Silver Age. The ease and lucidity of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ were contrasted with the laboured pedantry of the school of al-Ḥarīrī. Now that the religious inhibition was removed, there was no further reason for timidity—indeed religious radicalism supplied a strong incentive to literary radicalism as well. A little later this was to lead to a widespread interest in and study of all the early productions of Arabic literature, but in the first decade of the century the movement was still in its infancy.¹ The writers of the Syro-American school, however, had brought into prominence the poetry of Abuʾl-ʿAlā al-Maʿarrī,² whose rationalism and pessimism not only appealed to the spirit of the age, but also supplied a point of contact between Arabic and European thought. But for the present, the chief lesson which was deduced from the study of the early writers was that Arabic stylists were not tied to the wheels of a decadent scholasticism, but free, not so much to recover the simplicity of the primitives, but to create anew for this age, as they had created for theirs, and by acknowledging a common inspiration, to preserve the continuity of Arabic tradition through an epoch of destruction and rebuilding.

There remained a subsidiary problem. Classical Arabic literature offered practically no models for prose works of entertainment in the modern style. What form was the new type of belles-lettres to adopt? The answer was dictated by various considerations. In the first place the intellectual instability on the part of both writers and readers militated against the production of works of any length. The necessary power of concentration was lacking, except indeed amongst the Syrians. Thus the only long original productions of the turn of the

¹ This statement refers of course to the general body of literates, not to scholars such as Ahmad Pāshā Zākī and Ahmad Pāshā Tāyμūr.
² Cf. the English translation of selected Quatrains of Abuʾl-Ala by Ameen F. Rihani (Amin ar-Rayhānī), New York, 1903.
century were novels, and of these the rambling and unfinished Hadīth 'Isā 'bnī Hishām of the younger Muwayyīlī (though itself possibly the most living and original work in the whole Arabic literature of the time) alone bore the signature of an Egyptian author. More decisive, however, were the facilities for publication within reach of the ordinary writer. With so limited a public, publishers were naturally reluctant to spend money on experiments, and writers to embark on the risky, and at best ill-rewarded task of producing books. The expansion of the daily and periodical Press furnished the opportunity of making a livelihood and a name, but at the same time limited the field to the short essay. Most of the books issued by Egyptian writers consist in consequence of essays on various subjects, reprinted from journals with or without alteration. In this moreover they were but following their Syrian predecessors. The activities of the Syrians were almost entirely journalistic, and their writing had to accommodate itself to their needs. Even their novels came out originally as serials. All these influences led Egyptian writers to turn to the essay form, and having once acquired that fatally convenient style, it was seldom that they roused themselves to experiment in more elaborate and less profitable genres.

The first years of the century, however, saw one forward step. The Syrian writers had hitherto pursued, sometimes openly, sometimes indirectly, an aim which was primarily educational and directed to the widest possible public. For their purposes the first essentials were clarity and simplicity, and literary polish was a secondary, if desirable, adjunct. The newer generation of Syrians, while retaining the essay form, began to infuse into it a more definitely literary content. On the one hand Faraḥ Anṭūn (1874–1922) kept the simple style but used the essay and the novel to express his own philosophy of life. He was at this time strongly attracted towards Rousseau and the French Romanticists, and in spite of, or because of, his pessimism and anti-religious bias, his work exerted a formative influence on the more thoughtful section of readers. But he was ahead of his time, and financial difficulties drove him to attempt more popular work. On the other hand, the brilliant writers of the young Syro-American

1 It is intended to make the Arabic novel the subject of a later study in this series.
school\(^1\) were engaged in the creation of a new literary art, the "prose poem" (shi'r manthūr), which owed its inspiration to Walt Whitman and English vers libre.

It has already been shown that in this revival of literary activity, Egyptian writers had begun to contest the primacy enjoyed by the Syrians. In journalism the new Muslim and nationalist Press was able to touch whole classes of the population to whom the Syrian Press made no appeal, at the same time striving to reinterpret the new ideas, introduced by Western education and interpreted by the Syrians, into some sort of harmony with the intellectual basis of Islamic culture. It was not yet time for radical measures, though the pace of reform was to quicken at a rate which none could then have foreseen, but a time of stirring, when political nationalism, pan-Islamic aspirations, religious reform, and Western culture fought with the forces of conservatism for the soul of Egypt, in confused rivalry and dubious alliance.

The inquiet, struggling, groping spirit of the age found characteristic literary expression in the work of Sayyid Muṣṭafā Luṭfī al-Manfalūṭī (1876–1924). Of half-Turkish, half-Arab stock, Manfalūṭī received the usual theological training in the college of al-Azhar. After distinguishing himself as a poet he began his career as a prose-writer under Shaykh ‘Alī Yūsuf’s wing in the Mu‘ayyad. From the very first he was distinguished by a width of interests foreign to the conservative theologian. His writings show how deeply he had been influenced by the work on the one hand of the Syrian school, and even of Farah Anṭūn (for he knew no European languages) and by the religious reform movement, pan-Islamism, and the rise of Egyptian nationalism on the other. He seemed to epitomize all the half-articulate and contradictory tendencies of his time, and his essays, republished as an-Nazarāt (1910) and supplemented in subsequent editions, have survived the furious attacks of both conservatives and modernists, and remain down to the present the most widely read work in modern Arabic literature.\(^2\)

\(^1\) See in Le Monde Orientale, xxi (1927), 193–213, Professor Kratchkowsky’s article "Die Literatur der arabischen Emigranten in Amerika (1895–1915)", and the slightly extended Russian version of the same in Izvestiya Leningradskovo Gosudarstvennovo Universiteta, vol. i (1928).

\(^2\) Fourth edition, 3 vols., Cairo, 1923. The most judicial of contemporary reviews is that of Salāh ad-Dīn al-Qāsimī in al-Muqtabas, v (1910), 325–34, 371–82. An interesting study from a more recent point of view has been written by al-Aqqād, مراجعات (Cairo, 1926), 170–84 (see MSOS. (Berlin), xxix² (1926), 241). See also Kratchkowsky in Introduction to Obrazstvo etc., p. xv.
It is not difficult to explain the attraction of the *Naẓarāt* for Egyptian readers. Nothing like these racy and sparkling essays and sermonettes had ever appeared before in Arabic literature. The style, the subjects, the manner of presentation, all possessed an immediate appeal to an Egyptian audience. For this Manfalūṭī was indebted to no superior power of psychological insight, nor even to a carefully-chosen literary art; he looked within himself, and put down on paper, with native Egyptian wit, in the style and language of a trained scholar, heedless of inconsistencies and with perfect sincerity, the contents of that microcosm of pre-war Egypt, his own mind.

As a religious reformer, he attacked conservatism and its sanctuary, the college of al-Azhar, and condemned saint-worship, the darwīsh orders, etc., yet went out of his way to insult his master Muḥammad ‘Abduh,¹ and having blamed him for introducing modern interpretations of the Qur’ān, went on in the very next paragraph to make drastic interpretations himself. Together with a fervent Islamic patriotism, which led him at one time to condemn all Western studies and at another to protest against Armenian massacres,² he betrayed on almost every page of his work the influence of Western currents of thought. No more striking proof of the permeation of the Arabic world by such European currents could be given than this fact, that a man entirely cut off as he was from direct contact with the West should yet have been so completely under the influence of Rousseau and Victor Hugo. Equally eloquent of Western influences is his attraction towards Abu’l-‘Alā, whose verses he quoted, and whose *Risālat al-Ghurfrān* he not only summarized in one essay, but imitated in another.³ At the same time his Islamic patriotism had to admit a growing rival in Egyptian national pride, which claimed to be the heir of Thebes no less than of Baghdad, but with characteristic candour he acknowledged the deep debt of gratitude which Egypt owes to the Syrians.⁴

His social outlook was dominated by the idealistic and doctrinaire naturalism of the eighteenth century and the French romanticists, mediated through Farāḥ Anṭūn. “The City of Happiness” ⁵ repre-

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¹ i, 213. In iii, 68, however, which was written in 1913, he speaks of Muḥammad ‘Abduh in terms of profound respect.
² i, 324–9.
³ i, 204–15. Cf. also his eulogy of ’Omar Khayyām, ii, 235–41.
⁴ i, 286–8; iii, 131–45.
⁵ i, 101–13.
sents an early attempt to systematize his vague socialism, but for the
most part their ideas hover sentimentally above his pages, as when
he contrasts the "freedom" of the animal creation with the unnatural
servitude of man. 1 But his sympathies were called out above all
by the weak and the defenceless, and in essay after essay he preached
the duty of charity (iḥsān), especially towards wronged and persecuted
women. Yet he attacked Qāsim Amīn as the corrupter of Egyptian
womanhood, and asserted the intellectual inferiority of women to men. 2
The natural tendency in him to melancholy and sentimentality led
him to take the most pessimistic view of humanity. Life was indeed
to him a vale of tears, from which he sought an escape in imagination.
"I love beauty in imagination more than in reality," he writes; "the
description of a garden gives me more pleasure than to view it. I like
to read about fine cities . . . and care not at all to see them, as though
I wished to preserve unspoilt this imaginative delight, and were afraid
that the reality would rob me of it." 3 But too often his sense of social
injustice issued in an unqualified cynicism, which was the gravest fault
in his character as a writer. Nothing escaped his lash—even the
reformers fared no better than the wealthy and powerful, and in his
impatience he denied human loyalty altogether. 4 But it was against
politicians that his bitterest scorn was directed. "Can a man be a
politician without being a liar and a knave?" he exclaims, in seeking
to justify his abstention from political debate. 5

It was less the content of his essays, however, than the style in
which they were written that won for Manfalūṭī his singular pre-
eminence. Of this it is perhaps difficult for a European to judge
quite fairly. He had a clear perception of the need for a change in
Arabic literary methods, and repeatedly expressed his conviction
that the secret of style lay in the truthful representation to the
reader of the ideas which occupied the writer's mind. With this
he held strongly to the necessity of studying the great models of
Arabic eloquence, asserting that the poverty of so much contemporary
writing was due to ignorance and lack of confidence. For himself he
disclaimed any sort of imitation; he expressed his ideas with complete
freedom in the language which pleased his own ear.

1 i, 184–5.
2 i, 212; ii, 62–9. Cf. also 'Abarāt [see below], pp. 61 ff. (المجاب).
3 ii, 355.
4 ii, 17–18.
5 ii, 102.
This resulted, as might be expected, in a characteristic mixture of mediaeval and modern. Modern is the general smoothness of his writing, especially in narrative passages, and the framework of the essays. He delights to begin with a homely illustration or a simple parable, which serves as the text of his discourse, and is often expanded into a complete story. A humorous scene with mosquitoes serves as prelude to a denunciation of inhumanity; at another time he bids farewell to humour with playful gravity before launching on a diatribe against Westernism. Modern, too, are his imaginative metaphors and similes, though European readers may often fail to realize how novel they are in Arabic. The influence of the Syro-Americans is obvious in the passages of "prose poetry" to be found in his earlier work, but in spite of the popularity of these passages, the prose poem seems to have followed regular poetry into the limbo of neglect.

With all this, he could not completely throw off inherited mannerisms. Though he criticized rhymed prose, he fell into it automatically whenever the emotional tone of his writing rose. The effect is often not unpleasing, and to those who (like the present writer) regard rhymed prose as a natural and legitimate ornament of Arabic style, it gives, when properly used, a cadence and a finish that is sadly lacking in most of his contemporaries. But the use of rhymed prose is open to criticism when it is employed simply for its own sake, and becomes mere highfalutin—a fault from which Manfalūṭī was by no means free. Unfortunately, too, he showed a tendency in his later essays to restrict rhymed prose to just such passages of padding. A still more insidious fault, which he shared with almost all Arabic writers, was the habit of balancing words and phrases by rhyming or unrhymed synonyms, which add nothing to the sense, and hinder the development of the narrative or thought. Occasionally, but not often, his excess of detail resulted in clumsy sentences. How far Manfalūṭī is to be charged with the pedantry which he condemned in others is a question which, in the present state of Arabic letters, can be answered only by those who knew him personally.

The later essays differ to some extent from the earlier, both in style and matter, but in an unfavourable sense. The writing is more mechanical and less humorous, the decoration more artificial; there is more effort at symmetry and balance. His imagination has no longer the same wide play, and the didactic purpose is more stressed.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{1} e.g. i, 194.}\]
Along with this went a certain stereotyping of his ideas. His Islamic patriotism and antipathy to the spread of Western influences were more pronounced, and led him at times to idealize the old manners and even the old political organization. Yet he himself remained completely under the influence of Western thought in his interpretation of religious and social ethics, and seemed quite unconscious of the contradiction.

Nevertheless, taken as a whole, Manfalūṭi’s work marks an immense advance on that of all his predecessors. It was the first really successful attempt to adapt the classical tradition to the new demands of popular literature, however much room it left for improvement. There is certainly little in modern Arabic writing that affords so much pleasure as the Naẓarū, and its brilliant qualities frequently disguise the inadequacy and lack of originality of the ideas which it clothes. Only when it is read in bulk does the repetition of ideas, of phrases, even of metaphors, and still more the querulous and critical tone which pervades it from cover to cover, pall at length on the reader, and leave him with the feeling that with the Naẓarū Manfalūṭi had worked himself out.

As the peculiar virtues of Manfalūṭi’s style must largely be lost in translation, the contrast which he offers to his Syrian predecessors may perhaps be best illustrated by comparing two essays which show a general similarity of plan in developing the text that “Riches do not confer happiness”.

Gūrgī Zaydān begins his essay with a simple warning that happiness must not be sought in riches, though there is nothing reprehensible in the acquisition of wealth by rightful means. To marry for money, on the other hand, brings evil moral and material consequences in its train. “Do not be dazzled by the outward pomp of wealth,” he says in effect, “but come with me and visit one of these imposing palaces,” and having drawn a picture of a dispirited husband, whose wife cares only for dress and spends the night out dancing with more attractive partners, he returns to draw the lessons of the danger of riches. The tone never rises above a pleasant conversational level, with an occasional touch of lightness.

1 iii, 216–17, 237, and passim.
2 e.g. iii, 126, 243 ff. It is instructive to compare this with Muwaylī, ‘Isā b. Hishām, 3rd ed. (Cairo, 1923), 103 ff.
3 Mukhātāt Gūrgī Zaydān (Cairo, 1920), i, 136=Hīlāl, viii (1900), 325.
Manfalūṭi, on the other hand, opens with two pages of brilliant description of a luxurious palace, "whose towering battlements soar to the heavenly spheres," written in elaborately interlaced rhyming prose. He then passes to a picture in simple but dignified language of a dying man awaiting through the night the return of his frivolous wife and depraved son. From a faithful black servant he learns that their callousness is the direct outcome of his earlier life of dissipation. As he leans out to drink in the fresh dawn breeze he overhears the gardener and his wife contrasting their simple happiness with his wealth and misery, and in his death-agony sees the wreckage of his life fall about him. The contrast between the two writers is intensified by Manfalūṭi's melodramatic exaggeration and absence of shading in his characters, who are little more than personifications of virtues or vices.

The other prose writings of Manfalūṭi consist of a volume of short stories entitled al-'Abarāt ("Tears") and several versions of French romances, presumably made from Arabic drafts. Several of the stories in the Abarāt are also based on translated material, as are several essays in the Nazarāt. But it seems that the translations in the Nazarāt are intended partly as object-lessons or experiments in the capacity of Arabic to render exalted passages of Western literary style (e.g. Hugo's discourse on Voltaire, and the speeches of Brutus and Antony from "Julius Caesar"). In the Abarāt, on the other hand, Manfalūṭi abandoned himself to the sentimental pessimism of the extreme romantic school, with the same absence of light and shade in his character-drawing which he had already displayed in the Nazarāt. In spite of the popularity which the work has enjoyed, largely on account of its stylistic qualities, it ranks very far below the Nazarāt as a contribution to modern Arabic literature.

1 i, 150-61 (عَبْرَة الْدُّهر).
2 The same tendency in him to absolute judgments in moral questions may be exemplified by comparing his essay on Truth (i, 166-79) with the balanced judgment of Zaydān (Mukhtārāt, i, 26-9 = Hilāl, xi (II 02-3), 149).
3 Fifth edition, Cairo, 1926.
4 For four of these (Rostand's Cyrano de Bergerac, A. Karr's Sous les Tilleuls, Coppee's Pour la Couronne, and Saint-Pierre's Paul et Virginie) see MSOS., xxix, 246-8. The last-named had already been translated by Faraḫ Antūn (Alexandria, 1902).
5 A brief critical examination of Manfalūṭi's qualities as a writer of short stories is contained in the Introduction to the book سيد المبط by Mahmūd Taymūr (Cairo, 1926), 44-5, reproduced in translation in MSOS., ibid., 254.
ADDITIONAL NOTES TO BULLETIN, IV. 745-60

p. 747, note 1. Since this was written the Leningrad Oriental Institute has issued (1928) an anthology of modern Arabic literature, Obraztzy Novo-arabskoi Literatury, 1880-1925, I. Tekst, edited by Mdm. Ode-Vasil'eva (Kulthum Naṣr ‘Awdah, on whom see Mījallah al-Majma‘ al-‘Ilmī, viii (1928), 756-7), with an introduction of twenty-five pages by Professor Kratchkovsky, describing the literary developments of the period, with brief characterizations of the authors from whom extracts have been taken. The latter part of this introduction is available also in a five-page English summary.

Professor Kratchkovsky also draws attention to the value of the well-known work of Comte Philippe Tarrāzī Ta‘rikh as-ṣaḥāfa al-‘arabīyah (Bayrūt, 1913), as a source for the history of modern Arabic literature in the nineteenth century.

p. 749. Mr. Amīn ar-Rayhānī suggests that Ahmad Fāris ash-Shidyāq “deserves more than a passing notice. He is, with all his faults, one of the outstanding figures in the Arabic literature of the nineteenth century. He has in him a Yāzījī, a Ḥarīrī, and a modern thinker of uncommon ability”.

p. 757, note 1. Professor D. B. Macdonald writes: “Muhammad ‘Abduh was plainly a Māṭūridīte. He never mentions Māṭūridī in his Risāla, but while he refers with devotion to al-Ash‘arī, his theological positions are straight Māṭūridīte.”

p. 758. A German translation of Qāsim Amīn’s epoch-making work has now been issued by O. Rescher, Tahārī al-mar‘ā (Über die Frauenemancipation), Stuttgart, 1928. Cf. also Rescher’s translation of an-‘Isā‘iyāt of Malak Ḥifnī Nāṣīf (Über die aegyptische Frauenfrage, Constantinople, 1926).
A GRAMMAR OF THE LAU LANGUAGE, NORTH EAST COAST OF BIG MALA, SOLOMON ISLANDS

By W. G. Ivens, M.A., Litt.D.
Research Fellow, University of Melbourne

The Lau language is spoken by the inhabitants of the "artificial islands" in the lagoon off the north-east coast of Big Mala, Solomon Islands, and by the people who live on the natural island Ngwalulu (Manoba, of the Admiralty charts) which closes the northern entrance to the lagoon. The southern end of the lagoon is known as Ataa Cove, and the language of the islanders in that part of the lagoon has a closer affinity to the languages of the hill peoples of the mainland than has Lau proper. In Port Adam, Little Mala, there are two villages whose people also talk Lau, they being immigrants from Ataa Cove. The hill languages of the north end of Big Mala use certain sounds which do not appear in Lau. These sounds are nag, i.e. ng in English "finger", nd instead of pure d, mb instead of pure b. Also the Lau h appears as s or th.

The accent in Lau, where noticeable, is on the first syllable, and the voice is raised at the end of the sentence with a stressing of the penultimate syllable.

This present grammar is a recension of the Lau Grammar published for me by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1921. In 1927 I spent five months among the Lau people, studying their anthropology and collecting material for a vocabulary of the language. In addition, the existing translation of the Four Gospels was revised at the same time, and the rest of the New Testament was translated. With this new material to go on, a fuller and more accurate grammar of the language has been prepared.

Alphabet

The vowels are a, e, i, o, u, with the Italian sounds. All of these vowels may be long or short, the long sound being represented by a doubling of the vowel. Closed syllables do not occur, and every word ends with a vowel. There is an interchange between a and o in certain words, e.g. finou, finau, fish-hook, bou, bau, banana; and also between i and u, e.g. dikwe, dukwe, to be broken up; and between o and u, e.g. tooni, tuuni, a thousand.

The "Umlaut" (i.e. the change of a to e in certain words after a preceding i or u, and with i and u also following) occurs in some words
in Lau, e.g. ëu, bamboo, but its use is not strictly observed, and there are instances of its use in an arbitrary fashion, e.g. manateini, to know, for manataini. The instances in which it occurs are shown by the use of the letter ū.

The diphthongs are ae, ai, ao, au, ei, ou, as in hae, mai, rao, rau, mei, fou, which are pronounced respectively as in the English words eye, I, hour, how, hey, oh.

The consonants are f, k, g; d, t; b; q (kw), gw; l, r; h, s; m, ngw; n, ng.

The Lau f replaces an h in Sa’a: fera, island, village, Sa’a hera, courtyard. In the speech of Sulu Vou island, which is the one presented here, f in many words tends to become v.

Both k and g are hard. The “Melanesian g” is not heard; it has been dropped in certain words, and its loss is marked by a “break” in the pronunciation of some of the words, but not in all of them. This “break” in the sound is represented by the sign ‘: ‘ai tree; Florida gai. In certain other words “the Melanesian g” is replaced in Lau by k or by hard g: take, to stand, Mota sage, Sa’a ta’e; Mota igamam, we (exclusive), Lau igami.

Other consonants which are dropped in Lau are k, l, n, s, t, w, but their loss is not always denoted by the presence of a “break” in the pronunciation. In some cases the loss of an initial t or of “the Melanesian g” is shown by the doubling of the initial vowel, e.g. aalama to answer, which appears as talama in one of the hill languages of the neighbourhood; ili’a, fish, for Mota iga. Even where the “break” does occur in Lau there is not such a pronounced emphasis laid upon it as there is in the kindred language of Sa’a, Little Mala; and one has to listen carefully in order to catch the sound of it. A k in Lau may replace an h in Sa’a: luka, to loose, Sa’a luhe. There is no preface of n in the sound of d, or of m in the sound of b. The only use of w in Lau is in the sounds kw, i.e. q, gw, and ngw. Where w occurs in Sa’a its place is supplied in Lau by kw: kwalu, eight, Sa’a walu, or it is dropped, Sa’a uwo, hill, Lau wo. The sound gw in Lau may represent pwo in Sa’a: gweu, gwou, head, Sa’a pweu; or w in Mota: gwou, deserted, Mota weu. The sound of d in Lau is much the same as that of d in English. That the sound ngw in Lau is a nasalized m is shown by comparing the instances where it occurs with the similar words in Sa’a, where the sound is there represented by mw. In printing for native use ngw is represented by ū, and ng by ū.

There is a slight interchange between n and l, nima and lima,
five, but it is probably due to the influence of the hill languages, and is not really characteristic of Lau. Both $l$ and $r$ are used, and the sounds are distinct; the $l$ sound is trilled, and there is a pronounced rolling of the $r$. The $h$ in Lau represents an $s$ in Sa’a, a $th$ in some of the hill languages of north Mala, an $r$ in others.

**Articles**

(a) **Demonstrative:**

Singular: $na$, $si$; $taa$, $te$, $ata$; $ke$, $kwe$, $gwe$, $fe$; $maa$, $mae$.

Plural: $gi$; $ote$, $ngwai$; $gera$.

(b) **Personal:** $a$, $ni$.

$Na$ denotes “the”, and is used with nouns both in the singular and in the plural: $na$ noni, the body; $na$ ote haasimiu, your brothers; $na$ boso gi, the pigs; it is used with numerals: $na$ fai fe doo, the four; $na$ akwala ro ngwane, the twelve men; it forms a plural with $gi$ following the noun: $na$ ngwane gi, the men. $Na$ may be used with nouns when a particular thing is spoken of, and attention is directed to an object; it is also used with the interrogative $taa$: $na$ $taa$, what? It coalesces with the conjunction $ma$, and.

$Si$ is less definite and particular in meaning than $na$, and also it denotes “a, a part, a piece, any”: $si$ fou, a stone; $si$ kada, a time, the time when; $si$ lifu, the thing which. It may be preceded by $na$: $na$ $si$ au, a bamboo splinter; it may be followed by $gi$: $si$ doo $gi$, the things.

$Taa$ is the numeral “one”; as an article it denotes “a, another, a certain one”: $tee$ fato $taa$ fou, bump on a rock; $taa$ si doo, a certain thing; $taa$ balii ‘aba, one hand, the other hand; $taa$ ngwane, $taa$ ngwane, odd men here and there; $taa$ fe wo, every hill; $taa$fuli ‘ae, a shell-money; $ni$ demonstrative, may be added; $taani$ ngwane, some men.

$Te$ is also a form of the numeral “one”; as an article it denotes “a, any, the same, a certain one”; $ni$, demonstrative, may be added: $teni$ ngwane, certain people; $tesi$ kada, by and by. $Ata$ is a metathetic form of $taa$, one, and denotes “another, a different one”: $lea$ $ata$ fera, to go to another island.

$Ke$ denotes “a little, a piece”; it is followed by $si$ or $fe$, or is preceded by $te$: $ro$ $kesi$ kuru $i$ doo, two little bits of things; $kesi$ ere, some firebrands; $kesi$ kwaena gi, certain pieces of forest land; $teke$ $si$ doo, only one thing.
Kwe denotes "a": kwe afe, a married woman; kwe ii'a, a fish; na may precede: na kwe ii'a gi, the fishes; gwe is a variant of kwe: gwe ii'a, a fish; te gwe kvesu, a torch.

Fe is used of things spherical in shape, and corresponds to hoi of Sa'a and to wo of Mota: fe 'ota, an areca nut; fe bubulu, a star; it has a general use also: fe agalo, an act of intercession, an incantation; na fe wo, a hill; it is used as a multiplicative: ro fe doo, twice. Maa is the same word as maa, eye, and denotes "one, a unit": maafera, a village; mae is a contraction of maa and e, genitive: maefera, a village; mae finau, a fish-hook.

Gi denotes plurality and follows the noun: na ngwane gi, the men; it may be separated from the noun: ngwane nagi, those men; si doo a aarai gi, the chief's things; doo gera gi, their things; gi is used following all the forms of the personal pronoun except those ending in lu.

Ote is used of the plural of persons; it precedes the noun; ote ngwane 'ae, you men (Vocative); ote ngwane gi, the men; na or te may precede: na ote geni, the women; te ote tero, a company of lame people. It need not be followed by gi.

Ngwai is a prefix marking reciprocity of relationship: ngwai doorana, brethren; ngwai maalana, father and son.

A is used as a personal article with the names of males only, both native and foreign: a Leo; a Peter. It is used also with doo, thing: a doo, So-and-so; a doo na, the person (male); si baea, a word; a si baea, The Personal Word.

Ni is used as a personal article with the names of females, both native and foreign, ni Alidi, ni Mary; ni ai, the woman; it is used also with doo, thing, and with ai, woman; ni doo na, she; it is used with certain relationship terms: ni tee nau, my mother; but is not used with afe or geni, wife, woman. It is not used with the plural.

Nouns

1. Nouns to which the possessive pronominal suffixes may be added: these are nouns denoting:—

(a) Parts of the body, hand, arm, eye, etc.: 'aba, hand, 'abagu, my hand.

(b) Position, end, middle, top, bottom: buri, behind, burigu behind me; i initoona, in the midst; 'isilana, its end; i kamena lobo, beside the lake; i fafona, on top of it; borona, the bottom.

(c) Certain terms of relationship: haasi, brother, sister, ama,
father, are never used without the possessive suffixes. The other relationship terms employ the personal pronoun to denote possession.

2. Formation of nouns. Nouns which have a special termination showing them to be nouns substantive are: (a) verbal nouns, and (b) independent nouns.

(a) Verbal nouns are formed from verbs by the terminations a, fa, loa, ta, ngaa, ma: mae, to die, maea, sickness, death, maoelaa, danger, mamaeta, danger, sickness; kuala, to bear children, kuala, family; fale, to give, to make presents, faleng'a, a wedding feast. The terminations in ngaa and ma are rare in Lau. Instances are ogangaa, a debt incurred, ogaa, ogani, to incur a debt; maoma, a dance, S'a maao, to dance; lou to bend, louma, double. The termination laa is gerundival and denotes the act of doing a thing; it may be added to a compound verb to which the object is attached: faamaedorolaalaa, the killing of those two people. The termination la has a gerundival force also, and is not used without the possessive pronominal suffixes attached: faasifo, to lower, faasifolana furei, the lowering of a net for the first time.

Compound nouns may be found by the suffixing of a, laa, to the last member, girigiri lifo, to gnash the teeth, girigiri lifoaa, the gnashing of teeth; ani, to eat, anilana, eating it, anilanalaa, the eating of it; kwarelanalaa, the cutting of it.

There are certain adjectives to which the noun termination laa is attached: diena, good, dienalaa, goodness; batu, big, batalaa, bigness; but these words are probably of verbal formation and not true adjectives.

(b) Independent nouns.—The usual termination is na, and this is added (1) to certain relationship terms; (2) to the cardinal numerals to form the ordinal.

(1) The nouns so formed are always preceded by the prefix ngwai which marks reciprocity of relationship, the numeral ro, two, being prefixed: ro ngwai haasina, two brothers, or, two sisters. The form teelana, ro ngwai teelana, mother and child, shows this na added to the termination la; and haasilaa, haasinaa: ro ngwai haasilaa, two brothers, ngwai haasinaa, brethren, show laa, or its variant naa, added to a relationship term.

(2) Numerals rua, two, ruana, second. The words for "third" and "eighth", oula, kveula (kveula) show la as a termination and also show the loss of the letter l. It seems probable that la in these instances is for na.
3. Construct form.—To make a construct form the letter e, a genitive, is added to the first of two nouns: *tolo e fera*, a hill; *fulii 'aba e ngwane*, men’s handiwork. When the first noun ends in a or o, ae and oe of the construct forms are contracted to è: *akwale ngwane*, ten men; *maa, one, a, mae e fera*, a hamlet; *abolo, piece, abole 'ai*, a log. This e may be added to *nao, first, nao e lifu*, the chief place.

4. Genitive relation.—The genitive relation of nouns one to another is effected by the use of the prepositions *ni, li, i; ni* is used mainly in construction: *fote ni fera*, a native paddle; *ngwane ni tolo*, a hill man; it also expresses purpose and condition: *si lifu ni lea inia*, a place for him to go to; *nau gu ote nau ni lea*, I do not want to go; *doo ni moulaa 'ana*, a thing to be afraid of. In certain words *li* replaces *ni*: *maalima e*, enemy; *gwa e ngwane*, elders. The genitive *i* appears in *lifoi ii'a*, a porpoise tooth; *geni i Sa'a*, a Sa’a woman; *gwai (gwa i) hao*, head of a bonito; *mumudi (mumudu i) doo*, scraps of food; it combines with *so* to make *si* which expresses purpose. The genitive may be omitted: *ngwane tolo*, a hill man.

The possessive pronoun *'ana* may be used to denote the genitive: *taani ngwane 'ana tooa nae*, some of those people. A genitive relation is also shown by the use of the suffixed pronoun of the third person singular in agreement with the idea expressed in the second noun of the pair: *i tolona fera*, on the top of the hills. Where the second noun is followed by the plural article, the pronominal suffix is generally in the singular form: *gwauna ngwane gi*, men’s heads.

The ordinary personal pronouns are used as possessive in cases where the pronoun can not be suffixed: *afe nau*, my wife; *aarai nia*, her husband.

The instrumental prefix *i* occurs, but is not very common: *gau*, to hook; *igau*, a crook.

5. Plural.—To show plurality *gi* is used following the noun. The word *'oro*, many, may be added immediately after the noun: *na ngwane 'oro gi*, many men: *a doo ma ote ngwane 'oro nia gi*, So-and-so and all his people. When *'oro* is employed *gi* may be omitted. The personal pronoun third person plural, *gera*, is used as the plural article with persons: *gera tolo*, the hill people; *gera a doo*, So-and-so and those with him; but *gera* is not used before an adjective as a collective pronoun like *ira*, the, in Mota: *ngwane ta'a gi, tooa ta'a*, bad people, not *gera ta'a*. Totality and completion are shown by *sui*, finished, or *sui na*: *igera sui*, all of them; *gera lea sui na*, they have gone already. The
Lau people of Ataa Cove suffix the pronoun third singular and all persons plural to a noun *afuta* formed from *afu*, to complete, in order to express "totality": *afutana fera*, all the country; *afutagera*, all of them; but Sulu Vou says, *fera sui*, the whole place, and *igera sui*, all of them. The numeral *kvalu*, eight, is used of an indefinite number: *kvalu si doogi*, all the things; *kvalu ngwane*, eight men, of a round number.

6. **Gender.**—There is no grammatical gender. The words *ngwane*, male, *geni*, female, are added when the noun does not carry a sex distinction.

7. **Relationship terms.**—With the exception of *haasi*, brother, sister, and *doora*, elder brother (classificatory), the relationship terms are not used with the suffixed pronouns, *ku*, *mu*, *na*, etc. The prefix *ngwai* denoting reciprocity of relationship may precede, and in speaking of pairs of relatives *ro*, two, is added: *ro ngwai haasina*, two brothers, etc. Cf. Nouns, 2 (b).

The word for "father" is *maka*, with *maa* as vocative: *a maka nau*, my father; *oi maa 'ae*, oh my father! is a cry of lamentation. The article used with *tee*, mother, is *ni*: *ni tee nau*, my mother; *oi tee 'ae*, oh my mother! a cry of lamentation; *ro ngwai teelana*, mother and child. The word for "child" is *ngvela*: *ngvela a doo*, So-and-so's child; *bare ngvela*, children! Two other words beside *haasi* are used to describe the brother-sister relationship, *ngwai ngwaena*, *ngwai ngwane*; the first portion of these is the reciprocal prefix, *ngwai*, and the second word in each case denotes "male".

8. A word *gala*, little, which is a noun, is used preceding a noun to describe something young: *gala ngvela*, a little child; this is used with the construct particle *e*: *gale boso*, a little pig. There is a use of *gele* with a similar meaning.

A noun *ai* is used to denote "woman", "wife": *ai nau*, my wife; *ai harii*, a maiden; *ai too i bisi*, the woman undergoing separation; *ni ai*, the woman.

To express "thing", "kind", "sort" a noun *ai*, *ei*, is used: *sai ei*, the thing which; *too teni ai*, some things (out of a number); *te ai ni doo*, one of a kind; *te doo ai*, another kind of thing; *te sai ai*, duty, obligation; "person" is *ai'ai*.

The words 'ae, e are used with the vocative, the former following, the latter preceding the noun, and used with personal names: *ote dooragu 'ae*, brethren! *e aarai*, Sir! *Doo*, thing, is used with the personal articles to express "person": *a doo*, So-and-so (male person);
ni doo, the woman. Doo may be used as a verb: 'o dooa si doo na, eat this thing; doolana, the doing of it.

Pronouns

The pronouns may be classified as (a) those used as the subject of a verb; (b) those suffixed to a verb or a preposition as object; (c) those suffixed to nouns substantive and denoting possession.

A. Pronouns used as the Subject of a Verb

Singular:

1. inau, nau, gu (ku).
2. i'oe, 'oæ, 'o.
3. inia, nia, ni, e.

Plural:

Inclusive: 1. igia, gia, kia; igolu, golu.
Exclusive: 1. igami, gami, mi; igamelu, gamelu.
2. igamu, gamu, mu; igamolu, gamolu.
3. igerä, gera, ta; idalu, dalu.

Dual:

Inclusive: 1. igoro, goro.
Exclusive: 1. igamere, gamere, mere.
2. igamoro, gamoro, gamoroa, moro.
3. idaro, daro, idaroa.

1. All the forms, except gu, 'o, ni, e, mi, mu, ta, are used as possessive pronouns when the suffixed pronoun cannot be added to the noun: geni inau, my wife.

The forms with initial i are never used by themselves as the subject, but are accompanied by one of the shorter forms; the use of the two forms together denotes emphasis. The three longer forms in the singular are of more or less infrequent use except for emphasis. The initial i of the longer forms is run on to the preceding vowel in pronunciation.

2. All the forms without initial i are used alone as the subject of the verb. Where there are three forms the second and third are generally used together as subjects: gami mi haitamana, we know it. The short forms gu (ku), 'o, e, mi, mu, da, ta, may be used alone as subjects; 'o haea na, you said it. The Sulu Vou people tend to substitute ku for gu. The forms in lu are not used as a trial number, but denote a more restricted number of persons.
3. *Nia* is used as meaning "there is," "it is": *nia langi si nau hata 'ana*, it is not that I own it; it also precedes personal names: *doo nia a Toli*, the property of Toli. When the meaning is "there is", "it is", *nia* is preceded by *e*: *enia nana*, that is so! *gele nguela enia fai da*, there was a little child with them: *te ngwane enia i be*, there was only one man in the house.

*Ni* is used in affirmations: *ni diena*, that's all right! it is seen also in *nifai*, *nifei*, what? where?

_E_ is generally used of the neuter: *e langi*, no, not, there is nothing; *e sui na*, it is finished; *e utaa*, how is it? It is also used following a noun: *uta e 'aru*, the rain (it) came on.

4. *Ta* is used as subject instead of *nia* and *gera* at the resumption of a narrative or following a collective noun: *too ta hae*, those who say so; *ta bae uri*, and said; it carries a subjunctive force: *kesi diena ta ngalia*, it is not right that they should take it; it is used with negative and verbal particles: *tasi*, *taka*.

5. The pronouns of the third person singular and plural may be used of impersonal and inanimate things.

B. *Pronouns Suffixe*d to *Verbs* or to *Prepositions* as *Object*

Singular:—

1. *nau*.
2. *'oe*.
3. *a*.

Plural:—

Inclusive: 1. * gia, golu*.
Exclusive: 1. *gami, gamelu*.
2. *gamu, gamolu*.
3. *gera, da, dalu*.

Dual:—

Inclusive: 1. *goro*.
Exclusive: 1. *gamere*.
2. *gamoro*.
3. *darò*.

Examples of usage are: *gera haegera sui*, they were all summoned; *nia lea uria*, he went to get it. A second object of the verb always appears in the suffixed pronoun third person singular and plural: *kusi adasia na ola*, I did not see a canoe. *Da* is used instead of *gera* when the emphasis is less pronounced. All prepositions governing
nouns have the pronoun suffixed as an anticipatory object in agreement with the noun: *faafia si doo nae*, concerning (it) that thing.

The verb *dori*, to wish, may have the pronoun of the object suffixed when another verb follows: *kusi doria lea*, I do not want to go. The pronouns are suffixed to *taifa*, *taifa*, alone: *taifa*inau, I alone. The forms in *lu* are used of a restricted number of persons.

C. Pronouns Suffixe to Nouns or to Verbal Nouns used as Prepositions

Singular:—

1. *gu*.
2. *mu*.
3. *na*.

Plural:—

Inclusive: 1. *gia, golu, ga*.

Exclusive: 1. *gami, mia, gamelu, melu*.
2. *gamu, miu, gamolu*.
3. *gera, da, dalu*.

Dual:—

Inclusive: 1. *goro*.

Exclusive: 1. *gamere*.
2. *gamoro*.
3. *daro*.

These are the pronouns denoting possession, and they are suffixed to a certain class of nouns only, viz. those which denote names of parts of the body, or of family relationships. The forms in *lu* denote a restriction in the number of the persons concerned.

Several words which are employed as prepositions or pronouns have these pronouns attached, thus proving that they are nouns: *fua*, to, for, *falea fuagu*, give it to me; *sie*, to, towards, at the house of; *e dao siegu*, he has arrived at my house. Certain words which show a noun termination, but which have no independent existence as nouns, have these pronouns attached: *otofana*, straight opposite it, because of it; *ooftada*, enceinte (plural); *afutana*, all of it. The verb *too*, to hit, try, used in many compounds, e.g. *hama too*, to feel with the hand, takes these suffixed pronouns of the object, as does also *haitama*, to know: *ku haitamana*, I know (it).

DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

These are *na, nana*, this, these, *nae*, that, those, *logo, loko*, that over there. They are used following a noun or a pronoun: *a ngwela na,*
this person; _i see nana_, at this place; _i see nae_, at that place; or they may be used with the simple meaning of "this", "that". _Ne_, that, is used in the speech of Ataa Cove. A pronoun _ni_ is prefixed to the personal pronouns for emphasis: _ni nau_, I, _ni nia_, he, etc., and to the interrogatives _fai, fei_, where? _tei_, who? _inia nifei_, where is it? _nitei 'ani gamu_, whosoever of you. Another _ni_ is suffixed to _taa_, _te_, one: _teni too_, certain people.

**Interrogative Pronouns**

The interrogatives are _tei, ti_, who? _taa_, what? The form _ti_ is used in Ataa Cove. The personal article makes _atei, ati_, who? singular, with _gera atei, gera ati_, as plural. The use of the article marks the words as nouns. _Tei_ stands for the name of the person, and _atei_ means "What is the name?" _atei ngwane_, what person? _doo atei_, whose thing? The demonstrative pronouns _na, nae_, may be added for emphasis: _atei nae_, who is it then? The adverb _ba_ may be added for emphasis: _atei ba_, who is it? There is no indefinite use of _atei_.

The article _si_ may be used with _taa_: _si taa_, what thing? _si taa na_, what is it? _taa si taa_, (one) what thing? _Taa_ may follow the noun: _si doo taa_, what sort of thing? The adverb _fai, fei_, where? may be used with _ni_ prefixed as an interrogative pronoun as stated above.

**Indefinite Pronouns**

_Nitei_ is used as an indefinite pronoun: _nitei ka haea_, whosoever says. The uses of _taa, te_, as indefinites have been dealt with under "Articles". These two words are used as signifying "any, some, other, another". The noun _ai_ (ei) denotes "another"; see "Nouns" 8.

**Relative Pronouns**

There are no relative pronouns; their place is supplied in two ways:

1. By the use of the suffixed pronoun and the demonstratives _na, nae_: _inia na ku bae kekerofana_, this is he of whom I spoke.
2. By the use of a coordinate clause: _igami na tooa gera rikigera na_, we are they whom they saw.

**Possessive**

Singular:—

1. 'agü, 'agü'a.
2. 'amu, 'amu'a.
3. 'ana, nana.
Plural:—

Inclusive: 1. 'aga, 'agolu, nagolu'a
Exclusive: 1. 'agami, 'agamelu, nagamelu'a.
2. 'agamu, 'agamolu, 'amolu'a, nagamolu'a.
3. 'agera, 'ada, 'adalu.

Dual:—

Inclusive: 1. 'agoro, 'agoro'a.
Exclusive: 1. 'agamere.
2. 'agamoro, 'agamoro'a.
3. 'adaro, nadaro'a.

The possessive is used:—

1. Of things to eat and drink: si fangalaa 'agu, something for me to eat; 'o ngalia 'amu'a, take it for your eating; si doo 'ana gera hata aabu gi, food for the priests. When the sense relates to food in general, and not to a particular meal, the ordinary personal pronouns are employed as possessives: si kafo ni guou inau, some water for me to drink.

2. As meaning "for me", "for my part", etc., "belonging to, at, with"; geni 'agu, a wife for me; nia lea na 'ana, he went his way; so kuka dau go 'agu'a, if I but touch; eeri gia kesi ngalia fera nia 'agolu, that we may get his land for ourselves; si mamanaa nia 'ana, power in itself; e langi 'ana, not in it, lost; 'oko ledia hatana 'ana a ngvane loko, ask that man his name; e baiia tasa 'ana, it is bigger. For emphasis 'ani with the personal pronoun is used instead of the possessive: ta malau 'ani gera, they treated them evilly; e langi taa doo 'ani nau, there is nothing in me.

3. As the object of an intransitive verb (i.e. a verb which cannot suffix the pronoun as an object): gera da kwele 'ana, they marvelled at him; nau ku ii 'amu, I beseech thee; bota 'ana, blessed is he.

4. As the object of a verb when a word intervenes between verb and object: nia babu teee 'adalu, he regarded them fixedly; ka lukatai haufini 'ana, let him go secretly: nia ala ta'a 'ana, it bit him badly.

5. With the noun ruana, friend: ruana 'agu, my friend; with uri, to, toward: uri 'agu, toward me.

The forms ending in lu denote a restriction in the number of the persons concerned. The five forms which begin with na are probably drawn from the hill languages, and are not true Lau forms. They are used as meaning "for his part", etc.
A GRAMMAR OF THE LAU LANGUAGE

ADJECTIVES

1. The adjective follows the noun. Words which are qualifying terms may be used in the form of verbs, but some of these may be used without verbal particles and following the qualified word: muane baita, a big man; nguela to'ou, a little child.

2. Certain words have a form of termination or of prefix which is used only of adjectives.

(a) Adjectival terminations are: 'a, la; these are attached to nouns substantive and to verbs: rode, night, rorodo'a, belonging to darkness; haulafi, evening, i haulafi'a, in the evening; bulu, to be black, bubulu'a, black; 'ae, source, 'aela, rooted; kobu, to be well filled out, kobukobula, fat.

(b) Adjectival prefixes are 'a, ma, tata; these are all prefixed to verbs. The prefixing of 'a forms a participle: luka, to loose; 'aluka, loosened; bulo, to turn, 'abulo, reversed; mabulobulo, reversed; tata, to be slippery, mamadila, slippery; tatabulobulo, head over heels.

3. Comparison.—Degrees of comparison are shown by the use of adverbs, or by a simple positive statement. The words used are tasa, beyond, in excess; asia, very, too much. The possessive is used with tasa: boso nia baita tasa 'ana gwoua, a pig is bigger than a rat; gera 'oro tasa 'aga mi, they are more numerous than we are; nia baita asia, it is too large. A positive statement carries comparison by implication: doo nae nia baita, that one is the biggest; doo na nia diena, doo na nia ta'a na, this one is good, that one is bad.

VERBS

Words may be used as verbs by prefixing the verbal particles, but some words are naturally verbs as being the names of actions and not of things. There are also verbs which have special forms as such by means of a prefix or a termination.

1. The verbal particles are ka, ko, ke. The particles are written apart from the verb, but in speech the first two are joined to the governing pronouns of the first and second persons singular, gu (ku), 'o.

Ka is used both of present and of future time, the illative fi may be added: nia kafi bae uri, then said (says) he; gamelu ka 'ania si ta, what are we to eat? lelea ka rode, go till nightfall; melu rao ka dani ka dani, we worked till right up to daylight; the subject need not be stated: gera too araro ka sui, when they were quiet; ka may be used in negative sentences with the addition of si, not; kasi bobola, it is not fitting; kasi lifu ka ore, without any omission.
Ko is used only with the personal pronoun second person singular ‘o, and may express either present or future time; the illative fi may be added. It is probable that ko is not an independent form, but that the a of ka has been assimilated to the o of the pronoun with which it is used, ka thus becoming ko.

Ke is used only with fi, illative, and si, negative; it generally denotes a future: si doo na kefi dao mai, then will this thing come to pass; te baea kesi funu, no word shall fail; nia e langi kesi doria, he will not wish it; kesi diena ta ngalia, it is not right for them to take it.

2. Time and Moods.—The use of a subjunctive is formed by eeri, in order that: liona eeri ka rikia, his desire was to see him. A gerundive is formed by the addition of the suffix la to the verb with the suffixing of the pronouns of the object: haungilana, the killing of him.

Conditional particles are so, si, aso, ata, boro, boroe. So denotes “if, haply, supposing that, about to, likely to”; so ni’oe taari, if it really is you; so ni nau, so ni gera, whether it be I or they; ma ka garangia si manga a Herod so ka faatainia, when it came to the time when Herod was about to show him.

Si denotes “if, as if, supposing, about to”. It is used as an optative, or as denoting intention: si ka lofo i halo, as if it were going up to the sky: e langi taa doo si ka too haufini, there is nothing that can be secret; si ‘ana mouria, si ‘ana maea, whether in life or death. Si appears to be compounded of so and i, the genitive denoting purpose; but si in Mota is used much as si is in Lau.

Aso begins a sentence and denotes possibility or probability; it also gives indirectness as meaning “happly, it may be that, supposing”.

Ata begins a sentence and introduces a doubt or a warning; ata ka uta, it may rain; ata ka ta’a, lest it be spoilt.

Boro denotes “happly, is it that?” It may open or close the sentence. It is also used following aso. Boroe has a similar meaning.

The illative is fi which denotes “thereupon, then, in that case, just now, for the first time”. It is joined on to the verbal particle or to the governing pronoun used either with or without a verbal particle: ta kafi urii, thereupon they said; ‘ofi haea, you are to say.

There is no word in Lau corresponding to the English use of “that” in declaratory sentences, and a coordinate sentence must be employed; in Sa’a urii is employed in this connotation, as si is in Mota.

Na is used following the verb to form a preterite: nia mae na,
he is dead; e lea na ‘ana, he has gone. Finality is shown by the use of sui, finished: nia kefi dao sui na, when he shall have arrived; sui na, sui taa, “thereupon, then,” begin a sentence.

For the imperative the simple verb is used: ‘o lea, ‘o lea ‘amu, lea ‘amu, lea, go away! ‘o lea lau, ‘o totoo lau, you go, you stay! fasi may be added for politeness: lea fasi ‘amu’a, you go!

3. Negative Particles.—The foregoing particles are not used by themselves in negative sentences, but require the addition of si: mi kasi adasia, we did not see it. Si is used by itself as a negative: misi haea na, we did not say so. Langi is the ordinary negative used in denial. With the pronoun e it is used in negative sentences: e langi nau ku lea, I am not going. It may combine with si: nia langi si haitamana, he does not know; e langi kusi lea, I am not going; ‘oe ‘o langi ‘osi doria, you will not like it. The dehortative and the negative imperative is si: ‘osi lea, do not go! ‘oe ‘osi luis, do not forbid it! The genitives ni, i, are used to express purpose.

4. Suffixes to Verbs.—There are certain terminations which, when added to intransitive verbs, i.e. to verbs to which the pronoun of the object cannot be suffixed, make them definitely transitive or determine their action upon some object. These suffixes are of two forms:—

(a) The vowel i by itself, or a consonant with i: fi, li, mi, ngi, ri, si. Examples are: manata, manatai; tau, taufi; mae, maeli; ano, anomai; hau, haungi; sibe, siberi; ada, adasi.

(b) The termination ai is suffixed to nouns to convert them into verbs transitive: hato, sun, hatoai, to shine on, of the sun. When ai is suffixed to verbs the syllable ni may be added, and to this form aini the consonants f, m, ng, t, are prefixed; oli, to return, olifaini, to return with; aala, to answer, aalamaini, to consent; hau, to become, haungaini, to make; liu, to travel about; liuteini, to carry an article about. The forms in ai are also used intransitively. The forms lai, tai, added to certain verbs carry a participial meaning; mai, tai, ngai, are used as transitive suffixes without the addition of ni. In pronunciation, the a of ai is frequently turned into e when i or u follow, but do not precede.

With either class of suffixes there is no difference between one suffix and another, except that faini denotes “accompanying”, and may be connected with the preposition fai, “with.”

‘Ani is used as a transitive suffix: ui, to throw, ui‘ani, to throw away; taba, to strike, taba‘ani, to destroy. This may be the preposition ‘ani.
5. Prefixes to Verbs.—These are causative and reciprocal. The causative is *faa*; it may be prefixed to almost any word, and it may be used with words which have a transitive suffix. The use of *faa* frequently obviates the addition of a transitive suffix and of itself makes verbs transitive.

The reciprocal prefix is *kwai*. The addition of *kwai* may cause an enlargement of the action of the verb by including the subject. The adding of a transitive suffix to the compound verb with *kwai* does not necessarily cause it to be transitive, and the object of such verbs, used intransitively, is supplied by the possessive pronoun. The *illative*, *fi*, marks repetition or continuance as well as restoration; in these cases it is followed by the adverb *lau*, again, with *go* added.

6. Passive.—The passive is expressed by the impersonal use of the personal pronoun third person *gera*, *ta*, with the verb and the adverb *na*, already: *gera tauia na*, they have washed it, i.e. it has been washed. The word *haetana*, it is said, is used as a passive: *doo haetana*, the thing which has been said.

The vowel *a* is suffixed to certain verbs to form a passive: *asi*, to throw, *asia*, much, excessive; *bua*, to inaugurate, *buaa*, used for the first time; *kwaiaa*, to rise, of the heavenly bodies, *dani e kwaasia*, it is daybreak.

7. Auxiliary verbs—*alu*, "to put," is used as meaning "to be, to become"; *hau*, "to make," with the possessive *'ana*, means "to become, to turn into".

8. Reflexive verb.—A noun form *tala*, "of one's own accord, by one's self," is used with *i* following the verb to denote reflexive action, the pronoun being suffixed: *nia haungia i talana*, he killed himself. *Tala* may be used preceding the verb.

9. Reduplication of verb: verbs are reduplicated in two ways; (a) by reduplication of the first syllable: *liu, liliu; baе, babе*; (b) by repetition of the whole word: *gwou, guouguwou*. There is no difference in meaning between the various forms beyond an intensification of meaning. In the case of verbs which normally should show a "break", e.g. *to*о, to stay (Sa'a *to'о*), the first vowel of the reduplicated form is short: *totoo*.

**Adverbs**

There are pure adverbs in Lau, but many words used as adverbs are truly nouns, while others are verbs.

1. Adverbs of place.—*mai*, here, hither; *loko*, there; *kou*, away;
i see, i see na, i see nana, here, in this place; i see nae, there, in that place; alaa, i alaa, up, east, south; lau, north; bali, side, i bali, on the side of, on the other side, bali na, on this side, bali loko, on that (other) side; ifai, ifei, where? ita mai ifei, whence? tau (a verb), far off; i langi, up; i ano, down; sai(hai) gano, on the ground.

The adverb mai, here, “place where,” is also used with the locative i to denote “place at”: o siu mai i kafa, have you been bathing in the river? nau too mai i tolo, I have been in (come from) the hills; mai ua mai inao, from of old; si initooa mai i halo, the kingdom of heaven.

2. Adverbs of time.—kada, kada ‘na, when; si kada, si manga, kade manga, the time when; angita, i angita, when? si kada utaa, what time? when? inao mai, from of old: ‘isingana na, henceforth; alua fasi, wait a while, presently; uuri, just now; lau, lau go, again; oli, back, afresh; ua na, already; ua, yet, still, still left; langi ua, not yet; ua go i ubongi, in the early morning; firi, always, for ever; too firi, everlasting; tefou, once for all, finally, “one time”; too ka tau, for ever; sulu dani, sulu danifiri, daily; tara, tara’ena, to-day; ubongi, ubongi’a, in the morning; haulafi, haulafi’a, in the evening; i ro, i rogi, yesterday; i ro gi, formerly; maedani i fafo, two days ago; i bobongi, to-morrow; (i)fulee, the third day on; (i)fafo, the fourth day on; (i)fookao, the fifth day on; tara’ena lao rodo, to-night, last night; aliali, lakwalakwa, lakwalakwa, quick, quickly; maasia, while.

“When” may be expressed by the use of the verbs lea, lelea, to go, tooto, (i)tooto, to be; lea also denotes “if”: lea ka bai, if it were a big one.

3. Adverbs of manner.—ilingia, like, as, as if, as it were; two other words mala, alafana, belonging to the language of the hill peoples, are sometimes used; urui, thus, as it were; used of reported speech; urinae, thus; urinana, like; uria, just as if, like; uria si taa, like what? utaa, e utaa, how?; asia, asiasia, completely, too much; saumala (Ataa Cove), granted that; sata’ete, mamala’o’oni, merely, only; tefou, together, at one time, once for all; afui (Ataa Cove), altogether; boro, boro, mone, oto, ota na, introduce a note of indefiniteness or of doubt or of qualification; fetai, taari, haply, are used in explanations; ba gives force to the narrative, and also makes the diction less abrupt; fasi marks a polite request or conveys an aorist force to the verb; go qualifies the preceding word and also conveys an idea of limitation: inau go agu’a, I for my part; too go ‘ana, it is still there; go follows lau, “again, also”: inau lau go, I too; tasa,
tasa ‘ana, too much; the use of the verbal particle with tasa: ka
tasa ‘ana, it is too much, shows tasa to be a verb.

Prepositions

1. Simple Prepositions

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The locative is seen in ifai, isei, where? it is also largely used with
adverbs of place and time, and it precedes every place name. With
the exception of the locative, the instrumental, the genitive, and also
‘ana, ita, and fu, all the foregoing prepositions are used with a suffixed
pronoun, and those printed with a hyphen are never used without
such pronouns; ita is followed by the possessive ‘ana: ita mai ‘ana,
from it, from thence. Fonosi, against, opposed to, is used in Ataa
Cove. Uri denotes “towards, for the purpose of”: lea uria, go and get
it; rao uri, to work at a thing; uri ‘agu, towards me; uria, for the
purpose of; uria taa, wherefore. Suli, isuli, denote “motion after,
motion over”: sulia maedani ‘oro, during many days. Faasi denotes
“motion from”; ita is used of “place whence”: ita mai isei, whence;
ita na mai inao, from of old. Faafi means “about, concerning,
because of”: faafia si taa, about what? Suusi denotes “on behalf
of, protecting, opposing”: balaee suusi, to accuse; take suusi, to
withstand. Fonosi means “against, to meet.” Fu, to, appears in
fu i fera nia, to his village; funitei, to whomsoever; fua generally has
the pronoun suffixed as the object.

Of the two instrumental prefixes ‘ana, ‘ani, which denote “there-
with, thereby”, ‘ana is used by itself alone, or else is followed by an
article before the governed noun; ‘ani is generally followed by a
pronoun: ‘ania, therewith; doo ‘ani nau, a thing for me to do;
‘ani taa, with what? and not ania taa. Ana also denotes “concerning,
from, of, by, time when”: te ngwane ‘ana tooa nae, a man of that
people; ‘o ngalia ‘ana atei, from whom did you get it? soea ‘ana
hatana, call him by his name. ‘Ani denotes “concerning, with, of,
in”: te ngwane ‘ani maku kwakwoa, a man in white clothing;
ngwane ‘ani gamu, a man of your company; ‘ani may be followed
by a pronoun denoting the object.
Fai means "with": fainau, with me; ni may be added: fainia, with it, moreover, and.

Sie, sia, is a noun and is never used without a suffixed pronoun. Its meaning is "at, at the house of, to, towards". By the ordinary Melanesian idiom "place at" is used of "motion towards": siegamelu, at our house; siena ere, at the fire; lea mai siegu, come here to me; faatainia siena, show it to him; gani siena, ask him for it. The locative i may precede; the form sia is used as well as sie. Usi means "over, on behalf of, protecting". Lao, la, denote "in, inside"; the pronoun of the object may be suffixed to lao. The genitives ni, i, have been dealt with under nouns; i is the genitive in most general use; both of them are used to express purpose, and ni denotes "for, belonging to": gera mou ni oli, they feared to return; ote nia ni rosuli, he will not obey.

2. Compound Prepositions

These are nouns which are used with the locative; the pronoun may be suffixed as the actual object, or as an anticipatory object when the actual object follows: i fafo, above, i fara, beneath, i lao, i lalo, within, inside, in; suu i lao, the Mara Masike channel. Certain verbs are used as prepositions: maasi, to await, maasia, while; garangi, to be near, garangia, near, close to.

Conjunctions

Copulative ma. Disjunctive langi, langi taa, ma
Adversative taa, ma taa, ma. langi, ma ka langi.
Connective sui, sui na, sui taa. Conditional 'ana, so, si, aso, ata,
Illative fi. boro, boroe.

The copulative ma is used following the noun in summaries: i'i'a ma, manu ma, fish and what not, birds and what not. Taa is probably the numeral taa, one. Ma langi, ma ka langi, or not, are used at the end of the sentence. A mark of quotation is uri. "Neither-nor" is expressed by a negative followed by ma. "Until" is dao 'ana, lea ka dao.

Numerals

The numerical system is decimal. All numbers over the ten are expressed in tens.
1. Cardinals

1. eta, taa, te, ti, ata.  
2. e rua, ro, ru.  
3. e olu.  
4. e fai.  
5. e lima.  
6. e ono.  
7. e fiu.  
8. e kwalu.  
9. e sikwa.  
10. e tangafulu, akwala.

In numbers other than eta, one, the initial e is omitted in quick counting. The article na is used with all the numbers except eta and tangafulu. In composition "one" is taa or te, "two" is ro; taa, te, also denote "a", "only"; ti is used in Ataa Cove. Rua is reduplicated into runa. Kwalu, eight, is used of an indefinite number, or to express totality. Tangafulu is the "tenth" of a series; akwala is used for "ten" denoting a unit: akwala fono na, a full ten. To express the units above ten mana may be employed: akwala mana fai, fourteen. In general practice mana is omitted: akwale (kwala e) doo fai fe doo, ten things four things, fourteen. A number short of ten is sarenga: i’a sarenga, fish short of ten; akwala ma ka sarenga, ten and some over.

A "hundred" is tangalau, e tangalau; the construct form tangale is only used of fish; for a hundred of everything else the methathetic form talenge is used: talenge ngwane, a hundred men; talenge si doo, a hundred things. The sum above the hundred may be expressed by mana, but in practice mana is generally omitted: tangalau fai agala fai, one hundred and forty-four. "Thousand" is tooni, tuuni: tooni si doo, a thousand things. "Ten thousand" is mola: molai kai, a thousand yams; mole alo, a thousand taros; "hundred thousand" is kudu: kudu i alo, 100,000 taros; kudu fe niu, 100,000 coconuts; kudi (kudu i) doo, countless numbers of things.

Special words are used for the tens of certain objects: finita with the genitive e is used of "ten" of taros or yams: finite alo; kobi is "ten" of shell-moneys: kobii malefo, ten shell-moneys; lilio, te lilio, is "ten" of bread-fruit; silulu, ten kauve, pandanus mats; sinola is "ten" of garfish, and is also used for a "thousand" of areca nuts. Fulu, a part of tangafulu, ten, with the genitive i, and with taa, one, prefixed, is used of shell-moneys with ten strings: taafuli ‘ae, a shell-money consisting of ten strings; taafuli lifo, ten porpoise teeth; taafuli doo, ten things; ro sikwa taa fulu, ten, in an unusual system of counting; ada is "ten" of coconuts: ade niu.
2. Ordinals

The cardinals with a noun ending *na* (*la*) form ordinals:

- First, *etana*.
- Second, *ruana*.
- Third, *oula*.
- Fourth, *faina*.
- Fifth, *limana*.
- Sixth, *onona*.
- Seventh, *fiuna*.
- Eighth, *kwaula, kwoula*.
- Ninth, *sikwana*.

The ordinals precede the noun: *ruana nguane*, the second man; the article *na* may precede. The ordinals are used to express the number of times: *ruana lau nia lea kou*, he went away the second time. *Ruana* also means “friend, fellow”, and is used with the possessive: *na ruana ‘agera*, their fellows.

“Tenth” is *tangafulu ‘ana*. “One hundred and twenty-first” is rendered *tangalau, ro akwala mana etana*, or, *eta* is employed instead of *mana etana*.

The forms *oula, kwaula (kwoula)* probably show *la* used instead of *na*, and with a dropping of the *l* of *olu, kwalu*. “How many” is *fita, efita*; *efita* is used with the noun termination *na*: *efitana*, what number is it?

**Multiplicatives**

The article *fe* is used to form multiplicatives: *te fe doo*, once; *ro fe doo*, twice; *tefe lealaa*, one journey; *haasigu ka fita fe ade taalaa fuagu*, how often shall my brother harm me? The causative *fao* does not make multiplicatives.

**Exclamations**

*Iu, iuka*, assent; *uaa*, verily, is used at the end of a speech by the listeners to signify assent or approval; *aia*, well then! *ne*, is it so, is used in questions; *‘ae* is used after the names of persons addressed: *ngweela ‘ae*, you! (boy, or girl, or adult person); *e* precedes personal names in address; *e aarai*, sir; *oi* denotes reproof or regret; *oi maa ae*, alas, father! *oi tee ‘ae*, alas, mother! are cries of lamentation; *ku* is added to the names of persons who are summoned; *a* denotes “don’t!” “mind!” *ai* calls attention; *e, ee*, denote disapproval; *ea* is equivalent to “is that so!” used after a statement; *eeri* denotes “that’s the way!” and is used as an encouragement.
A STUDY OF THE LANGUAGE OF MARAU SOUND,
GUADALCANAL, SOLOMON ISLANDS

By W. G. IVENS, M.A., Litt.D., Research Fellow, University of Melbourne

THE material for the study here presented was collected during a short stay at Marau Sound in 1927, in pursuance of my research work. Bishop Patteson, of the Melanesian Mission, published grammatical notes of the language of Marau Sound at Auckland, New Zealand, about 1860, together with a short catechism, a translation of the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer, and a list of words. This material was edited by von der Gabelentz, and was published in his Melanesischen Sprachen, Leipzig, 1873. I have worked through the material and corrected it where necessary. The two pieces of translation, Creed and Lord's Prayer, which appear in von der Gabelentz, are too faulty to be inserted here as specimens of the language, and I had not the opportunity of correcting them.

Bishop Patteson had several men from Marau Sound with him at Auckland, among whom, according to the information given to me, were Totoo, Waaro mae, Waahunu, Nini pua, Porike, Porasi (who died at Auckland), and also Vouvete of Kaoka, a village on the mainland near by. The large percentage of San Cristoval words and grammatical constructions which appear in Bishop Patteson's material, as quoted by von der Gabelentz, is probably due to the influence of Taroaniara, a San Cristoval man, who acted as guide on the visits to Marau Sound, and whose wife was a Marau Sound woman. Taroaniara was with the party at Auckland, and evidently acted as interpreter. He may even have been commissioned by the Bishop to render certain stock pieces, e.g. the Creed, into the language of Marau Sound. This supposition would account for the presence in the translations of words like tahi, to live, tataro (San Cristoval dadaro) for "cross", and for such grammatical constructions as ia, personal article in San Cristoval, instead of a, the Marau Sound usage. Also it would account for the use of ni, demonstrative article, and ia, personal pronoun 3rd singular. However, there is good internal evidence that the work in the main was done by the Bishop.

During my stay at Marau Sound I made a list of words, and confined myself mainly to that, and to the editing of Bishop Patteson's
material. The speech of the people is a difficult one owing to the uncertainty of some of the sounds, to the free interchange of \( l \) and \( r \) in words, and above all to the way in which the people speak. There is no movement of the upper lip in speaking, the lips are but slightly parted, and the speech is thrust forward as it were. Little stress is put on the words, and the result is a running sound of words, making it very difficult to distinguish between individual words and to catch what is said. There is but little rise and fall of sound. The accent, if any, falls on the last syllable.

The use of the diaeresis over the vowel \( \ddot{a} \), denotes the "Umlaut", \( \ddot{a} \) changing to \( e \) after a preceding \( i \) or \( u \) and with \( i \) and \( u \) following. The Marau Sound people do not always observe this change in the particular words, and also they make the change in an arbitrary fashion. The sign \( ' \) denotes a dropped consonant, and in the spoken language there is a "break" in the pronunciation where such a sign is employed in the written language. The consonants thus dropped are "the Melanesian \( g \)", \( k, l, n, s, t \). Words spelt with a hyphen, e.g. \( maeta- \), are used only with the suffixed pronouns \( ku, mu, na, etc. \)

The Marau Sound people are immigrants from places on the coast of Big Mala, Waisisi, Uhu, etc., and the language has no connexion with the languages of Guadalcanal, but is probably a form of the language spoken by the Areare people of the south end of Big Mala.

A Grammar of the Language of Marau Sound

Alphabet

Vowels: \( a, e, i, o, u \).
Diphthongs: \( ae, ai, ao, au, ei, ou \).
Consonants: \( w, v, r, k, l, t, n, m, p, h, s \).

The vowels have the Italian sounds. There are both long and short sounds of the vowels, and the doubling of a vowel, except when a "break" occurs, denotes a lengthening of its sound; \( raa \) "to go, to come". The sound of \( k \) is hard; \( v \) is used for \( w \) in some words. There are no closed syllables.

Articles

(a) Demonstrative:
Singular: \( 'a, na; hai; maa, mani, warai. \)
Plural: \( 'a'a, hua, lai, rai, ni, 'i, 'i'i; ikira, kira; mua; waru. \)

(b) Personal: \( a. \)

1. Von der Gabelentz gives \( ni \) as an article: \( Kauraha ni ama, \) God the Father, but there can be no doubt that this is a mistake.
I found no trace of ni as a singular article, and in the instance given, the word ama, father, is never preceded by an article. This ni should probably be nia, he. Nouns are commonly used without any article at all: ora nau, my canoe; mane wouna, that man there. When it is desired to call attention to the noun, 'a, na, may be used both in an indefinite and also in a definite sense: na 'ai, a tree; 'a keu, a cockle; na mora ni mane, a thousand men; na taa'i, what things? 'a taa, what thing?; 'a are nau nena, that is mine; 'a mera wou, that boy there. The form 'a is na with the loss of n.

2. Hai appears in hai horo'a, a day; hai rato, a spell of sunshine; rua hai li poni, rua hai rato'a, two days.

3. Maa expresses "one, a, a piece", and is used with the genitives i, ni: maa ni kamuha, one eating of the betel-mixture; maa i rade, a reed; rua maa ni are, two things; maa ni tava, a landing-place. Maa is identical with maa, eye, used of round objects and of individual objects.

4. Mani denotes "a"; mani are, a thing; mani vara, a word; mani rehona, his word, what he said; ate mani iri a'i ro'u, another way of saying it.

5. Wari is used of things spherical in shape, of fruit, or of stones, the genitives i, ni, being added; wari i niu, a coconut; wari i hau, a ceremonial club. The use of the genitive shows that wari is a noun.

6. The form 'a'a appears to be the plural of 'a: 'a'a are nau ni, my things. Hua is used with the genitive ni: hua ni keni na, hua ni mane na, hua ni haka na, women, men, ships. Lai, rai, precede certain nouns, inoni, man, keni, woman, mane, male, mera, child, and are used of persons only. Lai is the same as Florida lei, Sa'a alei. The forms ni, 'i, 'i'i follow the noun or pronoun, and are used of things only; they mark the ordinary plural: 'a'a are nau ni, those are my things, huu ni 'ameru, we have colds, are mora'i, ordinary things, are 'o'i'i nei, these are your things, na taa'i, what things? 'i is used of many things to eat: are 'aku'i, things for me to eat.

7. The personal pronouns 3rd pers. pl., ikira, kira, they, are used as plural articles of people only: ikira hanua, the people; ikira a are, So-and-so and those with him; kira Sa'a, the Sa'a people; bokus kira wai'iti mani, white men's boxes. The word mora which properly denotes "ten thousand" is used of a number of things or of people, or to express totality: mora ni mane, many men; moramora ni are, very many things; the numeral waru, eight, expresses totality; waru mora ni are, countless numbers of things.
8. The personal article *a* is used with nouns expressing kindred or relationship, or with personal names: *a Mouria*; *a mama’a*, father; *a teite*, mother, used of definite persons; *a huka*, *a keina*, such-and-such a woman; *a porona*, So-and-so; *a are*, So-and-so, who do you mean? This *a* is seen in *atei*, who? (singular), *kira atei*, who? (plural). The word *nikia*, mother (vocative), may possibly contain the feminine article *ni*, which is used in the Lau language of north Mala.

**Nouns**

1. *Noun endings.*—Nouns which have a special termination showing them to be nouns substantive are (a) verbal nouns; (b) independent nouns.

(a) Verbal nouns are formed from verbs by adding the terminations *na*, *raa*, *ta*, *ha*, *a*.

Examples: *hahi*, to cook in an oven, *hahina*, a cooking; *arahuu*, to use parabolic language, *arahuuta*, a parabolic saying; *hou*, to be famous, *houraa*, a public feast; *mae*, to die, *maeta*, a death feast; *rae*, to go, *rae ha*, a journey; *koru*, to heap up, *korua*, a company of people.

(b) Independent nouns: The termination is *na*, and this is (i) added to nouns which express kindred or relationship; (ii) attached to cardinal numerals to form ordinals.

(i) The nouns so formed are always preceded by the prefixes *ma*, *mai*, which mark reciprocity of relationship or of kindred, and by the numeral *rua* "two": *rua mai warina*, mother’s brother and sister’s son; *rua mai ulana*, two cross-cousins; *rua maasina*, *rua mai maasina*, two brothers, or two sisters.


2. *Nouns with possessive pronominal suffixes.*—Certain nouns take the suffixed pronouns *ku*, *mu*, *na*, etc., denoting the possessor. These are nouns denoting:—

(a) Parts of the body: *maa*, eye; *maaku*, my eye; *‘ae*, leg; ‘*aena*, his leg.

(b) Certain states of men or certain things belonging to men; name, life, death, speech, thought: *sasa*, name, *sasana*, his name; *maeta*, death, *maetana*, his death feast; *wara*, word, *waraku*, my word; *manata*, thought, *manatana*, his intention.

(c) Position, side, end, middle, top: *to’o ‘erena*, the top of it; *i apina*, beside; *i matorana*, in between; *i touna*, in the middle.
(d) All the words expressing kindred or relationship, except those for "husband", poro, "wife," huka, keni, "child," mera; teite, "mother" (Vocative), mama'a, "father" (Vocative). In the case of these six words possession is denoted by the addition of the ordinary personal pronouns.

3. Genitive relation.—The genitive relation of nouns one to another is effected by the use of the prepositions ni or i: mane ni Mara, a Mala man; poro ni haka, a white man; wari i niu, a coconut. Both forms of the genitive are used to express purpose: nasi ni tohua, hard to chop; hana 'oko i ta, for you to do it; nokoi tohua na 'ai, I am (for) chopping a tree. Another form of the genitive is li: maa li tava, a landing-place.

4. The instrumental prefix is i: kau, to grasp with a hook or tentacle, ikau, a crook.

5. Plurality.—Plurality is marked by the use of the articles hua, lai, rai, preceding the noun and used of persons only, or by the use of ni, 'i, 'i', following the noun and used of things only.

To a noun ahuta-, denoting totality the pronoun of the third person singular, and of all persons in the plural, is suffixed in agreement with the noun: ahutana taana are, every single thing; ikira ahutada, all of them.

The pronouns denoting possession are suffixed in all persons singular and plural to a stem ha-, a noun with a dative use: haku, to me, hakaoru, to us; noro haku, listen to me; mane i sii haku, my elder brother; also to a stem mara-a- denoting "self", "alone": inau maraoku, I myself, I alone; to hike-, of, from among, in the third person singular and all persons plural: hikamiu, from among you; to to-, "mate, companion" in the first person singular: toki, "my mate," used in addressing a child.

6. Endearis use: A noun kei, which denotes "woman", is used with the adjective ta'a, bad, to express endearment or commiseration: kei ta'a, poor lady! kei ha'i nau, my sister; a keina, the woman, So-and-so.

The plural of mera, child, is formed by reduplication, memera.

7. A noun haru denotes "some": haru 'ei e una, some things are like that; a noun 'ai ('ei), denotes "person, thing": 'ei itera, many things; 'ai utaa, what person? are noo na ei noo, this one and that; toa'i olu 'ei, only three things.

The forms i, ni, are suffixed to nouns to denote "place", "position": i raoni, beside; i marui, underneath, i matorai, in amongst.
8. There is no grammatical gender; the words mane, male, keni, female, are added when there is need to distinguish sex; mera mane, a boy; mera keni, a girl.

9. Nouns expressing relationship, except those instanced above, are always used as follows: (a) with a suffixed pronoun: amaku, my father; (b) with the termination na and with a reciprocal prefix mai, ma: rua maasina, two brothers.

**Pronouns**

1. **Pronouns used as the subject of a verb**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. inau, nau, na, no.</td>
<td>1. ikia, kia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. i'o, 'o.</td>
<td>2. i'am, 'ami.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. inaia, naia, neia, niei, ne, e.</td>
<td>3. ikirua, kira.</td>
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<tr>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Trial</th>
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<tr>
<td>(ikara, kara.</td>
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ExCLUSIVE: 1. ierua, erua. | Exclusive: 1. ieru, eru. |
2. iarua, arua.             | 2. iaru, auru.          |
3. ikirua, kiorua.          | 3. ikiraorua, kiraoru.  |

The forms beginning with i denote emphasis; they are not used by themselves as the subject, but are always accompanied by the shorter forms without i, which may themselves be used alone as the subject. In the first person singular na is used by itself as the subject of the verb: na suu'i raa, I won't go; no is used with the verbal particle ko of present or of general time: noko mai raa, I am not going; noko si hura, I have just arrived. Naia, neia when used as subjects are followed by e; nei is not used as a subject, but rather as a demonstrative: nei ne na, that is it! ne is used before proper nouns, and the personal article a coalesces: nea are, So-and-so; e follows the noun as a second subject, or is used by itself as a subject: tani e makata, the daylight (it) lightened; e mai komu i'ami, it is not in our country; it is also used following a collective noun: lai mane e raa siko, the men have gone.

The pronouns of the third persons singular and plural may be used of impersonal or inanimate objects; kira is used correctly as a plural article in connexion with persons, but not as an ordinary collective: ikira hanua, the people; kira Arosi, the Arosi people. Kira is also
used to form a passive; *kira hahia no' o*, is it cooked? *Kira* followed by the personal article *a* and *are*, thing (used instead of a personal name) denotes a company or a party: *kira a are*, who are they?

The forms beginning with *i* are used to denote possession: *iora inau*, my canoe. The trial number is used of a more restricted number as well as of three people; *kolu, koru*, denote “Let us be going”. A chief or a person of importance is addressed in the dual, or trial; and a mother, either by herself or with her child, is addressed in the dual.

2. **Pronouns suffixed to Verbs or Prepositions as Object**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. <em>nau</em></td>
<td>1. <em>kia</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>2. <em>‘o</em></td>
<td>1. <em>‘ami</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>3. <em>a</em></td>
<td>2. <em>‘amu</em></td>
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<td></td>
<td>3. <em>kira, ta, ‘i</em></td>
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<th>Dual</th>
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<tr>
<td>Exclusive: 1. <em>erua</em></td>
<td>Exclusive: 1. <em>eru</em></td>
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<td>2. <em>arua</em></td>
<td>2. <em>auru</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>3. <em>kirarua</em></td>
<td>3. <em>kiraoru</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The form *a* is suffixed to a transitive verb as an anticipatory object: *ka totoria raurahi*, he is waiting for the evening; *ta* is used as an object, in place of *kira*, for the sake of shortness, but *kira* is in common use. When things and not persons are in question ‘*i*’ is the form used: *raa ohi*i*, go and fetch them. The plural sign *ni* is added to *ha-, hani*, when things are in question: *kuki niu hani tapaiso*, to smoke-dry coconuts for tobacco.

3. **Pronouns suffixed to Nouns or to certain Prepositions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. <em>ku</em></td>
<td>1. <em>ka</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. <em>mu</em></td>
<td>1. <em>mami</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. <em>na</em></td>
<td>2. <em>miu</em></td>
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<td></td>
<td>3. <em>ta</em></td>
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<th>Dual</th>
<th>Trial</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inclusive: 1. <em>ka ikura</em></td>
<td>Inclusive: 1. <em>kaoru, ka ikoru</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Exclusive: 1. <em>meeru, meerua</em></td>
<td>Exclusive: 1. <em>meru</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>2. <em>maaru, maarua</em></td>
<td>2. <em>maauru</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. <em>tarua</em></td>
<td>3. <em>tauru</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These are the pronouns denoting possession, and they are suffixed to a certain class of nouns only, viz. those denoting the names of parts of the body, or of relationship terms, with the exceptions noted above, or things in close relationship to a man, his name, his speech. They are not used of a man's weapons or house or handbag. Where they cannot be employed, the ordinary pronouns are used instead. The forms ka ikura, ka ikoru, are composite: nimaka ikura, the hands of us two; maraaka ikoru, by ourselves; hamaauru, to you three. The trial forms denote a restriction in the number of the persons concerned. Words like maraa-, lone, unaided, of one's own accord, sio-, after, according to, which have the above set of pronouns suffixed, noro siona waraku, hear and do what I say, nau raa maraaku, I went of my own accord, are evidently nouns, but they have no independent use apart from the use with the suffixed pronouns.

4. Possessive

There is only one possessive, 'a, a noun to which the suffixed pronouns are added:

Singular:
1. 'aku, 'aku'a, 'aku'i.
2. 'amu, 'amu'a, 'amu'i.
3. 'ana, 'ani.

Inclusive:
1. 'aka.

Exclusive:
1. 'amami.
2. 'amiu.
3. 'ata.

Dual:

Inclusive: 1. 'aka ikura, 'ata ikura. Inclusive: 1. 'akaoru.

Exclusive: 1. 'ameeru, 'ameerua.

Singular:
1. 'aku, 'aku'a, 'aku'i.
2. 'amu, 'amu'a, 'amu'i.
3. 'ana, 'ani.

Plural:
1. 'aka.

Exclusive:
1. 'amami.
2. 'amiu.
3. 'ata.

Inclusive:
1. 'aka ikura, 'ata ikura. Inclusive: 1. 'akaoru.

Exclusive:
1. 'ameru,
2. 'amaaru.
3. 'ataru.

The possessive is used (1) of things to eat and drink. In the singular, first and second person, the addition of 'i, 'aku'i, etc., denotes that several things are in view for a person to eat; (2) when the meaning is "for": to'i 'amu'a, work for you; naia ka raa 'ana, he went off for his part; (3) when the meaning is "belonging to, with, at": kai ui 'ana, his right hand: to'i 'ana, to work at it; totohu 'aku, of my own accord. These forms serve as the objects of those verbs to which the pronoun cannot be suffixed, or they are used as objects when an adverb intervenes between a transitive verb and its object: e hana
ta’a ‘aku, he shot and wounded me badly. The form ‘ani is used with i prefixed: ka to’o i ‘ani, it hits it.

5. Demonstratives

The demonstratives are na, nee, nei, ni nei, noo, this, these, thus; na wou, neena, ni noo, wouna, that, those.

Examples:—a mane na, this man; inau na mai to’o are, as for me I have nothing; are nau ni nei, this is mine; ‘ei nei, this thing; mae noo, that man, you (Vocative); are noo warita, thing of old time, formerly; i apani asi na wou, in that part of the sea over there; naia na, that’s it! ‘o hura na, you have come then!

Interrogative Pronouns

The interrogative pronouns are tei, who? taa, what? The personal article a is prefixed to tei: atei, who? singular, kira atei, who? plural. Atei means "what is the name of the person?" The article ‘a is prefixed to taa; ‘a taa, what? hana taa, what for?

Indefinite Pronouns

Taetaena means "one, some"; ‘ana taetaena horo’a, at some time; taana, taataana, means "every"; akutana taana are, all and sundry things; "another, different" is ate, which is probably the Mota tea, one.

Relative Pronouns

There are no relative pronouns. Their place is supplied by the suffixed pronouns, a demonstrative being added: inaia a porona kira ka iria, he is the man whom they were talking about.

Verbs

Words may be used as verbs by prefixing the verbal particles, but words which are the names of actions are naturally verbs. Certain words have special prefixes or terminations which further mark them off as verbs. The verbal particles precede the verb.

1. The verbal particles are ka, ko, kai.

Ka is used with all the pronouns which are the subject of the verb, but not with the forms no, ‘o. The pronoun need not be used where the idea is impersonal: ka uta, it is raining. The time is the ordinary or the historic present. Ko is used only with the shortened pronominal forms no, ‘o: noko raa, I am going; ‘oko raaia, you know it. The time is the ordinary or the historic present. The illative si may be used with both ka and ko, or may replace them altogether: ‘o si ke hura na, have you just arrived? i may be added to ko in order to express purpose: hana ‘okoi ta, so that you may do it.
Kai is used of a definite future: *mane kai mae*, men will die.

2. Times and Moods.—A subjunctive is formed by *'ana*, if, when, used with the verbal particles.

The illative is *si*, thereupon, in that case, for the first time: *noko haro simouka ka'u kolu si raa*, we shall go after I have had a smoke. The verbal particles need not necessarily precede.

The dehortative is *mana*: *mana rerehono*, don’t make a disturbance. "Lest" is *mane*: *mane kira mae siko*, lest they all die. The adverb *no'o* denotes a preterite and is used following the verb: *e mae no'o*, he is dead; *taa vou 'ana, e sieni no'o*, it makes no difference, it is all right. *Siko*, finished, may be used after the verb as a preterite: *e 'ani siko*, he has eaten (finished). *Ka'u* denotes a preterite and is also used to make the speech less abrupt. *Haro, raro*, denote "consequent upon" or convey the idea of "gently, a little"; they precede the verb.

3. Negative Particles.—The negative particles are *mai* and *suu'i*, and are used preceding the verb; *suu'i* is used as a dehortative and as a strong negative: *noko mai raa*, I am not going; *inau mai tore'a mai*, I did not bring it here; *na suu'i rae*, I won't go; *o suu'i iria*, don’t say it! A word *'ai* is used as meaning "not to be": *o iria e 'ai*, did you think it wasn't so? The ordinary negative is *mao, "no, not,"* and this is used also as a negative particle: *e mao neena*, it is not so.

4. Suffixes to Verbs.—There are certain terminations which when added to intransitive verbs, i.e. to verbs to which the pronoun of the object cannot be attached, make them definitely transitive. These suffixes are of two forms:—

(a) The vowel *i* by itself, or a consonant with *i*: *i, hi, li, mi, ni, ri, si*.

(b) The termination *ā'i*, which is suffixed by itself to verbs or nouns to convert them into transitive verbs, or is used with the consonants *h, l, m, n, r, t*: *hā'i*, etc. The syllable *ni* may be attached, but the forms ending in *ā'i* are definitely transitive of themselves. The termination *a'i*, with or without a preceding consonant, often conveys a participial force: *ponie'i*, from day to day; *moute'i*, only; *rapute'i*, fallen to the ground.

5. Prefixes to Verbs.—These are of two sorts, causative and reciprocal. The causative prefix is *ha'a*; it may be prefixed to nouns as well as to verbs, and it is used with verbs which have a transitive suffix. The reciprocal is *hai*. 
6. **Passive.**—The passive is expressed by the use of the personal pronoun third person plural, *kira*, as subject with the verb, the adverb *no’o*, already, being added. The addition of *a* to certain verbs conveys a passive sense: *siki*, to be clear of, *sikihia*, to detach, *sikihia*, clear.

7. **Reduplication.**—Verbs are reduplicated in three ways, and there is no difference in the use of the reduplicated forms beyond an intensification of meaning.

(a) By repetition of the first syllable: *hara, hahara*.

(b) By repetition of the whole word: *kae, kaekae*.

(c) By repetition of the whole word with the omission of the inner consonant in the former member: *nahu, naunahu*.

**ADJECTIVES**

The adjective follows the noun.

1. Certain words have a form which is only used of adjectives; this form may be either a termination or a prefix.

(a) Adjectival terminations are *‘a, ra*.

(b) Adjectival prefixes are *ma (mama), tai, taka; taka* denotes spontaneity.

*‘a* is prefixed to verbs and forms a participle: *pulo*, to turn round, *‘apulo* reversed.

2. Comparison of adjectives. Degrees of comparison are shown by the use of a preposition or an adverb, or by a simple positive statement. The preposition used is *maani*, from, which always has the pronoun of the third person suffixed: *naia e paina maania*, this is bigger; *poo e paina maania asuhe*, a pig is bigger than a rat. The adverbs used are *ke*, little, and *kaka’i*, very; *e ke sieni maania*, it is a little better; *e paina kaka’i*, it is very, too, big.

A positive statement carries comparison by implication: *ei sieni noo, et taa noo*, this is good, this is bad, i.e. this is better than that.

**ADVERBS**

1. **Adverbs of condition:**—*mora*, only, merely, without any reason; *maakure*, merely, for no reason; *he’eta*, only, entirely; *inau mora he’eta*, I myself alone; *ke*, little, just now; *uta ka ke mimi’i*, it rains a little; *no’o* expresses finality or emphasis; *ro’u*, again, anew; *asi’a*, very; *warita no’o asi’a*, very long ago.

3. Adverbs of time:—siko, finished, past; mora na, mora nena, immediately; pui eni, pui noo, to-day; na poni, yesterday; wari'a, time past; raahure, to-morrow; poirua, two days hence, poni oru, three days hence, to poni tanahuru, ten days hence; nanita, i nanita, when? "First" is sii: tari 'ae e'i sii, to be the first to do.

4. Adverbs of place:—ihei, where, whence; tei eni, kai (kėi) eni, here, this place; mai, here, hither; wou, away, there; karai, karaini (verbs), near; a'i, therein, thereat, thereby; ta'a'u, east, south; hou, north; hao, down, hao i (hai) nina, in the house. Affirmation eo; negation mao; question hina.

Prepositions

1. Simple prepositions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Preposition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causative</td>
<td>haahi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motion to</td>
<td>tale-, tare-; sio-, i sio-; suru, i suru.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motion from</td>
<td>maani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>ha-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>'ani, a'i.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relation</td>
<td>'ana, 'ani, a'i; ha'ini-; honosi-; i epi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>hana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>ni, i, li, ri.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Position</td>
<td>hatare-; (i)ha ho; (i)hiru; 'ohi-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With the exception of the locative, the instrumental, the first three prepositions of relation, the second and third prepositions of position, and the genitive, all the foregoing are used with a suffixed pronoun.

The locative is used of place where, and is prefixed to all words denoting place or direction. The instrumental a'i is used at the end of a sentence and denotes "therein, thereat, thereby, thereof, thereon, therewith": kira piipi e'i, they cook it by stone-boiling; 'au ra'ai rata a'i 'ana taa, how do you name it? i hiru a'i, on top of it; 'ani hori e'i, to trade with; hana 'ani a'i, for eating; i epi- means "alongside, at the house of": horia keni i epina, buy a wife for him; ha'ini means "with"; i hiru, i huru, i haho, all denote "above, on"; 'ohi- means "for, to get"; hatare- is "alongside, beside".

2. Compound Prepositions.—These are nouns used with the locative; the pronoun is suffixed as the actual object or as an anticipatory object when a noun follows: i marui, underneath; i raoi, i raoni, inside;
i hiru, i huru, above, on top of. I na'o, is "before": i na'oku, in front of me; i sii is "elder": mane i sii haku, my elder brother; i puri is "after": mane i puriku, my younger brother.

CONJUNCTIONS

Copulative na.
Adversative taa.
Disjunctive moa.
Conditional 'ana.
Illative si.

Moa introduces a doubt, "haply"; it is placed at the end of the sentence; hura 'ana is "until"; ha'ini, with, is used instead of ma, and: mane ha'inia keni, men and women.

NUMERALS

The numeral system is decimal; all numbers above the ten are expressed in tens.

1. Cardinals:

1. eta, taa, taa'i.
2. e rua, ro.
3. e oru.
4. e hai.
5. e nima.
6. e ono.
7. e hiu.
8. e waru.
9. e siwa.
10. e tanahuru; awara.

In numbers other than eta, one, the initial e is omitted in quick counting. In composition "one" is taa or taa'i. Kwalu, eight, is used of an indefinite number, or to express totality. Tanahuru is the tenth of a series; awara is used for "ten" denoting a unit. To express the units above ten mana is used: awara mana ono, sixteen. A number over ten, but short of a second ten is expressed by atara: awara kai atara moa, haply more than ten. The word ta'e, to embark, is used with taa'i, one, oru, three, of the number of men that a canoe will hold. The prefix to'o forms a distributive. "One hundred" is tanarau, e tanarau; and the sum above the hundred is expressed by mana: tanarau awara mana hai, one hundred and fourteen. "A thousand" is sinora, used of people or yams; pera, is used of a thousand coconuts or taros; mora is "ten thousand", a final number; moramora, numerous; apa is used of a thousand coconuts. Special words are used for the tens or hundreds of certain objects: ata i niu, a hundred coconuts; tohu ni pata, ten shell-moneys.
2. Ordinals:—

The cardinals with a noun ending, na, form ordinals.

First, etana. Fourth, haina. Seventh, hiuna.
Second, ruana. Fifth, nimana. Eighth, waruna.
Third, oruna. Sixth, onona. Ninth, siwana.

The ordinals precede the noun: ruana mane, the second man.
"Tenth" is tanahura 'ana. "One hundred and twenty first" is rendered tanarau ro awara mana eta (etana). E hita, how many? is used with the noun termination na: ehitana, what number is it?

3. Multiplicatives:—

The noun horo'a, time, occasion, day, is used for multiplicatives: taa'i horo'a, once; rua horo'a, twice. The causative ha'a does not make multiplicatives.

**Exclamations**

Eo, assent; waraimori, true! it is so! hina is used in questions; ro mane, two men, calls attention, or expresses surprise.
MABALE STORIES

WITH A FEW NOTES ON MABALE GRAMMAR

By J. Tanghe

The following stories are the first two of a Mabale series. Mabale is a Bantu dialect spoken by the Ba-mabale (sing. Wa-mabale; both abbreviations of moto wa Mabale, a Mabale-man and batu ba Mabale, the Mabale people).

The Bamabale live on the right bank of the Congo River, up but especially down Nouvelle-Anvers.\(^1\) They also occupy the immediate hinterland and are even found in a few places on the left bank, opposite the same central town.

The Bamabale belong to the group of tribes we usually call Bangala. Amongst them are the Iboko, who also live at Nouvelle-Anvers, and whose ancestor Mata-Boiki (i.e. grandson of Boiki) has become famous, since his encounter with Stanley; further, the Mbenga, Motembo, Losengo and Boloki (between N.A. and the mouth of the Mongala); the Ndobo and Mbundzi (down N.A.), all on the right bank. The Ba\(^{\text{fimo}}\) (near Lisala) and the ëleku (at Lolanga and near Coquilhaatville); the Libinza, Ewaku, and Likoka (in the hinterland, on the Ngiri).

We should now like to emphasize the fact that none of those peoples ever called themselves Bangala, which name was given to them by the Europeans and is a transformation of the only known term Mangala.\(^2\) Mangala, then, is the name of different villages of the country, and according to the opinion of some authors, originally the name of a chief, which may have come to design later on a village and finally a whole country. All those tribes speak kindred dialects and also belong together from an ethnological point of view. We shall call their dialects Ngala-dialects. Bangala or Lingala is the name of the commercial language.

We have the pleasure of acknowledging here our indebtedness to Mgr. E. de Bœck, the Bishop of N.A., who kindly put at our disposal original texts of those and other Mabale stories, and Iboko and Libinza as well, and so considerably facilitated our work.

\(^1\) The inland name of N.A. is Mankanza. In fact, N.A. arose from the junction of four small villages.

\(^2\) Which is easy to be understood, owing to the close connection of m and b, and the fact that ba was a known prefix to names of tribes. The correct form would have been Bamangala.
mango na mobembe

The Antelope and the Snail

mango na mobembe (1) babeteke ntembi. (2) mango
The antelope and the snail laid a wager. The antelope
jo tr (3): "je mobembe oko (4) moto we; te todzai, (5)
he so: "thou snail art not a man not; if we had a run
wantrwa (6) nga nenakoleki." (7) mobembe jo tr:
on the spot I shall overtake thee." The snail he so:
"wakondeka (8) we." mokia (9) akwei (10) bebi (11) bandir
"Thou wilt not overtake me not!" Thereupon he took friends of him
banso, ababeidza (12) esika esika esika. bangro
all, he put them place place place. They
banso bakoki na jaonga. (13) mokia (9) jo wawi (14)
all were sufficient for the island. Thereupon he alone
mobembe na mango bakundodzi (15) mbangu.
the snail and the antelope, they ran quickly.
mobembe abeki mobembe moabaka (16) jandi
the antelope called the snail who was (on) his
esika (17) mpo (18) mobembe monamei aambi
place and snail that very one replied
jo tr: "nalo bo." bakundodzi mbangu, mpo
he so: "I am first." they ran quickly and
mango abeki mobembe: "mobembe e :: !"
The antelope called the snail: "snail e :: !"
mobembe aambi jo tr: "nalo bo."
The snail replied he so: "I am first."
bakundodzi bobele (19) mbangu. mango
they ran presently quickly. The antelope
abimi o mbata (20) ja jaonga. mokia
came out at the upstream-end of the island. Thereupon
mobembe monamei akodzi (21) jo tr:
the snail that very one said he so:
"ňga nakoleki" (22) toibukana, (23) 
"I have overtaken thee I. We did not break one another, 

oibukia (24) mpr ekolo. mokia mongo 
thou madest not break and a leg. Thereupon the antelope 

akolo (21) tr: "ë modgika, ndgokandër (25) o na 
says so: "ë uncle, nevertheless thou with 

ňkasu." (26) ñzinamei dgiidgi. (27) 
strength." That very one is finished.

Notes

(1) mongo and mobëmbe are no generical terms. The mongo is a 
big antelope and the mobëmbe a big snail. Also membëmbe ; 
Mabale often introduces a nasal before the accent ; ex: en'sulun'gutu, an 
owl (bobangi, esákukûkutû); miète mim'be, two trees, (be=two); 
amim'omi, he has killed himself (mi, reflexive pron., boma to kill). 
Compare Engl. nightingale with Germ. Nachtigall ; Du. comfoor, 
with Fre. chaufoir.

(2) babëteke ntembr. babëteke < ba-a-bëte-ke, remote definite 
past tense of bëte, to hit. ntembr, doubt, discussion, wager ; 
literally : to hit the doubt. ntembr is properly the name of the ntembr-
stick, used at that occasion. montembr = branch of bread-fruit-
tree. Compare ndeko, friend, and têna ndeko, to conclude terms of 
peace, to become friends, literally : to cut the ndeko-stick ; cf. 
Weeks’ Amongst Congo Cannibals, p. 73.

(3) jo = he, je = thou. This explains to us the citative particle 
jetr: from je kolo tr, thou say thus ; ex. moto mosu: te ajei, jetr 
tomeki nebënda bwato o makidgi, when another man will come here, 
say, (i.e. then) we could try to carry the prow ashore (cf. E. de Bœck 
Lingala, p. 75).

(4) oko, from ko, not to be, negative of lo, to be. ko is also 
used as negative time-prefix.

(5) todgai, indefinite past tense of dgata, to run < todgati. 
Compare nkoi, leopard < nkopi, ma'asa, twins < mapasa.

(6) wantiwa, immediately, recently < wa-ntri-wa ; remnant of 
locative class 16. wa = B. pa ; also in wa-lo?, where ?, wabo(me)i,
here, wana(mei), there, and waidgi it is finished (i.e. here is finished); -idgi = indefinite past tense of ila, to finish; -nti = nse.

(7) nenakoleki, near future of leka. ne, future prefix, na, I; ko, thee; leka, to overtake.

(8) wakondeka < o-ako-m-leka. Negative remote future of leka. o, thou; -ako, neg. part.; m-, 1st person, personal pronoun, direct object; nd < m-l.

(9) mokia, thereupon, then. mokia is a substantive meaning the back.

(10) akwei, indefinite past tense of kwa, to take; no difference as to pronunciation with kwa, to fall. a- refers to mambwe.

(11) bebí, contraction of ba-ebí, acquaintances + eba, to know.

(12) ababeidga, ba = bebí, beidga, to put.

(13) janga = e-anga, < esanga (plur. bi-). Mabale often drops initial s or s between two vowels; ex.: eké, to laugh, ila, to finish, samba, to buy, ula, to betray; 'dígiu, eye, maña, palm-wine, lo’ka, leave, -beu, green, -kue, short, pa, to give (Iboko e:). Other Ngala dialects would say: sëke, sila, samba, sula, lisu, masanga, lokasa, -besu, -kuse, pesa. Mabale also inserts s between nasal and stressed vowel: ex.: mbeli n-s’otu, sharp knives (sing. mbeli e’otu, adj. -otu, sharp); mbwa n-s’-indu, black dogs (sing. mbwa e’-indu, adj. -indu, black); bon-s’-éke nga? do you laugh at me? (bo-, you, n-, personal pronoun direct object, me; -s-, inserted; -éke, to laugh. an-s’-oki, nga, he understood me (a, he, n-, me, -s-, inserted, -oka, to understand. Stapleton, Comp. Handbook of Congo Languages, p. 23, says: “— : anseniki . . . .” Here the nasal prefix n-, me, retains the initial consonant of sene.” But we cannot agree, the initial consonant of -otu, being p- (potu), -indu, having none and joka coming from *joka, B g.

(14) wawi, the numeral one is -awi and takes in the first class prefix o-.  
(15) bakundodzi, remote definite past tense of kundola, to walk, to run.

(16) moabaka, remote definite past tense of “lo”, to be. Indicative present nalo, I am; near definite past tense na-imbi-ki, I was; remote definite past tense, na:imbaka or na-a-baka; future ndenabei or ndenambe, near future nenabei or nembe. The negative indicative present is nako; near definite past tense naidgik, remote definite past tense na-ako-imbaka or na-ako-(m)-baka, future nde-na-i-ba or nde-na-i-imba; near future ne-na-i-ba. N. imba in
Mabale is used in the sense of to slumber, and \textit{dʒała}, in that of to sit down, to be present, alive; in Boloki the \textit{coopula} is: \textit{be}, and also means to sleep.

(17) \textit{janər esika}: the regular order would be (o) \textit{esika janər}.
(18) \textit{mpə}, and, points to the succession, the conjunction \textit{na} is rarely used for the purpose of connecting parts of sentences.
(19) \textit{bobećə} before a noun or pronoun means exclusively: \textit{bobećə biu}, we alone; after a verb it means immediately, definitely, \textit{bakuki bobećə}, they fled immediately, definitely.
(20) \textit{mbata}, the up-stream end of the island; the down-stream end is \textit{motengo}.
(21) \textit{akodʒi}, indicative past tense of \textit{kolo}, to say, to speak, \textit{akolo}, simple tense.
(22) \textit{nakoleki}, indicative past tense of \textit{leka}, to depass. \textit{ko-}, pers. pronoun, prefix, 2nd person object.
(23) \textit{toibukana} negative indef. past tense of \textit{bukana}, reciprocal form of \textit{buka}, to break.
(24) \textit{oibukia}, negative indef. past tense of \textit{bukia}, to make, to break, caus. of \textit{buka}, to break.
(25) \textit{ndgokande} = \textit{ndgoka}, \textit{ka}.
(26) \textit{o na ŋkasu} for \textit{olo na ŋkasu}, thou art with, possesseth strength. The verb \textit{lo} is understood. Compare \textit{jo nta molamu} for \textit{jo alo nta molamu}, he is very good.
(27) \textit{dʒinamei} and \textit{dʒiître} refer to \textit{dʒibandʒa}, story, understood. \textit{dʒiître}, indef. past tense of \textit{ila}, to finish. \textit{-mei} is enclytic, emphatic suffix.

\textbf{Connected Translation}

The antelope and the snail laid a wager. The antelope said: “Thou snail, thou art not a man, if we were to run I should immediately beat thee.” The snail said: “Thou wouldst not beat me.” Thereupon the snail gathered all his friends and placed them one next to the other. They were numerous enough to reach from one end of the island to the other. Then the snail he alone and the antelope set off quickly. The antelope cried to the snail who was staying on his place, whereupon that very snail replied: “I am first.” They went on running quickly, and again the antelope cried to the snail: “allo, mobembe!” The snail then answered: “I am first.” They kept on running quickly. The antelope came out at the up-stream-end of the island. Then
the snail, who was placed there said: "I have beaten thee. We were not of the same strength and thou hast not beaten me." Then the antelope said: "I say, my dear, after all I must confess that thou art strong." So the story ends.

**santonγi** (1)

njama inso (2) ḥakendẹke (3) bokila. bakomí (4) o
Animals all went hunting. They arrived on
jango, baluboi (5) o molako, badγadzi. (6)
an island, they landed on a fishers-encampment, they sat down.

na ṣkele, badγai (7) nekakwete (8) bokoto.
In the morning, they set out to fell the bokoto.

badγai (7) na jang, baeni (9) ṣkema. bakwei (10)
They walked about in the island, they saw apes. They took
bikoko, baindi (4) mjeti, mikwei (11) o nse.
axes, they cut down trees, they fell on the ground.

babomí (4) ṣkema ndzikir (2) bateni (4) makondzi (12)
They killed apes many, they cut stakes,
badedzi (6) matala, baii (4) njama.
they made dry-stands, they dried the flesh.

na ṣkele batunani: (13) "waikala (14) na
In the morning they asked one another: "who will stay in the

molako, nda?" mongo akodgi (15) na bebi: "bole (16)
encampment, who?" The antelope said to the friends: "let
 nga naikala." (17) mongo aikadzi, (6) bebi bakai. (18)
me that I stay." The antelope stayed, the friends went on.

santonγi akwei (10) ṣkai na bwato, amedzi (6)
Santonge took paddle and canoe, he crossed

o lisi, aebi (4) ndgembew: (19) "santonγi bja,
in the river, he sang songs: "Santonge bja,
santonγi bja, naluka, nasuma (20) ṣkai
Santonge bja, I row, I handle the paddle
janga bja, Jason (21) nga na
of me bja, which I have paddled round with I
mitengo bja, na koi, (22) nebele na
the down-stream ends of the islands bja, and Koi and Ebele and
joto bja, na langalanga na baseka na matuka
Yoto bja, and Langalanga and Baseka and Matuka
na ndangemedgi, santongi bja, santongi bja."
and Ndangemezi, Santonge bja, Santonge bja."

akomi (4) o molako, aeni (9) mungo, adzadgi. (6)
He arrived in the encampment, he saw the antelope, he sat down.
santongi akodzi (15) na mungo: "eikadgi nde je?" (23)
Santonge said to the antelope: "hast stayed then thou?"
mungo abati. (4) santongi atomi (4) mungo
The antelope said yes. Santonge sent the antelope
jo tri: "kaŋkwela (24) bikakalu o bwato.
he so: "go and fetch for me grubs (of insects) on the canoe.
mungo aketi (18) nekabimokwela. (25) ajei na bjanggo (26)
The antelope went to fetch them for him. He came with them
amotumbedgi, (27) bibeedi, (28) amopoi, (29)
he roasted for him, they were ready, he gave him,
alei. (30) aidgidga (31) nels, (32) amoongi (33) njama:
he ate. He finished to eat, he asked him meat:
"modzika, (34) mpa (35) mwamomii. (36) monatindela (37)
"Uncle, give me the little meat which is hanging down
o botala, (38) nales. (39) mungo amopoi, (40)
from the dry-stand, that I may eat. The antelope gave to him,
alei. (30) abobi (41) neonga. (42) mungo amoimi. (43)
he ate. He (began) again to ask. The antelope refused to him.
santongi aoki (4) ykele, amolemoleldgi (44) mungo, mbia
Santonge fell anger, he was cross with him the antelope, thereupon
babuni. (4) santongi aneti (9) mungo, akwei, (10)
they fought. Santonge beat the antelope, he took,
akangi (4) mango, amobwaki (45) o nsina
he bound the antelope, he threw him into the roots

ja makakau. santongi akwei (10) njama
of the lianas. Santonge took the meat

insa, akei (18) na jingo. mango aledzi (6)
all, he went away with it. The antelope cried

jo tr: “babakeke (46) bokila, toke; santongi
he so: “Who went hunting, let us go; Santonge

amboma, (47) toke, ambodgidza (48) njama, toke.”
is going to kill me, let us go, has deprived me of the meat, let us go.”

bebi bajei, (10) bakomi (4) o molako, babeidza (49)
The friends came, they arrived in the encampment, they placed

njama o nse, bakei, (18) baikakwa (50) mango,
the venison on the ground, they went, and they took the antelope,

bamoutodzi, (51) nkekele, jamokangaka (52)
they unfastened him the ropes with which had bound him

santongi. baanginja (53) mweja, babobodzi (4)
Santonge. They gathered fire, they roasted

njama, baidgidza (31) nebobolo (54) njama,
the flesh, they finished to roast the flesh,

butobodzi (55) nso, bakwei (18) njama, baiti (4) o
they pierced the intestines, they took the meat they dried on

botala, balambi (4) njama, balei, (18)
the dry-stand. They cooked the flesh, they ate.

buto boindi, (4) na nkele batunani: (13)
The sun darkened. In the morning they asked one another:

“waikala na molako nda?” (14) ndzoku jo tr:
“who will stay in the encampment who?” The elephant he so:

“jaikala nga” (23) bebi bakei, (18) santongi akwei (10)
“will stay I.” The friends went off. Santonge took

nkai na bwatu, amedzi (6) o lori,
paddle and canoe, he crossed in the river,
aembi (4) ndzembω : (19) "santongri bja, a. s. o...
he sang songs : "Santonge bja,

akambidga, (55) aeni (9) ndzoku, adzadgi. (6)
He landed, he saw the elephant, he sat down.

amotuni: (57) "eikadgi nde je?" (23) ndzoku
He asked him : "Hast stayed then thou?" The elephant

abati. (4) santongri atomi (4) ndzoku, akwei (10)
said yes. Santonge sent the elephant, he took

bikakalu, atumbi. (4) alei. (18) santongri
grubs (of insects), he roasted, he ate. Santonge

aongi (4) ndzoku njama, amoimi. (4) babuni. (4)
asked the elephant meat, he refused to him. They fought.
santongri akwei (10) ndzoku, amobwaki (45)
Santonge took the elephant, he threw him into

makakau. ndzoku aledgi (6) jo tr: "babakeke (46)
the lianas. The elephant cried he so : "who went

bokila, toke! ambodgidga (48) njama, toke!
hunting, let us go! he has deprived me of the meat, let us go!

bebi bajei, (10) babeidga (49) njama o nse.
The friends came, they placed the venison on the ground.

ndzoku abimi, (4) babobodzi (15) njama,
The elephant came out, they roasted the flesh,
bakokidga, (31) balei. (18)
they made it ready, they ate.

butu boindi, (4) batuki, (4) na ṅkèle
The sun darkened, they slept, in the morning

batunani: (13) "waikala na molako nda?" (14)
they asked one another : "who will stay in the encampment who?"

ŋkumba abati (4) jo tr: "jaikala (23) nga."
The tortoise said yes, he so : "will stay. I."

ŋkumba aikadgi, (6) alambi (4) mbila,
The tortoise stayed, he cooked palm-nuts,
aitinja (58) mweja, mbila ibedgi (28)
he stirred the fire, the palm-nuts were ready

akatodzi, (59) atoki (15) dgambu, (60) akwei (10)
he took off the fire, he smashed the pulp, he took
dgina, (61) abeidga (49) o nsunga ja mweja.
it, he placed on the side of the fire.

ak Wei nekatima (62) dgitongu. atimi (4)
He went to dig a hole. He dug
dgitongu, dgiidgi, (63) akwei (10) bitanda,
a hole, it was finished, he took planks,
abideidga, (64) alambi (4) mai, matoki. (65)
he put them, he cooked water, it boiled.
santongi ajei, (10) aluboi, (5) akodzi (15) na
Santonge came, he landed, he said to

nkumba: "eikadgi nde ye?" (23) nkumba
the tortoise: "Hast stayed then thou?" The tortoise

abati. santongi amooungi (33) dgambu (60)
said yes. Santonge asked him the pulp

amopei, (40) alei, (30) badzai, (7) aeni (9) dgisu, (66)
he gave him, he ate. They walked, he saw some other,
akwei, (10) alei, (30) akomi (4) o dgitongu.
he took, he ate. He arrived at the hole.
santongi auti (67) o dgitongu. nkumba
Santonge fell into the hole. The tortoise

akwei (10) bitanda, adgidzibi, (68) akwei
took the planks, he shut it. He took

mai ma mweja, amotei, (69) santongi
water of fire, he poured on him. Santonge

awe, (10) mboka ja dgbandza enamei, (70)
died. The end of the story that one.
Notes

(1) santongi, tantongi or ntantongi is the name of a water-spirit.
(2) njama inso. With substantives of cl. 9–10, the adjectives take pref. e- and n-; the numerals and pronouns e- and i-; -ik, many, has n- and inserts d3: (ndako) n-d3-ik, many (houses).
(3) jakendeké, < i-a-kéndë-ke, remote definite past tense of kénde, to go.
(4) bakomi, indef. past tense of koma, to arrive. In the same way: baindi, babomi, bateni, onqgi, bairi, abumi, abati, atomi, abobi, babumi, balambi, atumbi, abimi, boindi, batuki, atimi, auti, indef. past tenses of inda, boma, tena, onqa, ita, emba, bata, toma, boba, etc., all verbs in -a.—bakomi, badgdzi, badgai a.s.o. refer to animals (njama) personified.
(5) baluboi, indef. past tense of lubwa, to land.
(6) badgdzi, indef. past tense of dgalá, to sit, to settle. 1 + i > dgi; also bakedgi, aikadgi, amedgi, batubodi, bibedgi, aledgi, akatodgi, dgiidgi indef. past tenses of kela, ikala, mela, tubola, bela, lela, latola, ila.
(7) badgai < badgati, indef. past tense of dga, to walk, to run,
(8) nekakwete, future infinitive of kwete, to cut down. Kwete to travel.
Bokoto, to cut down the bokoto, is a mood of hunting apes. Here a group of apes are surrounded, and at the hunters' loud crying and shouting, they all climb upon the top of the trees. Those are subsequently cut down. Such a tree is called bokoto (plur. ma-).
(9) baeni, indef. past tense of ene, to see. Likewise, aneti, indef. past tense of nete, to beat.
(10) bakwei, indef. past tense of kwa, to take. Likewise, bakwei, they took, from kwa, to fall; ajei, amopei, awei, from ja, pa, and wa.
(11) mikwei, refers to myete.
(12) makondgi (sing. bokondgi), name of the four stakes supporting the botala or dry-stand (plur. matala).
(13) batunani, indef. past tense of tunana, to ask one another, reciprocal form of tuna, to ask.
(14) waikala < o-a-ikala, immediate future of ikala, to stay, to remain; w- is the relative pronoun of Cl. 1, o-, referring to moto, understood.
(15) akodgi, indef. past tense of kolo, to say; likewise babobodgi, atoki, from bobolo, tokö.
(16) bole, 2nd pers. plur. of the imperative of le, to let.
(17) naikala, subjunctive of ikala, to stay.
(18) bakéi, indef. past tense of ke, to go (also kéné); id. alei from le, to eat.
(19) ndémb, plural of loémb or lemb, song.
(20) naluka and nasuma are simple tenses of luka, to paddle, and suma, to handle (the paddle).
(21) jaumbaka na nga miteggo, by means of which I have paddled round the down-stream ends of the islands. jaumbaka, remote definite past tense of umba, to paddle round. j is the relative pronoun e and refers to nkai. Note the special word-order in this relative construction. Compare digkonggo, diginaboma na bisu ndéoku. The spear with which we kill the elephants. molango, manaba na bango nabila, the hoop by means of which they climb on the palm-trees (sing. libila).
(22) koi, ebele (nebele = na ebele), joto, langalanga, baseka, matuka, and ndéngemedgi (or ndéngandai) are names of different islands of the river.
(23) eikadgi nde je? In interrogative sentences the subject is generally put at the end. Then the verb is introduced by the prepositional pronoun e, referring to esika, place, moment, understood. Comp. nda akodgi bonamei, who said so, with ekodgi bonamei, nda? said so who? With emphasis the subject is also put at the end: jaikala nga, I will stay.
(24) kanka wela, go and take for me, future infinitive of kwela, to take for, applicative form of kwa, to take; η = m, pers. pron. prefix, 1st pers. ka, prefix to infinitives after the imperatives of ja, to come, and ke(nde), to go, either expressed or understood. Here ke(nde) is understood. Ex. kéné kaka wela Bodgóko biliki bjande, go and fetch Bodjoko his things (B.'s things).
(25) nekabimokwela, infinitive future of kwela. neka, prefix; bi, refers to bikakalu, mo, to Santonge.
(26) bjangó, independent personal pronoun, refers to bikalalu.
(27) amotumbedgi, indef. past tense of tumbela, to roast for, applicative form of tumba, to roast. a—subject refers to mëngó. mo, pers. pron. prefix object refers to santongi.
(28) bibedgi, indef. past tense of bela. bi = bikakalu. Compare bele, to be ill.
(29) amopei, indef. past tense of pa. a = mëngó, mo = santongi.
(30) alei, indef. past tense of le. a = santongi.
(31) aidgida, indef. past tense of idgidga, to finish, causative form.
of idga, to be finished. The indef. past tense of causative verbs always ends in a. a-, prefix ref. to santon gr. Comp. bakokidga, to prepare, caus. form of koka to be sufficient, to be ready.

(32) nele, infinitive of le, to eat.
(33) amoŋgi, indef. past tense of onga, to ask, a = santon gr, mo = mongo.
(34) modzi ka, uncle, mother's brother.
(35) mpa, imperative of pa, m-, pers. pronoun. 1st pers. object.
(36) mwamomoi, diminutive of momi (plur. miomi). mwa is an abbreviation of mwana, child.
(37) monatindela, indicative present of tindela, to hang down from, applicative form of tinda, to hang. mo = mwamomoi.
(38) botala, a kind of table to dry the fish on.
(39) nale, subjunctive of le, to eat.
(40) amopei, indef. past tense of pa, to give, a = mongo. mo = santon gr.
(41) abobi, indef. past tense of boba, which indicates the repetition of the action. Compare abobi nekendə, he went again, abobi nekolo, he spoke again.
(42) neonga, infinitive of onga, to ask, to beg.
(43) amoomi, indef. past tense of imo, to refuse. mo = santon gr.
(44) amolelomeldgi, indef. past tense of lemolela, to be cross with, applicative form of lemola, to be cross. mo = mongo.
(45) amobwaki, indef. past tense of bwaka, to throw. mo = mongo.
(46) babakeke, remote definite past tense of ke < ba-a-ba-ke-ke; the first ba is the rel. pron. ref. to bato, understood; the second is the pers. pron. The first ke is the verb-stem, the second the suffix.
(47) amboma, simple tense of boma, kills me, is going to kill me. m = personal pronoun, 1st person, object.
(48) ambodigida, indef. past tense of bodigida, causative form of bola, to be deprived of, m = mongo.
(49)babeliga, indef. past tense of beidga, to place.
(50) baikakwa, successive tense of kwa. -ika-, tense prefix.
(51) bamoutodgi, indef. past tense of utola, to unfasten. mo = mongo.
(52) jamokangaka < i-a-mo-kanga-ka, remote def. past tense of kanga, to bind. j = the relative pron. i- referring to ķekêle; a, tense prefix; mo = mongo.
(53) baanginja indef. past tense of anginja, to take together, causative form of angana, to come together, +anga, to organize.
(54) nebobolo, infinitive of bobolo, to roast.
(55) batubodgi, indef. past tense of tubola, to pierce, intensive form of tuba, to pierce.
(56) akambidga, indef. past tense of kambidga, to land.
(57) amotuni, indef. past tense of tuna, to ask, mo = ndgoku.
(58) aitinja, indef. past tense of itinja, to stir.
(59) akatodgi, indef. past tense of katola, to separate, to take off, intensive form of kata, to cut.
(60) dgambu, also dgikamu, pulp.
(61) dgina, ref. to dgambu.
(62) nekatima, future infinitive of tima, to dig.
(63) dgiidgi, indef. past tense of ila, to finish, dgi = dgitongu.
(64) abibeidga, bi- refers to bitanda.
(65) matoki, indef. past tense of toko, to boil, ma- refers to mai; matoki, is used here as an adjective.
(66) dgisu. dgi refers to dgambu. -su: < susu, other.
(67) auti indef. past tense of uta, to fall into ... or to come from.
(68) adgidzibi, indef. past tense of dgiba, to shut, the first dgi- refers to dgitongu.
(69) amotei, indef. past tense of ta, to pour. mo, santongi.
(70) enamei, demonstrative adjective ref. to mboka, end; mei, enclitic emphatic suffix.

**Connected Translation**

All the animals went out hunting. They arrived on an island, they landed in a fishers-encampment, and settled. The following morning they set out to cut down the bokoto-tree. They walked about in the island and saw apes. They took their axes and cut down trees. These fell down on the ground. They killed many apes, they cut stakes, made dry-stands and dried the flesh. In the morning they asked one another: "Who is going to stay in the encampment?" The antelope said to the friends: "Let me stay." And the antelope stayed; the friends went off.

Santonge took his paddle and canoe, he crossed the river and sang: "Santonge bia, Santonge bia, I row, I handle my paddle, with which I paddled round the down-stream ends of the islands, Koi and Ebele and Yoto, bja, and Langalanga and Basaka and Matuka and Ndangemegi, Santonge bia, Santonge bia." Santonge arrived at the encampment, he saw the antelope and sat down. Santonge said to
the antelope: "Hast thou then stayed?" The antelope said: "Yes."
Santonge sent the antelope and said: "Go and fetch grubs of insects
for me with the canoe. The antelope set out to fetch some for him.
He came back with them, and roasted them for Santonge. When
they were roasted he gave them to him, and Santonge ate them.
When he had eaten them he asked the antelope for some meat:
"Friend, give me the little meat, which is hanging down from the
dry-stand, that I may eat it. The antelope gave it to him, and he ate
it. Santonge again asked for some. Then the antelope refused.
Santonge fell angry, he was cross with the antelope, and they fought.
Santonge beat the antelope, he caught him, he bound him, and threw
him into the roots of the lianas. Santonge took all the meat and he
went off with it. The antelope cried: "You people, who went out
hunting, come along! Santonge is going to kill me, come along!
He took all my meat, come along! The friends came, they arrived in
the encampment, they put the venison on the ground and went to
take the antelope; they untied him from the ropes with which
Santonge had bound him. They gathered fire, and roasted the flesh;
when they had finished they pierced the intestines, they took the meat
and dried it on the dry-stand. They cooked the flesh and ate it.

The day darkened. The following morning they asked one another:
"Who is going to stay in the encampment?
I, myself," said the
elephant. The friends went off. Santonge took his paddle and canoe,
he crossed the river and sang: "Santonge bia, etc." He landed, he
saw the elephant and sat down. He asked him: "Hast thou then
stayed here?" "Yes," said the elephant. Santonge sent the elephant
and the elephant took grubs of insects; he roasted them and Santonge
ate them. Santonge asked the elephant for some meat, but the elephant
refused to give him any. They fought. Santonge caught the elephant
and he threw him into the lianas. The elephant cried: "You people,
who went out hunting, come along! He has taken all my meat,
come along!" The friends came, they put the venison on the ground.
The elephant came out, they roasted the flesh, and when it was roasted,
they ate it.

The day darkened. They slept. The following morning they asked
one another: "Who is going to stay in the encampment?" The
tortoise said: "I shall stay" And the tortoise stayed. He cooked
palm-nuts, he stirred the fire; and when the palm-nuts were cooked
he smashed the pulp, he took it and put it on the side of the fire.
He then went to dig a hole. When it was dug he took planks, and
placed them (aside), he took boiling water. Santonge came, he landed, and said to the tortoise: "Hast thou then stayed?" "Yes," said the tortoise. Santonge asked him for some pulp. The tortoise gave him some. Santonge ate it. They sat down. Santonge saw some more, he took it and ate it. And he arrived at the hole. He fell into it. The tortoise took the planks, he covered the hole, he took hot water and poured it on Santonge. Santonge died. That's the end of the story.

NOTES ON GRAMMAR

_Preliminary_

**Phonetics.**—No difficult sounds are met with in Mabale, and word-tone is not to be found.

The vowels may be represented as follows: i, i, e, e, a, o, o, o, and u. Compare _qibengo_, knee, with _dgibongo_, bank (of a river); _mabele_, (woman’s) breasts, with _mabele_, earth; _ebembe_, dead body, with _ebembe_, female; -be, two, with -be, bad. i and o often occur as weakened forms of i and u, in unstressed syllables: so we can hear _bwater_, canoe, as well as _bwater_ and _bwater_. But i is significant as final vowel of suffix -elr, which serves to make nouns of instruments as, _ebaelr_, ladder, from _ba_, to mount, and differs from -ele, suffix to nouns meaning the place where anything is done, as _etukele_, sleeping-room, from _tuka_, to lie down.

The consonants are: p, b, t, d, k, g, m, n, e, l, f, , and s. There is also j and w and the affricate group dz.

η only occurs before k or g. In Mbundzi we get it before vowels: _ŋaŋa_, witch, _ŋai_, leopard, _bŋo_, brains, Mabale, _ŋagga_, _ŋkoi_, _bŋga_.

ŋ may occur in the proximity of front-vowels, but as the sound is not significant, no special symbol has been adopted.

ɮ alternates with p and f after m: _mɛata_, sheep; _mɛuti_, tax = _mpata_, _mfuti_ (from _futa_, to pay).

j is met with in the case of individual speakers, but is a regular sound in Motembo and Mbundzi. There are neither ejectives nor implosives, though ɓ occurs in some borrowed words as _sagba_, bridge, ɓɓi, strong. ɓ is the sound usually represented as _gw_ in _monoβandi_, _ŋbanza_, and _ŋbaka_, names of Sudanic peoples in the North of the Belgian Congo.

1 We have adopted in this paper the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association.
Mabale regularly changes / > /dʒ/ before /i/. So the sixth noun-prefix (B. /li-/ in Mabale is /dʒi/, Iboko /i/; Ndobo /ći/; Boloki and Libinza /li-/; Motembo and Mbudzi /li/). The indef. past tense of /kela/, to do, is /nakədʒi/, I did; /kolo/, to speak, has /nakədʒi/, I spoke. Mabale also regularly inserts a nasal before stressed syllables, and /s/ between a nasal and a stressed vowel. For examples, see “/Mʊŋgo na Mobėmbė/”, notes 1 and 13.

Word-building.—An interesting point is the derivation of substantives from causative verbs. The nouns of agents formed from simple verbs, prefix /mo-/ to the verb-stem and change its final vowel into /i/: /moluki/, a rower, from /luka/, to row, to paddle. Others, formed from causative forms prefix /mo-/ to the unchanged verb-stem: /moŋədʒa/, a seller, from /əŋədʒa/, to sell; /mbiŋədʒa/, a deliverer, from /biŋədʒa/, to deliver; /moŋədʒa/, a leader, from /əŋədʒa/, to lead.

Both of them are, as a rule, followed by the possessive construction, and never by a direct object, as it may be the case in other dialects, which clearly proves that their verbal character is no longer felt; e.g. /moEMPL/ wə ndʒəmbo/, a singer of songs, from /əmbo/, to sing; /mosoŋəmba/, a tailor of clothes, from /sɔŋəmbo/, to sew. /moŋədʒa/, wə nsoŋəmba/, a dealer with fish; /mbiŋədʒa/, wə nsoŋəmba/, a deliverer of men, a doctor.

We may notice here that the indef. past tense of all primitive verbs ends in /i/, whilst the same tense in the causative ends in /a/. We say /nakeki/, I looked, from /kəkə/, to look, but /bəmbiŋədʒa/, they delivered him, from /biŋədʒa/, to deliver, causative form of /bika/, to be delivered.

The Noun

On Substantives.—The noun-prefixes are: 1, /mo-/ (mə-), pl. 2, /ba-/; 3, /mo-/ (mə-), pl. 4, /mi/; 5, /dʒi-, pl. 6, /ła-/; 7, /e-, pl. 8, /bi-/; 9, /n-, pl. 10, /n-/; 11, /lo-/ (pl. 10, n-); 14, /bo- (pl. 6, ma-)/.

/moŋədʒa/, a white man, pl. /moŋədʒa/, /lisu/, eye, pl. /misu (ma-isu)/; /linu/, tooth, pl. /minu (ma-inu)/. /eboko/, arm, pl. /maboko/; /ekolo/, leg, pl. /makolo/.

The prefix of the infinitive substantive is /bo-/. Remnants of locative classes are: 16, /wə (B. pa)/ in /walo?/ where; /wabo/, here; /waməe/, yonder; /waməe/, on the spot, immediately; 17, /o, (B. ku)/, in /owo/, there, and in /nowo (na-owo)/, the demonstrative

1 According to Meinhof’s order.
suffix. Diminutives are formed by putting mwa- (abbreviation of mwana, child) before the substantive: mwandako, a little house.

Gender is indicated by means of the words lir, male (pl. bampire), and mwadga, female (pl. badga); with names of animals ebembe (pl. bibembe), is used for the feminine.

*The Adjective.*—The adjective-roots are, of course, few in number. They are: -ne, great; -ti, little; -lamu, good; -be, bad; -lai, long; -kue, short; -beu, fresh; -dgi, heavy; -indu, black; -tane, pale; lembw, sweet; -oni, new; -kadgi, strong; -otu, sharp; -tunu, blunt; -tau, soft; -telu, ripe. To those we added: -to, empty; -it, dry.

Concord: The adjective takes the prefix of the substantive it qualifies: moto molamu, a good man. cl. 9 has e: ndako enene, a big house.

*The Numerals.*—The cardinals are: 1, -awi; 2, -be; 3, -atu; 4, -nei; 5, -tunu; 6, motoba; 7, nsamb; 8, moambi; 9, dgiw; 10, dgo. A decade, lontuku (pl. ntuku). 20 = ntuku ibe; 100, monkama; 1,000, nkoto. 1 to 5 are stems which take the concord, the others are substantives.

Concord: The numerals take the prefix of the substantive they determine. 9 = e, 10 = i; ex: one day = mokolo mwawi. ndako jawi, one house; ndako itunu, five houses.

*The Ordinals.*—The first man, is moto wa bo; the man of the front (bo = in front); the fourth man, is moto wa baneei, i.e. the man of four (people).

*The Pronoun*

*The Personal Pronoun.*—Prepositional form. A, subject: 1st pers. sing. na-, pl. to; 2nd pers. sing. o, pl. bo; 3rd pers., class 1 a-, 2 ba-, 3 mo-, 4 mi-, 5 dgi-, 6 ma, 7 e-, 8 bi-, 9 e-, 10 i-, 11 lo-, 14 bo. B, object: 1st pers. sing. m-, pl. ko; 2nd pers. sing. -ko, pl. ko; 3rd pers. class 1 mo, 2 ba-. The others are the same as the subject. Independent form. 1st pers. sing. nga, pl. biu; 2nd pers. sing. je, pl. binu; 3rd pers. sing. (class 1), yo. The others are formed from the prepositional pronoun subject + ango. Thus: class 2 bang (ba-ango), 3 mwango, 4 mjango, 5 djang (li-ango), 6 mango (ma-ango), 7 jaango, 8 bjango, 9 jaango, 10 jaango, 11 lango (lo-ango), 14 bwango.

*The Demonstrative Pronoun.*—There are three forms. 1: in -bo; 2: in -na; 3: in nowo (na-owo). The demon. pronoun is the same as the prepositional personal pronoun, except cl. 1: o. Thus motu obo, this
man here, pl. batu babo, etc., mota ona, batu bana, moto onowo, bato banow. Emphasis is expressed by adding the suffix -mei, especially to forms in -na: bato bana mei, those very people.

The Relative Pronoun, either subject or object is the same as the demonstrative prefix.


The Indefinite Pronoun.—-oko : some, certain; -su, other; -nsa, all; -iki, many.

On Possession.—Possession (origin, dependence) is expressed with a particle, composed with the demon. pronominal-prefix of the thing possessed and the unvariable element -a. The name of the possession is expressed first. The particle is put between the name of the possession and that of the possessor.

Cl. 1 wa (o-a), 2 ba (ba-a), 3 mwa, 4 mja, 5 nga (dgi-a), 6 ma (maa), 7 ja, 8 bja, 9 ja (ea), 10 ja (ia), 11 la (loa), 14 bwa.

Ex: dgi nga nga moko dgi, the spear of the chief; nda ko ja mondo le, the house of the white man; bolangi ti bwa boj, the blanket of the servant. If the possessor is a pronoun, the independent personal pronoun is used: mbeli ja ngai, knife of me (my knife); lomposo lajag, their skin; lajag: loa (loa) refers to lomposo and jang to ngoku, elephants. His child, is: mwana wajo or mwana wandi.

The Verb

The final vowel of the stem is a, e, or o (o): dginga, to love; be, to beat; sana, to sew. There are a few monosyllabic verbs: pa, to give; ba, to climb; ma, to throw (a spear); la, to swear (an oath); la, to lay (a net); ta, to hit; sa, to blow (bellows); ja, to come; wa, to die; kwa, to take; kwa, to fall; dwa, to get; jw, to drink; swa, to bite; l, to eat; l, to let; s, to twist (a rope); t, to refuse; f, to model (a paddle, a canoe); k, to go; na, to rain; to, to germinate; lo, to be; ko, not to be.

Conjugation of the Verb ten, to cut

| Tense            | Simple tense | Indicative | Present |  |  |  | Negative |
|------------------|--------------|------------|---------|  |  |  |          |
|                  |              | na-tena    | na-na-tena | na-koten |
| Present continuative | na-na-ka-tena |        |        |  |  |  |          |
| Habitual         | na-na-tena-ka |        |        |  |  |  |          |
Indicative: Successive . . na-ika-tena
Indef. past tense . . na-teni na-i-tena
Near defin. past tense . na-teni-ki na-i-tena-ka
Near continuative . . na-ka-teni-ki ,, ,, ,, ,, Remote def. past tense . na-a-tena-ka na-ko-tena-ka
Remote continuative . . na-a-ka-tena-ka ,, ,, ,, ,, Immediate future . . na-(k)a-tena na-ko-tena
Near future . . n(d)e-na-teni n(d)e-na-i-tena
Remote future . . na-a-ka-tena na-a-ko-tena
Past tense . . . na-tena-ka
Conjunctive Present . . . na-tena
Imperative: Sing. . . . (o)-tena w-a-tena
Plur. . . . { to-tena tw-a-tena
 . bo-tena bw-a-tena
N. With emphasis -ka is added: o-tena-ka, etc. . .

Infinitive: Present . . . botena
Future . . . . ne-ka-tena

Derived Forms

Applicative: -ela (ele): lamba, to cook; lambela, to cook for.
Causative: -idga, -ia: ila, to be finished; idzidga, to finish;
leka, to pass; lekia, to allow to pass.
Reciprocal: -ana (ene, ono): keka, to look; kekana, to look one
to another.
Stative: -ama (ema, eme): dgiba, to shut; dgibama, to be shut.
Reversive: -ola (olo): dgiba, to shut; dgibola, to open.
Intensive: -ola (olo): tuba, to pierce; tubola, to pierce.
Repetitive: leka, to pass; lekaleka, to go to and fro.
REVIEWS OF BOOKS

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA. For the first time critically edited by VISHNU S. SUKTHANKAR, Ph.D., with the co-operation of . . . other scholars and illustrated by SHRIMANT BALASAHEB PANT PRATINIDHI, B.A., Chief of Aundh. Fasc. 1, 2. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute: Poona, Bombay printed, 1927, 1928. Fol.

The great enterprise of issuing a really critical text of the Mahābhārata is now well started. A first step was the interesting edition of the Virāṭa-parvan by Mr. N. B. Utgikar, which appeared in 1923. And now we have the first two instalments of the Ādi-parvan, comprising the opening cantos as far as xxi, 27a, prepared under the thoroughly competent editorship of Dr. Sukthankar, with a band of able coadjutors. For the first time in the history of Indian literary studies a number of manuscripts adequately representative of the multifarious recensions of the Great Epic has been collated (50 MSS. are tabled in the foreword to the first facsimile, and for the second six more have been added), and their readings have been applied for the construction of a critical text.

The task is indeed herculean. As Dr. Sukthankar shews, the Mahābhārata apparently was at first transmitted orally, and even when it had been written down, parts of it were still often conveyed per ora virum. These transmissions by word of mouth, naturally fluid and careless of accuracy, must have contaminated the written text and caused innumerable variations in it; and, even apart from such influences, the written tradition was liable to alteration at the hands of ancient editors, who made changes in the text sometimes to gratify their own fancy and sometimes to import into their own mss. readings from other copies which pleased them better. It is hence impossible to establish any universal archetype and to correct the text in accordance with the tradition derived thence. Indeed, the result may well prove, as Dr. Sukthankar confesses, that "a wholly satisfactory restoration of the text to its pristine form—even the late so-called śatasāhasrī saṃhitā form—may be a task now beyond the powers of criticism". All that can be done is "an eclectic but cautious utilization of all manuscript classes". The mss. may be grouped into families and the tradition of each family ascertained and evaluated; the relations of these traditions may be considered in regard to variant
readings; and for the rest, those readings may be chosen which commend themselves by their intrinsic merits. All this has been most carefully done by Dr. Sukthankar, and the result is, in his own words, to "demonstrate that a considerable portion of the inherited text can be incontestably proved to be authentic and unimpeachable; and that on the other hand certain portions of the "vulgate" can, equally indisputably, be shown to be spurious". A valuable conclusion.

L. D. B.

Three Books edited by Abdul Haq, Secretary of the Anjuman i Taraqqi e Urdu, Aurangabad, Deccan.

(3) Qavā'id i Urdu. 8½ in. × 5½ in. pp. 5 + 22 + 301. Aurangabad, 1926. Rs. 2/8.

Zikr i Mir is a book of great importance. Although mentioned in Sprenger's catalogue it is not referred to by any of the numerous Persian or Urdu taṣkīrās of Urdu poets and no copy of it was known to exist. It is nothing less than the autobiography of Mir Taqi Mir, the great Urdu poet, written in Persian and completed in 1783. All lovers of Urdu will rejoice that so valuable a MS. has been discovered. It sheds a flood of light on the social and literary life of the time and corrects a number of current misstatements about Mir. The most important perhaps concerns the year of his birth which is now found to be 1724, not 1713 as given in Āb i Ḥayāt and elsewhere. This makes him 86, not 97, when he died. The unhappy relationship which existed between him and Khān i Ārzū, the famous teacher of poetics, is clearly brought out. Ārzū, it appears, was the brother-in-law of Mir's father, the brother of his first wife. Mir was the son of the second wife. The actual MS. is dated 1808, two years before Mir's death. That is the tārīkh i kītābat. The language must be judged by the standard of Persian as Indians write it. It is simple and unartificial, but in places becomes rhythmic and even rhymed.

Maulvi 'Abd ul Haqq has contributed a very useful introduction in Urdu.

Intikhāb i Mir is an excellent selection from the works of Mir Taqi Mir made by the learned Secretary of the Anjuman i Taraqqi e Urdu who has written a valuable preface on Mir's poetry. About 150
pages are devoted to gazals and 36 to masnavis. For these two works Maulvi 'Abd ul Ḥaqq deserves our gratitude. If a vote of the Urdu literary public were taken as to the greatest of Urdu poets, Mir would probably stand first. At any rate he would rank in the first three along with Gâlib and Anis. Mir is a poet of sorrow and disappointment. It has been well said that Anîs makes us weep, but Mir himself weeps. Nearly all his poetry is lamentation. We understand it better when we read the Zikr i Mîr reviewed above. The Zikr forms in fact a sort of commentary on his poems.

I cannot understand the editor's statement that Mir's Nikât ush Shu'arâ was written long after Zikr i Mîr, for the former was written in 1752 and the latter in 1783. It is possible of course that portions of the Zikr were written in Mir's early life before Nikât ush Shu'arâ and that 1783 marks only the date of completion.

Qavâ'id i Urdu is an Urdu grammar written in Urdu. There is an introduction of 22 pages. The Grammar, which is very carefully written, contains much interesting information. At the end is a section of 17 pages on prosody.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.
VAZA'I İŞTILĀHĀT. By VAḤĪD UD DIN SALĪM. 8½ in. × 5 in., pp. 6 + 305. Aligarh. Rs. 3/12.

The death of the talented author of this work a few months ago meant a great loss not only to the Osmaniya University, in which he held the professorship of Urdu, but to the Urdu-speaking world. Though a Muslim and a Sayyid, he was a leader of the pro-Hindi movement in Urdu. He wrote this book to show what he considered the proper method of forming scientific terms. There are some who hold that, Urdu being largely Arabic, we should take these terms unaltered from Cairo and Beirut. Others are satisfied with an indiscriminate use of English, but Salīm’s school maintains that Urdu is essentially Hindi in its origin and that its terminology should be worked out on Indian, not Arabic lines. There is an exhaustive discussion of prefixes, suffixes, and methods of forming compounds. These are illustrated by innumerable examples. It is a striking piece of work on novel lines.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.


Rāma Bhaṭṭācārya, entitled Tarka-vāgīṣṭha from his proficiency in logic, composed not only a number of Sanskrit works on that cheerful science and on Bōpadēva’s grammar, but likewise the Prākṛta-kalpa-taru, which summarises in three sākhās of crabbed verse his views on the grammar of the Prakrit dialects. This work is of value, and unluckily it has been preserved in one manuscript only, which is sadly corrupt. Hence the task of editing it is one of extraordinary difficulty, which scarcely any scholar but Sir George Grierson could accomplish; and he is doing it tīlāyā, with admirable skill. He has now published with translation, notes, and indexes the greater part of two sākhās of the work. The stabakas of the 3rd sākhā, which deal with Apabhramṣa, have been treated by him in vols. li–ii of the Indian Antiquary; and these he has followed up with the 2nd sākhā, which describes the Śāuraseni Prakrit with its subdivisions (Pṛācyā, Āvantī, and Bāhlīkī), Māgadhī, Ardha-māgadhī, Dākṣināṭyā, and the eight vibhāṣās, of which Śākārikī, Cāṇḍālikā,
Śābarī, Ābhīrikā, Āutkali, Vānāukasī, and Māndurikā are regarded as degraded offshoots of Māgadhī, while Ṭākkī is imagined to be a bastard of Śaurasenī. To the text he has added marginal references to Mārkaṇḍeṣyā's Prākṛta-sarvasva, a full subject-index, Sanskrit-Prakrit and Prakrit-Sanskrit indexes, and photographic plates of the relevant pages of the unique manuscript. The work is done with the felicitous learning which has placed him on a unique pūthā in the sanctuary of Indology.

Rāma lived in comparatively modern times, and his knowledge of the dialects which he professed to describe was wholly drawn from books. Like his congeners, he was utterly lacking in scientific method and philological sense; he betrays this at the outset by his absurd statement that Śaurasenī is derived from Māhārāṣṭrī. Probably none of the Prakrit grammarians whose works are extant is greatly superior to him. Their dicta are based upon the rules laid down by their predecessors for the formation of Prakrit words and upon such passages exemplifying those rules as they found in mss. of plays and a few other books; and their grammars were intended mainly to enable "literary gents" to write more plays, with the characters in them talking Prakrit according to prescription. They can hardly ever have tested their rules or added to them by studying the actual speech of the people; and late writers such as Rāma could not have thus checked the flexions recorded in their grammars, for long before their day these had become things of the past, if they ever existed. Yet these dull pedants have bequeathed to students of Indian philology a treasure of very great value: though their systems are often absurd and their constructions artificial, they have preserved from classical times a crowd of genuine old words and flexions which are of the highest importance in the investigation of Aryan vernaculars. Rāma's grammar is specially valuable, inasmuch as it and Mārkaṇḍeṣyā's Prākṛta-sarvasva are the only surviving works of the Eastern School, which often differs materially in its teachings from the Western School, of which the choragus is the famous Hēmacandra. As Sir George says "When Rāma-sarman and Mārkaṇḍeṣya agree, we can be pretty sure that we know the teaching of the Eastern School on that particular point." But what of the cases where they disagree? A decision here is generally impossible. Sometimes both may be right; one may be recording the rule as laid down in the official tradition of the school, while the other may be reporting a form which he has actually found prescribed in another grammar or used in some ms. of a play. But
whatever its source, every datum of the grammarians deserves to be registered with exact critical care; and this is done by Sir George Grierson supremely well.

L. D. Barnett.


The Festschrift, a collection of learned papers written by the admirers and pupils of a professor, and bound together in one volume and dedicated to his honour, has somewhat gone out of favour in the learned world, and modern usage prefers to collect together the scattered shorter writings of the professor himself, and his pupils undertake the expense of re-publishing them in a convenient and readily accessible form. This has recently been done in Madrid to commemorate the jubilee of Professor Julián Ribera who attained the age of 70 in the present year; he was appointed Professor of Arabic in the University of Saragossa when he was only 20 years of age, and was transferred to the University of Madrid eighteen years later. His literary achievements are of permanent value to students of Islam and of Muslim Spain in particular, and as many of them have taken the form of contributions to learned publications not always easy of access, such as the transactions of the Royal Spanish Academy, of which he is so distinguished a member, they are very welcome in their present form.

The first place is given to a study of that attractive poet of the twelfth century in Spain, Ibn Quzmán, who like the contemporary troubadours of Provence wandered from castle to castle and subsisted on the liberality of his knightly patrons; he gave literary form to the popular speech, and his lyrics are written in a strange mixture of medieval Spanish and Arabic. For this species of lyrical verse in medieval Spain, arranged in strophes with characteristic combinations of rhyme and metre, Professor Ribera, in opposition to the majority of romanticists, has vindicated the origin of Próvençal poetry.

Equally original and erudite is his account of education in Muslim Spain, for he was the first Arabist to demonstrate the freedom which the teacher enjoyed in Muslim Spain, in contrast to the intervention of the State in matters of education in the Muhammadan East. The
first volume also contains a detailed account of the methods of education, of libraries and book-lovers in Muslim Spain, and two lengthy studies of the literary activities of the historians, al-Khushanî and al-Qâtiyya, both of the tenth century.

Another subject of investigation, in which Professor Ribera has been a pioneer, is that of Arabic music and its influence on the development of music in Europe, especially on that of the troubadours and the Minnesinger. In the second volume, several articles on this subject are put together, and they supplement his monumental work, *La Musica de las Cantigas*, which appeared as the third volume of the sumptuous edition, brought out by the Royal Spanish Academy, of the Hymns of the Virgin composed by Alfonso X of Castile. A special section is devoted to articles on the history of the Arabs in Valencia. The latter half of the volume is taken up with articles on various current problems of modern Spain, such as education, the Morocoo-question, etc.

The above account does not exhaust the varied interest of these finely printed volumes, and the thanks of all students of Islam are due to those who have caused them to be published in so convenient a form. They bear testimony to the recognition which his fellow-countrymen rightly feel is due to so distinguished a Spanish scholar, and his admirers in other countries would gladly have associated themselves with such a tribute.

An introduction by his colleague, Professor Miguel Asín Palacios, gives a summary of the literary activity of Professor Ribera, and an estimate of his efforts and achievements.

T. W. A.


The bibliography of Persian literature has been long neglected, and it has been left to two English scholars to supply the defect—first, Mr. E. Edwards led the way with his *Catalogue of Persian Printed Books in the British Museum* (1922), and now Mr. Storey has approached the problem from quite a different point of view. He proposes to make a survey of Persian literature under the headings of the subject-matter, and has begun in this first section with the commentaries and other compositions dealing with the Qur’an; his arrangement
is chronological, and under the name of each author is given a brief sketch of his life, references to his work on the Qur’ān and to his literary activity generally, and to the libraries in which copies of the work described are to be found. The bibliographer, the librarian, and the student will be equally grateful to Mr. Storey for having lightened their labours, and the latter especially will be saved from many a weary search.

By a skilful choice of varying type, the use of the volume for practical purposes is much facilitated, and the author has hereby shown himself a worthy successor of the distinguished scholars who have occupied the post of Librarian in the India Office Library before him.

The completion of this important enterprise will be eagerly awaited, for by such a work the author will have earned the gratitude of all students of Persian literature and of Islam, and it will take its place among such works of reference as Lane-Poole’s *Muhammadan Dynasties* and the *Encyclopædia of Islam*. It will provide guidance for generations of scholars, for many years must elapse before any similar work can be produced, and it may well be hoped that one of the immediate results of its publication will be to give a fresh impulse to the study of Persian in this country.

T. W. A.


With the exception of the Shāh Nāmah of Firdawsī and the works of Sa‘dī, probably no work in Persian literature has been so frequently illustrated by Persian painters as the Khamsah of Nizāmī. The most splendid example of artistic effort applied to the illustration of these five romances is to be found in the copy of the British Museum, numbered Or. 2265, copied for Shāh Ţahmāsp by Shāh Maḥmūd Nīshāpūrī between the years 1539 and 1543, and decorated by the most eminent of the Shāh’s court painters. Eleven of these paintings were reproduced by Dr. F. R. Martin in 1912 in his monumental work, *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India, and Turkey*. But this costly work is difficult of access, and made no attempt to produce the colour of the original pictures. Here, for the modest sum of thirty shillings we have fourteen full-page reproductions of the work of such great artists as Sulṭān Muḥammad, Mīrak, Mīr
Sayyid 'Ali, Mírzá 'Ali, and Muzaffar 'Ali, presented in the brilliancy of the original colours, so that distinctions of detail unrecognizable in the achromatic reproductions can here be easily studied, and the superb decorative effect of these masterpieces can be appreciated.

Mr. Laurence Binyon has published these paintings along with an illuminating study of the characteristics of Persian painting, a life of Nizámí and of Sháh Táhmasp, for whose royal library this copy of the Khamsah was prepared, an account of the separate poems and a detailed description of each picture. No similar work has hitherto been published in this country, and the text is in every respect adequate to the subject-matter with which it deals. It may be confidently expected that this publication will have a wide circulation, and will draw attention to the treasures of art hidden away in Persian MSS. in this country, and it is to be hoped also that it will stimulate some young scholars to devote themselves seriously to the study of them.

As hereby the names of Persian painters and of the heroes of Persian romance are likely to become more widely known in this country than has hitherto been the case, some reference may here be made to one aspect of the matter which is of interest to the orientalist. As compared with the Sanskritists whose system of transliteration, fixed several decades ago, has been accepted even in popular literature, the students of Arabic and Persian have been unfortunate; not only have they failed to agree among themselves as to a system of transliteration, but they bewilder the general reader by the variety of spellings they put forward and thereby themselves hinder the growth of a wider interest in the subject-matter of their researches and studies. It is probably because this book is intended to attract the attention of the general public, that Mr. Laurence Binyon (though an official of the British Museum) has discarded the system of transliteration adopted by that great institution for Persian names, and has omitted all signs employed by orientalists for indicating a long vowel or for distinguishing consonants liable to be confused in their English transcription. Such signs are commonly regarded as eccentricities, and might therefore be expected to create a prejudice in the mind of the ordinary reader, especially as there is not a general agreement on the matter among orientalists themselves. One book after another dealing with the Muhammadan East is brought out by the Press, and the introduction explains the system of transliteration adopted, and in most cases it is an invention of the particular author.
himself and illustrates his individual prejudices. It is not surprising that the general reader loses patience with such discordant guidance.

The last generation was familiar with the demand for an authoritative learned body that should adjudicate in such matters of spelling, as does the French Academy. We now have in this country an Academy of our own, and it has published a system of transliteration for Arabic and Persian, agreeing almost entirely with that adopted for several decades previously by the Royal Asiatic Society. But even one of the most distinguished members of the British Academy, the late Professor E. G. Browne, lent the authority of his great name to the use of accents instead of the line, which his colleagues are accustomed to use to indicate the long vowels, and unfortunately the publications of the Gibb Trust follow this regrettable idiosyncrasy of an eminent scholar and literary genius. But the accent has a long history behind it, and a meaning of its own quite distinct from that of a sign used to indicate a long vowel, and to use the one orthographic sign in place of the other only produces confusion, especially as the Arabic language has rules of its own for accent stress, and this can only by convention be indicated by the mark now unfortunately transferred to denote long vowels. Until oriental scholars themselves abandon this diversity of usage, they will continue to be looked at askance by their fellow-countrymen, and their studies will fail to be received within the circle of common interests. It is largely on account of the disagreement among orientalists themselves that the use of the few symbols employed in a scientific transliteration of Arabic and Persian appear to be uncouth to persons who nevertheless have no objection to writing François or Doré, and do not insist on spelling these names Francois and Dore because the alternatives appear strange. But Mirak must be written Mirak and Nāṣīr, Nasir. Consequently confusing varieties of spelling are perpetuated, to the bewilderment and disgust of the uninitiated reader and the retardation of the acceptance of the study of Muslim culture among the studies that profit by widespread interest and sympathy.

T. W. ARNOLD.

THE TRAVELS OF FRAY SEBASTIAN MANRIQUE. Vol. II. Edited by Lt.-Col. C. E. LUARD. Hakluyt Society, 1927.

This second volume of Manrique’s Travels (the first was reviewed Vol. V, p. 175 et seq., supra) should have been more interesting than the first. It contains the narrative of Manrique’s voyage to Manilla
and Macao, then across India to Lahore, down the Indus to Lari-
bandar, then back to Multan, and then, by way of Qandahar and
Baghdad, to Damascus, Cyprus, and Rome. Here evidently was
matter for observation of absorbing interest. But the good brother
passes over many things with an unobservant eye. Doubtless this
was due in part to the abhorrence with which he regarded pagan rites
and customs; and though he was sufficiently moved by curiosity to
watch from a screened gallery a feast given by Asaf Khan to Shah
Jahan, and though he purports to describe Moghul finance and
administration from his own inquiries and observation, his description
of the first is but a jejune performance, and his account of the second
is stolen from the pages of de Laet. As in the first volume his style
is horrible. He can seldom say a plain thing plainly. And as in the
first volume some of the notes are quite redundant. No person into
whose hands the Hakluyt Society’s volumes are likely to fall needs
to be told that the Styx was a river of the classical Hell or that
Aesculapius was the god of healing. But when all allowances have
been made, the *Travels* remain a valuable document and the editorial
work careful and solid.

Not the least instructive part of the present volume is that which
relates Manrique’s voyage to Manilla and Macao. Nothing could
illustrate more clearly the perils of country navigation in those days.
Manrique indeed reached Malacca from Goa without particular mishap
but proceeded by a vessel that was not sea-worthy and was therefore
almost overwhelmed by a storm between Malacca and the Philippines.
Again, on his way from Manilla to Macao his ship almost foundered
in a typhoon. Returning to India on a Danish vessel Manrique was
almost run aground. Three out of four of these short voyages
were only completed by good luck.

In reference to India, Manrique’s most interesting statement
relates to the Taj Mahal, then in course of building. He tells us that
when at Agra a thousand men were at work on the construction,
and that the Italian Veroneo was the architect. On this point Father
Hosten, who is a warm supporter of Manrique’s accuracy, contributes
a long note summarising the case for Veroneo. Colonel Luard,
however, could not concur with this view. He thought that Veroneo’s
connection with the building was probably limited to the decorative
inlay work; and observed pertinently that Veroneo was not an
architect by profession, and that great technical skill was needed to
plan such a building.
Another interesting episode describes the trouble that arose from one of Manrique's Muslim followers' killing a brace of peacocks in a village near Narayangarh in Bengal. The party was attacked by the villagers, and, on their complaint, arrested by the shiqdar of the pargana. The shiqdar was justifiably angry at the offence which had raised such a tumult within his jurisdiction, and Manrique had much ado to get the offender off with a mere beating. Though the village affected was small, the shiqdar was very anxious not to offend the villagers; and the story throws a striking light on the attitude of a minor Moghul official towards the Hindu population. Indeed, the Moghuls, in their wiser moments, like the servants of the East India Company, were strongly averse to arousing the religious feelings of the Hindus.

On the Moghul capture of Hugli from the Portuguese in 1632, Manrique, who then was in Arakan, has much to say. He ascribes it principally to the abduction, conversion, and marriage of a Muslim lady by Portuguese raiders from Arakan. Though not an eye-witness, Manrique certainly had been in contact with many who were, and his narrative is therefore important. To his account is appended additional matter, provided mainly by Father Hosten, including a long letter from Father Cabral, who had been actually present at the siege.

H. D.

British Routes to India. By H. L. Hoskins. pp. xii + 464. Longmans, 1928. 30s. net.

Dr. Hoskins's volume will fill a long-felt want. Till its appearance there was no volume to which the student could refer for an account of the manner in which the Suez route to India came into existence, or of the various attempts made in the nineteenth century to open up the Euphrates valley as a highway to the East. Dr. Hoskins has done his work thoroughly and well. He has worked through a considerable part of the Foreign Office papers, and some at the India Office; he has ransacked the printed literature on the subject, and he has besides examined a number of newspapers and other periodicals concerned with Eastern topics. The result is that he has been able to put together an exceedingly interesting narrative of the steps by which the Suez route gradually was developed into one of the world's great highways. The prevailing winds hinder the navigation under sail up and down the Red Sea except at certain seasons of the
year. Early projects, such as those of Warren Hastings, were doomed by the conditions of the time to failure. But the application of steam power to navigation transformed the problem. When therefore, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, paddle steamers began to navigate British and American waterways, men began at once to contemplate the possibility of reviving the ancient routes to the East by the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf. It was, however, a difficult matter. The early steam engine was feeble and extravagant of fuel; and no one could tell without actual experiment how it could be best employed in expediting communications between India and England. The enthusiasm of Johnston, Waghorn, and Taylor, however, produced a number of plans, eagerly discussed by the "Steam Committees" which were formed at the three presidencies in the twenties of the nineteenth century. Calcutta and Madras were bent, if possible, on establishing steam communication by way of the Cape, since this would not only avoid the inconveniences of trans-shipment but also minimise the advantages that would accrue to Bombay if the Suez route were adopted. In this the eastern presidencies were striving vainly against fate. Both the merchants and the government of Bombay were resolved upon demonstrating the advantages of a route which, if developed, would establish Bombay as one of the great ports of the world. Hardly had Captain Johnston and his associates painfully conducted the Enterprise in 1826, from Falmouth to Calcutta by the Cape in 113 days, when the Governor of Bombay ordered the building of the Hugh Lindsay specially designed to show the possibility of steaming from Bombay to Suez. This route, with the numerous places at which fuel could be stored and taken on board, was far better suited to the early marine engine than the long tracks of the Cape route. The experiment proved successful. In spite of the dislike of the Court of Directors, the Company was obliged to adopt the new methods of sea transport, and under the pressure of public opinion the overland route was at last established, mails being carried by Admiralty packets from Falmouth to Alexandria, and from Suez to Bombay by the vessels of the Indian Navy.

The story of this development and the later more elaborate organization of the route under the auspices of the Peninsular and Oriental Company makes exceedingly interesting reading; but even more important were the political complications that resulted from this transformation of international highways. The importance of the eastern Mediterranean rose high, since it had now become the vestibule
to eastern waters; and when the French revived in the middle of the century the old project of cutting a canal through the isthmus of Suez English statesmen naturally regarded this as fraught with momentous and uncertain consequences. Hence the strong opposition of Palmerston and our endeavours to set up a rival route by renewing our inquiries into the feasibility of a Euphrates valley railway. Into the intricate developments that followed we cannot here enter; but we think that Dr. Hoskins succeeds well in unravelling the tangled skein. As is natural, and perhaps inevitable, the narrative from time to time gives too strong an impression of English foreign policy being solely inspired by the need of protecting the route to India. The clue cannot be found in any single thread. But no one will deny that Dr. Hoskins has given us a thoroughly competent work on a matter of outstanding importance alike in the nineteenth century and since.

H. Dodwell.


Mr. Beni Prasad, at the present time a Reader in the University of Allahabad, some years ago made himself known by his careful and generally sound History of Jahāngīr. He has quite recently issued two bulky books, of which one deals with the theory of Government in post-Vedic India, the other one being the work which we have the pleasure of reviewing here. We should like to say at once that Mr. Beni Prasad also in this work reveals himself as a careful and conscientious scholar with a power for sifting evidence which is, unfortunately, not found in all those of his countrymen who have lately taken to writing the political and administrative history of Ancient India.

A work like the present one could scarcely be expected to be founded even partly on wholly new and startling materials. As a matter of fact the learned author has availed himself of the numerous sources to be drawn upon for his purpose, both the native and the European ones. And in using these sources he has as a rule shown a wise discrimination. It must also be emphasized that Mr. Beni Prasad is a scholar in possession of a very wide reading who knows not only the standard works on his subjects, but is also acquainted with the main contents of Western Oriental Journals as far as they are
of importance to his researches. As for the general principles laid down in Chapter I, they are on the whole remarkably sound, and we should like to recommend various writers—not only the countrymen of Mr. Beni Prasad—to take them into due consideration. Typographically the book is simple, but on the whole singularly free from misprints; a curious little slip on p. 159 has been duly corrected at the end of the work. The bibliography which runs through some thirteen pages is modelled on European principles, and the index is a full and quite valuable one.

So much for the general characteristics of the book. We shall now allow ourselves to indulge in a few casual remarks which are, however, in no way intended to detract from the general value of the work.

In Chapter II the author comes to speak upon the date of the Rigveda, and in general he assents to Max Müller that the period 1200–1000 B.C. is the safest date for the Manḍalas i–ix. This may be all very well, and we cannot refute, on any valid grounds, the conclusion that such a date should be considered the best one. But we must always remember that after all Max Müller’s dates are simply founded upon calculations of the very flimsiest sorts. If, as the present writer thinks probable,¹ the Aryans began to invade India about 2000–1800 B.C., then the oldest hymns of the Rigveda may well go back to a far more remote time than 1200 B.C.

In the same chapter the author speaks of the character of kingship and in that connection he, of course, also hits upon the kingship of Varuṇa. We shall not enter upon a discussion of the author’s treatment of Rigveda iv, 42,² but only allow ourselves to remark that, according to our opinion, the kingship of Varuṇa can scarcely be taken as the prototype of Vedic Aryan monarchy. To the present writer it seems evident—and no valid arguments to the contrary have become known to him—that the idea of a supreme monarchy as manifested in the kingship of Varuṇa (and Mitra) is of un-Aryan origin and closely connected with the ideas of absolute and universal sovereignty current among the peoples of Mesopotamia. The kingship of the Great King spread from Assyria and Babylonia to the Medes and Persians, and from the Iran of the Achemenians it finally came to the India

¹ Cf. this Bulletin, IV, 167.
² Mr. Beni Prasad apparently attributes iv, 42, 1, to Varuṇa, but iv, 42, 3, to Trasadasyu. According to the native tradition, iv, 42, 1–6 are the ástastutī of Trasadasyu which is, however, impossible. Cf. my remarks in Die Suparnaasage, p. 96 sqq.
of Candragupta—or possibly even to that of the Nandas, for of them we, unfortunately, know next to nothing. On the contrary the institutions of the Aryans were purely feudal ones. We find the earliest Iranians as petty kings and feudal lords amongst the peoples of Mesopotamia and the frontierlands of Asia Minor, and the mounted hordes of the Scythians were undoubtedly organized along lines which were not unlike those of our own Middle Ages. The Greeks of the Homeric age know of a supreme war-lord, but he is only the primus inter pares of a crowd of boisterous princes who are only too often apt openly to defy his authority. We need scarcely mention the Celts and Teutons in this connection; and if the early Romans seem to form an exception it is that their institutions such as we know them are no longer of purely Aryan origin. Thus there is not the slightest ground for doubting that the Aryans when entering the north-west of India were a motley crowd of feudal clans led by warrior-princes of the type of Indra, strong in warfare, fond of meat and intoxicating liquor, and adventurous in love, even if possessing no very refined manners. The contrast between Indra and Varuna—for there undoubtedly is one—is exactly that between the headling of a roving and plundering clan and the mighty ruler of a well-ordered city-state. And of that contrast perhaps a faint echo reaches us through the verses of Rigveda iv, 42.

Gautama’s precepts (p. 67) concerning the land-tax being one-sixth or one-eighth of the gross produce, is aptly illustrated by the inscription of Rummindêi, according to which that village was made to pay one-eighth instead of the usual one-sixth. 1 When speaking of the dharmasûtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita (p. 75) the learned author has apparently overlooked the paper by Ludwig, VÖJ. xv, p. 307 sqq., according to which Śaṅkhalikhita was originally "written (by the Creator) on the frontal bone".

What exactly is meant by "a Kṣattriya of inferior birth" (p. 82) may not be quite so easy to define. Perhaps the Mauryas, known by tradition as low-castes, are such Kṣattriyas of a lower order. And besides, if the traditions concerning Parasûrâma be accepted, are not really all Kṣattriyas of more or less spurious birth? But the stories of Parasûrâma, one of the most unprepossessing figures of a rather disagreeable pantheon, although known to the Great Epic, are probably late and of Deccanese or South Indian origin. The tales of the ruthless

slaughter of the Kṣattriyas by Paraśurāma may in reality have something to do with the idea that no real Kṣattriyas exist in the south of the peninsula.

Uśanas, the Guru of the demons, according to the Mahābhārata told them that scriptures had no authority whatsoever unless they were supported by pure reason (p. 99). Kauṭilya quotes the disciples of Uśanas as admitting only one science, viz. the daṇḍanīti, caring nothing for the Vedas and the philosophical systems. And it seems not improbable that the venerable teacher of the Daityas like Brhaspati, the Guru of the gods, was thought to have inculcated doctrines which come dangerously near to those proclaimed by the nāstikaśiromāṇi Cārvāka.

The trampling to death of criminals by elephants apparently is of old standing in India, being mentioned already in the Jātakas (p. 150), and everyone who has visited the Indian Museum in South Kensington is instantly reminded of an indescribable scene from the Akbar-nāma, which at any rate makes us feel relieved that such abominations have now been stopped for good. The form Mausikanos quoted on page 16, and its identification with Mucukarna—a name otherwise unknown to the present writer—can scarcely be correct. For Mououkavos could not well be anything but *Mūṣikāna, whatever that may mean—the King of Mūṣika or something else.¹

On pp. 315, 339, and 390 Mr. Beni Prasad comes to mention the dates of the Mṛchakṣatikā, of Daṇḍin, and of Viśākhadatta respectively. As for Daṇḍin, the paper by Professor Jacobi, SBPrAW. 1922, p. 210 sqq., might aptly have been quoted. As regards the Muddrārākṣasa and the Mṛchakṣatikā, the present writer feels fairly convinced that he has been about right in consigning them to the fifth and the seventh or eighth centuries respectively, cf. JRAS. 1923, pp. 585 sqq., 593 sqq.² In no case could the former drama be as late as Professor Jacobi and his supporters want it to be.

With these few remarks we bid farewell to Mr. Beni Prasad, wishing him every success in his continued activity as a research worker in the field of the political and administrative history of his native land.

Jarl Charpentier.

² The counter-arguments of Professor Keith (IA. lii, 59 sqq.), as usual, are no arguments at all, as they simply consist in denying evidence without adducing other that proves something to the contrary. Thus, when I find in Śīnapālacakha, i, 47, an imitation of an expression in the final verse of the Muddrārākṣasa, Professor Keith finds that Viśākhadatta has instead imitated Māgha, etc.

The present writer has had the great pleasure of reviewing for this *Bulletin,*¹ vols. iii–v of Professor von Le Coq’s monumental work on what he calls “Die Buddhistische Spätantike” in Central Asia. Already, with the appearance of the fourth volume, it seemed as if this magnificent publication had come to an end; such expectations, however, were baffled in a surprising and pleasant way by the issue of volume v in 1926. And that volume, splendid as it is, has now been surpassed by a still more extensive one, the sixth of the series. From certain allusions in the text, it seems that we have to expect still another volume, bringing new materials from the seemingly inexhaustible collections of Central Asian art at Berlin.

The preceding volumes have all been the work of Professor von Le Coq, and of him alone. But in the present one he has associated with himself a young German scholar, Dr. E. Waldschmidt, who has already acquired a well-founded reputation amongst his colleagues by his book on Gandhāra, Turfan, and Kutscha, as well as by the learned treatise, by him and Dr. Lentz, on *Jesus in Manichaeism,* which was published some time ago by the Berlin Academy. Dr. Waldschmidt is possessed of a good knowledge of Sanskrit and Chinese, besides being an archaeologist; thus there can be no doubt whatsoever that he has taken up the work allotted to him in a state of complete preparedness to which the results of his achievements also bear eloquent witness. His task has been to compose about two-thirds of the text, which deals chiefly with the numerous pictures of Jātakas and Avadānas preserved at Qyzil and Kirisch and known already through the works of Grünwedel. To identify these pictures with the legends and tales found in various and unsystematic collections is a difficult and laborious business which sometimes must needs end in a non liquet. However, Dr. Waldschmidt has succeeded very well in most cases, and has made notable progress in comparison with his predecessor, Professor Grünwedel. He has been kind enough to quote with approval some of the modest proposals for such identifications put forth by the present writer in a little paper some time ago.² And although I am quite aware of the very limited value of those

¹ Cf. above, III, 814 sq.; IV, 348 sq.
² Cf. this *Bulletin,* IV, 493 sq.
casual proposals it is always a pleasure to find some of them endorsed by a scholar so much at home in this field of research as is Dr. Waldschmidt. He is to be warmly congratulated upon his excellent work, and it is certainly not an exaggeration to say that we are entitled to hope for still greater achievements from him.

Professor von Le Coq has himself undertaken to compose the descriptive text accompanying the twenty-nine magnificent plates at the end of the volume. It goes without saying that he has done this with his usual mastery of all the complicated details, and that we may even in this work draw benefit from his profound knowledge of everything connected with the history of dress, weapons, implements, etc. Professor von Le Coq is a man of deep learning, wide experience, and outspoken ideas. Of the upholders of a domineering Hellenistic element in the ancient art of Central Asia and the Far East he is the staunchest and most unflinching one. And though his ideas have met with but little approval in certain quarters, it seems safe to predict that they will come out victorious in the end. The recent French excavations in Afghanistan have undoubtedly gone a long way to prove the movement towards the north-east of the Gândhâra art as well as the obvious similarities between the art of places like Bâmiyân and that of Central Asia; and we are as yet only at the beginning. We may congratulate Professor von Le Coq upon his steadfast adherence to ideas that seem alone to be historically sound and predict a splendid justification of such ideas in the future.

Of a general criticism of this work we can offer little or nothing, but we shall allow ourselves presently to indulge in a very few modest remarks concerning some details. But before entering upon them we should willingly dwell for one moment upon the exterior of this charming book. We confess to having seldom met with anything like it, never with anything wholly surpassing it. Print and plates alike are the very pick of what they could well be, and bear testimony to the high standard of German printing offices, a standard which could apparently scarcely be set higher.

The parts of the work upon which the present writer would like to dwell briefly are those containing the descriptions and identifications of the Jâtaka and Avadâna pictures. A great number of these were already known from Grünwedel's *Alt-Kutscha* and *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten*; and Dr. Waldschmidt has here published many new and interesting parallels. Most of them, of course, illustrate the various acts of self-sacrifice perpetrated during former existences by
the Bodhisattva, topics that are mostly of a repulsive and even blood-
curdling nature. It is curious to observe how often Brahmins play
here the parts of the wicked creatures who ask for the Great Being’s
head, blood, marrow, hands, etc. It really seems as if there existed
a conscious tendency to hold the chief supporters of the orthodox
sacrificial religion up to scorn and hatred. The texts to whose tales
these pictures form illustrations are mostly such as the Divyāvadāna,
the Kalpanāṇāḍitīkā, the Dsanglun, Chavannes’ Contes et Apolóques,
etc., and everyone who has made acquaintance with them, immediately
recognizes in these little scenes their sombre and awe-inspiring descrip-
tions of the terrible self-mutilations of the Bodhisattva.

With most of the new identifications proposed by Dr. Waldschmidt
we heartily agree; and we willingly admit that the identification of
Figure 143 with the Vidhurapāṇḍitajātaka which we formerly attempted 1
will have to fall. The words adduced by Dr. Waldschmidt from JPTS.
1909, p. 246, exactly fit this and the parallel pictures, and fix it beyond doubt that the scene belongs to the
Kalmāṣapāda-story.

But we do not feel just as convinced in a few other cases. Thus,
e.g. the scene in Fig. 3 (p. 10) cannot possibly be connected with the
story of Mahāprabhāsa and the mad elephant, as here the animal is
seen reposing quietly under a tree with the rider sitting on his back.
Dr. Waldschmidt also declares it to be doubtful; but, unfortunately,
no other identification has so far presented itself as acceptable.

Nor does the present writer still feel fully satisfied that the Figs. 7–9
do really depict to us the story of Kṣāntivādin. 2 But his doubts may
well be set aside, as he has, unfortunately, nothing more likely to
suggest. Besides, Kṣāntivādin is, of course, a popular topic with the
Buddhist artists.

Figures 109 and 110 (p. 43) Dr. Waldschmidt describes as simply
picturing the Bodhisattva plunging into an abyss in order to obtain
a subhāśita. 3 This, however, does not seem very convincing. The
Bodhisattva is seen plunging headlong from his throne amongst a
group of coiled snakes with raised heads. It seems obvious that
this is meant to illustrate some sort of self-sacrifice on behalf of the
snakes. But where can we find a text that would form an apt com-
mentary to such a scene?

1 Cf. this Bulletin, IV, 498.
2 Cf. this Bulletin, IV, 494.
3 Cf. Rāṣtrapālupariprccchā, No. 3.
Nor does the Nacca-Jātaka fit the Figs. 206–7, where we see a peacock in company with a curiously decorated elephant. For we should undoubtedly expect one of these creatures to be the Bodhisattva, and this is not the case in the Jātaka quoted, where no elephant comes on the stage and the peacock is a foolish being. One might rather think of the Mora- and Mahāmora-jātakas (No. 159 and 491) if it were not for the elephant, which does not play a part there either. Thus the scene so far remains unidentified.

A few more quotations from previous literature may perhaps be added, at one or two passages.


Further parallels for the Valāhassajātaka (p. 54, n. 1) are the following: Divyāvadāna, p. 120 sq.; Kāraṇḍavyūha, 52 (cf. Burnouf, Introduction, p. 199); Beal, Romantic Legend, p. 332; and the ninth tale of the Jain Nāyādhammakahāna.1 As regards the Ruru-Jātaka at Barhut, cf. also Huber, BEFEO. iv, 1993, and Pischel, Sitzber. Pr. Akad. Wiss., 1905, p. 512. On the Nyagrodhamārga-story and its Western parallel, cf. Dr. Gaster, JRAS. 1894, p. 335 sq.2

In Figs. 181–2 (p. 57) we have scenes from the Naḷapānajātaka (No. 20) which seem exactly to tally with the story as told in the Pāli Jātaka. For in both pictures we see the monkeys drawing water from the pond by means of hollow reeds. It seems not quite unnecessary to mention this, which has been passed over in silence by Dr. Waldschmidt.

On p. 57 there is a translation of the verse 35 of the Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā. We, however, allow ourselves to doubt that the word sanuccchraya can be translated by “dwelling-place situated on high”. The word here, as elsewhere in Buddhist scriptures, must mean “body”; the noble ape gives his life away to the hunter for some reason of which we are ignorant, but which we may some time hit upon in one of the ancient texts.

2 Cf. ibid., 1893, p. 869 sq.
The chair described on p. 33 is interesting in so far that it is apparently the one called vetrāsana "cane-chair" in the Sanskrit literature. Cf. Jātakamālā, p. 138, 12; Kumārasambhava, 6, 53; Nātyaśāstra, 13, 208.¹

Finally, we should like to remark that Dr. Waldschmidt, who has otherwise made use of all available literature, does not seem to have noticed an excellent paper by Professor Foucher called "Les Représentations de Jātaka dans l'Art Boudhique".² In that paper we find, besides other precious things, a list of the Jātakas dealt with here, together with indications of the appertaining pictures and the publications where they are to be found. From that list the notes of Dr. Waldschmidt may obtain some supplementary materials. Thus the Chaddantajātaka is also found at Bodh-Gayā, Sāñchi, and Pagan; the Śibi, ii, at Mathurā, Amarāvatī, and in Gandhāra and China; the Ruru in Gandhāra; the Kṣāntivādi at Benares; the Kacchapa at Bodh-Gayā, Mathurā, and Nalanda; and the Valāhassa at Mathurā, Boro-Boedoer, and Pagan. M. Foucher, on p. 19, also repeats his assertions concerning the Maitrakanyakāvadāna, which Dr. Waldschmidt seems to doubt (p. 38).

We wind up with repeated congratulations to Professor von Le Coq and Dr. Waldschmidt upon their brilliant achievement, and hope soon to have the pleasure of meeting with a new one of their charming volumes.

Jarl Charpentier.


That a large and magnificent volume could be written on Persian navigation is in itself a proof of its author's unstinted energy and devotion to the investigation of many and various sources. For most scholars would undoubtedly hold with the authority quoted in the preface that "the Persians were never a maritime people". The great poets of Persia, from Firdausī on, have expatiated with volubility upon the dangers of sea-voyage and the security of conveyance by land. Salamis is the Trafalgar of Ancient Greece, and although Xerxes—little as we know about him personally—was certainly no

¹ Cf. JRAS. 1923, p. 608.
Napoleon, there is more than one parallel between the war of the Greeks and Persians and the giant campaign between Britain and the continent dominated by the condottiere from Corsica. Nor do the attempts of Chosrau Parwiz or of the Omayyad and Abbasid Khalifs that followed in his tracks to capture Constantinople with the means of a navy inspire us with any great confidence in the naval efforts of the Sassanians.

However, Professor Hādi Ḥasan has, with painstaking energy, sifted his various sources and brought together ample materials to prove that while the Persians of the inland were at all times averse to seafaring, the tribes on the coast of the Persian Gulf have always been sturdy and well-equipped mariners, who piloted their craft not only across the water to South Arabia, but also into the seas of India and China. We have followed his exposition with great interest and sincerely congratulate him upon the good results he has achieved. His publishers, Messrs. Methuen and Co., are certainly also to be congratulated upon the elegant and attractive attire in which the work has been presented to the public.

The introductory chapter dealing with Persian navigation in legendary times is, of course, based upon totally fanciful materials, and gives no support for judging the extent of Persian acquaintance with seafaring and its perils. Also the chapter on Eastern trade conditions before the times of the Sassanians is far too short for its purpose, and partly out of touch with modern research. The excellent works of Mr. Charlesworth and Mr. Warmington might have been consulted with great advantage—though the second one did perhaps appear a little too late to be of real use to the author. But the four great chapters dealing with Achaemenian and Sassanian navigation, and with the seafaring craft of early Muhammadan times and of the period between the tenth and the sixteenth centuries are of real value and interest. Scholars hitherto do not seem to have paid much heed to the maritime activities of the ancient and mediaeval Persians; and Professor Ḥasan has merited our thanks by writing this interesting and in part fascinating book.

There are, however, some drawbacks which do not perhaps seriously vitiate the work, but ought still to be pointed out. For we hope that the learned author will pursue his researches in some cognate field.

1 Trade Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire, Cambridge, 1924.
2 The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India, Cambridge, 1928.
of investigation, and in that case it would be well to avoid a repetition of certain inaccuracies which are not quite in his favour.

Classical sources the author seems to know only at secondhand, viz. through translations. Now, translations may, of course, be excellent, and though we do not personally know all those used by Professor Hasan, it seems fairly obvious that they are. But for a purpose like this, translations, be they ever so excellent, are of next to no use; unless the texts themselves be at the entire disposal of the author he is apt to make more or less serious mistakes which would otherwise have been quite avoidable.

To quote only a few examples. The quotation, on p. 17, from Herodotus, i, 125, does not seem wholly intelligible, and can scarcely have been intended. On p. 28, we hear about "Ariabignes, son of Darius and Gobryas" which makes one feel somewhat uneasy; Herodotus vii, 97, of course, has: ὁ Δαρείων παῖς καὶ τῆς Γεώβρυέω θυγατρός. On p. 32, we hear about a certain Boges—such was most probably his name—that he "burnt himself with his colleagues" on the funeral pyre"; but Herodotus, vii, 107, tells us that he ἐσφαξέ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὸς παλακάς καὶ τοὺς οἶκετας καὶ ἐπειτὰ ἐσέβαλε ἐς τὸ πῦρ... ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ἐωντόν ἐσέβαλε ἐς τὸ πῦρ. "Colleagues" here seems to be entirely out of place, and is apt to create a false impression. And examples like these could certainly be multiplied.

Nor is the book wholly free from other minor inaccuracies. Cambyses (p. 19) scarcely committed suicide; the Behistūn inscription of Darius I tells us that pasēva kabūjiya huvāmarśiyuš amariyātā, and whatever that may mean it most probably does not indicate suicide. Nor did his death occur in 521 B.C., but rather in the summer of 522 B.C. That the Parthian empire was founded by Mithradates I (p. 51) whose regnal dates (c. 170–138 B.C.) are besides scarcely acceptable, is news to all who thought it fairly common knowledge that it took its start with Arsakes and Tirdates in about 250 B.C. That the cave I of Ajanṭā has preserved a picture of an embassy from Chosrau Parwīz to Pulikeśin II was long held probable; it is, however, nowadays contested by the great scholar who has lately inspected the Ajanṭā frescoes. Finally—not to make a fairly unimportant list

1. Italicized by the present writer.
long—we learn on p. 147 that Alboquerque captured both the King of Ormuz and the Hidalcão. But although he conferred upon the troops of Ismā’īl Ādil Shāh a crushing defeat at Goa, not even the Portuguese historians have ever asserted that he led into captivity O Hidalchão do braço triumphantê. ¹

This, perhaps, is the first great work of Professor Hâdı Hasan. We congratulate him warmly upon his fair success, and wish that he may continue his valuable researches with what may be a still greater one.

JARL CHARPENTIER.


Professor Williams Jackson, to whose unceasing activity Iranian, and especially Zoroastrian, studies owe so much, has in the present volume edited the original English text—necessarily provided with numerous alterations and additions—of his contribution to the Grundriss of Geiger and Kuhn on Iranian religion. ² To this very valuable treatise he has added some papers of less extent, most of which were hitherto unpublished. The first one is an interesting paper on "The Zoroastrian Doctrine of the Freedom of the Will", the second one consists of a small collection of short notes dealing with Zoroaster and Zoroastrianism from various aspects. Of these later parts of the book we shall have little to say, except that we have read them with considerable interest and learnt several new details from them. The topic of the "Freedom of the Will" has, as the learned author himself admits, scarcely been dealt with exhaustively; however, Professor Jackson’s paper will, as we sincerely hope, form a solid basis of future investigations into this fascinating field of research.

The exposition of Iranian religion by Professor Jackson—well-known since twenty-five years ago from the pages of the Grundriss—is remarkable for the general soundness of its views and the clear and even flow of its style. It cannot well be described as containing any startling innovations; and it would apparently be quite unjust

¹ Os Lusíadas, x, 72.
² Cf. Grundriss der iranischen Philologie, ii (1903), 612 sqq.
to accuse Professor Jackson of holding any heretical views in regard to Indo-Iranian religion. But then handbooks should not, as a rule, be given up to heresies; and the present writer has always felt deeply indebted to the author of the *Zoroastrian Studies* for the good guidance he received from several of his works when starting upon his own very modest studies of the Avestan language and the Zoroastrian religion. He now takes great pleasure in acknowledging once more his indebtedness after the perusal of this new book by Professor Jackson.

Zoroaster,¹ the Prophet of Iran, is to us a mysterious person like nearly all the sages of olden times. His time is unknown, though the Pahlavi tradition claims for him dates equivalent to 660–583 B.C., dates endorsed formerly and even now by Professor Jackson. The discussion of this knotty problem might have been somewhat fuller. Not only has Professor Meillet, in a little book otherwise quoted,² claimed for the Prophet a date that nearly coincides with those advocated by Anquetil Duperron and Professor Hertel. Professors Keith ³ and Clemen ⁴ have, as well as the present writer, contested the altogether insufficient reasons upon which Professor Hertel imagines himself to have proved that Zoroaster was still alive in 522 B.C. As for myself, I feel just as convinced now as before that the date of Zoroaster will be found somewhere in the neighbourhood of 1,000 B.C. Nor have the rather ludicrous assaults of Professor Hertel, in a pamphlet called "*Die Methode der arischen Forschung*" (1906), made me feel less certain about that. That scientific discussions should be carried on with arguments and not with invectives seems rather a commonplace, though at times one feels inclined to believe that it is not. It also seems clear that the unanimous tradition according to which Zoroaster originated in Western Iran, but preached his doctrine in Bactria, may well rest upon a sound foundation. In Bactria he found support at the court of a certain Vištâspa, probably a petty ruler, though raised by tradition to the rank of a mighty monarch. And the new doctrine which wholly denounced polytheism and bloody sacrifices, had to stand a violent persecution from the

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¹ As for the name *Zaràōnśītra* it is, of course, still unclear (cf. p. 247 sq.) though I have personally no doubt that it means something like "the old camel" or "possessor of old camels". It is somewhat curious that the form *Zarāōnśītra*, which is undoubtedly the oldest transcription that we possess, gives no evidence for the doubtful internal *ē*.


³ *I.H.Q.*, i, 4 sqq.

⁴ *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft*, vol. 40, p. 45 sqq.
priests of the old ritual and from the "Scythian" barbarians from beyond the Oxus.

The upholders of the old sacrificial religion are the kavis—colleagues of the old Uśanas Kāvya, the purohita of the Asuras—and the karapans, probably people connected with the kalpa, the ritual. Such persons undoubtedly belonged to the old sacrificial priests of the Indo-Iranians, perpetuated in India since the oldest times by the Brahmans who pressed the Soma, slaughtered the sacrificial animals, and chanted the hymns to the Vedic gods. In Persia they were represented at a later date by the Magi, to the Western world the arch-priests of necromancy and sortilege. That these Magi did for long try to uphold the old religion and withstand the Zoroastrian reform I do not in the slightest degree doubt, but at last they apparently had to yield. When or why they did it we do not know, only that they did. Brahminism in India took over from its rivals, Buddhists, etc., the attitude of abolishing bloody sacrifices and meat-eating and in a very clever way gradually absorbed its opponents. The Magi of Persia from sheer necessity may have adapted themselves to a modified Zoroastrianism that became deeply tinged with their own old doctrines and practices. It would be mere guesswork to suggest, as has already been done, that the revolution of Gaumāta was not wholly a political one, and that Darius Hystaspes through the massacre of the Magi broke also their spiritual resistance.

The religion of the Aryans chiefly consisted in worshipping the great powers of Nature, and may in general have been on the lines well-known from the passage of Herodotus, i, 131 sqq. This polytheistic creed Zoroaster himself violently opposed; but it may not be quite so easy to tell what were the details of his doctrine. The Gāthās, unfortunately, offer great difficulties to the interpretation, and numerous passages may still be said to be simply unintelligible. As for the later Avestan texts they undoubtedly contain purely Zoroastrian elements; but these are strongly mixed up with a jumble of doctrines and rituals which may not inadequately be described as containing the religion of the later generations of Magi. Besides, these texts are grammatically in a deplorable state. Whether we shall succeed in reconstructing what is called the Arsacid Avesta may be wholly left aside here as being fairly unimportant. For it seems perfectly obvious that no single part of this Avesta could ever be proved to go back directly to the teachings of Zoroaster himself.

But concerning certain fundamental doctrines of Zoroaster, there
can happily be little doubt. The Prophet was a fervent upholder of a monotheistic doctrine according to which there existed only one supreme God, Ahura Mazda "Our Lord Wisdom", or something like that. Of this God, Zoroaster is the prophet just as Muhammad is the prophet of Allah; and in his prophetship he had been instituted through a series of visions (Yasna, 43) to which he was brought by the archangel Vohu Manah just as Gabriel summoned the Arabian prophet into the presence of the very Highest. Ahura Mazda, however, has a twin-brother (Yasna, 30, 3 sq., cf. 45, 2), the Evil Spirit, the leader of the host of demons and sinners, who will hold his own until the final decision when the powers of Good will for ever annihilate their opponents. That good men—i.e. the adherents of the Zoroastrian religion—will finally inherit Paradise is sure and certain; and it is just as sure and certain that the upholders of Evil will be hurled into the boundless abode of torments and will in the end perish in the purifying stream of molten metal. Nor can Zoroaster, like Muhammad, be said to have been inaccessible to a "pious" joy, while contemplating the horrors that are in store for the unbelievers. The Gaithas further give ample indications that Zoroaster looked upon agriculture and the protection of kine as works promotive of piety and was staunchly opposed to the nomadic mode of life.

We have no sure means for ascertaining from what sources Zoroaster drew the inspiration of these fairly revolutionary doctrines. It may well be that there existed, within the Aryan religion, monotheistic tendencies of which we are not now aware; and it is certainly remarkable that Varuna, the Indian counterpart of Ahura Mazda, is some times looked upon by his adherents as the highest God, the other gods being only his humble satellites. However, if Zoroaster was really a native of Western Iran, he may well have at an early period of his life come under the influence of monotheistic influences prevalent in neighbouring un-Aryan religions.

But we shall go no further with these somewhat perfunctory remarks. Before taking leave of the very useful work of Professor Jackson, to whom we wish to express once more our deep gratitude, we shall only allow ourselves a short remark upon one or two interesting details.

According to the Zoroastrian doctrine (p. 29) the abode of the

1 On Varuna, cf. the interesting, but highly uneven and confused, work by Professor Günert called Der arische Weltkönig und Heiland (1923); G. undoubtedly has advanced some rather striking ideas, but he is seriously hampered by his ignorance of everything Indian.
blessed is in the South, while Hell is situated in the extreme North. It is well known that Hindu theology has located the realm of Death in the South, while the North holds the abode of the gods and of the blissful Uttarakurus. It seems very difficult indeed to form an opinion of the relative primitiveness of these undoubtedly connected ideas. If, however, the Aryans penetrated into Iran and India from some more northerly home such as Central Asia and carried with them from there a common idea of an abode of Death—turned by Zoroaster into an abode of Satan and his hosts—it seems probable enough that such a place was originally localized in the extreme North, the home of darkness and cold. That the Hindus should have inverted this idea and made Death reside in the sultry and pestiferous regions of the South does not seem altogether astonishing.

The arch-devil Indra, according to Zoroastrian theology, is the special foe of the archangel Aša (Vahišta). The word aša-, whatever be its real phonetic value, is the equivalent of Skt. āta-, and āta, of course, is the special possession of the great god Varuṇa, who is undoubtedly the Indian counterpart of Ahura Mazda. The suggestion is perhaps permissible, if nothing more, that the enmity of Indra towards Aša is in some way connected with the undoubted rivalry between Indra and Varuṇa in the Rigveda.

On p. 104, Professor Jackson speaks of the Avestan pairikā, the Persian perī. It would have been interesting to know his opinion concerning the contested etymology of this difficult word.

And, finally, a mere question. In his chapter on Manichæism Professor Jackson (p. 188) mentions the well-known tradition, that the mother of the heresiarch Mani belonged to the family of the Arsacides. Now it is quite true that the King of Kings Bahrām I, persecuted Mani and condemned him to a most horrible death, partly for political reasons and partly because his doctrine appeared to the Persian clergy to be immoral, and a travesty of the Mazdayasian religion. But may not blood-relationship with a dynasty that had been dethroned by the Sassanians have also formed a reason for annihilating a man who proved to be dangerous already from other points of view?

Jarl Charpentier.

1 Cf. this Bulletin, iv, 147 sqq.
2 Cf. Jackson, p. 49.
4 Cf. however, Flügel, Mani seine Lehre und seine Schriften, p. 119 sq.
5 Cf. also Labourt, Le Christianisme dans l'Empire Perse, p. 43.

It gives me great pleasure to write a short notice of this useful and interesting little book. For, although several monumental works have been presented to us by Father Schurhammer, S.J., Dr. O. Nachod, and others, materials that throw light on this comparatively obscure period of Japanese history are none too plentiful, and the present work of Lieut. Boxer's is indeed a welcome contribution.

The narrative of the Portuguese tells us that in January, 1644, King Dom João IV sent Gonçalo de Siqueira de Sousa to Japan as Ambassador, accompanied by two galleons, with a view to restoring "Friendship and Intercourse" that had been broken off between the two countries for more than half a century. Hampered by various difficulties and misfortunes, the Embassy reached Iwō-jima, near Nagasaki, on the 26th July, 1647, only to rouse the suspicions of the Japanese as being a mission sent for the propagation of the Christian faith or for trade. The calm and patience with which the Ambassador and his staff faced the ordeal of probable death made no favourable impression on the Japanese Government, which ordered them to leave in accordance with the Edict that had been proclaimed some years earlier, on the prohibition of Christian and trade missions from foreign countries. Thus with bitter resentment, the unfortunate Embassy left Nagasaki for the city of Macau on 4th September, of the same year.

The contemporary Dutch account, an extract of which is given in the Appendix, offers an interesting comparison with the Portuguese narrative, as it was compiled on the spot from day to day, whilst the latter was apparently drawn up some months later.

The reader may find for himself that the subject is well studied, and if the translation is not strikingly beautiful, it is due solely to the translator's endeavour to retain the accuracy of the original manuscript which, we are told, is "woefully deficient in both grammar and punctuation".

It is to be hoped that with his thoroughness Mr. Boxer will reveal still more details of the early relations between Japan and Europe.

S. Yoshitake.
London: Constable, 1928.

In this little book Mr. Willoughby-Meade makes no claim to scientific treatment of his subject, his object being, so he himself tells us, "to interest those who care for such things (ghost stories); but it is also an aim of the compiler to show, wherever possible, that the minds of the numerous but much abused and misjudged people of China differ in no important respect from any other races in the face of happenings which they do not understand. The Mediterranean peoples may truly and fairly boast of their ancient and original civilization, which has spread over the major part of the earth. Many of the writers, however, who glory in this not only do their best to belittle the culture of Eastern Asia—solely because it has not been proved to be of Mediterranean origin—but they go so far as to write of the East Asian as if he were a glaring anomaly, a bewildering exception to our generally received notions of humanity. It is in the hope of fighting—to the best of my power—against this narrow, unjust, and unscientific attitude that I have ventured beyond the limits of folk-lore into the region of anthropology, and have insisted, in season and out of season, upon the unity of the human race."

Certainly those who care for tales of devils, monsters, ghosts, vampires, and "things that go bump in the night," will find here a fine collection of folk-tales and legends admirably told. The author's explanations of the truths underlying the stories may be less acceptable, and to endeavour to unite East and West in the spirit-world is no easy task. Mr. Willoughby-Meade himself seems to be conscious of this when he writes: "In my views on Totemism I am prepared for criticism. Perhaps I have tried to prove too much; perhaps I am unduly inclined to accept an easy, obvious, and inoffensive solution to the dark mystery of the 'were-animal' myth. . . . In any event there must remain an element of mystery in the working of the human mind and in the tales told about it." In mystery lies charm, certainly in the telling of tales, and we prefer some of the stories to the explanations. Here, for example is a delightful tale which we feel needs no explanation beyond the empty wine-cups:

"There once lived in Peking two friends, Hsiung, an historiographer, and Chuang, a magistrate. They mostly spent their evenings together, one night in Hsiung's house and another in Chuang's."
"One night they were taking their wine together at Chuang's when the host was urgently called away, while Hsiung sat and waited for his return. To pass the time he poured himself out a cup of wine—and suddenly it vanished. He took another cup and filled it. A blue hand came from under the table and seized the cup. Hsiung was startled and stood up; whereupon a tall devil, all blue from head to foot, came from under the table. Hsiung called for help, but two servants who ran into the room saw nothing. The blue devil had vanished. Shortly afterwards Chuang came back and made fun of Hsiung. 'I bet,' said he, 'that you would not dare pass the night here.' 'Why not?' said Hsiung. So he prepared a couch and some bedclothes and fetched his sword. This weapon had belonged to a Tartar general, and had served him well in a campaign in the Ko-Ko-Nor. Chuang wished him good-night and left him.

"The autumn wind rustled and the moon gave a pale light, and a small lamp burned behind a green curtain, which shaded Hsiung's couch. He did not expect to be undisturbed and lay awake.

"Suddenly an empty wine-cup fell on the table, and then a second one. 'Hello, he's returning the empties!' thought Hsiung. Immediately afterwards a blue leg came through the eastern window, then an arm, an eye, an ear, half a mouth and half a nose. Through the western window came, at the same time, the other half of the mouth and of the nose, and a second ear, eye, and blue leg. They met in the middle of the room and joined together. The blue devil glared angrily at Hsiung, while an icy wind shook the curtain. Hsiung brandished his sword and made a dash at the demon, dealing it a heavy blow on the arm. The devil jumped out of the window, Hsiung after it. He had nearly reached it when the demon dodged behind a cherry-tree. Hsiung then went back to bed. Next morning Chuang, on his way to the room where Hsiung had spent the night, was seriously alarmed to see a track of blood in the garden. Hsiung, who was quite unhurt, related his adventure. Chuang had the cherry-tree cut down and chopped to pieces, and every piece of its wood smelt of wine."

The publishers, Messrs. Constable, are to be congratulated upon the production of the book and the illustrations. A copious and useful index is included, but the Bibliography leaves much to be desired.

E. D. Edwards.

This is the eighth volume of a series of thirteen known under the general title of "Mythology of all Races", edited by Canon J. Arnott MacCulloch, D.D., for the Archaeological Institute of America.

Dr. Ferguson himself would describe his share of this book as an Outline of Chinese Mythology. Any exhaustive study of the subject would require many volumes and the author has adopted the safe and space-saving method of avoiding all comparisons between the myths of China and those of other countries.

The stories related have reference to the powers of nature, the origin of created things or the growth of governmental institutions. Dr. Ferguson takes as his starting-point Taoism, which has gathered round it almost all the mythological characters of Chinese history, and he stresses the fact that it was only after Taoism had become established as a religion that mythological subjects were emphasized. Of Taoism there are three stages—the first, ethical, the Taoism of Lao Tzu and his writings; the second, magical, centred round the person of Chang Tao-ling, who gave himself to the study of alchemy, and thus ushered in the stage of the development of the magical arts, a stage based on the Book of Changes, rather than on the work of Lao Tzu; the third, that of an organized religion, which began during the Tang dynasty, in the seventh century A.D. In its religious aspect Taoism is an imitation of Buddhism, and to match the personages of the holy ones introduced by Buddhism from India, Taoism made a search of early Chinese history, with the result that Taoism is of purely Chinese origin, though Buddhist in form and in organization. Of the three religions of China, Confucianism confines itself to the great men to whose humane virtues was due established government, while Buddhism leads into the far fields of early Indian mythology, and it is in Taoism, says Dr. Ferguson, "that we find incorporated all the mythological characters of early China, and their theories of life and the universe."

After a chapter dealing with the early rulers of China, there follow, among others, chapters on Cosmogony and Cosmological Theories, the Spirits of Nature, Great National Heroes, and Occultism. The author has outlined the varied aspects of his subject in such a manner
that his work will be found of great service as a general guide to Chinese Mythology.

"The Yamato race," says Dr. Anesaki, "always believed in its descent from Heaven, and worshipped the Sun-goddess as the ancestress of the ruling family if not of all the people." No need, then, for the Japanese to seek for deities among their early rulers. This practical, perhaps prosaic, method of the Chinese was wholly foreign to the Japanese, always intensely susceptible to the impressions of nature, sensitive to the varied aspects of human life and ready to accept foreign suggestions. The wonder of the scenery of Japan tended, of itself, to create fairies, semi-celestial beings and strange genii, and when the mystic flights of Buddhism reached Japan they greatly influenced both its mythology and its folk-lore.

Dr. Anesaki divides the stories of mythology and folk-lore into four classes: (1) Cosmological myths and stories, (2) Products of the imagination, (3) Romantic stories, (4) Moral tales. With each of these subjects he deals in turn, as adequately as entertainingly.

Altogether, the work is one that should be of interest and assistance to students of China and Japan. In the production of the volume a high degree of success has been attained, particularly with regard to the illustrations.

E. D. Edwards.


This book is the work of an experienced and observant traveller who spent long months in wandering up and down the country, and thus it has nothing in common with the too frequent type of modern travel book written by the tourist who steps ashore for a few hours from the luxurious liner at a great port, and then repairs aboard in the evening to record his impressions of the country in general for eventual publication. Mr. Kornerup, without presuming to be authoritative, gives a very good bird's eye view of what the visitor to Siam may see if he is something more than the ordinary tourist, and is prepared to spare the time and take advantage of the very varied means of locomotion which can convey him to all parts of the country.

*Friendly Siam* is an apt title for the book, for perhaps no country in Asia has such a ready welcome for strangers who come to her
shores in a spirit of sympathetic interest. An excellent railway system traverses the country in the chief directions, and there are comfortable hotels and resthouses in the chief towns, while the more ambitious traveller who wishes to tramp through the jungle or to fly over it, to wander on elephant-back or by buffalo-cart, or to float down rivers on rafts, as did Mr. Kornerup, will find every assistance afforded him.

Mr. Kornerup entered Siam by Siam's back door, walking over the mountains from Burma, and one would wish to know more about the journey than the short account which the author gives. Difficulties are great in opening up modern communications with Burma across the mountains and now that Siam is so easy of access by rail and sea from the south and east, one may perhaps be permitted to hope that that age-old track, across which invading armies and caravans used to pass, and early Christian missionaries penetrated to Siam, may for long be reserved for the more hardy and courageous traveller alone.

The author first takes us to Northern Siam, that mountainous land of teak forests and beautiful rivers inhabited by the Lao, fair-skinned cousins of the Siamese proper, and one of the most delightful races in the world. He sails for weeks down that magnificent stream the Mekong, visiting the remote French protectorate of Luang Prabang, inhabited by Lao, and separated, temporarily he hopes, by the Mekong from their brothers in Siam. Thence he makes use of an aeroplane to fly across the vast, ill-watered plateau of Eastern Siam, the least attractive part of the country. Another section deals with Southern Siam, that narrow neck of land through which the international express rushes twice weekly to Penang. This is the best developed portion of Siam, with macadamized roads, prosperous tin mines, rubber estates and the fashionable seaside resort of Hua Hin.

The last part of the book deals with Central Siam, a great rice plain with its network of rivers and canals, the true home of the Siamese, and the source of the country's wealth. Here are the picturesque villages of floating houses, the ruins of ancient capitals, and lastly the great modern city of Bangkok, with its western amenities, its seething Chinese commercial community, its royal palaces, and its glorious Buddhist temples. One might have expected a fuller account of these temples and of the ruined cities of Central Siam, since they are to many people the greatest attractions of the country.

Mr. Kornerup speaks of the Siamese as "perhaps the most human
of all the brachycephalic races”, and it is this characteristic which makes them more easily understood by Europeans than are most Asiatics, so that the sympathetic traveller, though he speak no word of the language, may yet appreciate not only the point of view of the educated class in Bangkok, but also much of the life and thought of the yellow-robed monk and the primitive peasant that he meets up country.

The book is well illustrated with the author’s photographs (though the inclusion of one or two incorrectly named pictures from Angkor is evidently a mistake), and the style would seem to suffer little in translation from the Danish. It is really the only recent book covering travel in all parts of the country, and as such should be an admirable introduction to Siam for the intending tourist. Old residents, too, even if they have not had opportunities for extended travel, may well find entertainment in its pages, and will appreciate better than anyone else such delightful stories as those of the Lao girl’s anxiety over the lunar eclipse and the lovelorn princess at Hua Hin.

H. G. QUARITCH WALES.

MANUAL OF EGYPTIAN ARABIC. By Lieut.-Col. D. C. PHILLOTT, M.A., etc., and A. POWELL, B.L. pp. iv + 911. Cairo, 1926. 25s.

It is difficult to know where to commence a review of this work! The book is so bulky, and contains so much material that one feels that a critique that is not thorough must necessarily be unfair.

The book is a mine of idiomatic usage, betraying a profound knowledge of the language of modern Egypt and the mentality of the people, and yet is open to at least two serious criticisms.

The first is the system of transliteration, which may be suitable for Persian, but is certainly not suitable for modern Egyptian. I refer especially to the transliteration of ی by z, the ٣ (which usually becomes t in Egyptian) by s, the چ by j, and the classical representation of diphthongs, e.g. bayt for “house” which is invariably pronounced bēt in Modern Egyptian (see Introduction, page xv, para. (2)). Similar remarks can be made as regards the representation of the diphthong aw. It is this misrepresentation in the transliteration which renders the book so open to adverse criticism, and no amount of explanation in the preface can justify a misleading transliteration of a colloquial speech.
The authors in the preface say: "Stress, accent and intonation have to be learnt by ear and expressed by the tongue. Ordinary people cannot acquire these by means of symbols and musical notes however scientific, nor by elaborate drilling of lips and tongue, nor by book study alone."

Even if these remarks may be true, or partially true, with regard to any language, why make it still more difficult by adopting a misleading transliteration such as a a for ض, or a j for ج, when dealing with Egyptian Arabic? Again, in the preface it is recommended that "Lessons should as far as possible be read aloud to oneself." One might ask "How can the student do this if the transliteration does not represent the sounds of the colloquial?"

Helping vowels are very seldom shown in the text, though this is touched on (Introduction, page xxii). The authors in their preface acknowledge their debt to previous grammarians, and of modern colloquial authors mention Spiro and Willmore, but curiously enough have omitted to mention the late Canon Gairdner, who did so much for the modern language. This is a pity, as however much one may disagree with Canon Gairdner's very scientific phonetic system, it is impossible to ignore it. Possibly the remark from the Introduction quoted above refers to Canon Gairdner's system.

Many will agree with the authors in rejecting such a system, on the ground that it is too complicated, but no one can bring this charge against Willmore. In the opinion of the reviewer, it would have been better to have adopted Willmore's system except as regards his method of transliterating doubled consonants in such words as طلیب and سوآق by tayyib and sauwaq. The authors, one is glad to note, transliterate such words tayyib and sauwaq showing the doubled y and w.

Surely if the authors wished to preserve the etymology of the language in the Arabic, they could have attempted a phonetic rendering in Roman characters.

The second serious criticism is the admixture of literary and colloquial which must be considered an unsatisfactory feature. It would have been better to have kept to the colloquial, as Willmore and Gairdner have done, or to have at least explained the literary usages.

For example on page 38 one finds الكباب له اربع رجليه, a beautiful
touch of colloquialism showing the strange use of the dual and then in the next line which is straight out of Thatcher. The expression on page 588 varā al biḥār for beyond the seas is never used in the colloquial, the literary expression is varā-l-biḥār. In colloquial I am told the expression used is always bilād barra.

la bda min az-zihāb is very literary except for the omission of the a in budd for budda. These are only a few instances. It is true that compared with the colloquial the literary examples are not numerous, but how is the beginner to know?

In a book of this size there are a number of misprints and errors which have been overlooked, but apart from these it would appear as though several phrases had been incorrectly caught.

In these examples I am following the authors’ transliteration:—

Page 438, line 19, زی القاعده zayy al-qā‘ida for zayy al ‘āda. Qā‘ida is a rule, but ‘āda a custom.

Page 624, ضربوا تدبير يسمووا ضربوا تدبير يسمووا dabbarū tadbīr, etc. I am told that darab would not be used in such a phrase, but that one could say عملا تدبير على شان يسمووه. amalū tadbīr ‘ala shān yismū‘uh.

Page 651, عن ابوه هو صياد على ابوه عن ابوه هو صياد على ابوه. One should note that this word in Modern Egyptian would not be pronounced ash'awir or ash’awar, but with a shortening of the second a, which would make one think the word was of the 2nd form.

Page 418, استشير انا راجح استشار الحكم for or better still, أشتاوار. One should note that this word in Modern Egyptian would not be pronounced ash’awir or ash’awar, but with a shortening of the second a, which would make one think the word was of the 2nd form.

Page 662, مش تحت خبر مش تحت الخبر for مش تحت الخبر, i.e. omitting the article which has been mistaken for the helping vowel.
This phrase is familiar to me, though it is not so to all Egyptians. Possibly it is an expression used more in the South and the Sudan.

Apart from the literary usages referred to, it seems a pity that the authors have not distinguished between Lower Egyptian, Cairene, and Upper Egyptian. It is possible to class the first two together, as, except for an occasional difference in stress, they approximate one another; but Upper Egyptian, especially south of Assiut, is very different, and in many usages seems nearer to the language of the Sudan.

Having pointed out what seem to be the weak points in the book, it is with some pleasure that we turn to the other side.

The work contains 64 chapters or lessons—one wishes that the references were to pages and not lessons, especially as many of the cross references are wrongly given—and nearly every lesson contains a definite portion of grammar or vocabulary, and then sentences. Much of the grammar is too classical in a work of this sort, but otherwise very good indeed. The grammar is followed by a vocabulary and then the gem of the lesson, the sentences. No one who has not spent a lifetime in Egypt could have collected such a wonderful and varied assortment of idioms and bon-mots, and one can picture Mr. Powell—one feels that he alone could have had the experience to have supplied this part—in the Courts, in the trains, trams, fields, cafés, in short everywhere, culling these gems from the mouths of the natives and jotting them down in a notebook. Little touches such as

Page 78, "what day of the week is it?"

Page 425, "God protect me from (الطير دا) these teasing flies."

طير is usually applied to a largish bird, such as a kite.

This use of طير for a fly, which is the literal translation as the root means "to fly", is common in the Sudan as well as in Egypt.

Again, page 428, جا على عين الدمّل فقعها "He hit the right nail on the head (lit. he went right on the eye of the boil and squeezed it)," and on page 705, عاوزك في كله ورد غطاها "I want just one word with you" (lit. for one word and an answer, its cover).

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Surely the part in brackets should be translated (for one word and the putting back of the cover). The word رد here is a verbal noun, meaning “restoring” or “putting back.” Otherwise the gist of the saying is missed, which, as I picture it, is just lifting the cover of a cooking pot for a moment. What could be more expressive?

Page 163. In contrast to al bahr shab‘ān “the river is deep”, lit. “satisfied” or “full”, note that in the Sudan the natives always say al baḥ(a)r nāshif “the river is dry” for shallow.

Attention is drawn to the following:—

Page 312, سكنتنا له دخل بحماره “we gave him an inch”, etc. (lit. “we kept silent to him and he came in with his donkey”).

Page 335, مبدع شويه, etc., “walk out a bit” (lit. “stretch out”).

Page 372, “Come here, don’t be silly, behave like a man” (خليك راجل).

Page 396, كان جاب لي فكره أضربيه “I felt like hitting him”.

Page 401, “He took to his heels and ran,” which is expressed by سحب ديلة في سنائه وطار اندفوا طيب أحسن الدنيا برد it-daffū ṭayyib ahsan ad-dinya bard “warm yourself well as it is cold”. Page 439.

Page 553, أسهل الله أن يخلق واحد جديد غير ل من كونه يراق فيك ashal li’l-lah inn-uh yikhlaq wāḥid jidid ghayr-ak min kūn-uh yirqaqa fīk (authors’ transliteration) “It would be easier for God to create a new man than to patch up such a cripple as thou.” One could go on pointing out little touches, such as on

Page 339, دَقْ فِي أَلَّا أَكْل daqq fiyya ilā ākul, and on the same page لِمْ لَسْتَ نَك lim lisān-ak (instead of the ordinary uskut) “hold your tongue” (lit. collect your tongue), and on page 704, عَدَّى البحار
‘adda al-bahr wā mā itbil sh “he got off scot-free” (he crossed the river without getting wet), and on page 707, 
رَأَيْح احْسَب
التأخني
رَأَيْح احْسَب الْقَادِي “I have to see a man about a dog”,
which literally is “I am going to make a reckoning with the Kādi”,
but the above examples will suffice to give an idea of the very
idiomatic colloquialisms contained in these sentences.

This part of the work is a real contribution, as one feels that much
of the rest of the book could have been compiled, but this part “No”—
only personal contact with the people, and studious observation of
their habits and methods of expression could supply this part. The
other part of the lesson is taken up with an exercise, and under it the
translation. This part is also excellent apart from the numerous
misprints.

Lesson 63 contains some very useful and idiomatic usages of some
of the commoner verbs and substantives, etc.

Lesson 64, Arabicisms, Proverbs, etc., and finally there is a collection
of some excellent stories.

I should like also to draw attention to the remarks on page 106 on
the use and misuse of مَ عِلْش. It is singularly unfortunate for the
native servant that when he apologizes for breaking a cup that the
same phrase can mean “never mind”.

Note the graphic use of the personal for the impersonal on page 147,
المَعْرَض مَش عوْاز بطَلِع “the nail won’t come out”, where in a
similar phrase in the Sudan, abā “refused” would be used.

To conclude, this Manual of Egyptian Arabic is not a book one can
recommend to a beginner, but the advanced student will revel in the
number and variety of the phrases and idioms.

Attached is a list, by no means exhaustive, of misprints and errors,
and some more detailed criticisms.

**INTRODUCTION**

Page xiii. It is interesting to note the pronunciation of ق as غ in some parts of Upper Egypt. This pronunciation is so prevalent in
the Sudan that the Education Department recently issued a brochure
explaining the difference in pronunciation between the two letters in classical usage.

Note 2 on page xv. But is the long ā in Khān ever pronounced as the a in "tram"?

Page xx (l) حَارَ حَارَ. hārrən.

It ought to be explained that as regards this rule, Modern Egyptian is even stricter than Classical Arabic. Vide proverb (41) on page 777, المَّكْبَرَةُ وَالأَنْظَارُ حَارَ. The last part would be pronounced wa-l-gināẓa ḥarra. Willmore has ḍāra "a quarter of the town" or "by lane", which does not make such good sense.

Page xxi (n.) (iii). Surely it would have been better to have said that the stress is generally on the penultimate, and must be so when two consonants follow the penultimate as in the instances quoted, ʿumdah and takālim, and is even thrown on to the penultimate in Modern Egyptian in such words as madrāsa, mahkāma, see page xxii (vi). In the Sudan the stress would be on the first syllable in the last two instances, as in Upper Egypt.

Again, page xxi (n.) (iii) referred to, does not allow for a word like ḥūkama the plural of ḫākim, where the stress would be thrown on to the first syllable as in "Canada".

Page 2, line 3, شَفَتُ وَاحَدٌ رَجَلٌ. etc. Modern grammars all give wāhid as the equivalent of the indefinite article in Modern Egyptian, but I am told that it is usually only applied to a species or class. The numerous tales given in Willmore and Elder's colloquial reader corroborate this. I find wāhid given with fallāḥ, gāhil, hashshāsh, fiki, sayyād, shāmi, Muslim, but not with rāgil. I am inclined to think that the expression wāhid rāgil, which is so often heard on the lips of Europeans, has been picked up from Berberine servants.

Page 5. It is curious that the authors should write اِمْشِي إِجْرَي as it is not so written in the classical or so pronounced in the colloquial. Willmore and his predecessors adopted this long ī, but I note that Gairdner does not do so.

This long ī has always puzzled me. Does the true sound come somewhere midway between short and long?
Page 8, line 9. The expression kān fīh hadd hināk is more usual.

Page 9. Two misprints of فَيْهُ for فيهُ in Arabic of (3) and (17).

Page 11, line 2. Misprint “singular” for “feminine”.

Page 13, line 3. Ta'ābin appears to be the usual plural in use for “snake”.

Page 17, line 13. “To-night,” etc., not “the night”.

Page 21, line 4. The expression رُجُلَة طَبِيْعَة does not appear to be in use, but expressions such as humma nās ḥarāmiyya, awlād ‘usbagiyya, which do not exactly mean “they are thieves” and “mischievous boys” but rather “they are a bad lot” and “boys inclined to be mischievous”.

Page 23, line 18. It should be noted that if used predicatively, a plural can follow kām, as kām bagarātak “how many (are) your cows”, kām iyyām il usbū “how many are the days of the week”, where kām is short for kām wāhid.

Page 27, line 19. Wa-lā means “nor”, but walla “or”.

Page 32, lines 22 and 24. Alam is “pain”, not “grief”, and rukn is “corner”. The classical phrase أركان الدولة is often translated “pillars of the state”, but it is misleading to translate رَكْنُ as pillar. See page 439, third sentence, where rukn as corner occurs.

Page 34, line 9. Suhuf is generally applied to newspapers (though the colloquial word used is garāid or garānil) and sahā‘if to pages.

Page 37, line 3 (Arabic). Amīn Rājīl طوْبل without the article, “what a tall man?” evidently an error that has been overlooked, see page 687, first line.

Page 39. Amīr plur. umarā. Prince often means courteous in colloquial. Dōl nās umarā “they are courteous people”.

Page 40. Agārib classical, usually qarā‘ib in colloquial “near relatives”.

Page 43, line 19 (English). You would either have to say in Egyptian colloquial fāima shāfītuh uncontracted, or fatma shafītuh contracted. In the Sudan shafītuh would be permissible, and possibly in Upper Egypt.
Page 51, line 19. *Bint liya* for *binti*, and the omission of the *bi*- to express the present continuous in page 45, line 6, and page 55, line 6, is surely rather classical.

Page 71, line 9 (Arabic). *Tarbush* is generally spelt طَرْبُش.

Page 81. *MIN ALLI QITAHE MIN ALLI SERQEH* can only mean “who murdered him, who robbed him?” But “whom did he murder, whom did he rob?” would be *HEM QITALE (HEM) SERQEM MIN*.

Page 87 (*f*), fifth sentence. كان مين و مين من الضبَاط lit. “who and who of the officers were present? Such and such officers” would be فلان و فلان من الضبَاط.

Page 89, line 21. *Zayy-nah* could not be pronounced, a helping vowel is necessary *Zayy(in)nah*.

Page 97. Surely *‘mil sawab* should be *‘mil sawab* (thawab), Arabic (not صوّاب) means “charity”, “alms”.

Page 103, line 2 (Arabic). *و في* should be *وفي*; the is apparently a misprint, also line 7 *غيام غيم* should be *ghiyam*.

Page 107. The word *da* seems to have crept in غفله.

Page 127. I am told that the phrase *ghasaluh fumm* is only used for clothes, not persons.

Page 136, line 18. رفضه misprint for رفضه.

Page 138, second sentence. قرشى misprint for قرشى.

Page 139. قلوكى عن آخركم looks like an attempt to set a classical phrase to a colloquial setting by using the active voice for the passive.

Page 140. أنا شربرت برد. The Arabic is not completed.
I am not quite certain what is intended. I am told the phrase is unusual.

Page 151, line 4 (Arabic). في تَلِيم النَّحَّاب, lit. this means "teaching Arabic" not "learning". If it is meant as a colloquialism, it should be explained, otherwise it is very confusing for students.

Page 154, last line but one. تَعْيِن تَصَيِّب. misprint for تنَبَيْب.

Page 164, line 8. أنك looks as though it were a misprint for أنت.

Page 179, fourth phrase, beginning يا شيخ; there are two misprints, ثَيَاز ثَيَاف and for دُي ثَيَاف, and for دُي ثَيَاف.

Page 180, line 4. In'ta tiftah. Is not this a preservation in colloquial of an original passive tuftah?

Page 207. أَمَسِي, misprint for أَمَسِي.

Page 220, line 17. شغل in the first form in colloquial means "to occupy". أَنَا شغلت الادْوَة دَي anā shaghalt, etc., "I occupied this room." ما تَشْعِيلْي. "Don't worry me" is really a corruption of the 4th form, like yimkinak "you will be able" for yumkinak. The 2nd form شغل means "to employ" or "work anyone".

Page 297 (Arabic) second line. تَتَنَسْقَل, misprint for تنَسْقَل.

Page 319, fifth sentence. لازم تَكْشَف كَشَف طِبْي. lāzim tikshif kashf tibbi.

I was inclined to think that this was a survival of the classical passive, but I am told that it is not, but it seems to me difficult to explain otherwise. The real expression if the classical passive were used would be يَكْشَف عَلَيْك.

Page 333. Shamm al hawā "to take the air", but the second
meaning given "catch cold" does not seem to be common. To
catch cold is usually khad hawā or khad bard.

Page 355. Mā yit'akkid-sh, etc., seems to be a mistake for mā
y'akkid-sh. See page 359, line 15.

Page 365. In colloquial "forty past one" is usually itnēn illa
tilt, not wāhid wā silsay.

Page 390, line 2. ما توجع ش راسك. 'ma tūja'sh rāsak.
This is evidently the 4th form of the verb, classical tūji' becoming
tūga' in colloquial. This is interesting, as, phonetically, it is what
one would expect when the " j " sound is changed to a " g " sound.

Page 391, line 6. ما يتنفظ. The verb is possibly a con-
fusion with the Persian pronunciation of ض.

Page 415, line 1. عليه عيله. misprint for عليه.

Page 417, fifth sentence. The difference between yiṭūl "to be
long" and yiṭewal "to become long", so "grow" might be noted here.
E.g. lamma al guṭn yiṭewal "when the cotton grows".

line 20, should be لا راحج ختثار for أنا راحج أختثار.

Page 419, line 11. خصلت خسلست. misprint for خصلت.

Page 421. I am told that ساح never means overflow, but I
see Spiro gives it.

Page 426, footnote. Pisānak misprint for lisānak.

Page 446. تنط تنط. misprint for تنط.

Page 462. أنا مش ملاقية for أنا مش لاقية, which is, I am
told, more usual.

Page 478, line 11. ما جاءت ش for ما جاءت ش لاقية, which has been left out in error at the
end of the phrase; otherwise it is not complete. Probably a printer's
error.

Page 485, last sentence. حقاً I am told is not correct, but
should be الحقيقيه. Haqqan used adverbially occurs in the tale,
Page 527, fourth sentence.  

Page 556, line 6.  

Page 566, line 9.  The usual plural of kāṭib in sense of a writer or contribution is kuttāb.  

Page 589, line 3 of Arabic.  

Page 590, line 5 of Arabic.  

Page 597, line 17.  Sakrit is more usual than sukrit, I am told.  

Page 599, line 16.  The repetition of the previous sentence without the second ٍ looks like a printer’s error.  

Page 601, line 19.  Gharshay evidently misprint for ghirshi, which is given correctly on page 668.  

Page 603, footnote.  Zimma misprint for rimma.  

On page 630, last line but one. I am told that if one wanted to say “these horses of mine are fine”, it would be  

Page 703, first sentence.  

Page 707, last sentence.  

In compiling these notes I wish to acknowledge my great debt to Nasim Eff. Simaan, head master of the Coptic school in Khartoum, who drew my attention to by far the greater number of the points I have remarked on. I wish further to thank my colleague, Sheikh Ḥāmed Eff. Abdel Kader, of the School of Oriental Studies, for many helpful criticisms, and for correcting a number of my own errors. It is to be hoped that these notes will be of use to the authors when they publish their list of corrections. I have tried to check my criticisms as far as possible, but must hold myself responsible for any errors or wrong interpretations.  

G. E. Iles.

This Conference took place at Rejaf (Mongalla Province, Sudan) in April, 1928, under the chairmanship of Mr. J. G. Matthew, Secretary for Education and Health for the Sudan. It was attended by representatives of the Sudan, Uganda and Belgian Congo Governments, as well as by delegates from six different missions; and the report of its proceedings abounds in matter of the highest interest and importance. The objects of the Conference were:

1. To draw up a classified list of languages and dialects spoken in the Southern Sudan.

2. To make recommendations as to whether a system of group languages should be adopted for educational purposes, and if so, what languages would be selected as the group languages for the various areas.

3. To consider and report as to the adoption of a unified system of orthography.

4. To make proposals for cooperation in the production of textbooks; and the adoption of a skeleton grammar, reading-books and primers for general use.

The deliberations of the Conference were greatly facilitated by the presence of Professor Westermann as linguistic expert, who, moreover, has made a special study of Shilluk, an important language in the area under discussion.

The languages finally decided on as "suitable for development" are the following: Dinka, Nuer, Shilluk, Bari, Latuko (Lotuko), Zande. It is a little disconcerting to read, in the following paragraph, that "Acholi and Madi are in a different category, as only a very small proportion of the people speaking these languages live in the Sudan. Literature for these languages must therefore be drawn from elsewhere." As one had been given to understand that Acholi is virtually a dialect of Shilluk, it might have seemed obvious that the existing Shilluk literature could be used for it.

The alphabet adopted by the Conference follows, one is glad to note, the system proposed in the Memorandum of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures. With regard to one sound not provided for in the Memorandum, the "central vowel"

¹ Obtainable at the office of the Sudan Government, Wellington House, Buckingham Gate, S.W. 1, the Education Department, Khartoum, and the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, 22 Craven Street, London, W.C. 2.
(as e in the ordinary pronunciation of "the" or the French e in me, le), it is to be regretted that the sign ō is to be retained in preference to the a of the International Phonetic Association.

The classified list of languages spoken in the Southern Sudan (drawn up by Professor Westermann, as Appendix V), though admittedly still incomplete, is of the greatest interest. According to the note prefixed to this appendix, "Our present knowledge of the linguistic situation is not sufficient to justify a definite grouping of the various language units found in the Southern Sudan. Though certain languages are evidently related to each other, others seem to be isolated, while of a considerable number little more is known than the names. Dinka, Nuer and Shilluk are closely related in phonetics as well as in structure and vocabulary. and it is probable that Burun also belongs to this group. Similarly, Bari, Latuko and Dongotono are clearly interrelated, and while forming a group of their own, they also show a distinct affinity with the Dinka-Nuer-Shilluk group. Both groups are generally included in the term 'Nilotic'" (not, I venture to think, a very satisfactory one) "and it is one of the main distinctions between the two that Bari-Latuko-Dongonoto in certain points of grammar (e.g. the distinction of gender) show Hamitic features." (Bari is definitely classed as Hamitic by Meinhof, and the other two, if closely related, must belong to the same family. Latuko appears to share with the Hottentot languages (a branch very early separated from the main stem) the possession of a common gender. Does this feature occur elsewhere in the Sudan? and does it indicate an archaic type of Hamitic speech?) The six groups suggested are: Nilotic I, including Dinka, Nuer, Shilluk and Burun, Nilotic II (Bari and Latuko, etc.), Eastern (Didinga and Taposa), Madi, Zande and Western (Mundu, Baka, Kreish, Banda and some others, whose linguistic position is still undetermined). It is perplexing to find Kisii, which is distinctly a Bantu language, placed in the first group, among "dialects allied to Shilluk spoken outside the Sudan". It is one of the languages sometimes incorrectly called "Bantu Kavirondo," as Jaluo usually goes by the name of "Kavirondo".

This Report, the whole of which deserves careful study, marks a distinct advance in the organization of African linguistic research.

We have to congratulate ourselves on the appointment of Mr. A. N. Tucker, a student of this School, as Government Linguistic Expert for the Sudan. Mr. Tucker is a graduate of the University of Cape Town and has been engaged in study and research work here
for the past two years. He will proceed to the Sudan after completing his work for the Ph.D. (Lond.) degree. His paper on "The Spelling of Transvaal Sesuto" has, unfortunately, not reached us in time for notice in this issue of the Bulletin.

A. W.


This book, which is illustrated by 69 photographs and a skeleton map in colour, gives a clear impression of Nepal and its peoples. The word Gurkha or Gorkhā, taken from the old town of Gurkhā situated in the very centre of the country, is derived from the name of the national patron saint, Gorakh Nāth. The Gurkhas are properly the dominant Khattrī race, but the volume before us describes all the principal tribes and the whole of the country. There is a good introduction of 22 pages by General C. G. Bruce, followed by three chapters on the History of Nepal. The next section deals with the people as a whole, their languages, religion, government and customs, and contains a chapter on slavery. Sections III, IV and V are a detailed account of the country and its chief tribes.

The chapter on languages is written by Professor R. L. Turner; it gives an up-to-date summary of what is known about them, unfortunately very little in the case of the Munḍā and Tibeto-Burman languages. Our information about these comes from the writings of Brian Hodgson, Sten Konow, and more recently J. Przyluski. Nepali happily is well known. Important truth is often revealed by accident. We have an example of this in the phrase "early sound-charges" on p. 71. These words so clearly express a great fact that we shall not willingly let them die. Perhaps Professor Turner will write a new version of The Charge of the Light Brigade and call it The Charge of the Aryan Sounds. It will explain the survival of certain sounds and the multilation or disappearance of others.

The photographs are well chosen, some of them are very beautiful. There is a short Bibliography in alphabetical order. It would be well perhaps to put in a separate section the books dealing with language; the works of Konow and Przyluski should be mentioned. There are two indexes, one of Nepali words, the other of subjects and people, but neither Index takes account of General Bruce's Introduction. Altogether The Gurkhas is a fine piece of work well written and full of information.

T. Grahame Bailey.
LEMUNDU

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LEMUNDU. Ua Sangua ku E. K. Seth-Smith, ua sangua mosi Kuan-
jamka ku G. H. BRIDGES. London: S.P.C.K. (Sheldon Press),
1928.

This is a translation by the Rev. G. H. Bridges, of the Rev. E. K.
Seth-Smith's life of Ramon Lull (1235–1315), the Catalan scholar-
mystic and missionary to the Moslems of North Africa. The intrinsic
interest of the story makes it eminently suitable for circulation among
the class of African readers for whom it is intended; but the point
more immediately concerning us is the language of this version.
Kwanyama (the orthography adopted by the German and Finnish
missions would seem to have been preserved in the text before us,
probably so as not to disturb the associations of the existing literature)
belongs to the very distinctive group of languages spoken in the Man-
dated Territory of South-West Africa. Other prominent members of
the group are Herero and Ndonga; the more northerly dialects of the
latter tend to shade off into the languages of Angola, of which Mbundu
is the most important, while these, again, have numerous links with
those of the Lower Congo, on the one hand, and with Luba and Lunda
on the other. A handbook of Kwanyama was produced, many years
ago, by the veteran Brincker, and another, more recently, by Tönjes,
who is also responsible for a dictionary and for a useful general account
of the country and people (Ovamboland, 1911). But, so far, nothing
of the sort has appeared in English; it is therefore gratifying to note
that the Anglican Mission established in the Territory within the
last few years is devoting serious attention to the study of the language.
In addition to Lemundu (a real boon to native teachers and scholars
whose thirst for reading is phenomenal), the same publishers have issued
with the imprimatur of the Archbishop of Capetown, a version of the
South African Provincial Catechism (Okatekisimusa nehongelo lizupi)
and Omambo nomainbulo öngeleka (Services and Hymns). Other
publications emanating from the same source are: in Luganda,
Ebyafayo eda enyo (Ancient History), by the Rev. H. T. C. Weather-
head, M.A., and Ebisanira Abaigiriza (Hints to Teachers—with English
version en regard); in Swahili, Augustino Mtakatifu (a life of St. August-
tine), by Canon Samuel Sehoza, of Zanzibar; in Sesuto, Apolose,
Lengosa la Molimo, a translation of the Rev. A. B. Lloyd's Apolo of
the Pygmy Forest, executed by two native teachers and sponsored
by Canon Woodward of Bloemfontein; and a Hymn Book in Yao.

This notice would be incomplete without a word on the excellent
series of Little Books for Africa, published at the low price of 2d. (a few
double numbers at 4d.) and primarily intended for the growing number of Africans who understand English, though many of them will be equally attractive to readers in this country. Such are *Chaminuka* (a striking legend current among the Mashonaland natives, fittingly re-told by a poet), *Africans All* (both by the Rev. A. S. Cripps) and *Nomalizo*, the English version of a charming story written some years ago by a Xosa, E. S. Guma. Other numbers offer much varied entertainment as folk-lore from Uganda (*The Leopard and the Goat, and Ngang and the Apes*), elementary astronomy, natural history (*The Migration of Birds and Fishes*) and biographies of Florence Nightingale, St. Cyprian, Khama, Thothmes the Third and St. Perpetua.

A. W.

**Text Book of Zulu Grammar. By Clement M. Doke, M.A., D.Litt.**


Dr. Doke has, if we may once more employ the well-worn cliché, "supplied a long-felt want." Since Colenso's *First Steps in Zulu* went out of print, there has really been no satisfactory Zulu grammar in English; and that work, excellent as it is, is, on the one hand, apt to be found difficult by the beginner, and, on the other, suffers from the lacunae inevitable in what was, more or less, a pioneer work. Points which Colenso but tentatively suggested, e.g. the tones, which he was probably the first to notice, have now been treated with commendable fulness; indeed the phonetic section of the work before us is the most thorough study of Zulu sounds yet made. In particular, Dr. Doke has determined the true nature of the "impressive b", hitherto erroneously written *bh*. Meinhof had already called attention to the fact that voiced consonants are never aspirated in Bantu languages, and had come to the conclusion that the sound in question was *b* with glottal stop. Dr. Doke has shown, however, that the glottal stop, in Zulu, is only found with voiceless consonants, for which he prefers the term "ejective". The grammatical significance of tone in Zulu is an entirely new point, except in so far as it had been observed to differentiate between the second and third persons of the verb. (In Sechuana, it had already been minutely studied by Professor Daniel Jones.) Dr. Doke, avoiding the (happily obsolescent) error of attempting to fit the structure of a Bantu language into the
conventional framework of European grammar, makes the very just observation that "it is the complete words and not the individual parts composing words, which must be considered as parts of speech". (This point of view is not entirely novel; it was suggested many years ago, by the late D. C. Scott). His distinction between "Parts of Speech" and "Formatives" would appear to be a sound one, though the hitherto accepted sense of the latter term has undergone some modification, stems and roots being (quite logically, according to the definition) classed as "formatives". It naturally follows that Dr. Doke does not favour the "disjunctive" mode of writing adopted, for instance, in Sesuto books, where all the component parts of a word (or "unit of speech" to use Scott's phrase) are printed separately, as though each had an independent existence, which is not the case. His scheme of "Parts of Speech" also (p. 35) one cannot quarrel with, except that there seems no sufficient reason for distinguishing between Adjectives and what he calls " Relatives" (pp. 101-107)—which are to all intents and purposes adjectives, though differing slightly in the mode of their agreement. The fact that some of these are noun-stems and others, probably "primitive root-forms", does not affect "the work which they do in the sentence", which seems (according to p. 34) to be the criterion of "a part of speech". Another case of distinction carried to unnecessary lengths and tending to perplex, occurs on p. 108, under "Types of Possessives".

Under "Verbal Derivatives" we find several forms not hitherto recognized in Zulu grammars, e.g. the "Extensive" in -ala (but surely it is a mistake to include lala and sala among them?), the Stative in -ana, the Reversive in -ula, etc. The arrangement of Moods and Tenses may seem at first sight unnecessarily complicated; but it is essential to mark shades of meaning previously overlooked. The particles sa and se, usually removed for separate treatment, are here given a definite place in the conjugation of the verb, as the "Progressive" and "Exclusive" Modes of each tense. ("Within the different moods, tenses are sub-divided according to the mode of the action. There are three of these modes . . . (1) Simple, indicating an action in no way qualified . . . (2) Progressive, indicating an action which has been going on in the past and still continues, e.g. ngisathanda "I still love" and (3) Exclusive, indicating an action which has not been going on hitherto, e.g. sengithanda "I now love".)

I cannot but think that Dr. Doke's new terminology is, in some cases, more confusing than illuminating. There may be sufficient reason for
calling the subjunctive the "Dependent Mood"; but it is not easy to accept the statement that "participle" is "a term which is quite out of place" and to substitute for it the term "Situative Mood". In such a sentence as Sahlangana nomuntu evela ngapambili "We met a man coming from in front", evela is certainly, in function, what we understand by a participle. That its use is far more elastic than that of the English or the Latin participle is no argument against the adoption of the familiar term, which after all conveys to my mind at least, a clearer notion than the one substituted for it. The peculiar idiomatic use of some verbs as auxiliaries (e.g. ka, buya, ponsu) in quite a different sense from that which they have when used independently, is a very interesting point in Zulu, and probably in other languages (certainly in Ganda). But surely Dr. Doke is mistaken in saying that "most of the auxiliary verbs are irregular in form". Those he quotes (-buye, -fike, -ke, etc.) are recognizably contracted perfects of -buya, -fika, -ka, etc. Simze, which seems to be defective, is a possible exception. The "Radicals" (the words variously called by previous writers "descriptive adverbs", "onomatopoeias", "vocal images", etc.) are very fully treated in the fourteenth chapter and their importance in word formation duly recognized. Is it quite accurate, by the bye, to say that "there is no real parallel in English to the radical descriptives"? Surely verbs like "flop", "bang", "bump" and expressions like "pell-mell", "hugger-mugger", etc., have a similar origin. It is a noteworthy point—if, as seems probable, we can regard these "radicals" as the primitive elements of speech—that they are by no means all monosyllables: those of two syllables would seem to be at least equally numerous; and there are even some of three and four syllables.

Four chapters are devoted to Syntax, and an interesting appendix gives the names of the thirteen lunar months, the points of the compass (chiefly determined by winds: we have north-east and north-west, south-east and north-west, but no north or south), and the times of day and night—very minutely indicated, as is usually the case with the primitives.

Dr. Doke's work should be certain of an appreciative welcome and a wide circulation, at all events in South Africa.

A. W.

Dr. Lindblom, during his stay in East Africa, collected a large number of texts in Kamba, a Bantu language which has hitherto scarcely received sufficient attention. The book under review contains thirty tales; the remainder, some fifty in number, have yet to appear, together with a quantity of proverbs, riddles and songs. The original text is given, unfortunately, in the Swedish dialect alphabet, which differs in some particulars from that of the International Phonetic Association; but the student who is not deterred by the slight amount of trouble involved in identifying the sounds, will find himself amply rewarded. Dr. Lindblom’s introduction contains some useful hints for would-be collectors of folk-lore, in particular it is well to remember the virtually universal objection to telling tales by daylight. He divides his material into three categories: animal stories (comprising the present installment); “tales about ogres, giants, etc.”, and “episodes from the life of the natives”. The Zulu izimu or cannibal ogre (dzimwe in Nyasaland ¹ zimwe in Swahili) here appears as eimu: it is a little surprising that Dr. Lindblom should hesitate to identify this word with the Duala edimo, denoting a similar being. The animals chiefly figuring in the stories are “the hare, the hyena, the lion, the elephant, the baboon, the crow, the cock or the hen, and the tortoise”. This, on the whole, accords with what has been observed among other Bantu peoples, though I fail to recall any story about a crow, with the exception of the well-known example in Steere’s Swahili Tales. For most of those given here I have several parallels among my notes—some of which Dr. Lindblom mentions, though he might have added, in connection with the latter part of No. 21, a Pokomo story (see Folklore, 1913) in which the hare procures animals for the lion to kill by calling them to a dance, during which he shows them “teeth sprouting from the ground”. But in this case the teeth are those of the lion, who has let himself be buried for the purpose. Nos. 22 and 23 introduce the baboon, a creature which, Dr. Lindblom says, “seems to appear amazingly seldom” in East-African folk-lore, “and when he does it

¹ In Nyanja folk-lore dzimwe sometimes means the elephant—a fact at present unexplained—while at others it is defined as “a big spirit”, or as also rendered, “a bogey”.

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is in the first place among agricultural tribes." This, as he says, is easily accounted for by the constant necessity of guarding their crops against the plundering baboons. He does not refer to the story, current among the Wanyika in Kenya Colony (and recorded, in a slightly different form by Velten, in Swahili, from Tanganyika) of the baboon who disguised himself as a human being, married a woman, and supplied his relations with food from her gardens till, growing idle, he neglected them, and they came forward and exposed him.

No. 6, "The Hyena and the Cock," in which the Cock pretends that he cuts off his head and sends it away, when in reality he puts it under his wing to go to sleep, has, as Dr. Lindblom points out, numerous parallels, in some of which it is the hare that is cheated—less fittingly, one would think, than the Kamba hyena, except that the Girjama treat it as the tragic climax to their *Epopée du Lièvre*: the Cunning One meets his match at last. Many other points of interest call for notice, but enough has been said to commend the book to the attention of anthropologists, folk-lorists, and "Africanists" in general. It is to be hoped that the rest of Dr. Lindblom's material will see the light before long.

I regret that it has not been possible to give the extended notice they deserve to the valuable papers published by the Ethnographical Section of the Stockholm Museum, of which Nos. 1-7 have reached us. These are all in English, with the exception of two: "Einige Details in der Ornamentik der Buschneger Surinams" and "Die Schleuder in Afrika und anderwärts." In the remaining numbers, Dr. Lindblom treats of the use of stilts, "fighting-bracelets" (and finger-rings, as used among the Galla, Turkana and others), the spiked wheel-trap, and the use of the hammock in Africa. All these studies are completely documented and full of interest. The subject of knots, interlacing, etc., which is shown to have had some magical significance in all ages and countries, is discussed by Dr. Lindblom and Ernst Manke in an article reprinted from *Ymer*, under the title "Knutar, Flätningar och Växtslingor ('vines') i Magiskt Bruk". Less technically special is a short paper reprinted from *Völkerkunde*: "Einige 'Parallelen' zum Alten Testament aus Kavirondo (Kenya Colony)." The parallels in question are (1) the Kakamega legend of a man who struck a river with his staff and passed through dryshod; (2) stones used for sacrificing carried on the shoulder (cf. Joshua iv, 5); and (3) a snake raised on a staff by the *mganga*. Dr. Lindblom knows only two other examples of (1) viz. those mentioned by Sir James Fraser in *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*;
but the tradition also exists in Nyasaland and is there connected with Zwangendaba’s crossing of the Zambezi in 1825.

A. W.


It is much to be regretted that this valuable account of a little-known people has, for some reason, failed to reach us till now. The author has had a lengthened experience as a missionary among the people he describes and, moreover, has studied anthropology and comparative psychology sufficiently to apprehend the meaning of the facts he records and to arrange his material in a systematic fashion. The Wute are a Sudanic-speaking tribe in the Central Cameroons extending southward as far as the Sanaga River. In 1915 they numbered between thirty and forty thousand, but as the population even then appeared to be declining, this figure probably does not represent the actual state of things. In fact, "der Wute-Stamm ist sichtlich in der Degeneration begriffen—ein absterbendes Volk". It is all the more important that this record should have been made while it was still possible, especially as it seems doubtful whether any of the Wute culture, material or moral, has survived the world-war. The special reasons for the decay of this tribe—in contrast with the strong vitality of some other African races—are not apparent, but there are indications that it is a state of decay and not one of arrested or inchoate development.

The social organization of the Wute is of the patriarchal type, yet the prominence of the maternal uncle (known by a special name, là, while the paternal uncle is *ta tene*) is to be noted. Totemism exists: the principal totems are the leopard, the buffalo and the elephant. (The name of the latter, *nju*, is distinctly suggestive of the Bantu root.) The leopard seems to occupy a special position—the eating of his flesh (the Wute, unlike some other tribes, have no objection to the flesh of carnivorous animals *per se*) is forbidden to the whole tribe, not merely to the members of his totem-clan. Marriage inside the totem-clan is theoretically forbidden, but this prohibition—like some other generally recognized rules of conduct—is largely disregarded in practice.

1 *ta* = father.
The were-wolf (or in this case were-leopard) belief, so widely distributed, has here some peculiar features: the soul of a person killed, and partly eaten, by a leopard enters into the animal, who then becomes a nayem ("man-leopard"), able, presumably, to take human shape at will.

The account of Wute religious ideas is interesting, but regrettably concise. It is not made clear in what respects their notions about the soul differ from those of the Bantu (as stated on p. 88). The two souls nehe the shadow, and mè the spirit certainly seem to correspond to the roho and koma recorded, long ago, by Krapf among the Wanyika of East Africa. A few specimens of folk-tales are given (a larger collection was contributed by Herr Sieber to the twelfth volume of the Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen sprachen)—among them the well-known legend of the chameleon, which, it may be noted, introduces the serpent as the hostile power who falsified the message of immortality. The serpent also figures in the similar Galla legend (where the messenger however, is a bird, not the chameleon), and has there been attributed to missionary influence—but this can hardly be the case with the Wute, who were untouched by missions till within the last twenty years.

Professor Westermann contributes an introduction to the book.

A. W.


Tswa is a Bantu language, spoken by a branch of the great Thonga nation, in the inland country to the west of Inhambane. The immediate neighbourhood of that port is occupied by the Tonga tribe (not to be confounded with the Thonga—see Junod, Grammaire Ronga, p. 31) whose language should probably be placed in a distinct sub-group, including Chopi and Lenge. (Lenge, sometimes erroneously identified with Chopi, is an archaic form of speech, only known to some of the older women, of which Miss Earthy has collected some valuable notes.) Attention may be directed in passing to an unaccountable confusion in Sir Harry Johnston’s Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages (vol. i, p. 281), where Chopi, Tswa, Lenge and

1 "Pas plus loin qu’Inhambane, une peuplade, se rattachant probablement au groupe tehopi, s’intitule aussi tonga, et près des chutes du Zambèze se rencontre la tribu des Ba-Tonga on Ba-Toka, dont le P. Torrend a fait connaître récemment le langage." He might have added the Atonga of Lake Nyasa.
Hlengwe (according to Junod, a dialect of Thonga) are treated, at least tentatively, as a single language, while the Inhambane Tonga is not noticed—unless, indeed, it is identical with No. 69 "Shengwe".

Tswana (sometimes disguised under the spellings Sheetswana and Xitswa, which represent two different renderings of the 7th class-prefix) can be studied in various publications of the Inhambane Mission Press, which has issued, among others, a complete translation of the Bible. Mr. Persson’s Grammar (1919) is admittedly a provisional piece of work, and, as such, extremely useful; but one hopes that he may yet find time to prepare a revised and enlarged edition.

Meanwhile he has produced this very useful English-Tswana Dictionary, which he modestly describes as a first attempt, adding, "If another edition is found to be necessary, it will probably show considerable improvement, that is, if we co-operate in bringing it about. I shall be very pleased to be informed of any mistakes and omissions." To detect these would require far more prolonged study than is possible to the average reviewer; but one might be permitted to point out that it would be desirable to revise the preliminary remarks on pronunciation in the light of recent phonetic research. There may be typographical difficulties in the way of substituting η for ñ and f for x (perhaps the latter is necessary in books circulating in Portuguese territory), but we should like to see a more particular account of the way in which sounds are produced. Is kl for instance (as in klatuko "a ford") the same sound as Zulu kl, described by Dr. Doke as an "ejective velar lateral affricate"? 1 "Ś and Ž represent Fricatives peculiar to the languages of Portuguese East Africa and Southern Rhodesia 2 and are difficult to explain in print. They can be learnt only by careful examination of how they are produced by the native." This is the sound described by Professor Daniel Jones as "labiodental" ("it has the tongue-position of θ, δ, combined with strong lip-rounding), by Dr. Meinhof as "labio-alveolar", and sometimes colloquially known as "the whistling s". For this the International Phonetic Association adopted the symbols σ, ɣ. It is not provided for in the Memorandum of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, being, no doubt, reserved for further consideration, along with other special South African sounds. (It must also be remembered that it probably exists in several variations.) The Zulu

1 E.g. Kl'weba "scratch", spelt xweba in Colenso's Dictionary and rweba in Bryant's. It has also been written ńx.

2 Also found in Venda (North Transvaal).
lateral l (usually written hl) occurs in Tswana—as in hlahla "cut through a thicket" (found with much the same meaning in Zulu); one would like to be clear whether Mr. Persson’s dl (as in ndlala “famine”) is the voiced sound of the above (Zulu k, in most books written dhl, as in indhlala), or whether, as stated by M. Junod for Ronga, it is a combination of d and l: "proncez comme de là, le e étant éliédé". It may be worth noting that, while the Ronga verb “to kill” is kudlaya, the corresponding word in Tswana is kudlaya.

A needful warning is supplied in Mr. Persson’s preface: "[In] any Bantu language . . . there exist very few words which can be said to have exactly the same meaning as the corresponding words in English . . . I have tried to group Tswana words which express the meanings of the English word printed in bold type, and the student is warned against choosing any one of these and using it as if it were an exact translation . . . A glance at the word ‘Cut’ will show the importance of the method here adopted."

The example given further illustrates an observation often made, as to the paucity of general terms in the Bantu and other relatively primitive languages. Here we have over twenty words signifying different modes of cutting, e.g. “cut down a tree” (and a distinct expression for “cutting down trees a couple of feet above the ground”), “cut down branches from a tree”, “mince”, “cut open a boil”, “cut the hair”, “cut open a slaughtered animal”, etc., while the nearest approach to a general term is tsema “separate by cutting”.

A. W.


This is a belated notice of a most valuable book of reference. It is not precisely easy reading, but everyone interested in the affairs of West Africa will find that it repays a considerable amount of trouble. Sir William Geary is an old African resident—having gone out to Sierra Leone in 1894 and remained, in various legal capacities, on the West Coast, for several years, and, in spite of the sinister reputation of that Coast, he professes himself quite willing to go back, and appears, personally, to have suffered little inconvenience from the climate. “My rule of health was live well, don’t funk, and when fever comes lie still in bed till temperature drops and appetite reawakes.” The
history of Southern Nigeria (now amalgamated with the northern territory, as the Dominion of Nigeria) is here traced from its inception as the Colony of Lagos, annexed in 1861. This annexation was preceded by ten years of "consular rule"—a singularly difficult and harassing period for the consuls concerned. Lagos had previously been—probably from the sixteenth century onward—"a slavers' stronghold where the native king and chiefs sold slaves to Portuguese and Brazilian slave-traders, who gave it the name of Lagos". The annexation was effected by means of a "treaty of cession", obtained (it is not denied, under pressure) from King Dosumo and his chiefs; the reasons given for this step being "that the permanent occupation was indispensable to the suppression of the slave-trade in the Bight of Benin, and that it would give great aid and support to the development of lawful commerce and check the King of Dahomey's slave-raids".

The complications arising out of the slave-trade and consequent inter-tribal wars continued to cause difficulties for many years, and the gradual reduction and pacification of the hinterland is described in Chapter II. It must be remembered that these difficulties were the heritage of at least three centuries, during which European nations had carried on the trade and instigated, or at least encouraged, the tribal wars.

The two following chapters deal with operations in the Niger Delta, the establishment of the Niger Coast Protectorate in 1884 and the annexation of the Cameroons by the German Government. The Niger Company's charter was revoked in 1899, and the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria constituted, with which Lagos was incorporated in 1905. The two Protectorates of Southern and Northern Nigeria were amalgamated in 1914. On the whole, in the author's opinion, the Niger Company "did its work successfully... and one doubts whether, in 1886, the Government would have prepared, and Parliament passed, a vote for taking up the Niger as a Crown Colony".

Among many points of interest which space forbids one to quote, not the least is contained in Appendix I, where the case of the unfortunate Ja Ja is temperately though sympathetically stated. The lion's statue (to quote Æsop's fable) so seldom gets erected that the impartial reader is bound to be grateful for every effort in this direction.

A. W.
NOTES AND QUERIES

An English edition of Professor Meinhof's *Lautlehre der Bantusprachen*, prepared with the assistance of Dr. van Warmelo, will, it is hoped, shortly be published.

The late David Clement Scott's *Cyclopaedic Dictionary of the Mang'anja (= Nyanja) Language* (1892) has for some years been out of print. It is, with some faults, a most valuable work, and indispensable to every one concerned with Nyasaland. It has now been thoroughly revised—with the addition of several thousand words—by the Rev. Dr. Hetherwick, late of Blantyre, and will be issued during the present year from the press of the Religious Tract Society. This highly desirable publication has been made possible by a subsidy from the Government of Northern Rhodesia.

We are asked to print the following.—EDITOR.

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11. The prizes will be awarded and distributed every January. The names of the prize-winners will be published in Africa.

DASTUR-I-USHSHĀQ. By FATTAHĪ.

Some of the reviewers repeat the charges of obscurity and "puerilities" which Rieu made against Fattahi's earlier work, the Shabistan-i-Khayal. May I be permitted to quote two passages from this poem which, at least in my opinion, are not open to these criticisms?
1. An example of "Question and Answer", p. 119, l. 15:

شیخ زمردی عمر ها زممت کشیده
و زور خوششان حاصل چه دیده
بکرستا دی شدو فردا نهانست
و بکرستا دیده عالم سارسر
کجا آمد کیا در دیده خوشتر
وقت خود بهشتی یاد از ناز
کدامین گل بشرت یافت بوئی
زرحود ریخت بر گی عیش یخیرید
بکرستا دیدن رخسار زیبا
و بکرستا با جوانان قاتر ان
بکرستا جان بر جوانان سپدن
بکرستا زیر پای شاهد مست
بکرسته یکی که دادنگ کس ای
بکرسته از همدمی باشد گفتی
بکرسته گفتا جام احم
بکرستا یار بر ای گیار دیدن

2. The description of عور Envoy, p. 255, l. 15:

قیب دیو فرندی پری وار
باد اخترو دخترو کر زشت خوئین
سیاهی بیش او آب حیانی
رخ او بر پاسا آورد نیلی
رخ او بر نامش پری بانی
رسوم شده خرطوم یلی
شیدم داشت از ابتای سکسر
و از جزور گزشت گوئین
سیاهی بیش او آب حیانی
برخ قائم شده خرطوم یلی
بروی همچون دود از بینی زشت
دو سوراخ وی از بینی بديدار
عیب کهنی که در وی قسم اصحاب
دو ابرویش که بر وی بر فرح بود
بهشت گشت و زار عیش را داس
دوچشمش چون دچشمه لیل بی آب
دو گوشش از درازای گوش تا گوش
بچای زلف برجین بر چینش
بران لوح بجین استاد تقدير
دو ابرویهون کجکه بر جبهه فیل
دران دریا بچای در و مردان
سکی جدی مردم زوکم نبوده
چنان در ساحرا بوده دم گرم
برویش مر د آگر خوردی ساققود
آگر خندان ره دوزخ گرفته
چو بکنندش قی سمان ابر در وی

This recalls the description of the Witch Ererror in the first canto of the "Faery Queene". Fattâhi as an allegorist and Euphuist has much in common with Spenser. On the other hand, the reference to "Hell freezing" in p. 257, l. 7, has quite a modern and Occidental touch.

R. S. G.
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PAPERS CONTRIBUTED

STUDIES IN CONTEMPORARY ARABIC LITERATURE

By H. A. R. Gibb

III. EGYPTIAN MODERNISTS

The period 1914–1919, though one of relative quiescence, marks a turning-point in the development of modern Arabic literature, but, in spite of the coincidence of dates, the European war was not responsible, either directly or indirectly, for initiating the change. The new element by which the change was brought about was the rise of a distinctive Egyptian school of writers, which, from small beginnings in the years immediately preceding the war, gathered strength in the interval, and emerged into sudden prominence on the resumption of literary activities. To understand the significance of this movement we must look back for a moment at the situation as it was about 1912. At that time, as has been seen, there was a sharp opposition between two contrasting schools of thought in Arabic letters; on the one hand were the modernists, almost all Syrians, and Christian Syrians at that, headed by the new Syro-American school; on the other were the classicists, who still clung to the medieval Islamic tradition, and who were dominant in Egypt and in Muslim Syria. Between the two extremes were varying intermediate grades, including several writers who individually exercised considerable influence, but did not form a body sufficiently united in method or aim to counterbalance either of the opposing schools. The most prominent of these intermediate figures were Gürğī Zaydān and
Manfalūṭi, but, as the preceding study has shown, neither Zaydān nor Manfalūṭi, in spite of their great gifts and popularity, could establish a definite literary movement. Zaydān's writing was too colourless and didactic, and Manfalūṭi was too superficial in thought and too strongly inclined to the classical tradition in style, to attract readers who sought in Arabic literature something comparable to the books with which they were familiar in the languages of the West.

The outcome of this state of affairs was that the sympathies of the educated reading classes were attracted to those Syro-American writers who by their boldness and originality had established themselves as the leaders of the modernist movement, and who thus gained a predominant position in neo-Arabic literature, in spite of the violent attacks of the classicists. It is unnecessary at this point to enter into a full discussion of their views and literary methods, since they have been made the subject of an admirable article by Professor Kratchkowsky in *Le Monde Oriental*. Within the last ten years, however, their leadership has been challenged, and on the whole successfully, by the new Egyptian school.

The beginnings of the new school date from the foundation of the newspaper *al-Ġarīdah* in 1907, as the organ of the now defunct "Popular Party" (*ḥizb al-ummah*). The tone of the new journal was set by its political director, Aḥmad Luṭfī Bey as-Sayyid, under whose influence *al-Ġarīdah*, unlike its Egyptian-edited contemporaries,

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2. Not only amongst Muslim traditionists; the organ of the Jesuit Fathers, *al-Maḥṣūr*, repeatedly indulged in violent diatribes against them from the pen of the late Père Cheikho, e.g. against Jibrān 1912, 315–16; 1923, 487–93; 1924, 555; against Rayḥānī 1909, 716–18; 1910, 389–92, 703–10; 1922, 746; 1924, 478–9, 623–9, 755–7.
3. *Die Literatur der Arabischen Emigranten in Amerika*, xxi (1927), 193–213; see also on Rayḥānī, Jibrān, 'Abd al-Masīḥ Ḥaddād (the editor of the New York Arabic journal *Al-Sayeh* [as-Sāʾih]) and Mikhā'īl Na'īma, his introduction to the Chrestomathy of modern Arabic Literature (*Obraztoy Novo-arabskoi Literatury*, Leningrad, 1928), pp. xv–xviii. Professor Kampfmeyer has rendered a valuable service by publishing a German translation of this preface in *MSOS.*, xxxi (1928), pp. 180–99; the passage referred to is on pp. 191–4. Here also attention may be called to the German translation of an introductory study by Professor Kratchkowsky referred to in a former article in this series (*BSOS.*, iv, 747 note), published by Professor Kampfmeyer under the title of "Entstehung und Entwicklung der neu-arabischen Literatur" in *Die Welt des Islams*, xi (1928), 189–99. A summary of other studies by Professor Kratchkowsky on the work of Amin ar-Rayḥānī is contained in the same issue, pp. 179–80.
4. The last of the late Père Cheikho's articles on modern Arabic literature (*al-Maḥṣūr*, xxx (1927), pp. 941–9) contains a list of contemporary Muslim poets and prose-writers, but shows an unusual number of inaccuracies in detail.
Muṣṭafā Kāmil’s Līvā, with its purely political aims, and the conservative Mū’ayyad, opened its columns to the social and literary reform movements of the day. Round Luṭfī Bey as-Sayyid gathered the young Muslims of the new generation in Egypt, who were not only inspired by the growing nationalist ideals, but who had been more thoroughly educated on western lines than their predecessors, and had in many cases absorbed much of the spirit of western culture through prolonged contacts with it during student years, for the most part in France. The aspiration of these young writers was to see their country not only politically free, but able to take a worthy place in world-civilization. At the same time, they were Muslims, but Muslims in whom the legacy of Muḥammad ʻAbduh was working towards a new adaptation of the fundamental positions of Islām to the demands of modern life and thought. Deeply conscious of the present contradiction, they were yet convinced that it could and must be resolved, not by a return to the past, nor, like the Syro-Americans, by cutting adrift from the past, but by the slow process of education and reform, and it was to this task that they felt themselves called. Al-ʻArūdah thus served as the training ground of some of the most prominent members of the new school, including Muḥammad Ḥūsayn Haykal, at that time a law-student in Paris, and afterwards the principal mouthpiece of its ideals.

Down to 1914, however, the new movement was still in its infancy, and overshadowed in its own country by the Syrian writers and the nationalist-conservative movement. The war put a temporary stop to most of its outward activities. Al-ʻArūdah suspended publication, though its place was to some extent taken by the weekly as-Sufūr, edited by ʻAbdal-Ḥāmid Ḥamdī, a former member of the staff of al-ʻArūdah and subsequently one of Haykal Bey’s collaborators in as-Siyāsah. The movement nevertheless continued to grow in strength, and at length came to fruition during the early post-war years. Two important steps in its advance were marked by the reorganization of the Egyptian University, with Luṭfī Bey as-Sayyid as its Director,¹ and the formation of the Liberal Constitutional party, with its organ as-Siyāsah founded in 1922 under the editorship of Ḥūsayn Bey Haykal. Through these two organizations, which were moreover in fairly close touch with one another, the scattered forces of education and reform were enabled to concentrate and co-operate, and thus to

¹ On the Egyptian University, see al-Mādiriq, xxvi (1928), pp. 284–8.
gain an increasing influence over Egyptian public opinion. At the same time the increased vigour of the nationalist movements in the Arabic East as a result of the war, and the enthusiasm which they generated, not only gave fresh driving force to the activities of the new school, but gained for their writings universal sympathy in the Arabic lands, as the literary exponents of the aims and ideals with which all, in greater or less degree, were imbued. Though in the political sphere they were temporarily overborne by the extremest elements in Egypt, and were often constrained to yield to force of circumstances, educated circles in all the civilized Arab lands were impressed by their activities and earnestness, as by the closer contact with the realities of the situation and truer reflection of their own aspirations which the Egyptian writers showed, in contrast to the detachment of the Syro-American writers,¹ and were sympathetically attracted by their stand upon the common ground of the Muslim and Arabic heritage.

It is true that, taken singly, none of the elements which have gone to make up the Egyptian school, and few of its ideals, were new or original in modern Arabic literature—a fact which goes some way to explain the obscurity of its beginnings. It is equally true that to speak of these writers as a school is to use a misleading, though convenient, term, since not only do they fall into various sub-groups, but the individual writers show such wide divergencies of methods, background, and temperament, that their association appears to be largely haphazard. Yet in practice they do form a group as well-defined, for instance, as the Syro-Americans, amongst whom similar individual differences are found, in that certain distinctive aims and characteristics are shared by them all, to greater or less degree. All of them are striving to give greater depth and range to modern Arabic writing, and to rescue it from the fluent superficiality to which a literature based on journalism is peculiarly liable. Most of them aim at applying modern aesthetic and literary criteria to the rich stores of old Arabic literature, as well as to modern productions, and so at bringing out all that they can contribute to the building-up of a new civilization. They are distinguished also by a new comprehensiveness, in which the sharpness of the old antagonism between modernist and classicist has been blunted, and made to serve the purpose of creating a new literary technique, which shall be in harmony

¹ Ar-Rayhānī, who was resident in Arabia and Syria during this period, forms of course, an exception.
with modern aims and standards, and yet preserve the familiar rhythms of Arabic. They have already achieved thus much that the old wrangles of classicists and modernists on points of linguistic usage have lost their meaning, and have given place to a fresh alignment between conservatives and liberals on the fundamental principles of culture. From the literary point of view, what now determines the extent to which any writer is a modernist is not the superficial features of his writing but the answer which he gives to the question, how far Arabic literature is to draw its sole or main inspiration from traditional Islamic sources. But there can scarcely be found one Muslim Egyptian writer of note who rejects the Islamic past entirely, in the manner of the Syro-Americans; it is in fact one of the distinctive features of the Egyptian school as against the latter, that even the most modernist amongst them aim at what Jibrān Khalil Jibrān has scornfully called “patching the outworn garment”.

None of these characteristics, however, is necessarily or in fact limited to Egyptian writers. The appropriateness of the description “Egyptian school” lies not so much in the fact that the leaders of the new school are all Egyptians, as in the gradual emergence of a further feature which they have in common, a feature which is difficult as yet to define and liable to assume exaggerated prominence. At present it may perhaps be termed “Egyptian particularism”, which shows itself in a tendency to think in terms of Egypt rather than of the Arab world. Egypt, they feel, is still a part of the Arabic-speaking world, but has nevertheless to create its distinctive culture, and to make its distinctive contribution to literature and thought. In certain spheres of popular literature, and more especially in the drama, this attitude is still more explicit, and goes the length of using as a medium the colloquial Egyptian dialect. It is not surprising that the other Arabic-speaking countries try to shut their eyes to this—from their point of view—unwelcome tendency amongst modernist Egyptian writers.1 Yet the tendency is there, and is increasingly marked, partly by reflection from the political situation, and partly as a result of the new interest and pride in the ancient Egyptian civilization, which has been deliberately cultivated by the leaders of the Egyptian nationalist movement. At the present moment, the strength of this feeling varies greatly from writer to

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1 Syrian writers sometimes refer to it, with a touch of half-humorous deprecation, as a kind of modern مصريولوجية ("Egyptology"!).
writer, but it may eventually prove a decisive factor in the development of neo-Arabic thought.  

The majority of modernist Egyptian writers fall naturally into two groups, one composed of writers whose western background is mainly French, the other of writers who have been more strongly, though not exclusively, influenced by English literature. Of the former group the principal mouthpiece is Muhammad Husayn Bey Haykal, now editor of *as-Siyāsah*, which, together with its weekly edition started in 1926, has become the leading organ of liberal thought amongst Egyptian Muslims, rivalling in this respect the old-established Syrian-owned *Ahrām* and *Muqattam*. It was only comparatively recently that Dr. Haykal began to devote himself to journalism. His first large-scale publication was a notable incursion into the field of imaginative literature, a novel of Egyptian peasant-life, entitled *Zaynab*, published anonymously in 1914. For some years after this he was absorbed in legal practice, but in 1921 he published the first two parts of a study on the life and works of Rousseau. Since 1922 the editorship of the *Siyāsah* has left him little time to give to more elaborate literary tasks, and his only later publications in book form so far are a collection of essays and studies reprinted from various journals, under the title of *In Leisure Hours*, and a narrative of his visit to the Sudan at the opening of the Makwār dam, entitled *Ten Days in the Sudan*. 

It is less through his books, however, than through his journals.

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1 An interesting counter-movement to this tendency is furnished by the formation (in 1922) of the "Oriental League" (الرابطة الشرقية)), which aims at strengthening the links between all the peoples of Asia and Africa in the face of European aggression, and at present yokes many of the modernist writers discussed below in a somewhat uneasy fellowship with "moderates" and "conservatives". Since 1928 the League has issued a journal under the same title, edited by Ahmad Shafiq Pasha, the general tone of which is hitherto pronouncedly "modernist".

2 In sketching the careers of the writers mentioned in this article, I have had to rely almost entirely on the indications contained in their own publications.

3 جزین منتظر وخلق نیکیه علم مصری فلکه. Ġarīdah press, n.d. A second edition was published in 1929; of this I have not yet seen a copy.

4 جان جاك روسو حیانه وکینج. I have not seen a copy of this book.


7 The daily *Siasa* (as the name is spelt on the cover) is an ordinary newspaper of six or eight pages. The weekly *Siasa*, on the other hand, is a literary review, generally of 28 pages, about 2,000 words to the page, containing articles of literary, social, legal, historical, or other interest, translations of foreign articles, reviews of literature, art, and drama, essays, and short stories. Since the political *coup d'état* in 1928, the articles on internal politics have been discontinued.
and his own descriptive articles and studies, that Dr. Haykal exerts the great influence which he enjoys throughout the Arabic world. His first and immediate object is to discipline the Arabic language into a flexible idiom which will express the thoughts and ideals of modern civilization. Long ago it was borne in on him that the vocabulary of Arabic put it at a disadvantage compared with the language of Western Europe. "I used," he has written, "to rebel inwardly when I found myself unable to express in my own language what I felt in my heart and pictured in my mind's eye, and the shape of its French or English expressions formed themselves in my imagination." ¹ This is a service which the journalist is peculiarly fitted to render, and it is partly with this object that Dr. Haykal exercises his pen week by week in long descriptive and critical essays, in which the capacity of Arabic for expressing delicate shades of meaning are tested and supplemented.² Language is but an instrument, which must be kept "polished" or it becomes rusty; considerations of "classical" usage must not be allowed to stand in the way of adaptation to modern ideas. "The true adib," so runs his creed, "is not the person who is familiar with obscure and antiquated words, but the person who can clothe beautiful ideas or fine shades of thought or imagery...in a garment, through which their beauty and originality can be perceived. The simpler the words, the sweeter they are to the ear, the nearer to the heart, and the more attractive to the mind." ³

¹ As-Siassa (weekly ed.), 13th August, 1927, p. 11, cols. 1–2. The period referred to is about 1912. In the issue of 23rd July, 1927, p. 10, col. 2, the same idea is more fully expressed in the present tense:

فَقَدْ أَسْتَمِعْتُ الْمَارِدَاتُ وَدُفِّقَتْ دُرُجَاتُ الْشَّمْعُ وَأَصْبَحَ تَرَى بِيْنَ الْمَلِلِ لِلْشَّخْصِ وَمَجِبهُ وَيَسْتَعْضَفُ عَلَى شَخْصٍ وَالْأَشْفَاقُ عَلَيْهِ وَيَنْتَفْعَلُ وَالْأَكْرَاهُ وَيَنْتَجِلُ وَيَنْفُدُ وَيَنْفُخُ وَيَتَرَدُّدُ وَيَقُولُنَّ دُرَجَاتٍ مُتَنَزِّهَةٍ مِنَ الْأَحْسَاسِ تَذَكِّرُكَ النَّفْسَ إِذَا كَانَتْ مَنْ تَمْهِدُهَا. ثُمَّ تَرَى النَّفْسِ مُخْتَلِفَةً مَعَ تَرُيُّهَا دَمَّارًا مَا فِي الْأَلْفَةِ الَّتِي يُتَكْبِرُ فِيهَا وَهِيْ الْأَلْفَةُ الْأُمْرِيَّةٌ، تَقَشْرُ بِالْأَعْجَرِ وَتَرَى: "فَعَلَّدَ الْحَدِيدَ وَكَثْرَةُ الْكَلَامِ إِلَّا كَثِبْثَ عَادِيًا وَلَنْ أَنْفَسُ مَا فِي نَفْسِي، يَقِيُّ فَيْهَا مَغْفُوًا."

(The last words are a quotation from Qāsim Amin.) Farther on in the same article (col. 4) he extends this demand for modernization to the syntactical construction of the sentence, which requires to be adjusted to meet modern methods of reasoning and feeling.

² See, for example, his description of a sunset: في أوقات الفراق pp. 252–4. In this, he holds, is the true purpose of the study of classical Arabic literature: as-Siassa (weekly ed.), 1st June, 1929, p. 3.

³ في أوقات الفراق 207.
The working out of a new technique, however, is in his view no more than a preliminary step to a wider aim, which is shared by all the leaders of the Egyptian school. In the existing cleavage between writer and public they see the gravest danger to the future of Egyptian literature. One cannot help sympathizing with al-Aqqād when, in a moment of despondency, he cries, "Readers in Egypt are all in one of three groups: readers of novels and brain-ticklers (naṣūḥīya), readers of [classical] Arabic literature, and readers of Western literature."  

Each writer in his own way is trying to bridge the gap, and to raise the standard of literary taste in Egypt. They feel that the wider public would willingly come to their side and second their efforts, if only some inner contact could be made.  

To Dr. Haykal the only sure method of achieving unity is to work for the development of a truly national culture. At present there is no indigenous culture in the Arab lands—nothing but sham antique and imitations of the West. This national culture is not to be achieved by pseudo-antiquarianism: "The Arab peoples and the Arabic language have plunged irrevocably into the race, and are preparing their shoulders to bear the whole civilization of humanity, in all its manifestations of science, art, and literature."  

Nor can it be achieved by disregarding the past. In realizing this aim both modernist and classicist must co-operate; otherwise victory will rest with the Syro-Americans, and Islamic culture will vanish. The task will be long and arduous. It calls for the labour and self-sacrifice of generations; premature haste, the besetting sin of the Orient of to-day, can lead only to disaster. Meanwhile, something may be done by familiarizing the reading public with the principles of objective criticism and teaching it, if not to think for itself, at least to turn its attention, not in the first place to the language of a writer, but to his ideas and thoughts, and only secondarily to his methods of expression.

Though Dr. Haykal often speaks in this connection of Arabic culture as a whole, and frequently insists on the need of strengthening the

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1 *al-Fusul* (see below, p. 461, n. 2), 121.
2 See an article by Dr. Haykal in the journal *al-Hadīth* of Aleppo, vol. ii (1928), No. 1, p. 45.
3 *Fi awqaf al-frāgh*, 20.
4 Ibid., 372.
5 Ibid., 101.
6 Ibid., 376.
7 Ibid., 372-4.
cultural ties between the Arabic-speaking peoples, he believes that each Arabic-speaking country will in due course develop a literary life of its own. His own hopes and energies, consequently, are centred mainly on the creation of a modern Egyptian culture. In all his writings, from the first fervent dedication of his early novel *Zaynab* "To Egypt", there glows an intense love of his country. Scarcely any other modern writer shows such interest in the ancient history of Egypt, and the pride which he so often expresses in the ancient East is really a pride in the achievements of ancient Egypt. So strong is this feeling in him that it results in a certain jealousy of the Arabs, and a peculiar insensibility to ancient Arabic literature; indeed, he has confessed that since 1910 he has ceased to pay much attention to it. He complains that Egyptian literature and thought are neglected in the Egyptian University, and of the absence of Egyptian feeling in the writings of both classicists and modernists. Yet with him this Egyptian feeling is totally distinct from the effervescent froth so prominent since 1919 among a section of Egyptians. Though he shares, as deeply as any man, their political aspirations, and though he has exploited, as he was perhaps entitled to do, the inflamed national sentiment for his own purposes, he realizes that no enduring political progress is possible without a social and intellectual regeneration which is as yet only in its beginnings. The men and women of this generation are precursors, and upon their success in effecting a change of mind in the rising generation depends the future of Egypt.

In this aim Dr. Haykal finds his closest collaborators among his former colleagues in the new Egyptian University, and a number of

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1 See, for example, his invitation to establish a Pan-Arab congress (مؤتمر الشرق) in *as-Siassa* (weekly ed.), 8th December, 1928, p. 6.

2 في أوقات الفراق 363.

3 He totally scouts, however, the idea expressed by some writers of advanced modernist views (e.g. by Niqūlā Yūsuf in *as-Siassa* (weekly ed.), 2nd February, 1929, p. 13), that the germ of the future Egyptian literature is to be found in the poetry and songs of the people.

4 *As-Siassa* (weekly edition), 25th June, 1927, p. 10, col. 1; cf. في أوقات الفراق p. 372. It is fully in conformity with this feeling that he should regard the Arabs as foreign invaders of Egypt, much as the average Englishman looks upon the Romans in England (see the article cited in the following note). The same idea animates a group of younger writers who are beginning to advocate the recognition of "Pharaonic literature" as the only true basis of a national Egyptian literature.

5 Ibid., 360–1. The argument for a chair of Egyptian studies is developed more fully in *as-Siassa* (weekly edition), 22nd December, 1928, pp. 5–6.
the teachers in the higher training colleges. Though their work is by its nature more concentrated, and does not lend itself as a rule to literary productions other than technical manuals, it is none the less important in its bearing on the future of Egyptian literature. To them also this is an age of preparation rather than achievement, "an age of translation, not of composition," in the words of Lutfi Bey as-Sayyid, Director of the University and the present Minister of Public Instruction. But one teacher at least, Dr. Tāhā Ḥusayn, has created for himself in modern Arabic letters a position as prominent as that occupied by Dr. Haykal, in a manner which often contrasts oddly with the moderation and supple methods of his colleague.

Tāhā Ḥusayn was born into a home which preserved all the traditional features of up-river village life. At an early age his sight was completely lost, and he was destined for a theological career. After the usual elementary instruction in the village kuttab he was entered as a student at al-Azhar and spent some years there, in the course of which he acquired a thorough grasp of Arabic from the linguistic side. Under the guidance of Shaykh Sayyid b. 'Alī al-Marsafi he began to show a special partiality for Arabic literature, and subsequently continued his studies under European professors in the newly-founded Egyptian University. Here he was initiated into modern western methods of literary criticism and historical study, and rapidly threw off the prejudices and cramped outlook of the Azharite. The firstfruits of these studies was a thesis on Abu'l-'Alā al-Ma'arri, in the introduction to which he already displayed his characteristic audacity by attacking the methods of teaching Arabic literature in Egypt. During the war years he studied at the Sorbonne, specializing in French literature and literary criticism, and in classics. His university career, after a narrow escape from disaster on account of an impetuous criticism which gave some offence in Egypt, closed in 1919, with the production of a doctoral thesis on Ibn Khaldun. On his return to Egypt he was appointed to the new chair of Classical (Greek and Roman) History at the Egyptian University, and on the reconstitution of the University was transferred to the Professorship of Ancient Arabic literature, which he still holds.

1 "ذکرى أبي العلا". Hilāl press, 1915, reprinted 1922.
3 Subsequently translated into Arabic by another hand: "гласة ابن خلدون".

tr. 'Abdallāh 'Inān, together with a translation of an article on Ibn Khaldūn by von Wesendonk. T'timād press, 1343/1923.
At the very outset of his teaching career the new Professor had need of all his natural courage. His appointment gave the signal for the opening of a campaign directed against him and his work on the part of all the conservative educational elements in Egypt. Although he was already, as has been seen, persona ingratissima to the shaykhs, the main attack was directed against the new Chair, probably the first of the kind in any Muslim institution. For although every student of the Middle Ages is aware of the debt which Islamic civilization owed to Hellenism, it was a debt which the Islamic world never recognized, and in any case that aesthetic legacy of Greece which so profoundly influenced the evolution of modern Europe had found no acceptance in the Orient. Even when the modern westernizing movement gained momentum in Egypt and Syria, and passed from the stage of translation to that of imitation and closer study, it was only the outward modern manifestations of western thought and literature that were studied. Gradually the history of European thought began to be better appreciated, but the foundations still remained unknown. The first attempt to familiarize the Arabic world with something of the classical literary background was made by Sulaymān al-Bustānī in his translation of the Iliad.¹ The attempt was perhaps premature, and the subject ill-chosen. Epic poetry has never attracted the Arab, whose language lacks even a suitable metrical scheme for poems of such length and quality, and the technical difficulties were enhanced by the necessity of transliterating and fitting into Arabic metre all the Greek names. The result was that Bustānī’s translation was appreciated more as a tour de force than for the intrinsic qualities of either the original or the Arabic version.² Egypt, striving after western democracy and western science, remained ignorant of and indifferent to, even a little contemptuous towards, their source.

¹ See BSOS., iv, p. 751; MSOS., xxxii, p. 188; Mījallah al-Majma’ al-‘Ilmi, v (1925), pp. 249–52.
² The following comment represents, in spite of its extreme partisan character, the view of conservative opinion:—

اَمَا شَيْرُ الْأَفْرِيقَ الْذِّي يِفْضِلُهُ الْمُحَدِّدُ عَلَى الْشَّرَى الْعَرَبِيٍّ وَيَنِعُّ عَلَى الْعَرَبِ نَذَاعُهُ لَوْ تَرَكَ الْكَتَبَةَ مِنْ مَعَانِيِّهِ فَقَدْ كَانَ كَهْفًا حَقِيْقَةً فَيْلَ يَرْجُمُ لَنَا سَيْلُهُ إِنَّهُ الْبَيْتَانِ الْاَلِابَاشَةِ نَظْمًا . . . فَإِلَّا اَطُنُّ عَلَى الْأَلَاذَةِ وَهِيْ إِلَى شَيْرِ الأَفْرِيقِ وَمَفْخُوْرَهُ الْتَارِيِّقِيَ حَكَّا نَبِيًا إِنَّهُ لَا يَذْهَبُ عَلَى قُوَّاءَهُ وَأَحَدُوْهُمْ لَا يَذْهَبُونَ عَلَى قُوَّاءَهُ وَأَهْلُوْهُمْ لَا يَذْهَبُونَ عَلَى قُوَّاءَهُ وَأَهْلُوْهُمْ لَا يَذْهَبُونَ عَلَى قُوَّاءَهُ وَأَهْلُوْهُمْ لَا يَذْهَبُونَ عَلَى قُوَّاءَهُ وَأَهْلُوْهُمْ لَا يَذْهَبُونَ عَلَى قُوَّاءَهُ وَأَهْلُوْهُمْ لَا يَذْهَبُونَ عَلَى قُوَّاءَهُ وَأَهْلُوْهُمْ لَا يَذْهَبُونَ عَلَى قُوَّاءَهُ وَأَهْلُوْهُمْ لَا يَذْهَبُونَ عَلَى قُوَّاءَهُ وَأَهْلُوْهُمْ L (Mānār, xxvii (1345), p. 397).
This paradox was brought vividly home to Dr. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn. His students at first showed some hostility to the new imposition, as they regarded it, but gradually his eloquence and enthusiasm began to effect a change. Now he came boldly forward with the claim that if Egypt was to gain self-respect and was to progress in the ways of modern life, she must go to school and begin again with the foundations. In a series of works intended for the general public ¹ he stressed again and again the necessity of classical studies as the basis of a living culture. "We cannot live in this age demanding all the political and intellectual independence enjoyed by the peoples of Europe, while we remain dependent on them for all that nourishes the intellect and the feelings in science, philosophy, literature, and the arts." ² It might perhaps have gone hardly with him had the attention of Egypt not been distracted by the political crisis through which it was passing; as it was, however, he found strong support in a section of educated opinion and especially among his own colleagues. Indeed, at this very time, the Director of the University, ʿĀḥmad Luṭfī Bey as-Sayyid, was engaged in a translation (from the French) of the Nicomachean Ethics, which appeared in 1924. ³ But if the political situation eased his path, it also affected the success of his propaganda, and with his transference to the Chair of Arabic literature, the projected continuations of his classical studies came to an untimely and regrettable end. It is too soon yet to say that the effort to bring classical studies to bear on Arabic literature has failed; it is to be hoped at least that the Professor’s example of enthusiasm for learning and intellectual courage has not been lost on the rising generation.

Even after his transference to Arabic studies, however, Dr. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn was not to find himself in smoother waters. Following up his principle of introducing modern French methods of critical study into Egypt, he began to apply a sort of Cartesian analysis to Arabic literature, with results which became more and more radical. So far


from emulating Dr. Haykal’s cautious adaptation of European methods to the existing level of general education in Egypt, he jumped down the throats of the conservatives, and at length carried the method of philosophic doubt to a point for which Egyptian opinion was totally unprepared. His gradual progress towards radicalism can be traced in the first two series of studies which he published on Arabic poets; on the publication of the third, however, entitled On Pre-Islamic Poetry, such an outcry was raised that the book had to be withdrawn, and a process for heresy was begun against the author. Again his good fortune saved him from the worst effects of his audacity, and the result of the attempted persecution of the conservatives was only to enhance his popularity and prestige with the liberals, and make him the idol of the students. Nothing daunted, therefore, he republished the work, slightly revised as a concession to public opinion, and considerably enlarged, under a different title (On Pre-Islamic Literature) in the following year.

Scholastic though all these works are, they form an important contribution to contemporary Egyptian literature, not only by their qualities of style and method, but by the skilful way in which the needs of a wider public are kept in view. The style is peculiar in the sense that, being dictated, not written, it presents characteristics, such as frequent repetition of phrases, which belong to oratory rather than to prose. Yet the happy choice of words, the smoothness and facility of the argument, and the humorous and masterly handling of the subject, give it an attractive quality which is rarely equalled in Egyptian writing. Nevertheless, it is in their educational aspect that the main value of these studies lies, and whether or not all the


3 It should be borne in mind that the Egyptians had taken over the French view of university professors as salaried servants of the State.

4 ق. الأب الجاهلي. Published by the l’timâd press, pp. 376. 1345/1927. Reviewed by Professor Margoliouth in JRAIS. 1927, 902–4. Both these works have provoked a whole series of rejoinders by writers of the conservative school. An interesting discussion of the issues involved will be found in al-Machriq, xxvi (1928), 195 ff., and xxvii (1929), 434 ff.
conclusions to which Dr. Tāhā Ḥusayn has come are accepted, the wide influence which he enjoys must in due course lead to the strengthening in Egyptian thought and literature of the principles for which he stands.¹

It is not only in virtue of these works, however, that Dr. Tāhā Ḥusayn occupies an outstanding position in contemporary letters. Outside the sphere of his professional studies, he has found the time to make fairly extensive contributions to periodical literature, among which may be mentioned the lengthy critical analyses of modern French plays, published in al-Hilāl, a number of which have been reprinted in book form.² In 1922 he issued a translation of Gustave le Bon’s Psychologie de l’Education.³ Much more important from every point of view is the literary autobiography, entitled Al-Ayyām ("Days"), a work which is justly praised for its depth of feeling and for the truth of its descriptions, and has a good claim to be regarded as the finest work of art yet produced in modern Egyptian literature.⁴

Together with the writers already mentioned there are a number of others who belong to the same group, but are less prominent in the world of letters. Amongst the other professors at the Egyptian

¹ It is for this reason, of course, that Dr. Tāhā Ḥusayn is the object of the most bitter attacks in conservative and reactionary circles. As a specimen of the outrageous criticism and slander to which he is subjected, the following passages from al-Manār (xxvii (1345), pp. 357–8), apropos of Fi'l-ʿAdab al-Jāhili, may be quoted here, with apologies to him for reproducing such odious—and at the same time ludicrous—personalities:—

١ جمعية تجديد الأدب والزمنة والإباحة المطلقة
الف. الدكتور عليه يس، اسْتَنادًا تجديد الأدب والإباحة في الجامِعَة المصرية غير الرسمية
ف. الرسِيْمَة كِتَابًا. هذا التأثِّر البصر والبصرة... يريد به تجريد أمته من الدين واللغة
والتَّوَارِث والدَّابِر والدَّابِر وأخذهم بذلك فيجعلهم أمة أوروبية!! بل طاعة الدولة الأوروبية.
كما بُنِجِّها وبيته بِبُنِجِّها، وله جَمَاعُ أمة غير مسلمة ونسبة أولاً من ابْنَاء الأفريقيين، فبَنِجِّها من أمة العربية القديمة والجديدة.
له أن قال: لا مانع يجول دون اقتضاء للمصريين بِبِسطة الأنفاس، وحَمِيمَا، إلَّا الذين، يأتي
فلا يشذ من وُلادة هذا المانع.

The student will note an interesting example of the survival of traditional methods of Arabic historiography in the last sentence!

² Published in Tijāriyah press, 1924. The series was published in al-Ḥadith, vol. i (Aleppo, 1927), is also of interest.


⁴ Published in al-Hilāl between December, 1926, and July, 1927. I hope to deal more fully with this and with Dr. Haykal’s novel Zaynab in a later article.
University, several, including Manṣūr Bey Fahmī, Dr. Āḥmad Amīn, Dr. Āḥmad Ɖayf,¹ and Shaykh Muṣṭafā 'Abd ar-.Range, are known to a fairly wide public. The last named,² whose masterly introduction to the French translation of Muḥammad 'Abduh's Risālat al-Tauḥīd is familiar to European scholars, probably stands in the truest line of development from Muḥammad 'Abduh, as a modernist who yet holds firmly to the bases of Islamic tradition. At the opposite extreme to him is Maḥmūd 'Azmī, sub-editor of as-Siyāsah, and the most advanced of all Muslim Egyptian modernists.

The same school of thought is represented also amongst the teachers at other higher colleges, and though in most cases their individual influence is bounded by their immediate students and their particular subject, yet cumulatively their effect on the evolution of Egyptian taste is considerable. It extends still further into the ranks of more popular writers, who, whether or not they make any claim to familiarity with French literature, show in their output the influence of their contacts with French thought. As Lord Cromer observed twenty years ago,³ French culture has exercised a peculiarly powerful attraction on educated Egyptians, and while there is nothing regrettable in this fact itself, the study of Egyptian literature shows that it is open to question whether its effects have been altogether good.

The reasons for this criticism lie in the attraction of Egyptian writers and readers towards particular currents in French literature, rather than towards French literature as a whole. It could hardly be expected that Egyptians should feel any natural sympathy with the productions of the classical school, while, on the contrary, there is a real kinship between the spirit of Arabic literature and the works of the Romanticists. The previous article has shown how strongly Manfalūtī fell under the influence of such writers as Chateaubriand, and in this Manfalūtī was by no means exceptional. The range of better-educated Egyptians has widened, but the student cannot help noticing how often the names of Rousseau, Alfred de Vigny, de Musset, and Hugo recur, and still more how widespread is the

¹ Dr. Ɖayf is joint-author of two remarkable novels of Egyptian life published in French, entitled Mansour and El-Azhar. On his study of Spanish-Arabic literature (اللغة العرب في الأندلس) see MSOS., xxi, 240–1.

² He is a brother of ‘Alī ‘Abd ar-Range, whose book on Islām and the Principles of Government (إسلام وأصول الدين)—on which see Lammens, L'Islam, pp. 121–2—is English trans., pp. 109–10—created such a sensation in Egypt in 1925.

admiration for Anatole France, even among the best of the Egyptian writers mentioned above.\(^1\) When one considers what might be the fruit of this inoculation with the more negative and sceptical sides of modern French culture, one can sympathize with the fear of the conservatives that the influence of European studies is wholly destructive. Fortunately, however, among the leaders of the liberal school, these tendencies are balanced by a wider grasp of the vital and constructive process within which the European reader is able to give the Romanticists their fitting place. There are even one or two writers who stress the doctrine of progress through suffering,\(^2\) though they fail to convey a vivid impression of actuality.

An important share in the propagation of healthier and more constructive elements of western thought is taken by the second group of Egyptian modernists, those writers whose European background is mainly English. The reason for this is not to be sought in any comparisons between French and English culture as a whole, but rather in the fact that the English writers with whom Egyptians are most familiar—Shakespeare, Carlyle, Dickens, Tennyson, Bernard Shaw—are essentially writers of a healthy and constructive outlook. The leading literary figures in this group are ‘Abbās Maḥmūd al-‘Aqqād and Ibrāhīm ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Māzīnī. The gap which separates al-‘Aqqād from the majority of those already named is fairly wide, and has unfortunately been widened by political differences, though the latter of course cut across all literary divisions. Al-Māzīnī occupies a more intermediate position, but in the controversies to which they, in common with many others, have devoted a disproportionate share of their energies, he is distinguished by a vigour which amounts at times to violence.

In their literary careers al-‘Aqqād and al-Māzīnī have developed along closely similar lines. Both of them began as poets of a modernist type,\(^3\) whose lyrics are inspired by definite subjective emotions, and not in any way influenced by the traditional methods and subjects of Arabic poetry. At the same time, that is from 1912 onwards, they

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\(^1\) Cf. *MSOS.*, xxix, 257.

\(^2\) e.g. Muhammad Šābī, *ادب و تاريخ* (Govt. press, 1927), pp. 296-300.

\(^3\) For the early productions of al-‘Aqqād see Sarkis, *Dict. Encyc. de Bibliographie Arabe*, col. 1347; for al-Māzīnī, ibid., col. 1608 (where the date 1333 given for his *Divān* is an error for 1333; the edition itself is undated). Al-‘Aqqād’s *Divān* was republished by the Muqtataf press, 1928; his introduction to al-Māzīnī’s *Divān* is reprinted in *المطالعات*, pp. 274–89.
engaged in a certain amount of poetic criticism, which led up to their joint publication in 1920–21 of vigorous critical essays on such leading literary figures of the conservative school as Manfalūṭī and the poet Aḥmad Shawqī, under the misleading title of *ad-Dīwān*.\(^1\) Their subsequent publications consist of collections of articles of different dates, reprinted from various journals, and ranging over a wide field.\(^2\) In general they share the aims and characteristics already noted as common to all the Egyptian modernists, and do not hide their conviction that a literary revival, reflecting a revolution in the ideas and outlook of the people, is a necessary preliminary to a full revival of national life, and that it is the present task of the writer and thinker to guide the people towards the formulation and achievement of their national contribution to civilization. But both of them stand appreciably nearer to the conservative position than either Dr. Haykal or Dr. Ṭāḥā Husayn; they are less insistent on the evolution of a purely Egyptian culture, and lay more weight on the grafting of congruent European elements on the Arabic stock in order to produce a modernized Arabic-Islamic culture.\(^3\) One of the main features of their work, consequently, is a careful study of such poets as Ibn ar-Rūmī and Mutanabbī, and the valuation of their productions somewhat on the lines of Hazlitt.

Yet in spite of a certain general similarity of aim and methods and even of subject, there is a marked difference in tone, no less than in style, between the work of al-‘Aqqād and that of al-Māzinī. Hitherto al-‘Aqqād appears by far the more original writer and his work leaves the more satisfying impression.\(^4\) The keynotes of his writings are Freedom and Truth. These are the things of which Egypt stands in

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1. الديوان. كتاب في النقد والادب. Ten parts were planned, but only two appear to have been issued.


4. This is to be taken as a general statement, of course; in specific essays here and there al-‘Aqqād may appear more radical than Dr. Haykal.

On ‘Aqqād see also Professor Kratchkowsky’s *Introduction*, xviii–xix (= *MSOS.*, xxxii\(^2\), 194).
greatest need. Freedom lies in the power of the mind to overcome obstacles; to begin by seeking political “freedom” is to begin at the wrong end. Truth is the reality behind the outward shows of life, and truth and freedom issue in beauty. “Without love of beauty there is no freedom”; the mind of Egypt hitherto is symbolized by the cultivation of the soil of Egypt—entirely given up to necessary and materially useful things; but now there is a growing appreciation of beauty and art. The larger number of al-ʿAqqād’s essays, outside those devoted to purely literary criticism, are given up to the elaboration of these ideas. It is in this reaction to the views of the realistic school that the chief importance of his work as a prose writer lies. The same conceptions underlie his literary methods. “Literature and the arts are the highest expression of freedom.” The object of literature is not to amuse or entertain, but to widen the reader’s hold on life. The writer of natural genius (matbūʿ) is one who follows his natural bent without seeking to copy others. But it is not enough to present a faithful picture, a mere photograph; the writer must be an artist who strives after an ideal of beauty. Simplicity alone is not the supreme art in style; it is not to be demanded of a writer that his language should be easy to everyone. In accordance with this principle al-ʿAqqād has forged for himself a style which is peculiar in contemporary Arabic literature, a style which is elaborate and rather of a western type in texture, yet slightly archaic in language, and which demands the utmost concentration on the part of the reader. Some such new form of expression he feels to be necessary for his purpose, since old Arabic had no real literary style, what did duty as such (excluding works dealing with plain recitals of fact) being in reality rhetorical in its origin and manner, and open to serious

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1 For this reason he protests against the prominence given to the ideas of Anatole France by writers of the French school (المراجعات, 232 ff.). The principal weakness which he discerns in the Egyptian character is frivolity and lack of seriousness, and it is perhaps symptomatic of his English background that the remedy which he proposes for this weakness should be real play—exercise of the body as well as of the mind (ibid., 272–3).

2 المراجعات, pp. 54–7.

3 المراجعات, 48–89.

4 Ibid., 79.

5 المراجعات, 1–9; cf. المراجعات, 22.

6 المراجعات, 227. This, of course, is aimed at the conservative school.

7 المراجعات, 90–9.
criticisms. True renovation must, however, be based on a thorough grasp of classical Arabic; the writer who has acquired this mastery may then at his own will enrich it by the adaptation of congruent elements from other languages. Unadorned statement is not literature; only that is worthy of the name which expresses thought in a garb of beauty and dignity.

Al-Māzīnī shares al-ʻAqqād’s views on “freedom”, but not his artist’s idealism. He is at heart a realist, whose vision is, however, tempered by a touch of fantasy. His earlier literary essays are for the most part straightforward in subject and manner, and scarcely call for special remark. It is more interesting to follow up the evolution of his style. In his earliest work he is still strongly influenced by the classical Arabic style, though his treatment of the subject is determined by his English reading. The post-war essays in the same collection show a marked improvement in the direction of simplicity and concentration; the style resembles on the whole that of Dr. Haykal and other modernist authors, the choice of words is careful, but there is no attempt to imitate al-ʻAqqād’s elaborate syntax and rather studious diction. In his next book, however, the tone of his writing has begun to change. It is altogether lighter, gayer, and more sparkling, and in a few passages the essay form is exchanged for short sketches and dramatic dialogues. It seems as if al-Māzīnī had realized that the literary essay was not his real bent, and was beginning to find his feet in a new form of composition. Since 1928 he has regularly contributed to the weekly Siyāsah and other journals sketches and dialogues written in this crisp and witty style, and there can be no question that as a definite contribution to imaginative literature, in which modern Arabic is still exceedingly weak, these rank much higher than his critical essays. Whether he will eventually take the next step, and emerge as an

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1 المطالعات, 229-30.
2 Cf. his criticism of Jibrān, not only for his language, however, but also for the poverty of his ideas, though he admits the poetic insight of some passages (al-Fuṣūl, 46-9).
3 المراجعات, 100-8. See also his analysis of modern Arabic literary movements in his letter of acceptance of membership of the Arab Academy; Mijallah, etc., vi (1926), pp. 548-50.
4 A study of Ibn ar-Rūmī written in 1913-14, reprinted in حصاد الهمم, pp. 298-346.
5 قسم الإجماع (see above, p. 461, n. 2). The greater part is devoted to a criticism of Dr. Tāhā Ḥusayn’s "حدث الأربعة" in the الشعر الجاهلي.
Arabic novelist, remains to be seen,¹ but there is none among the modern Arabic writers mentioned so far who possesses, at least from the point of view of style, better qualifications.

The place occupied by German literature in this revival is still restricted, though in view of the numbers of Egyptian students in Germany it may be expected to expand. References to Goethe, Schiller, Nietzsche, and so on are frequently found in the pages of the essayists, but there is little evidence of any real influence exerted by German thought on Egyptian writers. It is interesting, however, to see how the distinction between the two groups observed above maintains itself in relation to German literature. Al-'Aqqād is attracted to Kant,² and frequently discusses Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, while the French school is attracted rather to the romantic writers. From the latter group emanates the only notable translation yet made of a German work, Goethe’s Werther, and that itself on the basis of French translations.³

Within the ranks of the Egyptian modernists whose activity has been discussed up to this point there are, of course, varying degrees of western adaptation. Shaykh Muṣṭafā ʿAbd ar-Rāziq and Professor Maṣūr Fahmy are still to a large extent in touch with conservative feeling; al-'Aqqād and Dr. Haykal are less so, while Dr. Ṭāḥā Ḥusayn inclines still more to the left. The extreme left wing of Egyptian modernism, however, is formed by another group, composed hitherto largely of Egyptian Christians, in which the principal figure is Salāmah Mūsā, the present editor of the monthly journal al-Hilāl. Salāmah Mūsā first came into prominence by his writings in defence of the theory of evolution and of socialism, which he had studied during some years of residence in England.⁴ His post-war publications consist so far of collections of essays, reprinted from al-Hilāl and other journals, and dealing not only with literary matters, but with such subjects as Malthus, the Ice Age, psycho-analysis and the subconscious mind

¹ He has spoken of this possibility in as-Siass (weekly ed.), 27th April, 1929, p. 5.
² المطالعات, 249–59.
³ al-'Aṣār. Translated by Ḍḥmad Ḥasan az-Zayyāt, with an introduction by Dr. Ṭāḥā Ḥusayn. 1342/1924. See on this, and on other translations from the French by az-Zayyāt, MSOS., xxix², 248.
⁴ For his earlier works see Sarkis, Dict. Enc., col. 1038. The first exponent of the Darwinian theory in Arabic was the Syrian, Dr. Shibli Shumayl (Shumayyil), on whom see al-Machriq, 1926, p. 526; for his writings, Sarkis, cols. 1144–5. His work met with very little response in Egypt, and it has fallen to his disciple Salāmah Mūsā to prosecute it with more success. Needless to say, the theory of evolution is still very gingerly handled in ultra-conservative circles.
and especially with evolution. His favourite
authors are Bernard Shaw and H. G. Wells; like them, he speaks his
mind out fearlessly, and even provocatively, on subjects which even
the most advanced of the Muslim modernists treat with caution.
Perhaps the best example is furnished by his essay on Monotheism, in
which he argues for the naturalistic origin of tawhíd and boldly
applies the doctrine of evolution to religion. His attitude to Arabic
literature and literary style is characterized by the same boldness and
vigour of thought. In both classical and contemporary Arabic litera-
ture he finds a lack of sound knowledge and of contact with the facts
of life, and while at first he was content to allow the classical tradition
some share, though a subordinate one, in the formation of a modern
Arab culture, in his latest writings he pronounces for complete
severance from the past. English and French style he declares
roundly to be better than Arabic style, and he has made it his aim to
produce what he calls the “telegraphic” form of writing, “in which
the words do not outnumber the ideas.” But while he is distinguished
from his Egyptian colleagues by his more extreme views (though to
the European they are often the ordinary views of an educated
man), he is, unlike the Syro-American school, careful to observe in his
writings the familiar rhythms of Arabic. The “vulgarity” of
language, for which he is violently criticized in certain quarters, amounts
to no more than the taking up into the written language of a few
popular words, which serve his purpose better than unfamiliar
classicisms. Yet he is not entirely a partisan of the “Egyptian
culture” school; on the contrary his aim is to bring Arabic thought
generally into line with western thought. Like his predecessor
Gurgi Zaydân, his work is rather didactic than literary, but it may
be said with truth that he is the worthy successor of Zaydân in the
altered circumstances of present-day Egypt. His popularity with,

2 أمانة العمل والتحدي (3). ‘Asriyah press, n.d. [1927]. I have
not seen a copy of this book. There is a violent criticism of it by Cheikh in al-Machriq,
xxv (1927), p. 957.
3 “For each look backwards we must look forward twice” : ibid., 51.
5 مختارات, p. 8.
6 See his article on the literary use of Egyptian colloquial terms in al-Hilal,
July, 1926.
and the influence which his work exerts on, a section of the rising
generation of Egyptians, both Muslim and Christian, show that he
is a factor to be reckoned with in the evolution of modern Egyptian
thought and literature.1

If it is asked to what, after all, this literary activity in Egypt
amounts, the answer will not be found merely by reckoning up the
number of productions, which will bear comparison, from the point of
view of interest or profit, with those of any other country. It must be
judged, not from the standpoint of a highly-developed western
literature, but in relation to its background, audience, and environ-
ment. It has brought into Arabic literature new values and
ideals, towards which it strives to direct the political and cultural
aspirations of the Egyptians, and which at the same time link
it up with the thought of the civilized world outside. These
writers have shown that it is not only possible, but, humanly
speaking, certain, that in due course a body of Arabic literature
will be created which will express the distinctive contribution
of Arabs and Egyptians to modern civilization, not as imitators
of an alien culture, but as members of an original and vigorous
organism, in the same way that Russian literature has expressed the
distinctive contribution of the Russian genius. All of them are
conscious that they stand at the beginnings of this development, that
they are precursors of that newer Arabic literature yet to be, but
each seeks to bring to it his own offering of experiment and thought.
They know that what they are expressing is not the feeling of the people
as a whole, but the views of a small minority who are striving, with
increasing success and a strong assurance of ultimate victory, to
convert and educate the people. In this alone they see the hope of
the future, and their part is to unify, broaden, and extend the influence
of these forces. For their final aim, as al-‘Aqqād has well said,2 is
not to create an intellectual culture, a culture of decadence and mere
words, but a natural culture, a culture of progress.

ADDITIONAL NOTES
p. 459, n. 2. On Šhaykh Muṣṭafā ʿAbdar-Rāziq see now al-Hilāl, August, 1929,
pp. 1162 ff.
p. 463. As this article is in Press, the issue is announced of a selection of al-
Māzini’s dramatic sketches and essays under the title of صندوق إلديا ("The
Peepshow"). Tāraqqī Press, 1929.
p. 464, n. 3. A translation of Goethe’s Furst, by Professor Muhammad ʿAwad, of the
Egyptian University, is now announced, with a preface by Dr. Tābā Husayn.
1 According to his own statement (in al-Ḥadīth, vol. ii, pp. 285–6) 45,000 copies of
his books have been printed.
2 Introduction to his collected Diwān, p. 8.
THE EARLIEST ACCOUNT OF 'UMAR KHAYYĀM

IT has hitherto been supposed that the earliest allusion to 'Umar Khayyām is that contained in the Chahār Maqāla of Nizām-i 'Arūḏī, which was written in A.H. 552, and the second allusion in point of date that contained in the Nuzhat al-Arwāḥ of Muḥammad Shahrazūrī, written about the middle of the seventh century. The latter account was edited, together with a subsidiary Persian version and Russian translation, by Professor Zhukovsky in al-Muzaffariya (St. Petersburg, 1897, pp. 327–31). Now this account of 'Umar was taken almost verbatim, but with several extensive omissions, from the Taʾrīkh Hukamāʾ al-Islām of Ẓahīr ad-Dīn al-Bayhaqī, which was composed before A.H. 549, and therefore antedates by some years the notice in the Chahār Maqāla. We are indebted to Professor Weil for the kind loan of the unique manuscript of this work, now in the Berlin University Library (Petermann, ii, 737), from which the following notice has been extracted.

E. D. R.
H. A. R. G.

الدستور الفيلسوف حجة الخلق

عمرن ابراهيم الخيام
كان نيسا بوري الميلاد والآباء والأجداد وكان تلوألي على
في إجزاء علوم الحكمه إلى الآلهة كان سي الخلوق ضيق المطن وقد تأمل
كتابا باصفهان سبع مرات وحفظه وعاد إلى نيسابور وأماه فقوبل
بنسخة الأصل فلم يوجد بينهما كشيء تفاوت وطاعه الجموغر
والشمس وعطارد على درجة الطالع في حر من الجوغر وعطارد
صعيمى والمشترى من التثليث ناظر الهمة وله صنعة بالتصنيف

[Fol. 66b]

[1 MS. إجراء]

[67a]
والتعليم ولم يكتب تصنيفًا الاختصرًا في الطبيعة، ورسالة في الوجود ورسالة في الكون والتكليف، وكان عالما باللغة والفقه والتاريخ وقيل دخل الإمام عمام يومًا على شهاب الإسلام، الوزير، وهو عبد الرزاق بن النفيض الأجل أبي القاسم عبد الله بن علي بن أخ نظام وكان عنده امام القراءة أبو الحسن الغزال وكان يتكلمان في اختلاف القراءة في آية فقال شهاب الإسلام على الخبر سقطنا فامام عمام عمر عن ذلك فذكر وجهه اختلاف القراءة، وعَلَّ كل واحد وذكر الشواذ وعلَّه وفضل وجهه وأحدهما على سائر الوجه فقال امام القراءة أبو الحسن الغزال كثير الله في العلماء، مثلًا، معنى من أدبه أهلك، وارض على فإني ما ظننت أن واحدا من القراء في الدنيا يحفظ ذلك ويرفعه فضلا عن واحد من الحكام، وأنا أجزاء الحكم من الرضايات والملوقيات، فكان ابن بُلدته ودخل يومًا على الامام حجة الإسلام محمد الغزالي وسأله عن تعيين جزء من أجزاء الفلك القطبية دون غيرها مع أن الفلك متشابه الأجزاء، وأنا قد ذكرت ذلك في كتاب عرائس النقيض من تصنيفي فأ قال الأمام عمار الكلام والبدأ من آن الحركة من مطلقة كما وصى بالخوض في محل النزاع وكان من دابة ذلك الشيخ المطاع حتى قام قائم الظهيرة وأذن المؤذن
فقال الإمام الفزالي (جَآِهَ الحَق قَرَّهُ تِسْبِلَا طَلِيَّ) وقام ودخل
الإمام عمر يوما على السلطان الأعظم سنجر وهو صي
وقد أصابه الجدري فخرج من عينده فقال له الوزير مجير الدولة
كيف رأيته وبأى شيء عالجته فقال له الإمام عمر الصبي خنوف
ففهم ذلك خادم حبشى ورفع ذلك إلى السلطان فلما أرأى السلطان
أضم بسبب بعض الإمام عمر وكان لا يحب وكان السلطان ملكشاه
ينزله منزلة البنديما والخاقان شمس الملوك بيخارى يعظمه شاية
العظيم ويعجزل الإمام عمر منه على سريره وحكي الإمام عمر
يوما لوالدي وقال ان كنت يوما بين يدي السلطان ملكشاه
ودخل عليه صبي من أولاد الأمراء وأدى خدمة مرضاية فتعجبت
من حسن خدمته في صغر سنه فقال له السلطان لاتعجب فإن
فرخ [f. 68b]
الدجاجة إذا تحققت بيضته يلتقط الحب بلتلميم
ولكنه لا يهتم إلى بيتها سبيلو وفرخ الحمامي لا يلتقط الحب إلا
بتعليم الزرق مع ذلك يصير حاما هاد يطير من مكة إلى بغداد
فتعجبت من كلام السلطان وقالت كل كبير مليم وقد دخلت
على الإمام في خدمة والدي رحمه الله في سنة سبع وخمسين
فسألته عن بيت في الحماية وهو ولا يرون أكناف الهوينا

١ MS. مهجه١ ٢ MS. لى
The Master and Philosopher, the Proof of the People, 'Umar ibn Ibrāhīm al-Khayyām.

He was a Nīshāpūrī by birth, as also were his father and his ancestors. He was the disciple of Abū 'Alī in the various branches of philosophic studies, but was withal a man of disagreeable character and peevish temper. Having studied a certain book in Iṣfahān seven times and memorized it, he returned to Nīshāpūr and there

1 MS. احزم
dictated it. It was afterwards compared with a copy of the original, and very little difference was found between them. His horoscope was Gemini, the sun and Mercury being in the ascendant. 1 He was niggardly in both composing and teaching, and wrote nothing but a compendium on physics, a treatise on Existence, and another on Being and Obligation, though he had a wide knowledge of philology, jurisprudence, and history.

The story is told that the Imam Umar one day entered the presence of the wazir Shihāb al-Islām, i.e. 'Abd ar-Razzāq, son of the great jurisconsult Abu'l-Qāsim 'Abdallāh ibn 'Ali ibn Akh Naẓām. With the latter was the Imam of the Koran-readers, Abu'l-Hasan al-Ghazzālī, 2 and the two of them were discussing the different readings of a certain verse of the Koran. Shihāb al-Islām said "Now we have lighted on the expert", and questioned the Imam Umar on the point. Thereupon Umar not only enumerated the conflicting readings of the readers with the objections to each one, but also related the unsupported traditions and exposed their faults, and then proceeded to argue for the superiority of one reading over all the other readings. The Imam of the Readers, Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Ghazzālī, exclaimed, "May God multiply such men as you among the learned! Make me one of the familiars of your house and grant me your favour! I never thought that anyone in the world, not even any of the readers, could memorize and master the whole of that, let alone one of the philosophers."

In the mathematical and metaphysical branches of philosophy he was a thorough master. One day the Imam, the Proof of Islam, Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī, visited him and questioned him on the greater prominence of one of the polar sections of the celestial sphere than of the other sections, although the sphere itself is symmetrical. (I have discussed this point in my own book 'Arā'is an-Nafā'is.) The Imam Umar made a discourse of inordinate length, beginning with the statement that movement belonged to such and such a category, but dealt very meagrely with the point under discussion—for such was the usual way of this much-revered shaykh. At length the mosque attendant whose duty it was to give the signal (to the mu'adhhdhin) at midday rose to his task, and the mu'adhhdhin

1 A line of supplementary astronomical data has been omitted.
2 In Zhukovsky al-Ghazzālī, but see Sam'ānī, Kitāb al-Ansāb, fol. 407b, l. 4 from foot. Al-Ghazzālī's kunya was Abū Ḥāmid.
issued the call to prayer, whereupon the Imām al-Ghazzālī quoted “The truth has come and falsehood has passed away”, and went off.

The Imām ‘Umar one day visited the Great Sultan Sinjar during his boyhood, when he was suffering from an attack of smallpox. When he came out the wazir Mujir ad-Dowlah said to him, “What do you think of him and how have you treated him?” The Imām ‘Umar replied to him, “The boy is dangerous.” The words were caught by a negro eunuch, who brought them to the ears of the Sultan. When the Sultan recovered he entertained a secret feeling of hatred for the Imām ‘Umar and disliked him, whereas the Sultan Malikshāh used to number him amongst his boon companions and the Khāqān Shams al-Mulūk at Bukhārā used to show him the greatest honour, so much so that he would seat the Imām ‘Umar beside him on his divan.

The Imām ‘Umar once told the following story to my father. One day, he said, I was with the Sultan Malikshāh when a boy came in, one of the children of the amīrs, and did homage to him most gracefully. I marvelled at the elegance of the salutation in one so young as he was, but the Sultan said to me, “Do not be surprised; a young chicken, when its egg is broken, sets about pecking at grains without being taught, but it cannot find its own way to its nest, while a young pigeon does not peck at grains until it has been taught through being fed from the bill, but in spite of that it grows into a pigeon which can direct itself and will fly from Mecca to Baghdād.” The Sultan’s words impressed me greatly, and I said, “Every one of greatness is guided by instinct.”

I myself once visited the Imām on behalf of my father (may God have mercy upon him) in the year 507, and he asked me to explain a verse in the Hamāsah which runs 1:

Nor do they pasture, when they alight, on the flanks of quietude
nor in the grove of meekness.

I said “al-hunaynā is a diminutive with no corresponding form of magnitude, just like ath-thurayyā and al-humayyā. The poet intends to indicate the might and invincibility of this tribe; his expression means ‘when they encamp at any place, they do not stoop to weakness or ignominy, but aim at ever more glorious deeds’.” Then he asked me how many kinds of segments there are. I replied, “Four kinds, including the circumference of the circle, and a segment greater

1 Hamāsah, ed. Freytag, i, p. 15, l. 1.
than a half-circle.” Turning to my father he said, “A chip of the old block.”

His son-in-law, the Imām Muḥammad al-Baghdādī, told me that he used to use a golden toothpick. He was studying the metaphysics in [Avicenna’s] Shifā, and when he came to the chapter on “The One and the Many”, he placed the toothpick between the two pages and said, “Summon the righteous ones that I may make my testament.” He then made his testament, arose and prayed, and neither ate nor drank. When he prayed the last evening prayer he prostrated himself, saying as he did so, “O God, Thou knowest that I have sought to know Thee to the measure of my powers. Forgive my sins, for my knowledge of Thee is my means of approach to Thee,” and died.

1 Literally “A character familiar to me from Akhzam”, a proverbial saying on which see Freytag, Arabum Proverbia, i, 658, No. 20.
PERSIAN SUFIISM

BEING A TRANSLATION OF PROFESSOR ZHUDOVSKY’S INTRODUCTION TO HIS EDITION OF THE KASHF AL-MAHJUB

[The following is a translation of the preface to the late Professor Zhukovsky’s edition of the Persian text of Hujwiri’s Kashf al-Mahjub, which was published posthumously in Leningrad in 1926.

Professor Zhukovsky was already at work on this critical edition when Professor R. A. Nicholson brought out his well-known translation (Gibb Memorial Series, vol. xvii, 1911) which was based on the Lahore edition of 1903. This translation was also provided with an admirable introduction, but seeing that it is out of print and that Zhukovsky’s work is inaccessible to those who do not know Russian, the editor thinks he will be rendering a service to students of Persian Sufism in publishing an English translation of Zhukovsky’s preface. The translation, which has been made by Mr. Sidney Jerrold, contains only the literary portions of the Russian original. A considerable amount of textual criticism and discussion of sources have been omitted as being of no interest to those who have not the text before them.

Wherever possible, the translations from the Persian have been taken from Nicholson’s English versions, as this was obviously more satisfactory than re-translating the Russian renderings.

E. D. R.]

THE work before us is one which Eastern connoisseurs and authorities with good reason esteem most highly: Jama in his Nafsahat al-Uns describes it as being among the “important and well-known books” in the domain of Sufism, and as containing “a large quantity of subtle and exact research”; and Dara-Shukukh, the author of Safinat al-Awliyya, speaks of it as follows:—“Of the books on Sufism in the Persian language there is none so well composed as the Kashf al-Mahjub,” and “no one can say anything against it”.

The author of the present work, Abdu’l Hasan al Jullabi al Hujwiri al Ghaznawi, as his nisba indicates, came from the most easterly part of Khurasan—the town of Ghazna. His family was distinguished for asceticism and piety; he was of the Hanifite school, and lived in the fifth century of the Hijra.
Unhappily we do not possess a single source setting forth his life circumstantially and consecutively; we do not even know the date of his birth or of his death. Although Jāmī and Dara-Shukukh assign him a special place in their biographical collections, they confine themselves, especially Jāmī, to very brief extracts from Kashf al-Mahjūb, and they do not give any biographical facts of their own, but only throw some light, and that a dim one, upon the last period of his life in India, on the authority of sources, inaccessible to me, in the latest Indian tazkera, Khazinat al-Asfiyā. We must, therefore, content ourselves with those casual and fragmentary sidelights upon himself which appear between the lines of his work.

From a careful examination of these valuable indications scattered throughout his work, we learn that Jullābī's teacher was Abū'l Abbas al-Shaqqānī, a man of great and varied attainments who had frequented many Shaykhs. To him Jullābī bore great affection which was returned with real tenderness. "In no class, says Jullābī, have I met a man who respected and venerated the religious law more than he."

Shaqqānī was one of those Shaykhs who did not repudiate the famous Hallaj. He is accurately portrayed in the words of Abū Sa‘īd al-Mayhani, which he addressed to a certain Sayyid of Nishāpūr who was offended because Abū Sa‘īd had seated Shaqqānī higher than the said Sayyid: "If you are loved it is for Muhammad, but if they love him (i.e. Shaqqānī) it is for God's sake."

Jullābī's spiritual guide along the tariqat was Abd al-Faḍl Muḥammad b. al-Hasan al-Khuttali, a pupil of Abū'l Hasan al-Husri, who was a pupil of Abu Bakr al-Shibli, the pupil of the founder of a sect Junayd al-Baghdādī. As opposed to Bayāzīd Bisṭāmī the head of the Tayfūris, who preached full intoxication under the influence of the love of God, sukr, Junayd stood strongly for sobriety—sahw; hence Khuttalī said: "The state of intoxication is children's play, but the state of sobriety is the place of Nirvana for men." Khuttalī was very skilled in the exegesis of the Qu'ran, and possessed a rich store of traditions of Muhammad. For sixty years he avoided his fellow men, and lived for the most part in Syria, in the desert recesses of Mount Lukāīn. He died in Bayt al-Jinn not far from Damascus. Jullābī received his dying words: "My son, know that in all places the author of the conditions of good and evil is God the great and glorious; therefore it is not fitting to give way to anger at his action, or to bitterness of heart." Khuttalī, although he wore the same identical garment for fifty-six years, constantly patching it, did keep to the distinguishing
dress and ways of the Šūfīs; and in general he was harsh and stern with people who fought over customs and precepts. It was he, possibly, who inspired Jullābī with indifference as to dress. "There are people," he said, "who are not troubled about distinctive clothing: if God has given them an 'abā they wear it; if a qabā they likewise wear it. If he has left them naked, they remain so. I, Ali b. 'Uthman al-Jullābī, approved this rule, and have observed it on my journeys. A more inspiring man I have never met."

Besides Khuttali, Jullābī had other guides who all were followers of Junayd. A stormy period preceded the entry of Jullābī on the path.

"Once, in the territories of 'Irāq, I was restlessly occupied in seeking wealth and squandering it, and had run largely into debt. Everyone who wanted anything turned to me, and I was troubled and at a loss to know how I could accomplish their desires. An eminent person wrote to me as follows: 'Beware lest you distract your mind from God by satisfying the wishes of those whose minds are engrossed in vanity. If you find any one whose mind is nobler than your own, you may justly distract your mind in order to give peace to his. Otherwise, do not distract yourself, since God is sufficient for His servants.' These words brought me instant relief." ¹

It is not known at what time, but probably after his renunciation of the pleasures of this world, Jullābī experienced a severe trial of his faith. He says: "After God had preserved me for eleven years from the dangers of matrimony, it was my destiny to fall in love with the description of a woman whom I had never seen, and during a whole year my passion so absorbed me that my religion was near being ruined, until at last God in His bounty gave protection to my wretched heart, and mercifully delivered me." ²

The many-sided development of Jullābī was fostered in a material degree by his travels, and in his time he travelled much. He visited many parts of the Musulman world, and thus came into contact with leading religious men and Šūfīs of his day—true and false representatives of different schools and sects—and debated with them questions in which he was interested, and striving the while to determine the merits of those with whom he talked. In such manner he acquired that varied and vivid material which he used later in his stories of different Shaykhs and generally in his broad and illuminating judgment of divers questions and Šūfīstic teaching.

¹ Nicholson, Kashf al-Mahjūb, 345.
[Jullābī travelled extensively throughout the Islamic world, from Syria to Turkestan.]

We will now glance at the persons he met in his wanderings, and whom he more than once mentions in his work.

At the very head of these, so to say, stands Abu’l Qāsim ‘Ali Gurgānī. In the days when Jullābī was an ardent young man, the former represented “the pole around which all [people] revolved”; towards him were bent the heart of “all who were striving towards the audience chamber of God”, and on him leant all “seekers”; each of his pupils might serve to ornament the whole world; “he was the touchstone for good and bad coins.” Through three links he traced back to Junayd Baghdādī, and belonged to those shaykhs who recognized Husayn b. Mansur Hallaj. Jullābī turned to Gurgānī for the solution of doubts, entrusted to him his secret thoughts, and discussed with him sundry matters. At Tus he asked him, for example: “What is the least that may justify a dervish in calling himself poor?” Or, “What are the rules of intercourse with people?” One day, during a burning narration by Jullābī of his “visions”, Gurgānī conveyed to him that “no man can escape from the bonds of imagination, hence he must be humble and put away every relation save that of humanity and submissiveness. From that time”, says Jullābī, “we had many secrets together.” Gurgānī sent his pupils to be perfected to Abū Sa’īd al-Mayhanī, who knew his virtue, and called him “Master” one day at Tus before a gathering of dervishes. This is the same Gurgānī who, as the tradition runs, excused himself from reciting the prayers over Firdawsi’s body.

After Gurgānī we come across the name of Abū’l Qasim al-Qushayrī, the well-known Nishāpūr imam who died in A.H. 465. From him Jullābī heard the following opinion on the question of poverty and wealth: “Each of those present said something and showed his preference for one side or other of the question, but I prefer that which God prefers for me, and if He gives me riches I will not be heedless of Him as though I were the master of my wealth; and if he keep me poor I will not crave for wealth or be quarrelsome.” Qushayrī records his opinion of Abū’l Ḥasan al-Khurqānī as follows: “When I came to the province of Khurqan my eloquence and gift of speech left me for veneration of that Saint and it seemed as though I were shorn of my own holiness.” Qushayrī also told about the condition of a certain Tabararani, and likened a Sūfī to a spasm in the side.

Qushayrī we meet again in the Mayhana sage’s circle, imams of
different schools, great men of faith and Śūfis. At first he was not on
good terms with Abū Sa‘id and opposed him fundamentally on certain
questions; but later, helped by his own pupils who had frequented
Abū Sa‘id, he changed his view and often went to the discussions which
the Mayhanī held for help on questions which were troubling him.
At one of these sittings Qushayrī heard Abū Sa‘id make an historical
utterance: “There is in my cloak nothing except God.” He took
part with him in the dervishes’ rites, and after the death of Abū Sa‘id
he spoke of him with great gratitude and veneration: “If we had
never seen the sage, we should have had to study Śūfism from books.”
Abū Sa‘id called Qushayrī “the teacher of teachers”.

Jullābī was not uninfluenced by Khwaja Muṣaffar Hamdan. At
Nishapur he heard him elucidate the question of “the perishable and
the eternal”. Muṣaffar pointed out the harm in being led away
by the chanting of the dervishes. Hearing, after one trial, that the
music was pleasing to Jullābī, Hamdan said: “there will come a
time when that and the croaking of crows will be the same thing to
you; the power of sound endures only so long as you have not reached
‘contemplation’, when that is reached the force of music is gone.
See that you do not accustom yourself to it so that it becomes to you
a second nature and you thereby lag behind.” The same view was
held by Jullābī’s shaykh Khuttali, who reckoned such music as mere
“food for stragglers, inasmuch as he who had attained had no need
for it. Very possibly these views influenced Jullābī. One day a certain
imam in Merv remarked that he had written a book on the permissibility
of hearing the dervishes’ chanting. Jullābī said: “A great
misfortune has overcome their faith: the imam has sanctioned
a diversion which is the seed of all dishonour.” At the close of his
work he observes: “I prefer that novices be not admitted to hear
music, so that their natures be not troubled, for that is a great danger
and misfortune. Muṣaffar was no longer living when the Kashf al-
Mahjūb was written. He respected Abū Sa‘id Mayhanī, although they
were to some extent rivals. In conversation he once said to Abū
Sa‘id: “I call you neither a Śufi nor a dervish; I call you the Kingdom
(the King ?) of knowledge.” Abū Sa‘id said of Muṣaffar: “We were
brought to the Court of God by the way of slavery, but the Shaykh
by the way of lordship, i.e. we attained to contemplation by fervour,
whilst he from fervour reached contemplation.” Muṣaffar said to
Jullābī: “What great men have discovered wandering by vales and
wildernesses, I acquired seated on cushions in the place of honour.”
For a long time in Mawara’u ’n-Nahr, Jullâbî was friends with Ahmad of Sarakhs, and saw “much that was wonderful” in his life. Among other things he had from him the story of his repentance and severance from all unworthy worldly activities and cares. Jullâbî knew of Ahmad’s denial of the necessity of marriage, which was thus demonstrated: “Whilst living I am either absent from myself or present with myself. When I am absent I forget the two worlds; when I am present I so restrain the flesh that when it has received a piece of bread it imagines that it has obtained a thousand huris.”

It is not necessary to mention all the Shaykhs, hermits, and preachers of Šûfiism whom Jullâbî met; suffice it to say generally that in Khurasan alone he met three hundred men of whom each one would have sufficed for a whole world, for the sun of love and attainment in the tarigat was in the “star” of Khurasan.

Having shown, though unhappily in a fragmentary way, the intellectual atmosphere in which Jullâbî moved, and the men who may have influenced him by word or deed, some of whom undoubtedly belonged to the circle of Abû Sa’ïd, we think it is not uninteresting to point out that Jullâbî, either by the direction of the Shaykhs or his own judgment, became an adherent of Yaḫîâ al-Râzi, who had written much on the question of “fear and hope.” He was the first of the shaykhs to mount the pulpit after the Orthodox Caliphs. Jullâbî especially admired his speech, “by nature tender, sweet to the ear, subtle as to content, profitable in use.”

For Jullâbî, Ḥâkim Tirmidhî had also much significance. He was the author of numerous works and the head of the Ḥâkimis. “He was very great, in my view, so that my heart was made captive by him.” The fundamental feature of the Ḥâkimis was their teaching on holiness, and on this point Jullâbî was in full accord with Ḥâkim Tirmidhî.

The attention of Jullâbî, from his early years, was turned to the personality of Husayn b. Mansur Hallaj. He had previously written about him and had even devoted to him a separate study; but in the Kashf al-Mahjûb he only shows the relations of different shaykhs past and present, and of various social circles with Hallaj who, he strives to demonstrate, was not, as many assert, a magician. Whilst alive he wore the robe of sanctity made of worthy prayers, divine praises, frequent ejaculations, constant fastings, pure aspirations, and subtle sayings about monotheism. Jullâbî’s final opinion, so far as we can judge, differs from that expressed in his earlier writings, and comes to this: “know, then, that his utterances cannot serve as a model, for
he was overpowered by ecstasy, and had no sure foothold, and for a model there is wanted the speech of a man who stands firm. He is very dear to my heart, but his ‘path’ was not securely laid and in no single place was his position assured, and in his life he was much troubled.” This view, however, did not prevent Julābī from collecting Hallaj’s verses from various shaykh and using these as well as his sayings for his own arguments. Apparently he was the first to broach the idea of two Husayn b. Mansurs who were erroneously identified—one of whom was, so to say, the “real” one coming from Bayḍā—the other a Baghdad apostate and heretic; and this notion was, according to our author, entertained by Atτār and Muhammad Pārsā.

Passing to Julābī’s literary activity, we know that it began relatively early in his life and was fairly considerable, the present work, Kashf al-Mahjūb, being the latest of his known writings and the only one now extant.

[After giving a list of Julābī’s works, V. A. Zhukovsky goes on:]

It is not known in which language these works were written: Julābī refers to them as being lost and mutilated. This is explained, amongst other circumstances, by the fact that he happened to write at a time when peculiar literary manners and habits in the matter of plagiary were developing. He mentions two instances which affected himself . . . These cases prompted him in his last work, which we shall examine immediately, to resort to a practice which we have not met with in Oriental writers: in nearly every case when the author speaks of himself he persistently sets out his full name, thus: “I, ‘Alī b. ʿUthmān al-Jullābī.”

As has already been stated, the last work from the pen of Julābī was the Kashf al-Mahjūb. This book is the answer to the following question put to the author by one Abū Saʿīd Hujwīrī: “Set forth for me precisely the ‘path’ of the Sūfs, the nature of their achievements; and explain to me their religious teaching and sayings; and reveal to me their precepts and their allegories; and the quality of the love of the Most Glorious God, and the nature of its manifestation in hearts, and why it is that minds are shut off as by a veil from the understanding of its nature, and why the soul turns in fear from its truth while the spirit in its purity attains peace; and explain the activities of the Sūfs connected with the aforesaid matters.”

In his answer Julābī starts by drawing an unpleasant picture of the tasawwuf in his days: “Know that in this our time this science
has in truth vanished, especially in this country. The people have given themselves up entirely to [their] passions, and have turned away from the path of Godly content; while the learned of those times, who hold themselves out as Sūfis, have presented a conception of the 'path' which is the very opposite of its real nature. For this reason strive in every way towards that which all the people of those times cannot reach, save only the elect, and from which are turned away the desires of all who aspire, and from whose nature is divorced the knowledge of all men of knowledge, save only the elect. High and low are content with empty professions: blind conformity has taken the place of spiritual enthusiasm. The vulgar say 'We know God,' and the elect, satisfied if they feel in their hearts a longing for the next world, say, 'This desire is vision and ardent love.' Everyone makes pretensions, none attains to reality. The disciples, neglecting their ascetic practices, indulge in idle thoughts, which they call 'contemplation'.

By reason of all this I wrote books, but they disappeared. False pretenders took phrases from some of them which they put together to entrap the people; others they mutilated and destroyed, so that among them (the pretenders) there grew up a violent envy of a man of talent and a denial of God's bounty.

Another class did not mutilate, but did not read. Others read but did not understand the sense, and contented themselves with words—they make notes, they learn by heart, and say: 'We discourse on the science of ṭasawwuf, whilst they are really rooted in its denial.' All this proceeds from the fact that such teaching is 'red sulphur' and that is precious; if it is obtained it becomes the philosopher's stone, and a grain thereof will convert copper and bronze into gold for minting. . . . Before this the tyros in this science proceeded exactly in such manner with the books of the shaykhs. When those treasure-houses of divine secrets fell into their hands they could not discern their meaning, and tossed them over to ignorant cap makers or gave them to dirty bookbinders, who used them for cap-linings, or bindings for the poems of Abū Nuwās, or the jests of Jahiz. 'When the king's falcon settles on the wall of the house of some old woman, they clip its wings.'

Our contemporaries give the name of 'law' to their lusts, pride and ambition they call 'honour and learning', hypocrisy towards men 'fear of God', concealment of anger 'clemency', disputation 'discussion', wrangling and foolishness 'dignity', insincerity

¹ Nicholson, tr., p. 7.
‘renunciation’, cupidity ‘devotion to God’, their own senseless fancies ‘divine knowledge’, the motions of the heart and affections of the animal soul ‘divine love’, heresy ‘poverty’, scepticism ‘purity’, disbelief in positive religion ‘self-annihilation’, neglect of the law of the Prophet ‘the mystic path’, evil communication with time-servers ‘exercise of piety’. As Abū Bakr al-Wāsiṭi well said: ‘The Lord had inflicted upon us times in which there are neither principles of right belief, nor the morals of pagan days, nor the precepts of men of valour.’”

Jullābī returns to thoughts of the above kind in another part of his work when he says: “In the present time the Lord has veiled the eyes of a very large number of men from Ṣufiism and its teachers; and has hidden the subtlety of that doctrine from human hearts. Some think that it is an exercise of merely outward piety without interior devotion and others consider that it is some sort of artifice so devoid of any kind of substance or foundation that, taking the attitude of theologians, concerned with mere externals, they have completely rejected Ṣufiism and are content to know nothing of its true teaching. The common people began to imitate them and banished from their hearts the striving for inner purity and forgot the teaching of their forerunners and of the companions of the prophet.”

Jullābī’s lengthy lamentations over the “decay in his time of the science of taṣawwuf, particularly in this country”, cannot, despite the warmth and sincerity of the writer, be accepted in that form without much reserve. Is not the feeling noticeable by which he is led into the most open contradiction with himself and with facts?

There should be noted, first of all, a rather close connexion between the introduction of Jullābī and the opening words of Qushayrī’s “epistle” addressed in 437 to the Ṣūfīs of the towns of Islam: “Know that after this, may God be merciful to us, the leaders of that company for the most part have died off, and in our time there remain but the traces of that band; as the poet has said:—

‘The tents are certainly their tents, but I see that the women are different.’

A break occurred in that teaching, or rather it faded away. The Ancients who had been the guides disappeared, and the numbers of the young men who had followed them in their lives and morals shrank almost to nothing. The carpet of piety was rolled up, avarice
increased, and its grasp spread. From hearts fled respect for the law and people began to consider neglect of religion the surest way to success, and made light of the distinction between what is allowed and what is forbidden. They decided to overthrow conscience, to put away shame. They began to show indifference to religious observances, and to consider fasting and prayer of no account. They galloped round the circus of carelessness; and rested upon the indulgence of their passions, and a heedless bearing to the doing of what absolutely was forbidden, and the enjoyment of what they got from the crowd, from women, and those in power.

Further, they were not content with accomplishing these evils, but went so far as to indicate certain higher truths and states, maintaining that they had thrown off the shackles of slavery, and were assured of the truths of 'union' and now were defending God, and were the channel through which His laws came, but they themselves were effaced. And for what they do or leave undone Allah has not the right to reproach or blame them, and they have been deemed worthy to set forth the mysteries of one-ness, and have been wholly taken out of themselves; and human laws do not bind them. After being absorbed in non-being they dwelt in the light of eternity, so that when they spoke it was not they who spoke their words, and whatever they did or caused to be done they were not the doers. When in this our time we were tried by these things, some of which I have referred to, and our trial was prolonged, I did not raise my voice in blame up to the present time, jealously guarding that doctrine and fearing lest there should be resentment towards its partisans and their adversary should find too easy a way to harm them—for in this country the harm comes from the enemy and the denier of the teaching, and when I reckoned that the growth of this tendency would be cut short in the natural course, and that, it might be, the Most High would arouse those who had fallen away from the real Sunnah to the ruin of the principles of that teaching; and when the times continued to become more difficult, and the majority of people in this country only more stiff-necked in adherence to what they had got used to, and more blinded by what they had sought out for themselves—then I was seized with fear for the hearts of those people, lest they think that the very structure of our faith was built upon such foundations, and that its first workers proceeded in such a manner, and therefore I wrote this tract for you, and may God show you mercy. In it I have set forth certain features in the lives of the spiritual leaders, their
customs and habits, their manner of dealing with people, their intimate beliefs, and those ecstatic states which they display, and how they gradually rise from the early stages to the utmost bounds. I have done this in order to strengthen the learners of this teaching, and that you should give testimony of my explanation of those matters, so that the unfolding of this sorrow might be to my comfort, and that from the most Merciful God there may come to me mercy and reward. And in all that I say I beg God’s assistance—glory be to Him—and I seek His protection and preservation from error. Of him I implore forgiveness and succour, for mercy is His and He is almighty.”

Examining the meaning of these two prefaces and comparing them, we see first of all that the matter is not so hopeless as it might seem at the first glance, and that the two writers, treating au fond of the same matter and coinciding in details, even to the using of the same expressions, yet have a different basis. Qushayri particularly stresses “the dying out of the real representatives”, but amid the general decline did not deny the existence of “traces of that company”; whereas Jullâbi, while not denying the genuine existence of the “Eject of God”, speaks of the complete disappearance of the science of tasawwuf (Ṣuﬁsm). One and the other deplore the dismal phenomena in “these regions (Jullâbi; ‘especially in these’) in this our time.”

If the words “this region” in Jullâbi be taken to refer solely to Ghazna, his native town, then the temporary decline there of Ṣuﬁsm may be accepted. The author mentions (though not very clearly) in one place in the Kashf al-Mahjûb the baneful inﬂuence, in this connexion, of certain sections of society. “Building on the solid belief of the common people and of the learned of that city, I hope that after the Shaykhs there will appear those in whom we can put our trust and that the handful of persons distracted in spirit who gained access to this city and gave a distorted picture of that teaching would entirely take itself off, and the city become the dwelling-place of holy men.”

But if “this country”, or region, is to be taken in a wide sense so as to include Khurâsân, as seems likely, when the expression comes from a Nishâpûr imam, then certainly Jullâbi lets himself be led far from the truth.

Indeed, can the decay of Ṣuﬁsm on one side or the other be reconciled with Jullâbi’s account of 300 splendid men whom he met in Khurâsân, to say nothing of other Muslim regions—that Khurâsân over which, in his words, there spreads to-day the shadow
of God’s advance, and in whose star there is “the sum of the progress of the tarīqat”.

In his day the vitality of the “Khurāsān army” of godly men, i.e. Şūfis, was very intense, and the people showed plainly their longing for Şūfi teaching, as witness the vivid and edifying life story of Abū Sa‘īd al-Mayhani by Muhammad ibn al-Munawwar. How explain, if not by the wishes of the people, those thronged gatherings and illuminating discussions to which men of every class trooped from distant places? How else account for the crowds which gathered round him at Nishāpūr, and his frequent preaching rounds through towns and villages, and the universal enthusiasm of his hearers. This wonderful man whom Jullābī did not, unfortunately, meet in his life-time, but whose “power over the people of his day” he was able to measure, foresaw the decline of Şūfism, and towards the end of his days for a whole year he daily urged upon his disciples the warning: “The obscuration of God approacheth.” Before his death, at the last gathering, he prophesied: “The spirit of this doctrine will remain with the people for a hundred years after me—then there will be left neither the spirit nor any trace; and if in any place any kind of true teaching be left it will be hidden and the search for it will cease.” His biographer adds, “and we have seen with our own eyes that after one hundred years, as foretold by the Shaykh, there arose disturbances and a break, owing to the irruption of the Mongols and the Ghuzz.”

In the ranks of the “Khurāsān army” there often appeared, from Shiraz, Bābā Kōhī, a pupil of the well-known Abū Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Khaṣīf, who outlived Mayhani but a year. He is not mentioned by Qushayrī or Jullābī, but the exaltation of his poetry is a convincing disproof of the decline of Şūfism.

Finally, the very appearance of works of such capital importance as Risālīt al-Qushayriyya in Arabic, and Kashf al-Mahjūb in Persian almost at the same time, and of the same character, of which the second was written in compliance with a particular request, together with the existence of a special literature dealing with different aspects of Şūfism to which Jullābī himself contributed, shows that the questions treated and the teaching given therein keenly interested society generally and not only choice and subtle minds.

If we are right in what we have said, then how are we to understand the introductions of Jullābī and Qushayrī which seem to negative it? It seems to me that it is either a literary device, common enough
in the East, or that both writers, being convinced and zealous adherents of Śūfism, wished that all men of the time should stretch out their hands to that doctrine, and not only the elect of God, as Jullābī has it—a very admirable and comprehensible desire, scarcely to be realized anywhere or at any time on this globe.

From Jullābī’s own words at the beginning of his chapter on the noteworthy Śūfis of later times it appears that the teaching of tasawwuf had not dried up in his time, and could not do so. “Know that in our time there are those who cannot endure asceticism; they aspire to pre-eminence without mortifying themselves, and think that all adherents of Śūfism are like themselves. When they hear the words of those who have now passed away and see their excellence, and read of their deeds, and look at themselves, then they see themselves far removed from such things, and there is no possibility of saying: ‘We—not they’, and they say: ‘in these times there are no such men left.’ Such words coming from them are nonsense, for God never allows the earth to be without ‘proof’ and the Moslem community without saints, as the Prophet has said: ‘Never shall my community be without people who will observe goodness and truth until the day of judgment.’”

The work Kashf al-Mahjūb, which, according to the author, was designed for the “polishing of hearts which are bound by the veil of attributes but in which dwells the Essence of the light of Truth”, must have satisfied his inquirer and all “strivers along the path”, so that there was no necessity, at all events as to certain questions, to turn to other works. It is impossible not to regret, especially in view of the loss of Jullābī’s earlier writings, to which he nevertheless refers the reader, that he repeatedly, almost in every section and chapter, insists that his “rule in this book is brevity”, and is afraid of needlessly increasing the size of the work. In some cases, however, the lack of fullness on the part of the author is due not to his wish but to the unfavourable circumstances in which he had to work on Kashf al-Mahjūb—he was in India (at Lahore in the district of Multan as later MSS. show) “detained among people not of his own kind”, whilst his books and other indispensable materials remained at Ghazna.

This avowal by Jullābī himself naturally suggests the question, to which unfortunately there can be no definite reply—Was the whole or only a part of this work written in India? As regards the books and materials which were not available to the author, he had in mind,
perhaps, only certain collections of traditions collected by his shaykh Khuttalî, for that he had at hand materials is not susceptible of the slightest doubt; our author clearly names his authorities and often quotes sayings and stories, and makes long extracts which it would be difficult to keep in one's head. . . . At the same time, however, having begun a quotation in Arabic he will finish it in Persian; or he will give a Persian paraphrase including stray Arabic expressions; or again relates the sayings of Shaykhs in Persian only, which things suggest the absence of the original writings from which he could quote exactly.

. . . . . . . . . . .

His last years were spent in Lahore, whither he came after many wanderings. If that be so his above-mentioned "captivity" at Lahore when he was at work upon the Kashf al-Mahjûb must be referred to a much earlier time. According to certain indications his arrival and sojourn at Lahore was due to direct recommendation of his director, Abdu'l Fadl al-Khuttalî. Here he acquired many followers and disciples and built a mosque, which on account of the direction of its mihrab, which differed slightly from that of other mosques, caused some difficulty with the 'ulamâ of the city. In that city, too, is his tomb, outside the city to the west of the citadel. His grave is a place of devotion for the pious, and a place of retirement and pious deeds for hermits; and it is known that the needs are fulfilled of any one who circumambulates on forty Friday nights or on forty days this venerable tomb.
LA LOI DE SYMÉTRIE DANS LA CHÂNDOGYA-UPANISAD

Par J. Przyłuski

QUAND on lit les Upaniṣad, il arrive qu’on soit choqué par de troublantes incongruosités : à côté de développements où les idées s’enchaînent avec force, on rencontre soudain des phrases incohérentes. Il est difficile d’admettre que les anciens sages, capables de méditation prolongée, aient produit des œuvres si embrouillées. Dans certains cas, les scribes sont responsables du mauvais état des textes. Plus souvent, la pensée des vieux auteurs a été faussée sciemment par des compilateurs soucieux d’orthodoxie. Parmi les procédés qui permettent de restaurer le sens primitif, le calcul des proportions est l’un des plus importants. Examinons à cet égard la Chândogya-Upaniṣad.

Dans les chapitres où la pensée se développe harmonieusement, on observe généralement une certaine symétrie. Par exemple, à partir de v, 19, les cinq chapitres consécutifs présentent un exact parallélisme. Certains mots varient de l’un à l’autre, mais le raisonnement ne change pas, non plus que le nombre et la distribution des éléments.

Cherchons maintenant un développement où l’enchaînement des idées soit rompu et voyons si la loi de symétrie permet de retrouver le plan primitif.

Dans ii, 23, 3 et 4, on lit :

"Prajāpati échauffa les mondes. Des mondes échauffés s’écoulait la triple science. Il l’échauffa. De la triple science échauffée s’écoulèrent ces syllabes : bhūr, bhūvah, svar. Il les échauffa. De ces syllabes échauffées s’écoulait le son om. De même que toutes les feuilles sont pénétrées par la nervure, de même toute parole est pénétrée par le son om. Le son om est tout. Le son om est tout."

Ainsi, par la chaleur, les trois mondes ont produit la triple science, c’est-à-dire les trois Veda. Ceux-ci ont produit les trois termes bhūr, bhūvah, svar. Et ces derniers ont produit le son om.

Il est clair que les trois Veda sont ici mis en rapport avec les trois mondes et qu’à cette triade on oppose le son om. D’une part, pluralité : trois Veda, trois mondes ; d’autre part, unité : le son om qui est le Tout. Le système se traduit par le rapport 3 : 1.

En vertu de la loi de symétrie, on s’attendrait à trouver dans la première moitié du chapitre un dispositif analogue et cet espoir paraît d’abord tout près de se réaliser:
"Il y a trois éléments de la moralité (dharmaskandha) : Sacrifice, Etude, Don . . ."

Mais la suite nous déçoit, car nous lisons :

"Il y a trois éléments de la moralité : Sacrifice, Etude, Don constituent le premier. Tapas (chaleur ou ascétisme) est le second. Vivre le vie religieuse (brahmacaryā) en demeurant dans la maison du maître est le troisième. Tous ces (éléments) sont les mondes du mérite. Celui qui s’absorbe complètement dans le brahman parvient à l’immortalité."


Autre incohérence. Dans la seconde moitié du chapitre, il y a une analogie évidente entre le son om, qui est l’Unité, et les syllabes bhūr, bhuvaḥ, svar, qui sont la triade. Au début du chapitre, au contraire, il n’y a rien de commun entre le brahman, qui peut seul représenter l’Unité, et les façons d’agir qui sont énumérées d’abord.

Dernière incohérence. Dans la seconde moitié du chapitre, la chaleur (tapas) est le grand principe qui produit les Veda, les syllabes sacrées et le son suprême. Par contre, au début du chapitre, tapas n’occupe que le second rang parmi les dharmaskandha.

Si l’on rend au tapas la prééminence, on rétablit la symétrie en même temps qu’on fait disparaître toute étrangeté. On obtient alors un texte tel que celui-ci :

"Il y a trois éléments de la moralité (dharmaskandha) : Sacrifice, Etude, Don. C’est les "mondes du mérite" (punyaloka). Le tapas conduit à l’immortalité. De même que toutes les feuilles sont pénétrées par la nervure, de même toute moralité est pénétrée par le tapas. Le tapas est tout. Le tapas est tout."

Dans le texte ainsi restauré reparaît le rapport 3 : 1. Les trois dharmaskandha ou punyaloka correspondent aux trois Veda et aux trois syllabes représentatives des trois mondes. Au tapas qui est un et qui est le Tout, correspond le son om également unique et universel. Et comme tapas signifie à la fois chaleur et ascétisme, le même mot
désigne le principe physique qui a produit le monde et le principe moral qui conduit à l'immortalité.

Toutefois, le texte restauré n'aurait, si nous en restions là, qu'une valeur purement conjecturale. On va voir que les idées qui s'y expriment cadrent bien avec la théorie des guna, qu'elles sont d'accord avec d'autres conceptions indiennes et surtout qu'elles permettent de rétablir d'une manière satisfaisante le sens probablement altéré d'un autre chapitre de la Chandogya.

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Dans deux études magistrales sur la théorie indienne des guna,1 E. Senart a montré que cette théorie "est moins le fruit de la réflexion abstraite que l'évolution en thèse didactique d'une vieille représentation naturaliste". Les trois guna correspondent aux trois étages, aux trois mondes "entre lesquels la phraséologie védique répartit l'univers perceptible... Le tejas auquel est attribué l'éclat rougeoyant (rohita), les āpas (eaux) avec la couleur blanche (śukla), l'anna (nourriture) avec la couleur noire (kṛṣṇa), correspondent indubitablement à la région supérieure du soleil, à la région des nuages qu'éclaire un éclat plus tempéré, à la région terrestre dénuée de toute luminosité propre, qui produit les végétaux.

"La symétrie et la synonymie s'établissent si parfaitement entre les deux séries que l'on est tenté de se demander si tejas ne demeure pas comme le témoin d'une terminologie antérieure ou parallèle qui, à un moment, aurait été construite sur trois thèmes de même formation, tejas, rajas, tamas ; sattva ne s'y serait ensuite substitué à tejas que sous la poussée de combinaisons comme celle qui, ici,2 dérive immédiatement le tejas du sat" (Études asiatiques, ii, p. 287).

Les modifications que nous venons d'apporter à Chandogya-U.p. ii, 23, permettent de faire un nouveau pas. Dans le texte de ce chapitre, tel que nous l'avons restauré, l'élément tapas qui est Un et Tout s'oppose à la triade : trois mondes, pour laquelle E. Senart proposait l'équivalence : tejas, rajas, tamas. S'il est vrai que l'ancienne terminologie était "construite sur trois thèmes de même formation" n'est-il pas remarquable que l'analyse de Chandogya ii, 23, conduise à y ajouter un quatrième terme du même type : tapas ?

Plus significative encore que la forme des termes est la clarté qui résulte de leur rapprochement. Dans l'ancienne terminologie, tapas

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2 Chandogya-upanisad, vi, 2.
a pu désigner le Tout; il est donc l'Étre (sat). Si nous remplacions sat par tapas dans Chandogya, vi, 2, nous obtenons un texte qui peut se résumer ainsi :

A l'origine, il n'y avait que le tapas. Il produisit le tejas; celui-ci produisit à son tour les Eaux (āpas); celles-ci produisirent la Nourriture (anna).

On saisit aisément le lien qui, dans cette cosmologie, unit le tapas, principe créateur, au tejas, sorte de rayonnement chaud et lumineux qui en est la première manifestation. On comprend en même temps la véritable nature de Prajāpati, le Créateur, qui, dans Chandogya, ii, 23, produit les Veda, etc... en échauffant les trois mondes.

Mais puisque l'ancienne terminologie était si claire, pourquoi les écrivains plus récents se sont-ils plu à la fausser ? Pourquoi, dans Chandogya, vi, 2, le tapas n'apparaît-il pas sous son vrai nom, cependant que, dans Chandogya, ii, 23, ce grand Tout est ravalé au second rang des dharmaskandha ?

Plusieurs circonstances sont susceptibles d'expliquer l'effacement tardif de la notion de tapas. Les philosophes ne se sont pas mis d'embâlée d'accord sur la nature de l'Étre. Parmi les solutions envisagées, celle qui faisait de l'Étre un souffle a fini par prévaloir dans la doctrine des Upaniṣad. Dès lors, la croyance à l'Étre-chaleur devait être éliminée.

En morale, de même qu'en métaphysique, la notion de tapas a perdu de son importance. De tout temps certains moralistes indiens ont voulu obtenir la Délivrance par les Œuvres, tandis que d'autres cherchaient à s'émanciper par la Connaissance. Le conflit entre l'école du śīla et celle de la prajñā, qui joue un si grand rôle dans l'histoire de la morale bouddhique, n'est point particulier à une secte. Si l'on admet que, dans l'ancienne rédaction de Chandogya, ii, 23, l'Étude n'était qu'un des puṇya-loka, tandis que le tapas procurait l'immortalité, on voit combien l'auteur de ce texte préférait la bonne conduite à la Connaissance. Or, malgré des divergences initiales, les penseurs de l'Upaniṣad ont fini par se rallier à une sorte de gnose ayant pour but l'union avec l'Ātē. Ils ont répudié le tapas des yogin pour créer l'orthodoxie vedānta. C'est sans doute afin de se conformer à cette orthodoxie qu'on a tardivement remanié le début de Chandogya, ii, 23.

Le progrès des idées vedānta dans les sphères de l'Upaniṣad eut en somme pour résultat de faire abandonner des thèses analogues à celles du Sāmkhya-Yoga. On continua de tolérer l'exposé des idées
anciennes quand elles ne heurtaient pas de front la nouvelle orthodoxie. C’est pourquoi Chândogya, ii, 23, 3 et 4 et vi, 2 présentent encore de grandes analogies avec le dualisme sāṁkhya ou pré-sāṁkhya.1 Mais la prééminence du tapas dans l’ordre métaphysique et moral apparaissait comme une hérésie intolérable. On prit donc le parti d’expurger les vieux textes.

* * * * *

La démonstration qui précède tend à distinguer dans le développement de l’Upanisad une phase ancienne caractérisée par la prééminence du tapas : dans la cosmologie, le tapas est l’Etre primordial, incréé et il s’oppose aux guṇa qui sont les modalités de la matière ; dans l’ordre moral il permet d’obtenir l’immortalité et il est supérieur aux dharmaskandha qui ne procurent que du mérite (punya). Si la Chândogya expurgée n’offre plus un exposé cohérent de ce système, il doit en rester quelques traces dans d’autres productions de la littérature indienne. Le Mahābhārata en garde précisément des vestiges et ceci ne peut nous surprendre. La grande épopée est une œuvre dont toutes les parties ne sont pas inspirées par les mêmes tendances et l’un des morceaux les plus célèbres, la Bhagavat-gītā, constitue, à certains égards, le prolongement de la Chândogya.2

La rivalité de Vasiṣṭha et de Viśvāmitra est un grand thème qui se développe à plusieurs reprises dans le Mahābhārata. Vasiṣṭha représente la caste sacerdotale ; Viśvāmitra est le tenant des ksatriya. Comme on pouvait s’y attendre dans un ouvrage remanié par les brahmanes, Vasiṣṭha finit par l’emporter ; mais il semble au début que Viśvāmitra ait l’avantage, car il s’empare de la vache du brahmane sans rencontrer de résistance. Celui-ci déclare à cette occasion :

ksatriyānāṁ balāṁ tejo brāhmaṇaṁ kṣamā balāṁ

"La force des Kṣatriya est Vigueur (tejas) ; celle des Brahmanes est Patience."

Vasiṣṭha contraste ici la force matérielle des guerriers et la puissance spirituelle des brahmanes. La première se manifeste par la violence : c’est le tejas. La seconde est calme et l’on devine que son nom est tapas.


Un peu plus loin, en effet, Viṣvāmitra vaincu doit confesser la supériorité de son rival et il le fait en ces termes :

"Pauvre force que celle des Kṣatriya ! La vraie force est la puissance religieuse (brahmatejas). Pour quiconque a médité sur la force et la faiblesse, le tapas est la force suprême."

_Tejas_, associé ici au mot _brahman_ est pris dans un sens plus général que ci-dessus. Il désignait plus haut la force guerrière, la vigueur physique. Il est maintenant synonyme de _bala_ et signifie "force" en général. Si nous le prenons dans son acceptation la plus stricte, _tejas_, force guerrière, s'oppose au _tapas_ qui est la puissance spirituelle ou religieuse (brahmatejas). C'est pourquoi Viṣvāmitra, qui s'adonne au _tapas_, finit par acquérir non seulement les privilèges des brahmanes, l'entrée dans la caste sacerdotale, mais encore et surtout l'immortalité :

_apibac ca tatāḥ Somam Indreṇa saha Kauśikāḥ_

"Alors, Kauśika (= Viṣvāmitra) but avec Indra le Soma."

Cet épisode illustre, d'un exemple singulièrement net, l'ancienne rédaction de _Chāndogya_, ii, 23, telle que nous l'avons restaurée. Il apporte en outre des précisions nouvelles en ce sens qu'il attribue en principe le _tapas_ au brahmane et le _tejas_ au _kṣatriya_. Il semble qu'on trouve ici l'écho de certaines spéculations destinées à fonder en droit les privilèges du brahmane sur la possession du _tapas_. Aussi longtemps que la croyance à la supériorité du _tapas_ fut solidement établie, les brahmanes durent chercher à l'utiliser au mieux de leurs intérêts. Il suffisait, pour y réussir, de mettre les trois _guna_ : _tejas_, _rajás_, _tamas_, symboles de la force matérielle, en relation avec les trois castes inférieures et de réserver le _tapas_, source du pouvoir spirituel, à la caste sacerdotale. Le récit de la lutte entre Vasiṣṭha et Viṣvāmitra trahit probablement des préoccupations de ce genre.

* * * * *

L'excursion que nous venons de faire sur le domaine de l'épopée confirme les inductions précédentes. Revenons donc vers la _Chāndogya_ et cherchons-y d'autres altérations qui puissent être décelées par l'application de la même méthode.

Nous avons déjà réconnu dans _Chāndogya_, vi, 2, les traces d'une cosmologie qui était primitivement fondée sur l'opposition du _tapas_ et des trois _guna_. Plus tard, sous l'influence des idées _vedānta_, ce pluralisme évolue vers le monisme : le _tapas_ est alors remplacé par l'Étre (sat) d'où sortent successivement les trois _guna_.

Les chapitres vi, 3, 4, 5, 6, développent les idées exposées au chapitre 2. On va voir qu’un examen attentif permet également d’y découvrir des restes du pluralisme ancien.

Voici comment Senart interprète le chapitre 3 : “En y péntrant comme germe de vie, l’Être suprême produit la multiplicité, la diversité des êtres ; dans chacun il mélange les trois facteurs en proportions variées, si bien que chaque créature participe de chacun des trois.”

On ne peut marquer plus clairement le contraste entre l’Être unique et la matière triple.

Négligeons provisoirement le chapitre 4. Les chapitres 5 et 6 dont le second est à peu près la répétition du premier, insistent fortement sur la diversité des aspects de la matière correspondant aux trois guṇa. Dans le corps humain, la nourriture (anṇa, qui représente le facteur tamaṇa) apparaît sous trois aspects ; l’eau (āpas, qui représente le facteur rajas) apparaît sous trois aspects ; l’éclat (tejas, qui désigne aussi le premier guṇa) apparaît sous trois aspects.

A raison de trois aspects pour chacun des trois facteurs matériels (guṇa), on distingue ainsi neuf aspects principaux de la matière dans le corps humain.

Examinons le chapitre 4. Il traite des phénomènes cosmiques, soleil, lune, etc. La loi de symétrie voudrait qu’on eût ici, comme aux chapitres suivants 3 × 3 = 9 aspects. C’est bien ce que nous offrent les paragraphes 2, 3, 4 :

§ 2, trois aspects du Soleil correspondant aux trois guṇa ;
§ 3, trois aspects de la Lune correspondant aux trois guṇa ;
§ 4, trois aspects de l’Eclair correspondant aux trois guṇa.

Malheureusement le paragraphe 1 introduit trois nouveaux aspects, ce qui rompt la symétrie en portant à douze le total. Ce paragraphe 1 énonce trois aspects du feu :

un aspect rouge correspondant à tejas ;
un aspect blanc correspondant à āpas ;
un aspect noir correspondant à tamaṇa.

Ce paragraphe ne rompt pas seulement la symétrie. Il est, quant au fond, superfléatoire. Il est clair, en effet, que le Soleil, la Lune, l’Eclair, dont il est question aux § 2, 3, 4, étaient, aux yeux des anciens adorateurs du tapas, des manifestations du Feu. Ces trois paragraphes traitent donc des manifestations cosmiques du Feu et le paragraphe 1 qui en parle d’une manière vague, sans aucune spécification, détruit,

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1 Etudes Asiatiques, ii, p. 286.
mal à propos, l'équilibre des développements et le balancement des idées.¹

D'où provient donc ce paragraphe et pourquoi l'a-t-on introduit au début du chapitre 4 ?

Observons qu'après avoir opposé l'Être unique aux trois facteurs matériels, l'Upanisad ne distingue ensuite divers aspects des phénomènes et des êtres que pour les ramener à une Unité fondamentale. Soleil, Lune, Eclair, ne sont qu'entités verbales ; os, moelle, voix, ne sont que des manifestations du tejas, etc. Le contraste, autrefois si net, entre le tapas et les guṇa, s'est progressivement effacé. Mais dans le texte primitif, inspiré de l'ancien pluralisme, les êtres surhumains tels que le Soleil et la Lune, devaient être conçus comme résultant de l'union du tapas et des trois guṇa. On peut donc supposer une rédaction du chapitre 4 analogue à celle-ci :

(1) Cette divinité (le tapas), en se manifestant sous la forme du feu, produisit le Soleil, la Lune, l'Eclair.

(2) L'aspect rouge du Soleil est l'aspect du tejas ; l'aspect blanc est celui de l'eau ; l'aspect noir est celui de la nourriture.

(3) L'aspect rouge de la Lune est l'aspect du tejas, l'aspect blanc est celui de l'eau ; l'aspect noir est celui de la nourriture.

(4) L'aspect rouge de l'Eclair est celui du tejas, l'aspect blanc est celui de l'eau ; l'aspect noir est celui de la nourriture.

On obtient ainsi un chapitre 4 en quatre paragraphes, d'une longueur sensiblement égale à celle des chapitres voisins et exactement symétrique aux deux chapitres suivants, puisque construit sur le schème 3 × 3.

Plus tard, sous l'influence du monisme vedānta, le tapas étant

¹ L'incohérence apparaît clairement dans le résumé fidèle que Senart a donné de Chāndogya, vi, 4 :

"Après avoir analysé le feu, le soleil, la lune, l'éclair en trois aspects remontant à une triple origine, le texte revient à son point de départ : feu, soleil, lune ou éclair ne sont qu'entités verbales ; la réalité profonde réside toute dans les trois composants qui y sont rassemblés. Qui sait cela, sait dans leur essence tous les êtres ; il est fondé à prétendre que rien n'échappe aux prières de sa connaissance." (Études Asiatiques, ii, p. 289).

Et plus loin : "Les phénomènes lumineux plus ou moins traversés par l'ombre et finissant par y retomber, le feu, le soleil, la lune, l'éclair apparaissent ainsi à l'upanisad comme les différents aspects, comme autant d'émanations directes de chacune des régions où ils se meuvent et qui deviennent leurs trois composants" (ibid. p. 290).

J'ai souligné à dessein les termes inconciliables. Si l'on peut distinguer trois composants du soleil, de la lune, de l'éclair, il n'en va pas de même du Feu, principe simple. En outre, si le soleil, la lune, l'éclair, apparaissent bien comme des phénomènes localisés, le Feu est de trop, car il est un principe universel.
remplacé par le sat et tous les aspects de la matière apparaissant comme dérivés de ce principe unique, le paragraphe 1 cessa d’être orthodoxe. On le modifia mécaniquement sans souci du sens ni de la symétrie en répétant à propos du Feu ce qui était dit du Soleil, de la Lune et de l’Eclair. En même temps, chaque paragraphe s’enrichissait de formules védantistes destinées à faire sentir l’unité de l’Etre sous la multiplicité des apparences.

Un autre passage de la Chândogya confirme indirectement nos vues sur l’évolution de vi, 4. Les trois chapitres 11, 12 et 13 de la IVe Partie, considèrent l’esprit (puruṣa) du Soleil, celui de la Lune et celui de l’Eclair comme identiques aux trois feux du maître de maison, c’est-à-dire aux trois manifestations d’Agni.

IV, 11, Le feu central n’est pas différent de l’esprit qu’on voit dans le Soleil.

IV, 12, Le feu méridional n’est pas différent de l’esprit qu’on voit dans la Lune.

IV, 13, Le feu oriental n’est pas différent de l’esprit qu’on voit dans l’Eclair.

Il apparaît ainsi que toutes les parties de la Chândogya n’ont pas été expurgées avec la même sévérité. Telle conception s’exprime encore sur certains points qui a été censurée ailleurs.

* * * * *

Une double conclusion se dégage de ce qui précède. Il est possible, en observant les règles de la symétrie, de rétablir, dans les Upanisad, le sens général de certains passages volontairement déformés. L’application de cette méthode à la Chândogya permet de découvrir, sous le monisme superficiel, un pluralisme dans lequel les trois guṇa : Terre, Eau, Chaleur-Lumière, se subordonnent à un principe supérieur, le tapas.
SARVANANDA AND VALLABHADEV

By S. K. De

In his very interesting article in BSOS., vol. v, pt. i, pp. 27 f. on my suggested date of the Subhāṣitāvali of Vallabhadeva (JRAS., 1927, pp. 471 f.), Professor Keith tries his best to minimize the importance of the passage in Sarvānanda's commentary, which not only makes a reference to the Kāśmiraka Vallabhadeva but actually cites verse No. 726 from his Subhāṣitāvali. Professor Keith expresses his belief that the citation is "merely an interpolation"; but as this statement probably appeared too sweeping, he hastens to add that it is rather "an intelligent addition of some scribe". This may, indeed, be a facetious way of solving the problem; but the problem does not appear to be so easy, and the question of interpolation is one on which it does not help to be dogmatic in the absence of definite and fairly conclusive evidence.

Professor Keith's arguments on this question are far from convincing. I cannot agree with his view that the passage 1 in question is precisely of the kind that can be interpolated with ease, for it is neither irrelevant nor haphazard. On this point no precise argument is possible except the impression one derives from the context in which the particular passage occurs, as well as from general commentatorial practice, which does not preclude citation of an illustration to explain a somewhat unusual usage. Reading the text in question again without any decided bias in any direction, I cannot find anything in it which would justify me in holding that it is an interpolation; and the onus-of proving that it is such lies on those who allege it. Professor Keith speaks of "the curious mode of citation"; but there is nothing extraordinary in the citation of the name of the author along with the name of the work from which the quotation is made. Nor is it a fact that no parallel can be found to this procedure in the rest of the Tikā-sarvasa, as Professor Keith alleges. It is true that Sarvānanda's general procedure is to cite briefly either the name of the author or that of the work, most often in a contracted form; but such citations are also to be found:

Pt. ii, p. 21: tathā hi sāhitya-kalpataruṇā śrī-pavyokena vāsanā-
mañjaryāṁ bhanitam—sa jayati, etc.

1 Nāmalingānūsāna of Amara with the Tikā-sarvasa of Sarvānanda, ed. Trivandrum, pt. ii, p. 130.
Pt. ii, p. 32: *tathā ca saṃhitāyām varūhāḥ.*

Or, in another form:

Pt. i, p. 34: *iti dhātu-pārayane pūrṇacakrāṇaḥ.*

Professor Keith also finds it extraordinary that not merely the name but also the description Kāśmiraka should be employed in the citation; but I fail to see anything unusual in distinguishing an author by locality, especially when such a differentiation is useful in marking the Vallabhadeva of the *Subhāṣitācali* from the scholiast Vallabhadeva, whom also Sarvānanda quotes twice simply as Vallabha with a pointed reference to his commentaries on *Śīṣupāla*° (pt. ii, p. 23) and *Kumāra*° (pt. ii, p. 350). It does not help critical scholarship to suspect interpolation at every step, simply because the particular passage may happen to be at variance with accepted opinion with regard to the date of the somewhat dubious text of an anthology. He must have indeed been a very "intelligent" scribe who could not only find an apt illustration from an anthology but also give the name and precise description of its compiler.

Professor Keith’s next argument that Sarvānanda’s text in general is suspiciously corrupt does not appear to possess much weight. At least, the authenticity of the passage in question receives support from the fact that the reference also occurs independently in the manuscript noticed by Śeṣagiri Śāstrī in his *Report* (No. 2, p. 26). Professor Keith, however, attempts to support his general argument of a faulty text by referring to a passage which Sarvānanda purports to quote from *Durghata* but which is given entirely differently in the *Durghata-vṛtti* of Śaraṇadeva, which Professor Keith takes to be the work cited by Sarvānanda. It is, however, not clear at all that the *Durghata-vṛtti* of Śaraṇadeva was actually meant by Sarvānanda, for neither the full title nor the author’s name appears. It would seem, on the other hand, that it is not a case of confusion or faulty text-tradition, but of a reference probably to another unknown or lost work, which dealt with *durghata* usages in the same way as Śaraṇadeva’s work does. Aufrecht notes a *Durghata* by Rakṣita, presumably Maitreya Rakṣita, which is quoted by Ujjvaladatta in his commentary on the *Uñādi-sūtras* (ed. Aufrecht, ii, 57; iii, 160; iv, 1). This supposition that Sarvānanda refers to a work other than that of Śaraṇadeva gains further support from the fact that while Śaraṇadeva’s work, as known from its second verse, was not composed till A.D. 1172, Sarvānanda himself gives the date of composition of his own work as A.D. 1160. It is not maintained that Sarvānanda’s
text, as it stands, is faultless. We must make allowance for mis-
quotations, often made from memory, usual in commentaries, for even
a careful writer like Mammaṭa sometimes misquotes; but it cannot be
said, in the absence of definite evidence, that Sarvānanda’s work errs
very much in this direction. Nor can we deduce from such mis-
quotations, even if they occur, that the text-tradition is faulty. At
any rate, it has not been proved yet that such liberty has been taken
in the text of Sarvānanda as would admit the possibility of regarding
the passage in question as an interpolation.

The problem, therefore, is certainly not as simple as Professor
Keith would like us to think, and Sarvānanda’s citation of Vallabhadeva cannot be so complacently dismissed. Professor Keith’s
contention really narrows down the question to two main issues
which are in the nature of alternatives, viz. (i) whether we should
regard, as Professor Keith maintains, that the passage in Sarvānanda,
which refers to and quotes from Kāśmīraka Vallabhadeva’s Su-
bhāṣītāvali is “an intelligent addition of some scribe”, or (ii) whether
the poetical quotations in the Subhāṣītāvali, which conflict with the
date of Vallabhadeva thus indicated by Sarvānanda’s reference and
quotation (assuming the passage to be genuine), are to be regarded,
as I suggested, as later interpolations in a work which is admittedly
a compilation or an anthology. It is difficult indeed to balance the
probabilities, and I fully admitted the difficulty in my previous article;
but it is clear that no substantial reason has yet been urged for
regarding Sarvānanda’s passage as an interpolation in the text,
and that therefore there is no other alternative than take the
Subhāṣītāvali as prior in date to Sarvānanda’s commentary in
which this passage occurs. Professor Keith imagines that his views
have been shared by other scholars, but so far as I know, attention has
never been drawn to the passage in question, nor have the difficulties
which this passage has raised ever been discussed. It is true that the
acceptance of my suggestion would involve the assumption of
a large number of interpolations of verses of presumably later poets
into the present text of the Subhāṣītāvali; but the Subhāṣītāvali, as
I have already shown, was an anthology in current use (as opposed
to the Ṭīkā-sarvasva, whose manuscripts even have become rare),
whose text cannot be and has not been regarded as possessing an
inviolable sanctity, and in which it would have been easy to interpolate
at later times verses of reputed, especially Kashmirian, authors.
As I have discussed this aspect of the question at some length in my
previous article on the subject, and as Professor Keith’s criticism does not make any fresh suggestion on this point, I refrain from recapitulating my arguments here. It is somewhat surprising, however, to find Professor Keith asserting that "reason suggests that it is more logical to suppose one interpolation in the Tikā-sarvasea than many in the Subhāṣitāvali". It is certainly a more simple procedure, but I cannot see how it is more logical; for it is not good logic to measure the balance of probability, always and especially in this particular case, by the mere quantity of interpolations in the respective texts. To a critical inquiry it is immaterial whether the number of interpolations in the one text or the other is one or many, so long as other facts may be adduced to point to the reasonable probability of regarding a passage or passages as genuine or interpolated. In spite of Professor Keith’s very able, if somewhat unwarranted, arguments, nothing definite has yet been urged to prove that Sarvānanda’s passage is in reality an interpolation into his text; would it not be more logical to suppose that the passages in the Subhāṣitāvali, which really conflict with the date suggested by Sarvānanda’s reference, are later interpolations in a work which was in the nature of a current anthological compilation?

Professor Keith very pertinently refers to the negative value of my suggestion; for the date achieved would hardly be of any practical use when the suspicion of interpolation is inseparable from the text for which the new date is obtained. I must admit that the result obtained by me has not been very encouraging from the practical point of view; but at the same time it makes clear the necessity of re-editing critically the text of the Subhāṣitāvali from ampler and better manuscript-material, for it must be admitted that Peterson’s materials were not of such a nature as to make his edition the final one, more especially when one considers it in the light of the present inquiry.

A few more words on one or two points raised incidentally in Professor Keith’s article. I am obliged to him for his reference to my forthcoming edition of Nitivarman’s Kīcaka-vadha, which is already in print and will be published very shortly. The work is certainly much older than the citations of Sarvānanda or Puruṣottamadeva would indicate. So far as I have been able to trace, the earliest

\[1\] Since writing the above article my edition of Kīcaka-vadha has been published by the University of Dacca. The question raised here has been fully discussed in my Introduction to the text.
writers to quote from this poem are Bhoja (both in his *Sarasvatī-
kanṭhābharana* and in his *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa*) and Namisādhu. This
would furnish the lower limit of the date of the poem as the second
or third quarter of the eleventh century A.D.

I find myself unable to agree with Professor Keith’s views (p. 31)
regarding the date of the scholiast Vallabhadeva, and am inclined to
think that Pathak’s rather ingenious arguments have not been effective
enough to set aside Hultsch’s dating. The evidence cited by Pathak
from Kṣiravāmin and Hemacandra does not appear to be conclusive,
as there is nothing to show that these are cases of real reference or
borrowing, or that these later writers did not themselves borrow the
passages in question from Vallabhadeva himself.
GOPATSAH ¹
By J. M. Unvala

Among many mythological beings mentioned in Zoroastrian literature and enumerated by the late Professor Louis Casartelli in his La Philosophie religieuse du Mazdéisme, Paris, 1884, p. 120, Gōpatšāh deserves our special mention. He is the man-bull of the ancient Babylonians, adopted into the mythology of the later Zoroastrian period most probably through the intermediary of the Elamites saturated with Babylonian culture. Gōpatšāh is the name given to him in Pahlavi literature, and is said to be another name for Ayrēraθ, son of Pašang and brother of Afrāsiāb, king of Turan. He resides in the country called Sōkapastān or Sauka-vastān, which is situated between Chinistan and Turkistan (Bundahišn, 29, 5; for the legend of Ayrēraθ, cf. Darmesteter, Zend-Avesta, ii, p. 436, No. 23). Dātīstān-i-Dēnīk 90, 4, explains the name Gōpatšāh by "king of Gōpat", and says that Gōpat is a country coterminous with Ėrān-Vēj on the bank of the river Dātīk. At any rate there is no doubt that Ayrēraθ was considered by the Pahlavi writers as ruler of a non-Iranian country adjoining Ėrān-Vēj. He is from head to mid-body a man, and from mid-body to feet a bull (for illustration, cf. Revue d'Assyriologie, vol. xxv, No. iv, plate facing p. 184, fig. 2). At all times he stays on the sea-shore, and always performs the worship of God and always pours the holy consecrated water into the sea, thereby destroying all noxious creatures residing in the sea (Mēnōē-i-Xrat 62, 31–6; Rivāyat-i-Dārāb Hormazyār, edited by Ervad Maneckji Rustomji Unvala, Bombay, 1922, vol. ii, p. 70). But his chief activity is to keep watch over the bull Hašayōs, on whose back occurred the various emigrations of men of old (Dd. 90, 4; Bd. 19, 13). This

¹ The name is written in Bd. TD. (the Great Bd.), fol. 100, l. 6: dn p t n šāh (ideogr.), i.e. gōpatšāh; d has two diacritical points under it, which indicate a later, though false pronunciation of the name reflected also in Riv. ii, p. 70 as yavadšāh (يروودشاه, also ایرودشاه). Byl. 2, 2, has dn k p t n šāh (ideogr.), i.e. gōkpatšāh. Gōpat would mean "the lord of the bull", perhaps of the Hašayōs-bull, over whom he keeps watch. It seems to me that gōpat is rather a corruption of gōpāšt "having the feet of a bull", most probably caused by a Pazand or plene orthography. This reading would suit the description of the mythological being given in MX. 62, 31–6, very well. Later on the real meaning of the word was lost and gōpat was considered to be the name of a country, as in Dd. 90, 4.

The probable stages of this corruption are: dn p ddd—dn p ddd d (Av. a)—dn p ddd t—dn p dd t—dn p t—or dn p t n.
bull will be killed in a sacrifice by Sošyāns, who will prepare with its fat and the juice of the white Hōm the drink of immortality (Bd. 30, 25). He is said to be immortal (Vohuman Yašt 2, 1; Riv. ii, p. 70, where اهوم a-(h)ōš) rat of the inhabitants of Ėrān-Vōj (MX. 44, 35). But according to Bd. 31, 20, and Riv. ii, 70, Gōpatsāh is the son of Ayrēraθ, born to him as a recompense for saving Manušēïhr and the Iranians.

It seems that in Pahlavi literature there existed side by side the legend of Ayrēraθ, the pious Turanian, which is alluded to in the Avesta (Yt. 9, 17–18), and the myth of Gōpatsāh the man-bull, borrowed from the Babylonians through the intermediary of the Elamites. Later on these two, the legend and the myth, were combined and either to Ayrēraθ Gōpatsāh was given as a son as a recompense for his piety, or he was himself identified with Gōpatsāh, and was thus made an immortal, who is indirectly connected with Sošyāns in the work of the renovation of the world. Thus we see that in this Gōpatsāh the Babylonian man-bull is clearly reflected, not only in his fabulous shape, but also in his duty as a guardian of the Hādayōš bull. He has preserved his original benevolent character in the Zoroastrian mythology, and is not considered, like other Babylonian gods, a destructive creature of Ahrman like Ningišzida, who was changed into Aži-Dahāka as early as in the period of the old Yasts.

It must be noted here that the description of Gōpatsāh given in MX. 62, 31–6, has very little in common with that of the colossal human-headed bulls of the palaces of the Assyrian kings, as Professor Casartelli says in his Philosophie, etc., p. 120. Gōpatsāh has rather much in common with Enkidu, the companion of Gilgames. The man-bull appears as sacrificer of animals on seal-cylinders of the time of Hammurabi of Babylonia (cf. Realllexicon der Vorgeschichte, edited by Max Ebert, Berlin, 1924, vol. iv, pl. 160, fig. b), and perhaps even this trait as sacrificer is reflected in his presumably indirect association with Sošyāns in the sacrifice of the Hādayōš bull. For the same reason the uninterrupted devotion of Gōpatšāh, during the course of which he pours the consecrated water into the sea, has nothing in common with the libation scenes in which these human-headed bulls are said to carry vases for libation in their hands (cf. Darmesteter, ZA. ii, p. 437, No. 23).
GLEANINGS FROM EARLY URDU AND HINDI POETS

By T. Grahame Bailey

I. "A Vision of Death." By Ahmad

THE following beautiful poem was found in a MS. notebook dated 1748. The date of the poem is unknown, but it must be older than the MS. We may put it provisionally at 1650–1700. The author's name occurs in the last couplet. Nothing is known about him, and there are many poets of the name.

1. When passed the night and came the day, 'twas then I understood.
2. Ere I had been one hour awake, ah then I understood.
3. When I had drunk the cup of death, my eyes were opened then;
4. When on the bier my corpse they placed, 'twas then I understood.
5. I nothing recked of covering quilt or cloth,
6. When 'neath my head the stone they placed, 'twas then I understood.
7. What time my friends left me and went, how foolish I remained;
8. Munkir, Nakir both questioned me, 'twas then I understood.
9. When came the time of my account, my eyes were opened then;
10. I read the statement of my works; 'twas then I understood.
11. My life was spent, the whole of it, no work had I to show;
12. When passed the noonday of my life 'twas then I understood.
13. Save God and the apostle now on Ahmad's side was none;
14. But when I trusted grace divine, 'twas then I understood.

The poem contains no cerebral letters except ḍ in choḍ, l. 7. This ḍ is probably not original. We find carhī "ascended", parī "fell", gharī "hour", khāṭ "bed", īṭ "brick", cīṭhī "letter", parhī "read", dhāli "descended".

Peculiarities for metrical reasons are huveṇa for hūṇa, l. 2; hisāb for hisāb, l. 9; ṭumrā for 'umr, l. 11.

In l. 4, codiya is doubtful. I read it as co deh, though in this case co is tautological. The sense appears to require a word for corpse. Or is it caudā, a style of sitting?

l. 6, stone; lit. brick.

l. 7, nakū is difficult. In Daknī the word would mean "not", which hardly gives sense, and the poem is not Daknī. I am taking it as for nakkū "foolish".

l. 13, If we retain kū we must take taraf as "helper", "supporter".

II. ONOMATOPOETIC LINES FROM GIRIDHAR DĀS

The following extract is taken from Narsīh Kathāṃrīt, a poem by Gopāl Candr, known as Giridhar Dās, 1833–60. He was the worthy father of a famous son, Hariś Candr, his son, 1850–85, is one of the most famous Hindi poets, certainly the most famous in the last 200 years. The lines convey the impression of deafening noise and blinding light. They are a good test of ability to pronounce ḗ smoothly and easily.

1. भयो भयंकर शंद्र स्माह गढ़ गढ़ गढ़ \n2. फजो फंभ दै खंड कराल ककड़ कह कह \n3. बढ़ो कोटिर रवि तेज नरम किक्र झड़ झड़ झड़ \n4. भगे दुन्तान देखि सहस्र सह गढ़ सह झड़ \n5. भड़ भड़ भड़ परवत गिरहि झड़ झड़ हाथी धरनि \n6. छहि कमठ कोख करि घासेरे मए तेज तै हत तरनि \n
1. There came a great and awful sound—*gagara gara garara garara*.
2. The pillar split in two huge parts—*kakara kali kara kara kara*.
3. The glory grew and flashed like suns a hundred thousand—
   *jhara jhara jhara jhara jhara jhara jhara jhara jhara*.
4. The demons fled on seeing the sight—*sara Sara sara sara sara*.
5. *bharara bharara bharara* fall the mountains; *harara harara*
   shakes the earth.
6. Trembled the serpent, tortoise, boar, and elephant; the sun
   lost his glory.

It is difficult to convey by sound the ideas of splendour and
refulgence, but the word *jhamak* contains those ideas. It occurs in
the verb *jhamakki*, l. 3, and the *jh* is repeated four times in the rest
of the line. Perhaps one might say that the sounds represented by
the letters suggest both noise and dazzling light.

In the line telling of the flight of the demons, we should have
expected more sibilants, but evidently Giridhar wished to emphasize
the crashing of their departure rather than the swishing and rustling
that accompanied it.
REPETITION OF WORDS IN URDU, HINDI AND PANJABI

By T. Grahame Bailey

It has been stated many times that the principal idea in the repetition of words is that of emphasis or intensity. My observation has led me to conclude that this is incorrect, and that the true sense in almost every case is one of the following:—

distribution (over time, space, or a number of objects),
pleasantness,
no meaning at all.

In order to make the inquiry practical, it is better to confine it to cases of words repeated without alteration. If anyone will in the course of his reading take 1,000 consecutive instances of repetition, he will find that

(i) short words are repeated far oftener than long.
(ii) repetition of adjj. or advv. with a pleasant meaning is much commoner than of those with a nasty meaning, and when the meaning may be either good or bad, the good is intended.
(iii) nearly every instance comes under either distribution or pleasantness.

(i) It follows that we read of a man’s visiting ghar ghar or gō gō or shahr shahr, but not dār us salṭanat dār us salṭanat, and that we may expect to hear of būrhe būrhe ādmī, sundar sundar striyā, or choṭi choṭi larkiyā, but hardly of za‘īf ul ‘umr za‘īf ul ‘umr şāhibān, čūbšūrat čūbšūrat mastūrāt, or kam-sinn kam-sinn at fāl.

(ii) See sentences 1, 2, 3, below

(iii) Distribution.

adhelī adhelī “eight annas each”

ṭhīk ṭhīk batāo “explain correctly” (correctness spread over answer).
cappā cappā pānī “four inches of water all along”

žīle ke sab bare bare pattedār “all the important leaseholders of the district”.

gharī gharī “repeatedly” (at each gharī).

Repeated verbs come under this heading; the idea is either continuance or repetition of action:—

dekh dekh kar, Pj. vēx vēx ke “looking repeatedly”.
(Pj.) ṭurdeā ṭurdeā “through continued walking”.

(Pj.) p,ayṣḍa p,ayṣḍa "while heating up" (spread over some time).

Pleasantness. This often corresponds to our "nice and ", or
the slang " jolly old ", " good old ".

garm garm dūd "nice, hot milk ".
lāl lāl tarbūze "watermelons, nice and red ".
\( \text{thāndī thāndī havā} \) "refreshing breeze ".

(Pj.) \( \text{un vag jā cheṭi cheṭi} \) "now off you go, nice and quick ".

Sometimes no real meaning is discernible. People have got into
the habit of repeating certain short words, and do so without thinking;
the very shortness of the word seems to demand repetition. I knew
an Englishman who always said "very very ", never simply "very ".

Before one can claim that the main thought is emphasis it must
be shown that other ideas are impossible. Examples must be found
in which emphasis is the only possible idea, and is due solely to repeti-
tion; many emphatic phrases contain repeated words, but the
emphasis would not be less if the word occurred only once. In fact
we shall see that often the very reverse of emphasis is in the mind of
the speaker. Let us examine a few cases.

(1) gorī gorī bālikā kī lāl lāl gālhē "the rosy cheeks of the prettily
fair girl ".

(2) \( \text{thāndī thāndī havā} \) "a refreshing summer breeze ".

(3) \( \text{pio cā garm, garm} \) "here you are, sir, nice hot tea ".

(4) \( \text{voh alag alag baith gae} \) "they sat down in separate places ".

Now if the idea of emphasis were present, these phrases would
mean:

(1) the hectic cheeks of the deathly pale girl ; (2) a piercing winter
wind ; (3) scalding tea, much too hot to drink before the train goes ;
(4) they sat absolutely alone.

We have had it impressed upon us that repetition means emphasis,
and we shall feel inclined to say offhand that the following expressions
are emphatic, but a little study will convince us that they are not.

(5) kām ke shurū' shurū' mē "in the early days of the work ".

(6) \( \text{voh to abhī abhī āyā thā} \) "he had not long been there "; quite
different from \( \text{voh to 'ain usī vaqt pahuncā thā} \) "he had arrived at that
very moment ".

(7) sac sac bolo "now, my boy, the truth (throughout your
answer) ".

(8) \( \text{ṭhāk ṭhāk hol karo} \) "work it out correctly ". But note that, if
the boy gets the answer " Rs. 23–11–9 ", the teacher, wishing to tell
him that his answer is "absolutely right", will not say tumhārā javāb thīk thīk hai; he will say bi’ilkull thīk hai. Similarly "entirely wrong" will be bi’ilkull galaṭ, not galaṭ galaṭ.

(9) mahīne ke andar andar "some time or other within a month".
(10) somvār se pahle pahle "some time or other before Monday".
(11) ham tīn tīn ādmī prastut hai; when Hariṣ Candr uses these words, he means "here we are, three of us every time, for every work".
(12) mai ne das das ḍatt likhe, tum ne ek bhi javāb na diyā; this literally means "on several occasions I sent you ten letters one after another, but you didn’t answer any". Actually, no doubt, he wrote a couple of times and got no answer.
GRAMMATICAL NOMENCLATURE: UNNECESSARY NAMES

By T. Grahame Bailey

In the teaching of Indian languages much confusion is caused by the invention of names for ideas which either have well known names already, or do not require any name. This makes otherwise useful grammatical notes very obscure, and causes actual unfairness in examinations because candidates are often unfamiliar with the terms employed. We should avoid attaching labels to the words, constructions, and phrases of the language we are teaching, and when a name is necessary it should be one already known from English or Latin.

I take a few illustrations at random from Platt's Grammar. Under verbs we find acquisitives, potentials, inceptives, permissives, completives, desideratives, continuatives, frequentatives, staticals, and reiteratives. It will hardly be believed that most of these names have been coined to indicate one or, at the most, two words. Thus acquisitives means pānā alone; potential means sakā; inceptive, lagnā; permissive, denā; completive, cuknā; desiderative, cāhnā (and māgnā!); continuative, jānā and rahnā; so far we have had seven unnecessary and, for the most part, uncouth names to indicate eight or nine words, nearly one special name per word. Frequentative and statical refer to two particular idioms, and reiteratives to repetition; none of these need a name. I would strongly advocate making a clean sweep of them all. They are confusing, awkward, and useless. I never myself use any of them.

The teacher can say "to-day we are going to discuss -saknā "be able", or -lagnā "begin"; or "I am going to tell you how to express permission or desire or habit or repetition." The simplest words are best.

Another objectionable word is postposition. We have "preposition" well established as a technical term. Why do we need another? English prepositions often follow their word: "that's the hole he got in by"; or as the weary nurse said to the intellectual patient after having read aloud to him, "what did you choose that book to be read to out of for?" In my teaching I always say "preposition", and never has it led to any difficulty or called forth any question.
As a matter of fact, if we wish to be lugubriously accurate, we shall have to say that Urdu and Hindi have prepositions, postpositions, and prepostpositions, for some always precede, some always follow, and some may do both. What is the unfortunate student to say?

The aim we should set before ourselves is this:—
as far as possible (i) avoid coining new terms; (ii) use well-known terms, and use them with their usual meanings.

Thus, if we use transitive and intransitive we must not change their connotation; we must not equate transitive with "verbs requiring ne", and intrans. with "verbs not requiring ne". Some trans. verbs never need ne, and some intrans. verbs always need it with certain tenses.

It is difficult to know what to call the case which in Pj. and U. occurs with all prepositions. "Oblique" and "General Oblique" have been suggested. They are unsatisfactory, for the case is only one out of four oblique cases in Pj. and out of two in U. Perhaps we might call it Prepositional, which, though a new name, carries its meaning on the surface.

**THE CASES OF NOUNS AND PRONOUNS IN URDU, HINDI, AND PANJABI**

In Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit case names are given to definite forms. The syntax of these forms is a different matter. Each case may have ten or twenty uses. If we are to employ the same names in Panjabi Hindi, and Urdu, we must do so in the same way; we cannot make, say, ablative or dative, equivalent to se or ko, for either se or ko may represent a Latin genitive or dative or accusative or ablative. A preposition governs a certain case, but it is no part of the case. \( eĩs \) ῥ/banner oikia\( n \) means ghar mē; oikia\( n \) is accus. Are we to call ghar also accus.? ghar is in a certain case, but ghar-mē is not a case. Again, mu\( r \)a χαρά\( s \) (genitive) is χus\( ō \)se; the Urdu noun corresponds to a noun in the genitive, why call it ablative? A Greek dative may inter alia stand for a Latin ablative, but we do not, therefore, insist on saddling Greek with an ablative case. The term "case-phrase" has been suggested. But before we speak of a "dative case-phrase", we shall need to decide whether it is a Latin, Greek, or Sanskrit dative, and also which of the ten or twenty meanings of the dative it bears.

Hindi and Urdu nouns have three cases, nom., voc., and a third, which may be called prepositional. It is used with all prepositions
including *ne*. Thus *bahinē*, *bahino*, *bahinō*. Pronouns will need an agent case: *voh* "they"; *un, unhō*. I must plead guilty to having in various books given long lists of unnecessary cases, and committed the absurdity of making a preposition part of a case.

It seems to me that in no circumstances should a preposition be included in a case, but when a name is required for a definite *form* there is no objection to choosing the nearest or most suitable of the well-known case names, gen., dat., abl., loc., etc.

Panjabi requires five case names,

\[
\text{Sing.} \quad \text{Plur.}
\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom.</th>
<th>masīt</th>
<th>bū'ā</th>
<th>masīttā</th>
<th>bū'e</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prep.</td>
<td>masīt</td>
<td>bū'e</td>
<td>masīttā</td>
<td>bū'ēd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>masīttī</td>
<td>bū'ē</td>
<td>masīttī</td>
<td>bū'ī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>masīttō</td>
<td>bū'ēd</td>
<td>masīttō</td>
<td>bū'ēd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc.</td>
<td>masītte</td>
<td>bū'ēd</td>
<td>masītte</td>
<td>bū'ēd</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Wanting

Pronouns need at least three more: agent, dative, and gen.

\[
\text{Sing.} \quad \text{Plur.}
\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom.</th>
<th>mē, &quot;I&quot;</th>
<th>o* &quot;he&quot;</th>
<th>asī, ahī</th>
<th>o*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prep.</td>
<td>mere</td>
<td>os, [o'de]</td>
<td>sādē, asā, ahā</td>
<td>o'nā, [o'nā de]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>mere, merī</td>
<td>[os]</td>
<td></td>
<td>o'nī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>mēthō</td>
<td>os</td>
<td>sāthō</td>
<td>[o'nā tō]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag.</td>
<td>mā</td>
<td>asā, ahā</td>
<td>o'nā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>merā</td>
<td>[o'dā, osdā]</td>
<td>sādā</td>
<td>[o'nā dā]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>mēnā, minū</td>
<td>[o'nā, osnā]</td>
<td>sānā</td>
<td>[o'nā nā]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The loc. forms *merī, o'nī* are always adjectival, agreeing with a loc. plur. noun. Other adj. forms have also been included.

**ADDENDUM.** **THE FIRST PLURAL FEMININE IN URDU**

Some doubt seems to exist as to the proper form of the verb in the 1st plur. fem., and it has been asserted that the masc. form must be used. This is true of only one case.

(i) When a woman speaking of herself alone uses the plur., the verb and adjj. are masc.:

\[
\text{ham to abhī āte hai} \, "\text{I'm coming now}".
\]

This reminds us of Greek usage. Cf. Euripides Alc. 383, where Alcestis is referring to herself.
(ii) If several women speak, the verb is fem. Two cases arise:—
(a) when a plur. fem. noun is inserted,

\[ \text{ham } \text{ínó bahíné rofí khá } \text{rahí thá} \] “we three sisters were fasting”.

(b) when there is no noun. A good example occurs in Āzād’s \( \text{Āb i Hayát} \), p. 74 of 1917 ed., where he makes some women say:

\[ \text{jab tak hamári bát na kah degá na piláégí} \] “until you say what we want, we shall not give you water”.

Two examples from Prem Cand are:

\[ \text{ham sab kí sab calégí} \] “we shall all go”.
\[ \text{āp ká diyá kháti hai, to sáth kis ke rahégi} \] “what we eat is your gift, then with whom else shall we stay?”

In this last case (when there is no noun) some speakers are inclined to favour the masc., but among good families the fem. is used.
THE MEANING AND USAGE OF CAUSAL VERBS IN URDU AND PANJABI

By T. Grahame Bailey

I. MEANING

The causal of an intransitive verb means to cause someone or something to perform the action which the intr. verb indicates: calnā “function”, calānā “cause something to function”. About this there is no debate. The question of causals of tr. verbs is not so easy. It is important to be entirely practical, and if we cannot get universal rules we must try to make general rules helpful to both students and scholars. To this end we must, as far as possible, use well-known words, and use them in their ordinary sense. New grammatical terms or old ones with new meanings are worse than useless. A student says: “How am I to express ‘make him sleep, make him do it’? May I say usko sulān, usko karāo? If not, tell me what to say, and give me a rule for it which I can easily follow.” He is entitled to a reply; more than that, he is entitled to a reply which will be of real use to him.

People speaking of trans. verbs mean “verbs ordinarily trans.”, for most trans. verbs can, at least on rare occasions, be used intransitively (“This mutton eats well”). Again, nearly all of them may dispense with their object, though retaining their trans. sense. For our present purpose this distinction is unimportant. Thus “see” and “hear” are trans. verbs, but are intrans. in “the blind see, the deaf hear”. “Kill” is trans., but the object is suppressed in “if a glance could kill”.

The causals of verbs which are ordinarily trans. mean “cause a thing to be done”, i.e. they are the causals of the passive of the original verb. If we wish to say “he made the blind see and the deaf hear” we cannot say usne andhō ko dikhāyā aur bahro ko sunāyā; this sentence, which is perfectly correct Urdu, means he showed something to the blind, and related something to the deaf.

We may put it otherwise. The direct object of one of these causals is not the doer, but the thing done; or again, if the causal of a trans. verb is put in the passive, the nom. is the thing done, not the doer. cītthī likhāī gāī “the letter was caused to be written”, not munshī likhāēā gayā “the clerk was made to write”. bāxshnā “forgive”;
but the causal passive means not “he was made to forgive” but “forgiveness was obtained for his sin, his sin was caused to be forgiven”. We can say païse lutâe gae, but we may not translate “the boy was made to rob” by lařkâ lutâe=gâ gayâ.

We can therefore make a universal rule:—

Universal Rule.—The causal of an ordinarily trans. verb, when it exists, may always mean “cause something to be done”; and it is never wrong to use it with this meaning. To this rule there is no exception.

Further, we can make a second rule:—

Second Rule.—For the causals of ordinarily trans. verbs the meaning “cause to do” is not permissible, whether the original verb is used “absolutely” or not, i.e. whether the object is expressed or not.

This rule may be considered universal, but if it were claimed that sikhñâ, si̍xū̀ “learn” is always trans., it would come in here as an exception, and the rule would then be general, not universal. It is a matter of indifference. It is certainly correct to say O sê̍xâi oǐ e “she has been taught, put up to it”.

pîlânâ means “cause to be drunk”. Khilânâ in the best usage means cause to be eaten, not cause to eat. A phrase like lařke khilâe gae is contrary to good idiom, but I have heard it.

The following verbs are indifferently trans. and intrans., but it must not be assumed that the trans. is the causal of the intrans.:—

bhûlnâ, (a) “forget”, (b) “err,” “pass from memory”; badalnâ “change”, palatnâ “return”; ulaţnâ “turn upside down”, bharnâ “fill”, ghisnâ “rub”, jhulsnâ “scorch, get hot”, mân̄nâ “acknowledge, agree”, parhnâ “read, study”, samajhnâ “understand”, sikhnâ “learn”. As they are both trans. and intrans. we should expect causals of both kinds. Actually we find that bhulnâ, parhnnâ, sikhnnâ are causals of both trans. and intrans. senses; i.e. both cause to err and cause to be forgotten, etc.

badlnâ, paltnâ, ulṭnâ, ghisnâ, jhulsnâ are generally causals of the int. sense, i.e. they mean “cause to perform the intrans. action”.

badalvnnâ, palatvnnâ, ulaṭvnnâ, ghisvnnâ, jhulasvnnâ, mean to cause the action to be performed.

bharânnâ in one sense only is the causal of the intrans. verb, viz. when it is used of a bird feeding its young, “cause to become filled up.” Otherwise it is the causal of the trans., “cause a pot to be filled by someone.”
manānā in the phrases deotā manānā, χυσῆ manānā, etc., is not a causal except in form. Apart from this meaning, manānā, as also samjḥānā, prefers the meaning of "cause to be done"; sentences like merā bāp manāyā gayā "my father was persuaded", or 'aurat sam-

II. Usage

(i) Grammars usually extend the name intrans. to verbs with cognate objects. These might equally be called trans, In U. and P. the causals generally omit the cognate object, as daurānā "cause to run". Occasionally, but rarely, the object is expressed, and the verb is treated as the causal of a trans. meaning cause a race to be run.

mujh se bārī lambī daurī daurāī gai "I had to run a long run".

(ii) Some verbs have no causals. It is not possible to lay down a final rule on this point, for tastes vary.

(a) Verbs, not themselves causals, whose roots end in -ā do not make causals., e.g. pānā "find", jānā "go", ānā "come", lānā "bring", le jānā "take away", farānā "command", gurrānā "growl", sharmānā "be ashamed", vargalānā "lead astray".

Exceptions, nahānā "bathe"; nahlvānā : curānā "steal", curvānā.

But causals may make double causals, banānā "make"; banvānā.

(b) Verbs with more than two syllables in the root do not make causals. Verbs with two syllables in the root, the second containing a so-called "long" vowel, make only a -vā causal, e.g. χαρīdnā "buy", χαρīdvānā; ghasītnā "drag", ghasītvānā.

(c) A few others have no causals in ordinary use; khenā or kheonā "row"; senā "hatch"; cāhnā "wish".

We may add khonā "lose"; socnā "think"; lenā "take"; honā "become", for the forms khuvānā and socvānā are fanciful; the Hindi livā lānā and livā lejānā are happily not used in Urdu; besides livā has not got the force of a causal; huvānā occurs only in the phrase ho huvāke, etc., and has no causal meaning.

(iii) The preposition to be used with causals of trans. verbs. We have seen that causals of trans. verbs mean not "cause someone to do something", but "cause something to be done by someone". How is this "by" to be expressed? It is translated in two ways according to the closeness of the connexion between the causer and the action performed. When the idea of causation is weak, the tendency is to use ko; when it is strong, it is se.
The following take ko, meaning "to":—dikhānā "show"; samjhnā "explain", pilānā "give something to drink", khilānā "give something to eat", likhnā "dictate", lutānā "distribute money", sunānā "relate", and all causals of verbs meaning "put on", as pinnānā "clothe someone with", urkhānā "give a veil or shawl to be put on", hār bandhānā "put a garland on someone, give a garland to be put on", pėti kasānā "assist in putting on a belt". (These are free translations.)

mañ ne usko cīthā likhāī "I dictated a letter to him"; mañ ne us se cīthā likhāī (better likhvāi) "I got a letter written by him". Compare kisī ko Fārsī parhānā, kām sikhānā, bāt manānā.
AUXILIARY VERBS IN MONGOLIAN

By S. Yoshitake

In the Mongolian language we often find two, three, or even four verbs in succession without a single conjunction between them. When analysing a continuous chain of verbs, it is best to consider two consecutive verbs at a time, for the circumstances in which such a combination is made can be brought under the following three headings:

1. Sequential—two verbs denote actions in sequence, as, for example,

nadur irejü ögülerün, He came to me and said . . .

2. Adverbial—the first of the two verbs is merely adverbial, usually expressing the manner¹ in which the action denoted by the second verb is performed, as, for example,

uyilan joréibai, They went away crying;

3. Auxiliary—the second of the two verbs is auxiliary to the principal verb, as, for example,

bi ćimayi alaqu bui, I shall (lit. am) kill thee.

Of these three cases the most interesting is undoubtedly the last, i.e. the auxiliary use of a limited number of verbs with certain well-defined meanings, an exact parallel being found in other Eastern languages.

The object of the present paper is to show the exact meaning and usage of the Mongolian auxiliary verbs, with special reference to the parallel forms in Turki (as spoken in Yarkand and Kashgar), Yakut, Korean, and Japanese; the more so as some of these verbs have hitherto been inaccurately interpreted or completely missed out by the grammarians. For this purpose I have taken passages from the texts contained in the following books:


Koval. = O. Kovalевский, Монгольская хрестоматия. Томъ I. Казань, 1836.

Popov = A. Поповъ, Монгольская хрестоматия для начинающих обучаться монгольскому языку. Казань, 1836.

¹ Sometimes also "means, reason, etc."
Pozdn. = A. Позднѣевъ, Монгольская хрестоматія для первоначальнаго преподаванія. СІБ., 1900.


With regard to the Mongol transcription it must be mentioned that my friend, Mr. G. L. M. Clauson, has recently pointed out to me that the traditional transcription γ and g for the two Mongol voiced velar letters are often inaccurate, and that in the case of many words and terminations these letters were intended to represent a silent h as in French heure. Thus, for example, the word transcribed ayula, mountain, was in the earliest known period pronounced a-u-la, and in later times, on the first two vowels coalescing, ula; there is no evidence that it was ever pronounced ayula. Mr. Clauson and I are at present engaged in considering whether it will not be possible, at any rate in the vast majority of instances, to distinguish those cases in which the two Mongol letters actually represent the velar sounds γ and g from those in which they are inaccurately applied to a silent h, which we would propose to transliterate by the sign ĥ (i.e. h underlined). In this paper, however, I have retained the customary transcription, pending our further investigations into the matter.

In transcribing Korean words I have adopted the system given in the work *Alphabet und Schriftzeichen des Morgen- und des Abendlandes*, Berlin, 1924, pp. 18-19, and for Yakut I have replaced the usual Russian transcription by a more convenient system, including i (= ɨ), u (= y), t (= n), and γ for a voiced velar fricative.

1. The substantive verb bükü means "to exist" as distinguished from aqu which signifies "to be". In practice, however, the two

1 А. Бобровников: Грамматика монгольско-кыльмысского языка. Казань, 1849, §§ 263, 267.
2 Ditto, § 269.
3 Compare Japanese ari, to exist (S. Matsuoka: Nihon Gengogaku, Tökyō, 1928, pp. 140, 151-2), sari to be (ditto, pp. 141, 152-3); Korean id-ta, to exist (Grammaire Coréenne, Par les missionnaires de Corée de la société des missions étrangères de Paris, Yokohama, 1881, p. 127; H. G. Underwood, An Introduction to the Korean Spoken Language, Yokohama, 1890, p. 167), it-ta, to be (Grammaire Coréenne, op. cit., pp. 127, 131; Underwood, op. cit., p. 167); Yakut bär, existence (Otto v.
verbs are used almost interchangeably. As the auxiliaries they serve to assist the gerundial and the participial forms of the verb in the formation of tenses with various meanings inherent in the principal verb. In order to facilitate comparison I shall tabulate below the commonest forms constituting the Indicative mood.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indefinite</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Narrative</td>
<td>-mui (-müi)</td>
<td>-bai (-bei)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusive</td>
<td>-yu (-yü)</td>
<td>-juqui (-jüktii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prospective (i)</td>
<td>-qu (-kti) bui</td>
<td>-qu (-kti) büülige</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Continuative (ii)</td>
<td>-n (-ju, etc.) amui</td>
<td>-n büülige</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequentative (iii)</td>
<td>-day (-deg) bui</td>
<td>-day (-deg) büülige</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Narrative  (iv)</td>
<td>-γsan (-γsen) bui</td>
<td>-γsan (-γsen) büülige</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assertive</td>
<td>-luyá (-lügé)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of these forms we are at present concerned only with those which are numbered in the table.¹


¹ The form -juqui (-jüktii, etc.), however, requires explanation. Both Schmidt (*Grammatik*, op. cit., § 101) and Kovaltški (КРАТКИЯ ГРАММАТИКА МОГОЛЬСКОГО КНИЖНОГО ЯЗЫКА, Казань, 1835, § 110) regard this form as “3rd sing. and pl. perfect,” whilst Ramstedt (Über die Konjugation des Khalkha-mongolischen, *Mémoires de la Soc. Finno-Ougrienne* XIX. Helsinki, 1903, pp. 81–3) and Poppe (Gesericia. Untersuchung der sprachlichen Eigentümlichkeiten der mongolischen Version des Gesserkhan, Fortsetzung. *Asia Major*, vol. iii, fasc. 2nd April, 1926, p. 172, § 26) consider it to be the preterite imperfect. Rudnev (Лекции по грамматике монгольского письменного языка, СПб., 1905, p. 43), on the other hand, following Bobrovnikov (Грамматика, op. cit., § 242), treats it as a fortuitous form denoting an unexpected occurrence. This last explanation is not borne out by the examples which I have met; rather it often appears as a conclusive verb, following a conditional or a causal.
(i) The present (or past) indefinite prospective is formed of the nomen futuri,\(^1\) -qu (-kū), and the auxiliary verb bui (or büllüge). It serves to indicate expectation with the meanings "is (was) to, should (have), is (was) about to, etc."

Example:—

Narasu modun-u dotaraki anu qataŋki-yin tula ebül jun kökerejü bayiqu bui (Popov, p. 32, ll. 1–2).

It is because its core is solid that the pine-tree remains green summer and winter.

Doluyan qonuy boluy-san qoyina qa yan Ananda modući-yi eéige-yin orun-dur ilegekü büllüge (Koval., p. 75, ll. 8–9).

Seven days after that, the king was about to send Ánanda, the carpenter, to his father’s kingdom.

With the fundamental signification "is (was) to" the form -qu (-kū) bui is used to indicate the future and -qu (-kū) büllüge the subjunctive imperfect.

Example:—

Bi čimayi sayaral ügei alaq bui (Popov, p. 34, ll. 6–7).

I shall kill thee without mercy.

Sedkil-dür sanay-san-ian aman-ača γaryaju kümün-dür kelebesii eđegekü büllüge (J.M., p. 42, ll. 8–9).

You would be cured, if you uttered and told the people what you have in your mind.

(ii) The present (or past) imperfect continuative is formed of clause, and is frequently found in a context where the form -yu would be expected, if it were in the present tense. If -yu denotes an inference or a conclusion, as Rudnev maintains (İeşem, op. cit., p. 43), the form -juqui must perforce be its counterpart in the past tense.

To quote an example from the Altan Gerel contained in Schmidt’s grammar (p. 155, ll. 5–6):—

Qoyar köbegün či nu γasi-yu tu γal-a masıda türrėjü amui. Degedü köbegün či nu Maha-a-satuva ügei buyu; mőŋke busud-ta erüstęjükü.

Thy two sons are being burnt in flames of sorrow. (From this we may infer that) thy noble son Mahasatva is no longer (alive); he must have been taken away by the hands of Uncertainty.

Such passages as this abound also in other literary works, which fact justifies us in regarding the form -juqui as the past indefinite conclusive. Since we draw an inference usually with regard to the 3rd person, we may well understand why both Schmidt and Kovalevski classed this form as "3rd sing. and pl. perfect", parallel with the form -yu which they both call "3rd sing. and pl. future".

the *converbum modale*,¹ -n, and the auxiliary verb amui (or büllüge). It denotes an action which began in the past and is (was) still continuing, or a state as the result of a former action. In the present tense the *converbum modale* may be replaced by the *converbum imperfecti*² -ju (-jü), -ču (-čü).

Example:—

Ta busud-un üge-ber namayi sejiglen amu (SS., p. 58, l. 15).
Believing the words of other people, you are distrustful of me.

Tere degüü biden-ü eldeh-iyer nigülesün ögülen büllüge (Schmidt, p. 148, l. 14).
Our youngest brother was speaking (of it) sympathizing in various ways.

Sometimes also the *converbum abtemporale*,³ -γsayar (-gseger), followed by ajiyu replaces the past tense.

Example:—

Ene toti-nar tedüi-ečė edüi kürtele aγyalayσayar ajiyu (JM., p. 92, ll. 10–11).
These parrots have been playing a trick on me for some time past.

(iii) The present (or past) imperfect frequentative is composed of the *nomen usus*,⁴ -day (-deg), and bui (or büllüge). It indicates a habitual action.

Example:—

Qatun keüken-i ire gekü-dü ülü eđideg beyü, eëi (JM., p. 96, ll. 2–3).
Is it not a custom to go when the princess calls? Go!

Nigen modun-dur dalan nigen toti qonuduy büllüge (JM., p. 90, l. 9).
Seventy-one parrots used to pass the nights on a certain tree.

(iv) The present (or past) perfect narrative is formed of the *nomen perfecti*,⁵ -γsan (-gseñ), and bui (or büllüge). It serves to denote that an action is (was) completed at the time expressed or understood. Thus the form in the past tense stands for the pluperfect and is also used as the subjunctive perfect.

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⁴ Ramstedt, op. cit., pp. 91–3.
Example:

Činu gerte-eée unuju iregsen mori činu nadur iretel.e kedűi alquysan bui (Popov, p. 35, l. 11–p. 36, l. 1).

How many strides hath thy horse on which thou hast come from thy house made on its way here?

Bi γaγca kīi edūge aburaγsan busu buyn-j.a; erte nügčıgsen čaγ-tur-bar, eden.i aburan tedkügsen büllıge (Schmidt, p. 131, l. 3).

This is not the only time I have saved them. In times previous to that also had I saved and protected them.

In all the four cases treated above, büllıge may be replaced by ajıyn (ajuyn, aji, etc.) with no significant difference in meaning.

Remarks.—The forms -qu (-kii) büllıge and -n büllıge are often used to denote a habitual action in the past, replacing the form -day (-deg) büllıge.

Example:

Edür tutum ulus-ağa nigen sayın köbegün abıcı oduyad, üsün-iyen sigürdegüleged alaqu büllıge (JM., p. 40, ll. 8–9).

Every day (the king) would call in a charming boy and kill him after making him comb his (i.e. the king’s) hair.

Tegün.i irekütü-dür boroγan qora orun büllıgei (SS., p. 60, ll. 6–7).

When he came, it always rained.

Used in exactly the same sense we find the form -γći (-ğći) büllıge, which is composed of the nomina actoris \(^1\) and büllıge.

Example:

Qamurγ bügtüde tegün.dür mörgüged takiγći büllıge (Popov, p. 41, l. 10–p. 42, l. 1).

All the people used to pay respect to Him by prostrating themselves.

2. From what has been said above, it is clear that the present (or past) imperfect continueative does not always indicate an action in progress or a state maintained at the time expressed or understood. In order, therefore, to show such a notion more definitely, the Mongols use bayıqu, to exist, remain\(^2\) (Y. tur-,\(^3\) T. tur-, to stand,\(^4\) qal-

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\(^1\) Ramstedt, op. cit., pp. 103–4.
\(^2\) Bobrovnikov, op. cit., §§ 270, 281, 283, 524, 526; Poppe, op. cit., § 43. Neither in Japanese nor in Korean the word meaning "to stand" or "to remain" is used as the auxiliary verb.
\(^3\) Böhtlingk, op. cit., Wörterb., p. 108.
\(^4\) Raquette, op. cit., pp. 115, 187 (3), 188.
to remain \(^1\), or \(\text{sayuqu}\), to dwell, sit \(^2\) (J. \(\text{masu}\), to dwell,\(^3\) Y. \(\text{olor-}\), to sit \(^4\)), as the auxiliary verb.

Example:—

\[\text{Nigen asar dotora-aça degere } \gamma\text{arév } \nu\text{ujju bayitala, ...}\]

(JM., p. 95, l. 4).

While he was watching, climbing out of a loft, ... 

\[\text{Mör deger.e inu } \gamma\text{urban } \tilde{\nu}\text{éhtikhe kóbegun nayadun sayubai}\]

(Popov, p. 19, ll. 9–10).

Three small children were amusing themselves in the road.

The use of these two verbs may be extended to other complex forms of the indicative mood.

Example:—

\[\text{Teyin bolbasu irebesü jokiju bayinam}\]

(Pozdn., p. 361, l. 12).

Therefore it would be well for you to come.

\[\text{Teyin atala } \text{čay } \text{ese } \text{küriqsen buyu-u, } \text{nöktçel } \text{ese } \text{yaruysan-u tula }\]

\[\text{Montgol-un kelen-iyer nom } \text{örçiýaluysan } \text{ügei bayinam}\]

(Pozdn., p. 362, ll. 8–9).

Nevertheless, the Scriptures were not translated into the Mongolian language, either because the time was not yet come, or because the required letters were still lacking.

In exactly the same manner as \(\text{bayiqu}\) and \(\text{sayuqu}\) is also used \(\text{kebtekü}\), to lie down \(^5\) (Y. \(\text{sît-}\),\(^6\) T. \(\text{yat-}\),\(^7\) to lie), but its use is rather limited.

3. \(\text{Yabuqu}\), to go, walk, act,\(^8\) (J. \(\text{yuku}\),\(^9\) K. \(\text{ka-ta}\),\(^10\) to go, Y. \(\text{xûl-}\),

\(^1\) Although Raquette gives no mention of this as the auxiliary verb, the use is quite clear from the combinations such as \(\text{bilip qal-}\), to know, \(\text{olturâp qal-}\), to remain sitting, sit, etc. Compare also Yakut \(\xi t\)-, to remain; see 3 below.

\(^2\) Bobrovnikov, op. cit., §§ 522, 523, 525.

\(^3\) Now chiefly used as the polite verbal suffix. Korean has no equivalent.

\(^4\) Böhtlingk, op. cit., \(\text{Wörterb.}\), p. 25. Turki \(\text{oltur-}\), to dwell, sit, does not seem to be used as the auxiliary verb.

\(^5\) Bobrovnikov, op. cit., § 523.

\(^6\) Böhtlingk, op. cit., \(\text{Wörterb.}\), p. 162.

\(^7\) Raquette, op. cit., p. 187 (4).

\(^8\) Bobrovnikov (op. cit., §§ 272, 523) makes no distinction between \(\text{yabuqu}\) and \(\text{büktü, bayiqu, etc.}\)

\(^9\) As in \(\text{kurasu }\text{yuku}\), to live on (\(\text{kurasu}\), to live); \(\text{ora }\text{ga }\text{shirande }\text{yuku}\), the sky grows brighter and brighter (\(\text{shiramu}\), to become white, grow light).

\(^10\) Grammaire Coréenne, op. cit., p. 133 (3). Underwood, op. cit., § 212. As an example Gramm. Coréenne gives \(\text{nilk-}\) \(\text{ka-ta}\) vieillissant aller, vieillir, devenir vieux (from \(\text{nilk-ta}\), to be old), but "to grow old" is correctly \(\text{nilk-}\) \(\text{tû-ta}\) and not \(\text{nilk-}\) \(\text{ka-ta}\), which last really means "to grow older and older".
to remain \(^1\) strictly denotes the idea "to go on", i.e. the continuance of an action or a state irrespective of time. In this sense *yabuqu* differs from all the verbs explained above, although at times such a distinction is hardly recognizable.

Example:—

**Ende tende ar'alan yabuju jobo'ay'yan tan.u yeke bülige** (JM., p. 92, l. 5).

You have given me a great deal of trouble, constantly playing a trick on me in one place or another.

**Ağ'a degtül-lüge amara'y nayiralduju yabubasu, tere sayin bui-j'a** (Popov, p. 23, ll. 10–11).

It would be admirable to be always on affectionate terms with (one's own) brothers.

4. Whilst *yabuqu*, to walk, serves to express the idea of continuance, its synonym *odqu*, to go away,\(^2\) is used for the indication of removal from the speaker or the person addressed; in the imperative mood *yabu* is preferred to *od* to show the latter meaning. The Japanese \(^3\) and the Korean \(^4\) use the same verb for these two distinct ideas, whereas to express removal are used in Yakut *is-* \(^5\) and in Turki *bar-*\(^6\), both meaning "to go".

Example:—

**Tere köbegün ger-tegen qariju odbai** (JM., p. 42, ll. 1–2).

The boy went home.

**Duradqui minu ebderen oduyujai** (Schmidt, p. 150, l. 13).

I feel as though I am losing my mind.

**Ene erdeni-yi abu yabu** (JM., p. 96, l. 3).

Take this jewel (with you).

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1. Böhtlingk, op. cit., *Wörterb.*, pp. 82–3. I have not found any word capable of expressing this particular idea in Turki.


3. As in *mottu yuku*, to take away; *knöttu yuku*, to go home, etc.


Similarly the idea of motion towards the speaker or the person addressed is expressed by the verb irekū, to come (J. kuru, K. o-ta, Y. kal-, T. kel-, to come).

Example:—

Ci ɣajar tedüi aɣui yeke ěaşun abçu i.r.e, bi tegri-yin tedüi bičig bičisügei (Popov, p. 31, ll. 2–3).

Bring thou paper as large as the earth, then I will write a book of the size of heaven.

Nigen utači-yi jalaju ireged, sudasun-ıyan bari-yulbai (JM., p. 42, l. 7).

They sent for a doctor and let him feel the pulse of the boy.

5. Yet one more use of odqu is to indicate the completion of an action. For this is also used orkiqu, to throw, let go, (J., shima(f)u, to finish; K. pā-ri-ta, to throw away; nod-tha, to let go; Y. sīrīt-, to go, move; kābis-, to throw; T. ket-, to go; tögāt-, to bring to an end).

1 Schmidt, op. cit., § 171.
4 Bohtlingk, op. cit., Wörterb., p. 55.
5 Raquette, Grammar, op. cit., p. 186 (1); Contribution, op. cit., p. 40, ll. 7–8, p. 46, l. 5, etc.
6 Bobrovnikov, op. cit., § 526; Poppe, op. cit., § 43.
8 As in (n)i-tehreg pā-rigd-so, I have completely forgotten; poj-xyg pā-rigd-so, I have cut it off. Cf. also Eckardt, op. cit., p. 169 (7) and § 102.
10 Bohtlingk, op. cit., Wörterb., p. 53.
11 Although Raquette gives no mention of the auxiliary use of these two verbs, it is clear that they correspond exactly to odqu and orkiqu, as will be seen from the following passages taken from his paper (Contribution, op. cit.).
Etidā turup sesip ketti (p. 45, ll. 3–4) (lit. on-the-field standing rottent went).
"They remained on the ground and rotted" (p. 12, bottom line).
Mān bu qoyumniq qurutini ἀlip tōgātlmi tursam . . . (p. 40, ll. 28–9) (lit. I this my-sheep's vermin (acc.) taking being-unable-to-finish if-I-stand . . .), "When I am all the time at work and am not able to make an end of the vermin in this my sheep . . ." (p. 9, bottom line–p. 10, l. 1).
In these examples sesip ketti means "rotted in the end" or "completely rotted away", and qurutini ἀlip tōgātlmi tursam "when I am not able to get rid of the vermin".
If there is any difference between odqu and orkiqu, the former is used when the action is unintentional whereas the latter denotes completion of an intentional action. The same seems to hold good with the similar pairs in Korean, Yakut, and Turki.

Example:

Kei-dür keyistegsen modun metû unaju odbai (Schmit, p. 150, l. 16–p. 151, l. 1).
They broke down like a tree swept by the wind.

Tere sakiyêi kümün-i ginji-ber čokiju orkiyad dotoyaju odbai (SS., p. 66, ll. 11–12).
(Temüchin) beat the watchman to death and ran away.

6. Rather different is the verb talbiqu, to leave (J. oku, K. tu-ta, to put, leave), which, as Rose-Innes aptly interprets the Japanese equivalent oku, serves to indicate the complete settling of a matter (for the time being with a view to its future use). This word is therefore used when the action is intentional.

Example:

Tegün.ü amasar-i qabta'yai ėilayun-iyar büglejü, siroyai-bar bürkün talbibai (Koval., p. 75, ll. 7–8).
He closed the entrance of it with a flat stone, which he covered with earth (intending to use the secret path he dug for escape).

Ene qoyar er.e üker anjisun-iyan kedün-te toyorıysan-i maryaṭa nada toyalału talbi (Popov, p. 34, ll. 4–5).
Count how many times these two bulls went round with the plough and be prepared to tell me to-morrow morning.

1 All Mongolian grammars have ignored this particular use of talbiqu.
2 Rose-Innes, op. cit., § 105. Luchuan has no equivalent (Chamberlain, op. cit., p. 107).
3 Eckardt places this verb under the same category as pâ-ri-ta and nod-tha (Grammatik, op. cit., p. 169 (7)). But the following examples are sufficient to show that the verb tu-ta corresponds not to odqu or orkiqu but exactly to talbiqu.
4 Neither Yakut nor Turki seems to possess any word that is capable of expressing this particular shade of meaning.
5 In his notes (pp. 180–1) Popov remarks that talbi is here used to intensify the meaning of the verb toyalaqu. This is a completely wrong interpretation of this useful auxiliary verb.
7. The verb üjekü (J. miru, K. po-ta, Y. kör, T. baq, qayla, kör), to see, conveys the meaning "to ascertain, see what will happen". With this as the fundamental signification, the verb üjekü and its counterparts in other languages have two distinct uses: (1) "to try and (do something)"; (2) "(to do something) and see."

Example:

Edüge bide yurbayula odüu abun üjesügei (Koval., p. 87, l. 10).
Now we three will go and try and restore it.

Tere subur-yän-i negejü üjebesi, ... nigen altan qayurëay-i üjejü bürün, ... (Schmidt, p. 144, ll. 6–7).

When (Ananda) opened the stupa (to see what he would find in it) he saw a golden casket ..., and ...

8. Õgkü (J. yaru, kureru, K. tju-ta, Y. biär, T. ber), to give, denotes that an action is performed for the benefit of the person indicated (or understood) by the dative case.

1. Nothing is said of this auxiliary verb in the Mongolian grammars I have seen.
2. Rose-Innes, op. cit., § 104. In Luchuan nüng, to see, is used in exactly the same way (Chamberlain, op. cit., pp. 107–8).
3. Eckhardt, op. cit., p. 168 (1); Grimaire Coréenne, op. cit., p. 133 (1); Underwood, op. cit., p. 163. The following examples may serve to illustrate the exact usage.

Hai pon-dëik q-rëg-wim-i ip-so, When we try and do it, it is not difficult.
Na-ku po-si-yo, Go out and see (who is there, etc.).

5. Raquette says nothing of these verbs in his grammar. Below I shall quote passages from his paper (Contribution, op. cit.) to show that they correspond exactly to üjekü. Màn bür ye(i)p bagai (p. 44, ll. 1–2), which is translated "I will eat one and try" (p. 11, l. 23), really means "I will have a taste myself" or "Let me have a taste (to see what it is like, or what effect it will have on me)". Bäriq qaylaad (p. 46, l. 15), translated "when (the child in question) went ... and looked about" (p. 13, ll. 18–19) is identical with Mongolian ñéjü üjebesi (J. üte mireba) and means "when he went ... he found that ...". Bäriq körde-kii (p. 46, l. 19), translated "(the child in question) went ... and saw that ..." (p. 13, ll. 24–5), has the same meaning as the foregoing, although the form körde-kii finds no equivalent in Mongol.

8. Eckardt, op. cit., p. 168 (2); Grimaire Coréenne, op. cit., p. 133 (4); Underwood, op. cit., pp. 165–6, 239, Sec. 9. The following examples may also serve to illustrate the usage:

Pir-nyp (pron. pirny) tju-si-yo, Please lend me!
Khui-yo tju-gel-so, I lent (it to him).

10. Raquette gives no mention of the auxiliary use of this verb in his grammar. The following sentence quoted from his paper (Contribution, op. cit.) clearly shows the exact force of this verb. Màñaa bazaridin išek gušt ašip kelip ber gin (p. 40, ll. 7–8), translated "Fetch a quarter of meat from the bazaar and give me!" (p. 9, ll. 4–5), simply means "Fetch a quarter of meat from the bazaar for me". For another example see Raquette's grammar, part ii (op. cit.), p. 117, ll. 24–5.
Example:—

Či nadur jiyaju og (Popov, p. 26, l. 3).
Pray explain it to me!

Tendeče Ma.ha.a-satuva Bodhi-satuva bars-un emün.e kebetjü ogbei (Schmidt, p. 147, ll. 14–15).
Thereupon Mahásattva Bodhisattva lay down (as a sacrifice) before the tigress.

Similar to ogkii is the verb soyorqaqu, to condescend, which, however, can only be used in direct appeal, hence the doer of the action must perfomce be the 2nd person.

Example:—

Nigen kőbegün öggün soyorq.a (Popov, p. 42, l. 4).
Condescend to grant me a son.

9. The idea of capability may be expressed in Mongolian by čidaqu, to be able to, and yadaqu, to be poor (weak), be unable to.¹

Example:—

Bi čimai-yi iretele qadayalaju čidaqu bui (JM., p. 93, l. 11–p. 94, l. 1).
I shall be able to watch (her) until thou comest back.

Emén-ber emnen ese ēidaba (JM., p. 90, ll. 5–6).
Even the doctors could not cure (her).

Tabuylula ulariju quyulun yadabai (SS., p. 58, l. 14).
The five (sons) tried in turn, but none of them could break (the arrows).

Except that Yakut satā-, to know how to, be able to,² and jadaï-, to become poor,³ can be compared with čidaqu and yadaqu respectively, there is nothing corresponding to these words in other languages considered here.⁴

³ Böhlt, op. cit., Wörterb., p. 122. The idea "cannot" is not expressed by this word, but by the use of satān placed before the negative form of a verb (Wörterb., p. 153).
⁴ In Turkı the idea of capability is expressed by the potential form of the verb (Raquette, op. cit., p. 180), whilst in Korean it is indicated by -su id-ta, there is a possibility, can; and by -su gp-ta, there is no possibility, cannot; both tucked on to the future participle (Eckardt, op. cit., §§ 43, 115, 135). In the present tense -su gp-ta may be replaced by mod, cannot, placed before the verb (Eckardt, op. cit., § 135) or by mod hë-ta, cannot, used after the -tji form of the verb (Eckardt, §§ 26, 71). The Japanese express the same idea by using eru, ut-ru, to obtain, be able to (possibly of Altaic origin), or aita(f)u, to be able to, after the substantival form of a verb.
10. Lastly we shall consider the verb bolqu, to become, exist\(^1\) (J. naru,\(^2\) K. tji-ta, toi-ta,\(^3\) to become, Y. buot,\(^4\) T. bol,\(^5\) to become, be). In spite of the fact that this is one of the most important verbs, performing multifarious duties, it has not received sufficient attention of the grammarians. It is therefore not out of place here to examine it closely, without confining ourselves to its auxiliary use alone.

(i) In the capacity of a substantive verb bolqu may replace aqu and büktü practically in all circumstances.

Example:—

*Ali barayun bolumui* (Popov, p. 27, l. 1).

Which is the right (side)?

*Manayar kürtele činu jarly-iyar bolusuyai* (JM., p. 8, ll. 1–2).

Until to-morrow is here I would fain be under thy direction.

*Egün iyer qaqqu bolumui j.a* (Koval., p. 87, l. 3).

I suppose you are satisfied with that.


Although at the time the religion was not yet spread in Mongolia, a devout feeling towards it had already sprung.

(ii) With the meaning “to become” it denotes a change of circumstance.

Example:—

*Genedte ene yaγun-u küčün-iyer eyimü bayan jirγalan-tu bolba* (JM., p. 5, l. 10).

Under what magic power has this man become so suddenly rich and happy?

*Nom-tu debel emüsügsen ayay.a tegimlig bolbai* (Koval., p. 12, ll. 10–11).

He became a Buddhist mendicant clad in a priest’s robe.

*Şasin amitan-u tusa yekeđe bolqu buyu* (Pozdn., p. 361, l. 16).

The welfare of both the religion and the living being would be greatly promoted.

*Čimadur yaγun bolba nadur üjüğül* (JM., p. 7, l. 8).

Show me what has happened to thee.

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1 Bobrovnikov, op. cit., § 271, p. 156 (6), §§ 284–5.
2 Rose-Innes, op. cit., §§ 164, 165 (10).
3 Eckardt, op. cit., §§ 94 (5), 95 (5) (7); *Grammaire Coréenne*, op. cit., pp. 133–4;
Underwood, op. cit., pp. 163, 166.
(iii) With the underlying signification "to become" it serves to express the meaning "in the form of, as". ¹

Example:—

Eyimü mağ'ın ülle-dür oruju abalaqu ele bügesü, kılmün-ı bey-e-yi oluy-ad, yeke qan kılmün bolun törüşen anu qabiy. a ügei bolumui (Koval., p. 96, ll. 8–9).

If you indulge in such an evil deed as hunting, the life you have been granted as a great king will prove useless.

(iv) In the sense "to arrive at", it indicates termination or decision.²

Example:—


As the queen’s illness became gradually less since she had taken the brain of a bird, the great king decided to raise a tribute of birds’ brains from his subjects, . . .

(v) Similarly it denotes the passing of time.³

Example:—

Jırya'y-an edür-tüü doluy-an edür boljıy-üi (Schmidt, p. 146, l. 4).

Six or seven days must have elapsed.

¹ This idea is expressed in Japanese by to shite, doing, or to natte, becoming.
² For this the Japanese use koto ni naru, to be decided upon, or koto ni suru, to decide upon, each preceded by the attributive form of a verb. Yakut buol when used with the nomen furi denotes intention, e.g. A噻ax (to open) buol buutum da (although), aspatim (I did not open), though I intended to (Böhtlingk, op. cit., Wörterb., p. 141 (b), ll. 26–7). Similarly the verb gin-, to do, is used in combination with a supine to express the meaning “to intend, be on the point of’’ (Böhtlingk, op. cit., § 772; Wörterb., p. 63).
³ See the second example given under 1 (i) above. Cf. also my paper “A Chapter from the Uliger-ün Dalai”, Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, Vol. V, Part I, 1928, p. 84, l. 6; p. 85, l. 14.

Japanese naru, to become, has the same force, e.g. Nihongo no benkyo wo hajinete kara ninen ni naru, It is now two years since I began the study of Japanese. To indicate the future the verb suru, to do, is used in the Conditional Mood, e.g. mō mikka sureba, in three days’ time. In Korean toi-ta, to become, is used to express the same idea, e.g. Si-pang (時方, now) myog-tyom (點) -ip-nid-ka (pron. -innika), What’s the time?, Si-pang myog-tyom i-na (about) toi-yed-sip-nid-ka (pron. töyysinnika, has it become?), What’s the time now? This latter corresponds to Japanese Mō (“already”) nanji desu (or ni narimasu). Similar use is also found in Yakut. For example, Min guorakka ofororum biäs sít buolta (lit. I in-the-town my-dwelling five years has-become), I have now lived five years in the town (Böhtl., op. cit., Wörterb., p. 141 (a), ll. 21–4); sätta vi buolun baran (lit. seven months becoming going), After the lapse of seven months (Böhtl., op. cit., Wörterb., p. 141 (a), ll. 35–6). For Turki, see Raquette, op. cit., p. 166, ex. 2.
Bide köbegün törüged, γυρβαν sar.a bolhasu, ećige eke-yuγan tanimmui (Popov, p. 22, ll. 5–6).

We, boys, recognize our parents three months from birth.

Či urida ab, arudqan bolbasu bi abuy.a (Pozdn., p. 363, ll. 2–3).

Receive thou (the consecration) first. I shall receive it a little later.

(vi) Like English become it serves to denote fitness. As such it usually follows a conditional clause.

Example:—

Degegesi ilegekü-yin yosun urida metü üiledbesü boluyu (Koval., p. 77, ll. 2–3).

As to the way of sending him up, it would be well to follow the previous example.

Ene-ber ijayur-tan-u köbegün ajy-yu, ba bürine ekin ügeγü; egünı noyan ergubeśü bolqu (SS., p. 56, ll. 12–13).

This youth is of high birth, and we have no chief. It would be well (for us) to install him as our ruler.

(vii) With the negative particle üli it is used for the indication of impropriety with the meaning “should not, must not”.

Example:—

Egüni alaju ülii bolumui (JM., p. 41, l. 9).
I should not kill him.

Busu bolquula mörgüji ülii bolumu (JM., p. 100, l. 10).
If not, it would not do (for you) to bow.

1 In Japanese such idea is usually expressed by yoī, is good, and in Korean by tjaγd-tha, is good, both corresponding to Mongolian jokiqu to suit, jokistu suitable, (see the third example given under 2 above). For Turki usage, see Raquette, op. cit., p. 122 (3). Examples may also be found in his paper (Contribution, op. cit.): p. 6, l. 28; p. 12, l. 34; p. 45, ll. 1–2.

2 Cf. Castrén, op. cit., § 166. In Japanese the same idea is conveyed by naraŋ(u) (become not) preceded by a gerund with wa (Rose-Innes, op. cit., § 58 (14)), and in Korean by a-ni toi-ta (not become), it does not do, mod toi-ta (cannot become), must not, cannot (Eckardt, op. cit., p. 246, Anm.). In Turki bolma- (where -ma- is a negative infix) is used after the gerundial infinitive with the meaning “must not, cannot” (see Raquette, Grammar, op. cit., p. 166, ex. 3). Note also that in Taranchi dialect bol- is used with the future participle (-daryan) to show the meaning “can” and bolma- with the gerundial infinitive (-yaly) for “cannot” (W. Bang und J. Marquart: “Osttürkische Dialektstudien, Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen,” Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Neue Folge, Bd. xiii, Berlin, 1914, p. 7, footnote).
(viii) With the negative conditional preceding it this negative form of bolqu expresses the idea "must". 1

Example:——
Bide edege kümün-tü dotor-a anu nigen sayin uduriduyeçi kümün ügei bügestü ülülü bolumu (Koval., p. 5, ll. 7–8).
Among us, these people, there must be (= we need) an able leader.

(ix) The idea of possibility, 2 as a special case of "fitness", may also be expressed by bolqu.

Example:——
Ene metü bolqu busu (Koval., p. 74, ll. 5–6).
It cannot be like this.

Nigen mayui ijayur-tu bolun törübesü, kilbar toyin bolqu bolumu (Popov, p. 46, ll. 3–4).
If I were born of a humble lineage, I would easily be able to enter priesthood.

(x) Rather peculiar is the use of bolqu in the honorific expressions ögede bolqu, to go, come, be present (used of high personages), 3 and jariy bolqu, to give the order, (be graciously pleased to) say. 4

1 For Japanese idiom see Rose-Innes, op. cit., § 72. In Korean the same idea is expressed by a-ni (not) hâ-myûn (if do) an-doî-da (does not become). The last word may be replaced by an-doî-ked-la (will not become) or mod-toi-ta (cannot become) (Eckardt, op. cit., p. 121, c, d; p. 246, Anm.). For example: Ki-rêl-khoi (so) a-ni hâ-myûn mod-toi-goid-so (Underwood, op. cit., p. 210), I must do that; Kod-tti-ti a-ni hâ-myûn an-doî-o, We must put it right.

2 In Yakut buot'tarai, the probable form of buot-, with the future (= nomen futuri + possessive suffix) replaces the simple probable form of the verb (Böhtlingk, op. cit., Wörterb., p. 142). The same phenomenon is also found in Japanese, as, for example, yuku naramu is equivalent to yukuam, will probably go. Here naramu is regarded as the probable form of nari, to be, which is considered to be a contraction of ni (or no) ari, having no connection with naru, to become.

3 Kovalevski's dictionary (vol. i, p. 558) gives: "se lever; aller au devant, s'avancer, marcher avec dignité, venir, apparître (les divinités, les personnes considérables).

4 This is of Turkish origin. Examples may be quoted from W. Radloff's Uigurische Sprachdenkmäler (Materialien nach dem Tode des Verfassers mit Ergänzungen von S. Malov herausgegeben, Akademie der Wissenschaften der Union der sozialistischen Soviet Republiken, Leningrad, 1928): jariy bolsun (p. 29, text 22, l. 59) may the order be given that . . . ; jariy bolu ârmîs (p. 121, text 69, l. 4), the order has been given. These suffice to show that the phrase jariy bolqu was originally an honorific expression, though it is true that even in the early Buddhist texts it is often used interchangeably with (tîge) ogulekki, and others, with the meaning "to say, speak". Compare gêliqu-, "geruhn etwas zu tun, von Hoherstehenden usw. gebraucht (F. W. K. Müller, Uigurica, Berlin, 1908, p. 59). Japanese O(h)one ni naru corresponds to jariy bolqu almost word for word, with the same meaning.
Example:—

Qay'an anu tere blam.a-yin köl-i oroi-dur-iyan abuyad, “Ai blam.a-a manaýar ordu qarsí-dur minu ögede bölju iren soyorq.a” kemen ögülebesü, tere ayay.a tegimlig jarliý bolurun, . . . (Koval., p. 96, ll. 4–6).

Raising the lama’s foot respectfully to his head, the king said, “Condescend, O lama, to come to my palace to-morrow,” to which answered the priest, . . .

In conclusion it may be noted that in the Tungus dialects the auxiliary use seems to be almost limited to the substantive verbs, although a definite statement on such a subject would be premature, despite the valuable work that has been done by Castrén, Schiefner, Schmidt (P.), and other scholars.
TWO SUDANESE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

By H. R. PALMER

THE results of cultural anthropological study among the people of the Sudan and Sahara do not always yield definite and conclusive results with regard to ethnic groupings and cultural contacts in the past. On the other hand the Sudanese migrations and contacts of the past as portrayed in the bizarre, and often allegorical stories told by the Sudanese people themselves with regard to their origins and antecedents, often seem so much open to doubt in European eyes, that an enquirer is apt to think that the ethnographical record of most of the northern half of Africa is so blurred with contradictions, and so confused by inaccuracy, as to be undecipherable.

It would seem to the writer, however, that one of the main causes why our knowledge of the peoples of the Sudan and Southern Sahara is so relatively unsatisfactory and incomplete is that almost since the earliest times of European exploration in Africa, investigation has been confined either to the western side of Africa or to its eastern side, and co-ordinated first-hand study of both east and west has been almost wholly lacking, owing to the practical difficulties of travel. This lack is the more unfortunate in that the Sudan belt and Sahara is a belt of Africa which is uniform in climate and general conditions, and possesses no natural obstacles of any moment to hinder racial migration and fusion.

The traditions of almost every tribe between the Atlantic and the Nile, which has in the past enjoyed any considerable degree of political supremacy or dominance, uniformly record migrations of its cultural ancestors from the east, though in these traditions as now extant there are many anachronisms, some absurdities, and not a few deliberate and calculated perversions of the truth.

The searcher after truth is thus often baffled by the complicated stories he is told by the tribal elders, and usually feels that if he could somehow gain a really reliable ethnic foothold in the records of the past, it would be less difficult to distinguish exaggeration from its germ of truth, and the embellishment of legend from its historical basis. Fortunately, in some places, there still survive documents or copies of documents which can be considered good evidence of historic fact. Those of Timbuctu and the Upper Niger, published by the École des
Langues Orientales Vivantes in Paris are well known, and can be profitably read in connection with extant published accounts of Africa rendered by the Arab travellers of the middle ages.

Further east, however, with the exception of those published by Mr. MacMichael and of a few manuscripts brought home by the traveller Barth, less has come to light, though at one time the old kingdom of Bornu must have been rich in records that would now be invaluable. It is, however, becoming increasingly apparent that in spite of the conquests and sackings of towns, and the burnings of books which took place in the last century, there are hidden away in odd places quite a number of documents of various kinds which throw considerable light upon the past history of the peoples of the Central and Eastern Sudan. Translations of some of these have been recently published by the writer,¹ and it is thought that the credibility of these records may become more apparent, if translations of two other documents, not included in those recently published, are also printed together with some observations on them.

The first is an account of the Mai (King) Ali ibn Al Hajj Umr’s Court at N’gazargamu in Bornu, of which the ruins still exist near the modern Geidam. It records events of A.D. 1658, i.e. during the reign of Mai Ali ibn Al Hajj who, by Barth, is stated to have reigned from A.D. 1645-82. The second and shorter manuscript of which a facsimile is given, is a Mahram or grant of privilege by Mai Dunama ibn Ali (i.e. the son of the Mai mentioned above). It is dated 1694, presumably the year of Dunama’s accession, though Barth made him come to the throne in A.D. 1701, seven years later.

Before, however, dealing with the manuscripts themselves, it may be well to make some reference to the region of Bornu mentioned in them, and with which they are concerned. About A.D. 1470 or so, a scion of the old Bornu dynasty called Saifawa, which had from about A.D. 1200 till A.D. 1380 ruled from their capital N’jimi in Kanem, moved to Wudi near N’gegimi west of Lake Chad, and thence to Yamia near Gure in Damagram, and finally to N’gazargamu which he founded as a new capital of Bornu.

In latitude 14 degrees north and longitude 12 degrees east and north of N’gazargamu is a very old site of a great Sudanese town, larger, it is said, than the present city of Kano, called Mir, which lies on the road between N’gegimi and Gure. This region, and its peoples

called Miriin, are mentioned by the Arab geographer Ya‘qūbī who wrote, about A.D. 891, as having provided many slaves for the slave-market which existed at Zeila (Murzuk), the capital of Southern Fezzan. At a later date, A.D. 1150, the Arab writer Idrisi refers to this region of Mir and Termit (Tamarmit) under the name of Tamalma (Tamarma) as being subject to the chiefs of Kawwar which lay to the north. The Kanuri ruler of Mir, the Amarma or Amirma, is also well known from the records of Kawwar and the Bornu capital N’gazargamu as having been one of the principal feudal chiefs of Kawwar in old times. But whereas in the time of Idrisi, A.D. 1150, Mir was considered part of Kawwar, and N’jimi in Kanem had not yet become the capital of the Kanem Empire of Bornu, present day tradition maintains that the period of Mir’s greatest prosperity coincided with the days when N’jimi in Kanem was the capital of Bornu, and that Mir lost its prosperity and population in the period A.D. 1460–1500 when Mai (King) Ali Gaji Dunamami founded the capital N’gazargamu west of Lake Chad, and induced most of the inhabitants of Mir to follow him to this new capital.

But the period A.D. 1450–1500 coincided, as is known from Tuareg records, with the establishment of a new settled urban Tuareg polity at Ahir or Air (Agades), and it was not long before the region of Mir and Damargu became the scene of frequent conflicts between the Tuareg of Air and their kinsmen of Bornu.

There eventually sprung up, however, about A.D. 1600–1650, at a place called variously Kulunbardì, Kulunfardì, Kulumbardì, and which lay about 50 miles west of Mir, a large Zawia or town of Marabouts, which acquired great celebrity, its inhabitants being noted for their piety and learning, and being for the most part either Tuareg Musliman or other Barbari such as the Beni Kiyi or Keyi. Mir was thus moribund, and Kulumbardì already had replaced it, at the epoch to which the two manuscripts translated below relate.

(A)

AN ACCOUNT OF N’GAZARGAMU

The writer of this account is Muhammad called Salih, the son of Mallam Isharku. The reason of my writing is that I saw many written histories in the time of N’gazargamu when I was living in the Birni.

This is an account of Sultan Ali ibn Al Hajj and of his Imam Masarma, who at the mosque of the palace led the prayer among
the people of the palace. This account caused me great wonder, and therefore I compiled this work.

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. May the blessing of God rest on our Lord Muhammad, his relatives and companions. Peace.

This is an account of what happened between Umr ibn Othman and the Amir Ali ibn Al Hajj, the lord of N'gazargamú, and of the installation of the former as Imam Masbarma, Imam of the people of the royal house, and as one of the courtiers of the Amir Ali. As regards the marvellous story of Umr ibn Othman who was a Fellata by race, and a native of the town of Garambal—Umr was a reader of the Kura'an and gained a thorough knowledge of it. He read deeply in the science of Tauhid in the principles of Islamic ritual, as also mysticism, the Arabic language, syntax, rhetoric, logic, the secret arts, and law. The people of the country heard of his learning so that when he visited them the people flocked to meet him and were delighted to read and ask him questions so as to dispel their problems and doubts and disputes.

Umr ibn Othman lived in the country of Bornu for about fifteen years. He afterwards journeyed east and went to the mosque of Al Azhar and stayed there to learn and instruct the people. Thence he went to Mecca and duly performed the pilgrimage and the Tawwif and customary rites of pilgrimage. He went on to Medina and visited the tomb of the Prophet, remaining at Medina for two months. From Medina he went to Baghdad, where he remained six months and enriched his own store of learning while enriching the learning of others. He performed the obligations of religion while learning the art of living a cultivated life, and engaged in the science of analogical deduction, and study of the Hadiths of the Prophet. Finally he returned to N'gazargamú and lodged with Zarma Muhammad Margimi. After about eight days, Zarma sent Umr ibn Othman to Gu'u-dí, which is called Diffe. Umr remained in Diffe for about eight days teaching the sciences and politics to his disciples. At this time Shetima Ahmed Makaranma, the son of Aisami, the learned, pious, and ascetic divine, mounted his horse at even and went to visit the town of Diffe.

Now Diffe was a journey of about 3 miles or more from N'gazargamú. On arrival at Diffe, Shetima Ahmed saw that Umr ibn Othman was a learned and God-fearing man. They conversed with one another, and asked each other questions about various matters. When Shetima Ahmed realized that Umr ibn Othman was very learned
indeed, he remained silent in his astonishment at Umr’s wisdom. Then after his return to N’gazargamu Shetima sent a messenger to Zarma Margimi and asked Zarma’s permission to call Umr ibn Othman from Diffe. Zarma gave the required permission to Shetima Ahmed saying: “Call him for whom you have asked me that he may come to you.” So Shetima sent a messenger to Umr with a message as follows:—“Get up and come to us quickly with our messenger.” So Umr ibn Othman came to N’gazargamu and alighted at the house of Zarma, and remained there for eight days. The people of the Mai’s palace then heard news of Umr ibn Othman, and Kirjiloma sent to him a slave girl to ask him for a charm and for his prayers. So Umr prayed to God on behalf of Kirjiloma. God answered her prayer by reason of the request of Umr ibn Othman at that time. Kirjiloma told Gumsu about Umr ibn Othman, so Gumsu then sent to Umr a slave girl likewise that he might pray God to grant Gumsu her request also. Umr prayed to God for Gumsu as in the case of Kirjiloma, and God answered the prayer quickly.

Gumsu told the King. At that time the King wanted a thousand slaves, and was trying to get them. He said to Gumsu: “Where is this Mallam and where does he live?” She replied: “In Zarma Margimi’s quarter.” So the Amir sent a messenger at once without pause to see about the Mallam. Umr ibn Othman came to the Amir. The Amir begged him to intercede with God for him, and said to him: “Ask God for me. I am looking for a thousand slaves.” So Umr prayed God for the Amir. Barely had he done so when the mother of the Amir died at this very juncture and left ten thousand slaves. The Amir inherited the ten thousand slaves and was overjoyed at getting that of which he was in need, and thus realized that Umr ibn Othman was potent in knowledge and piety and patience, in the effectiveness of his prayers, in quick perception of all that was “haram”, and in full possession of his seven senses, to wit, his two eyes, his two ears, his two legs, his two hands, his manhood, his tongue, and his belly. He also perceived in Umr another manly virtue, namely abstention from bickering and slander. The Amir called Umr ibn Othman and concerned himself with him. He appointed him his Imam, with the title Sabiramma, and made him Imam of the mosque of the people of his house, in order that they might pray behind him. The people who prayed in this mosque were seventy-six souls. There were seven ladies of the Amir’s household and sixty men. Of the seven ladies, the first was Gumsu, and the second Lubura. No lady was called
Lubura except the daughter of the Galladima. The third among them was Makitama. No lady was called Makitama, except the daughter of the Mufioma. The fourth was Maibi. No lady was called Maibi except the daughter of the Amir of the Bulala. There were also three women of the concubines of the Amir. The first was Kirjiloma. The second was Surakagu. The third Chandiramma. Each of these names was a title.

The courtiers of Gumsu were sixty men, all of noble rank. There were forty slaves who worked for her, and twenty men-at-arms who went out to fight and who maintained Gumsu’s authority. Each one of these twenty men commanded a thousand slaves. Thus were they organized.

In N’gazargamu there were four Friday mosques. Each of these mosques had an Imam for Friday who led the Friday prayer with the people. At each mosque there were twelve thousand worshippers.

The names of the four Friday mosques were as follows:—The first was called Garibaya and the name of its Imam was Sheikh Muhammad Ajirami. The second was called Talusu and the name of its Imam was Sunuramma. The third was called Iyamu and its Imam was called Karagwama. The fourth was called Dayamu and the name of its Imam was Ahmed Bultu Zawamma. The Amir Ali ibn Al Hajj prayed behind the Imam.

At N’gazargamu there were six hundred and sixty roads cleared and widened, called Lê. Sixty of these roads were well-known to the Amir, for he traversed them, but many of the roads were unknown to the Amir since he did not traverse them and so did not know them. In N’gazargamu were many God-fearing Mallams and many blameless nobles and many unworldly people and learned saints. The Amir Ali ibn Al Hajj’s learning did not fall short of the wisdom of the learned Imams and pious God-fearing saints.

His Court was in some respects wonderful. The learned men and Imams held disputations before the Amir Ali concerning doubtful points of law and dogma. It happened also that a certain man dug up a grave and took off the winding sheet and cut off the hand of the dead. The learned men of the Birni assembled before the Amir Ali to pronounce judgment on this questionable procedure. Some of the learned men held that the exhumor of the corpse committed no offence in cutting off the hand, but others held a contrary opinion and advised the Amir that the act was unlawful. The learned men then consulted the most celebrated legal text books, but they did not find in
their books any conclusive authority to guide their judgment. One
of the learned men said: "I remember that there was a book which
contained a judgment on this matter in the mosque of Al Azhar.”
The Amir overheard this which was said in council, and asked about
the whereabouts of the book and its name. The learned man repeated
the name of the book to the Amir, who was heard to say "very good",
and seen to stretch out his hand in the direction of the mosque at
Al Azhar and take the book into his hand, and place it before the
assembled learned men. The Amir then said to the learned man who
had spoken: “See, here is the book.” All the learned men said:
“Truly we have a wise and learned Amir. How knowing, and
discerning, and noble he is.” They then looked into the book, and found
it authoritatively stated that the hand should not be cut off. So they
bowed to the Amir’s wisdom and said: “Who is more wonderful
than our Amir.” Every day the Amir recited an hundred rika’as
from the Kura’an in addition to the obligatory prayers, and gave
food to a hundred poor Sheikhs and old women personally with his
own hands. Withal he looked upon himself as not having done
anything remarkable in the sight of God, for he was fearful in regard
to the affairs of God and awed by the divine judgment.

Among the wonderful records concerning the Amir Ali ibn Al Hajj
is the story of how a woman came to him to complain that the grass
cover of her calabash had been lost in the land of Ahir. She complained
of this to the king that he might make good her loss. The Amir Ali
assembled a thousand horsemen who went under his leadership to
Ahir to fight against the Kindin. A battle took place between the host
of the Amir of N’gazargamu, and the host of the Amir of Ahir. The
name of the Amir of Ahir was Adda Hamma. There were slain in the
battle seventy horsemen from among the warriors of the Amir Ali,
and from among his brethren and household. But the people of the
Amir captured the Amir of Ahir who was called Adda Hamma, and
brought him before the Amir Ali ibn Al Hajj. The Amir Ali said to
Adda Hamma: “I have now captured you and you are now in
my hand. If you become a Moslem I will not kill you.” Adda Hamma
is no god except God. Muhammad is a prophet of God.’” So Adda
Hamma said: “There is no god but God. Muhammad is a prophet
of God.”

Adda Hamma thus became a Moslem. The Amir Ali returned to
Bornu and left with Adda Hamma his slave called Shakiralla, and also
four Mallams. The Amir also gave to the people whom he left behind a thousand horses, and said to them: "May God bless you. Remain here." The Amir also found during the campaign the calabash cover lost by the woman. The Amir returned it to her and added a thousand slaves to the calabash cover, and gave them to the woman.

It is finished, praise be to God, finished happily. A complete history is a history from Adam to the present day. But this history is merely an account of the Amir Ali, and of what he did during his reign (may God bless him), in the year of the Hejira of the Prophet A.H. 1069, A.D. 1658.

(B)

IN THE NAME OF GOD, PRAISE BE TO GOD, AND PEACE BE UPON HIS SERVANTS WHO TRUST IN HIM

From him who relies upon God (be He exalted) in all his undertakings, the Amir ul Muminin and Khalifa, in this land, of the Lord of the worlds; that is to say, from the exalted, illustrious, pure, and God-fearing Sultan, who fulfills his covenant with God, as a lamp dispelling the darkness; the Sultan who is bitter like sorrel to his enemies, and sweet to the saints of God; poison to his enemies and strengthening food to the weak; patient in meeting the attacks of his foes, and versed in all the ruses of war; who abstains from saying all that it is not meet for him to say; truthful in all he says and in all he abstains from saying—from the Sultan Ali ibn Ahmed ibn Othman. May God exalt his undertakings. May God give him mighty victory. Amen.

"Hear and understand O host of Muslims. We have chosen him who is called Gabidâma, of the people of the Fellata, and verily we have distinguished him from all others, and by this our act have given him distinction without measure among all our nobles, and have exempted his name from the Treasurer’s list of taxpayers and from the customary obligations which are due to the official called Mulima Garazanma. We have absolved him from all which would, by custom, be binding upon him. Thus also we have exempted his sons, and his sons’ sons, and his family, from this day, until the day (of Judgment) comes."

This privilege was ratified by Sultan Ali’s son Idris. So also was the privilege of this Fellata and his people confirmed in the time of Sultan Muhammad ibn Idris, who ratified the act of his grandfather.
Sultan Ali ibn Idris continued the privilege, and so did Sultan Dunama ibn Muhammad. It was further ratified by Sultan Dâla ibn Dunama as we have related. The privilege was again ratified by the noble Sultan who made the pilgrimage to the sacred house of God Idris ibn Ali ibn Idris; as also by Sultan Muhammad ibn Idris; Sultan Ibrahim ibn Idris; Sultan Umr ibn Idris; and by the noble Sultan who made the pilgrimage to the sacred house of God Sultan Ali ibn Umr. Allahuma! May God make easy for him his undertakings, and may God smooth his path in this world and the next, even as he was compassionate to others and helped and made easy the path of the poor and the learned in his time.

So also have all the Kings of Bornu ratified until the present day this charter as follows:

"Know and understand clearly that, as for him who transgresses this our injunction and contests this our act of this time, or disputes that which we have ordained, and so brings to nought our ordinance and our promise, I pray that God may not accomplish for him his desires or his purpose in this world or the next. Nay, may God fill his belly with the fire of Jahannama. So follow this injunction and transgress it not.

"Atta nsiku Makidabê, Digu Siku Arjiku." Witnesses who are present before us are Galladima Muhammad ibn Ayesha, Arjinoma Muhammad ibn Sa'id, and Garbuma Naiku, who was the messenger sent to us concerning this affair.

"Know that we have given privilege to this man who is called Gabidâma and his tribe, by reason of the potency of his prayers. Know this and transgress not our injunction, for as the Exalted in and of his Holy Book lays down, 'He who changes it after he hears it, his offence is that of those who innovate (Ayya).'

Apart from the above-mentioned, there were many Moslem witnesses, and the recording scribe was the Masbarma Umr ibn Othman ibn Umr.

There were also present Othman ibn Ahmed Jam, the son of Ahmed Manga, the son of Mâlik, the son of ‘Ala(m) Yedo Ango, the son of the Geidamma, the son of Salma, and the son of Muguz who is descended from the Rachid. These were among the witnesses on behalf of the Fellata.

The privilege was further confirmed by Sultan Idris ibn ‘Ali ibn Umr. Allahuma! May God give him victory over his enemies, and make easy for him his undertakings in both worlds, and pardon
him, and give him happiness in both worlds, this life and the life beyond, by Thy grace, O Most Merciful of those who show mercy. Verily all the Fellata who followed Gabidâma brought also this ancient grant of privilege (Mahram) which King Ali ibn Ahmed had given them aforetime, and showed it to the learned, ascetic, patient, blessed, beneficient, and exalted King, who enforced the practice of the Sunna, Sultan Dunama son of the King of many Pilgrimages, the late Sultan Ali. Sultan Dunama too then confirmed to them their privilege, and renewed their distinction in his exalted place of audience and council called Kurkuriwa.

The recording scribe was the Imam Al Hajji Hanuma, and his record of the ratification at that time states that the "bab" of the Fellata in this case was the daughter of the King called Gûsa Larabaramma, and her "bab" was Zagifada Al Hajj Yusuf. This ratification of the grant was made after one thousand one hundred and six years had passed since the Hejira of the Prophet (A.D. 1694). May the fullness of God's blessing and peace rest on those alive in that year.

Witnesses to this grant were:—

Kadi Hajj Ahmed.
Talûb (Tolba) Muhammed Salih.
Talûb (Tolba) Ahmed.
Wurama.
Imam Al Kabir Muhammed Ganna.
The King's slave Mastrema Hajj Naşar.
Iyrima Hajj Jalal.
Kaigama Hajj Muhammed Dagazaima.
Fuguma Adam.
Jarma Kabir Faskam.
Arjinoma Muhammed Duma.
Mangalma Dandalma.
Muhammed Lefia ibn al Wazir Ahmed.
Bûrama Mélè.
Yarima ‘Umri ibn Idris.
Kajalma Muhammed ibn Fantaramma, and many other witnesses.

These Fellata then passed to the daughter of the Sultan, called Sokotoma Ayesha, the daughter of the late Sultan Al Hajj Ali, by

1 i.e. the equivalent of the Hausa word "kofa", a "gate" or person who was the means of approach to an Emir or King.
the grace of her brother Sultan Dunama, the son of the aforementioned saint of God Al Hajj Ali.

May God bless the Sultan Dunama’s days, and prolong his age, and make him victorious in all four points of the compass, with exceeding prosperity. Amen. Amen. Amen.

This is the muniment of King Dunama ibn Ali, in regard to the act of his ancestors.

It is not proposed to comment in detail here on the information given in these manuscripts, but merely to take certain points as illustrating their value for ethnological purposes.

The first point is that the date given in Manuscript (A) for the expedition to Asben or Air, 1658, and the conversion of the Tuareg chief called Adda (father) Hamma, is in accord with the account of a Tuareg chief who, according to the Chronicle of the Sultanate of Ahir, ruled at Agades in 1653, viz. Muhammad al Mubârak, while the obvious confusion in that Chronicle as to the lengths of the reigns of the rulers of Asben at this time and for some years after, tends to confirm the existence of a state of war between Bornu and Ahir at this time as stated by Manuscript (A). The statements are also confirmed by the fact recorded by Barth that N’gazargamu itself was besieged by the Tuareg and the Jukun, presumably in alliance with them, about the period A.D. 1660–80. The name of this chief Adda Hamma as recorded by Manuscript (A) also throws an interesting light on the rather obscure royal title of Mai Ali Gaji Zeinami (A.D. 1470), as given in Manuscript (B), and other Mahrams translated in volume iii of The Sudanese Memoirs. It reads as follows:—

"Atta nsiku Makidabé, Digu Arjiku Siku." Present day Kanuri do not know what the words (found also in other manuscripts) "Arjiku Siku" mean, and state vaguely that they refer to titles at one time in use in Yaman (Arabia). On the other hand, the word Makida or Mâkida is now used to denote the region of Northern Kordofan, and Makidabé is held to mean "of Makida". Makida, however, is in reality and originally not a place-name at all, but the tribal name or title Makita or Makinta, still used of a Tuareg tribe of Asben, called Makitanawa, or Amakitan. The connotation of Makidabé is thus, in fact:—

(a) That the Mai (King) of Bornu was descended from the Kiya

1 Sudanese Memoirs, vol. iii, p. 49.
or Kai, i.e. the Tuareg who are still called by the Kanuri Kindin (vide Manuscript (A)).

(b) That these Kindin at one time lived in Northern Kordofan under a Kindaki or Kitaki (Candace).

The first title of the Mai—Atta or Adda—is, however, the chief point of interest, since "atta" or "adda", which is the Tuareg word for "father", is common both to the Southern Tuareg and the Nupe. "Atta" was formerly among the Jukun, and still is at Idah on the Niger among the governing race there, who are called Igara, the title of the King.

In the Kano Chronicle 1:

1. The ruler of the Jukun on the Upper Gongola about 1350 was called Atta Igara (Attagara).

2. The ruler of the Jukun in the same region about 1650 was called Adda Chuo (Adashu), i.e. the "great adda" (great father).

The word "atta" or "adda" has long dropped out of use as a title in Bornu, but here, in Manuscript (B), it is clearly used as Adda was, and is among the Tuareg, and as the title "Atta" is among the Igara on the Niger at the present day.

In the phrase "atta nsiku makidabé" it would seem that the word "nsiku" now quite unintelligible to the Kanuri, must be the equivalent of the ordinary Tuareg word "masigh", plural "imoshek", i.e. nobles, a word which is composed of the two words "sek" or "sagh", "an encampment", and "amma", "people," of which latter the common variant, especially in Bornu and Tibesti, is "anna."

Makida, it may be added, in the Sudan, is also a name for Abyssinia.

It will then be evident that the King or Chief, usually called the Mai (Mek) of Kanem, no doubt under the influence of the Dongola Kingdom with its Mek, was originally the Atta (father) of the imoshek (nobles) of the Makitan (Tuareg) of the regions west of the Nile.

The phrase "Digu arjiku Siku" again is obviously an antistrophic repetition or variation of the first phrase. The "Digu" or Dugu was the son of the daughter of a Mai (Mek) of Kanem, i.e. he more or less corresponded to the "tegsi" (sister's son) or official heir among the Tuareg. Siku, one can only suppose, is an apocopated form of Masigh or N'siku, meaning, like n'siku in the first part of the title, "the nobles." The meaning of Arjiku, in "Arjiku Siku", will then

1 Sudanese Memoirs, vol. iii, pp. 106 and 121.
be to seek. The legendary lists of the early Mais of Kanem, however, supply the key, for in all of them the title Digu (Dugu), as in e.g. Mai Dugu, is given as the name of the grandson of the legendary founder of the Kanem dynasty. Saif Ibn Dthi Yazan and his son Fune (i.e. wearer of the Tuareg mouth-veil) are succeeded by a legendary Mai whose name is written variously as Arju, Archu, Artso, and Arsu, while the ninth and tenth legendary Mais are called respectively Arku, Argi, or Ark, son of Bulu, and Shu or Hu, son of Ark, or as the latter is called in one list "son of Ark-aman".

The sense of Ark in all these names is clearly, as in the case of the Meroitic Ark-aman (Ergamenes), the "begetter". One early Mai also has the title "Aril Arigwabe" or "Argiwabe" which means "he who was as silk to the Arigwa", (descendants of Argi).

In all these names "k" and hard "g" are interchangeable, and the hard "g" of the Nile in most words becomes in Kanem a soft "jim". It will be apparent therefore that Arjiku might equally well be written Argiku or Arkiku, and that Arjiku is, in fact, a title derived ultimately from the Meroitic word Ark, "the begetter," or a variant of that word. The phrase "Digu Arjiku Siku" will mean then: "Grandson of a Mai, and father of the Masigh or nobles," corresponding to "Atta nsiku Makidabe", the first part of the title which has practically the same meaning.

We know, however, from Ya'qūbī (A.D. 891) that the ruler of Kanem in his day was of the tribe of the Zaghawa Berbers, who are, by Ibn Khaldun, classed with the Tuareg; and that the title of that ruler was Kâ-Kura. "Kura" is a Kanuri word and means "great", so that the Zaghawi title of the ruler of Kanem of that day meant "the great Kâ". The "Ka" was, one can hardly doubt in this case, originally the grandfather or deified ancestor of the Mai, since both in the Kanuri and Hausa languages grandparents and ancestors of both sexes are "Kaka". To them in Hausaland, at all events, sacrifice was made, as to-day among the Jukun, and as evidenced by the name of the place of sacrifice in the Kano Chronicle Kagwea (Kakawa). The Ka-Kura (Mai) of the Zaghawa of A.D. 891 was then the "great spirit" or deified soul of the chieftainship, immanent in the person of the Atta-nsiku, or Mai (King) of Kanem. The terminal "-ku" which is common to Arjiku and Siku (the "i" of sik being lengthened in the latter case because the second "k" is dropped) is, it is suggested, of considerable interest also, for the "u" in the terminal "-ku" is not

1 Sudanese Memoirs, vol. iii, p. 103.
the ordinary broad "u" of the enclitic "-gu" or "-ku" meaning "people", but the sound intermediate between "i" and "u", which is often written "u" or "ü".

Parallel to Arjiku and Siku is another old Kanuri word, Dirku, which was the name of the Kanuri capital of Kawwar which was a Dir or Dar, i.e. walled-enclosure. The nobles or chiefs in general of Kanem were also called "ahel Dirku" or "Dirkiin" = ruling classes, in contrast to the Gara who were the Teda or Tubu, and subject races.

It is suggested that the "-ku" in all these words is the equivalent of the Songhay enclitic "koi", meaning "king" or "a possessor of", and also of the Hausa enclitic particle "-ki", in its word for king Sar-ki. The Songhay plural of Koi is Koyin. The fact that "Ki" or "Kayi" is an almost generalized royal title or title of nobility from the Niger (e.g. at Busa) to Kanem with its Beni Kayi or Kai, is very strongly suggestive of this explanation of Kù, as well as the existence in Hausa, a language of Zaghawi affinity, of the common noun kai = head. It is also relevant to observe that in another group of half-Hamites, i.e. the Nandi and Masai in East Africa, there is a similar ancient word, "-koi," which has the cognate meaning of God.1

A further rather curious fact brought out by Manuscript (B) is in connection with the Fellata, to whom the grant is made, and who, in this case, were of the race known more generally as Fulbe or Fulani.

It will be seen that at the date of this Mahram, A.D. 1694, Ayesha the daughter of Mai Ali ibn Al Hajj, bore the title Sokotoma, i.e. ruler of Sokoto, and was the patroness of a tribe of Fulani who were under a chief who bore the title Gabidá-ma. In 1694 the modern Fulbe town of Sokoto was not founded, though perhaps the region where it lies was called by that name, which should properly be spelt Sakwatu or Sagwatu, the Sagwa or Sogwa, being nomad herdsmen, i.e. people who lived in a Sag or Sek (encampment) like the Zaghawa or Sagwa mentioned by Idrisi as living in the Asben region about A.D. 1150.

But, whatever the precise position of Sagwatu in A.D. 1694 was, its general position is indicated by the other title Gabidâma, which means the "owner of or chief of the land of Gabi", or, as it is more usually written, "Kebbi." These Fulani had, so the Mahram says, first come under the protection of the Bornu Mai Ali Gaji Dumanami about A.D. 1470–1503, when Ali, as also his son and grandson Idris and Muhammad (mentioned in the Mahram), were constantly at war.

with Kebbi. No doubt it was for that reason that this chief was, at N’gazargamu, given the rather empty title “ruler or owner of Kebbi”.

An interesting point also in Manuscript (A) is the variant title given to the hereditary Wazirs of Bornu known as Masbarma, which reads Sabaramma, for it would seem that the names of the old town from which the title originally came must have been Sabara or Sabra. This name is of significance in connection with the so-called lost oases of the eastern desert of Egypt since, writing in A.D. 1154, Idrisi mentions the country of Santariya in the eastern desert and adds: “To the south of Santariya are the ruins of a town formerly flourishing and populous called Sabrata ¹ . . . in the same country is the town of Marinda, still surviving, and well populated.”

From Idrisi’s notice, and in view of Saifawa traditions about their origin, it is very probable that Idrisi’s Marinda was at or near the oasis now known as the oasis of Merga, and that the title Masbarma or Sabarma, came from Idrisi’s old town of Sabrata, which was in the same region as the oases of Merga and Owenat.

These rather interesting sidelights on the title Masbarma and the position of the Fellata Bornu as early as the fifteenth century are, however, incidental to the new evidence which the royal title in Manuscript (B) provides directly, and by inference of that slow process of migration of Saharan and Sudanese Berbers and their cultural ideas from east to west, which has been continuous in the Sudan at least since the opening of the Christian era, and which, roughly speaking, may be described as the penetration of the Sudan by the stratum of Saharan Berbers called by the Arabs Zaghawa, a Berber stratum which drew its cultural ideas very largely, if not wholly, from the Ethiopic Kingdoms of the Nile, Napata, and Meroe.

¹ Probably the Garambal of Manuscript (B).
THE following poem was copied for me in 1912 by Muhammad bin Abubakar bin 'Umar (Muhamadi Kijuma) of Lamu. The author was one 'Umar bin Amin, a blind Sharif of Siu, said (in 1913) to have died "about fifty or sixty years ago". This information was furnished by Ahmad bin Abubakar bin 'Umar es-Siwi, of Mambrui, who added that 'Umar recovered his sight on completing the poem! His name, by a not uncommon practice, is spelt out in the final stanza. So far as the poem shows any linguistic peculiarities, these belong to the Lamu dialect, which differs considerably from the poet's native speech of Siu. This may be due to its passing through the hands of Lamu copyists, or, more probably to the deliberate adoption of what was considered to be a more literary form of language.

Whether or not the text has been corrupted here and there, I find some obscurities which I have been unable to translate. These I have left with a query, in the hope that some reader in East Africa may be able to elucidate them. Some allowance, moreover, has to be made for poetical licence, in view of the difficulties of this very artificial kind of composition. Its literary quality, one need hardly say, is by no means commensurate with the ingenuity displayed in carrying out the alliteration. The metre is the same as that of the Inkishafi, known (according to W. E. Taylor) as Kìsarambe. I owe to Dr. Paret, of Tübingen, the suggestion that this word, being a corruption of قصّة مرّة, simply means "quatrains".

I am indebted to the Rev. W. G. Howe and Mr. Frederick Johnson for a number of valuable criticisms and suggestions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Andika mwandishi khati utoze</th>
<th>isimu ya Mola utangulize</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Utie nukuta na erabuze</td>
<td>wasiilahini wenye kusoma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ب</td>
<td>bijahi Rasuli tutahamadi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Baada ya ina kuli butadi</td>
<td>Mola atujaze majaza mema.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bushura ya pepo nasi tufidi</td>
<td>tilika Rasuli ni kumsalia</td>
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<tr>
<td>ت</td>
<td>kesho siratini uwe salama.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tauba ya mja akitubia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tubuni ziumbe hini dunia</td>
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</tbody>
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Thawabu kiumbe akiitaka
Thubutisha ta'a yake Rabuka
Jannati naimu fili jinani
Jumla ya watu hawaioni
Hapo mizani ikikunduwa
Huja haihai u yapotoa
Khasara nda mja alokhitari
Khussu saa moya utafakari

Dalili ya mja kitaka jana
Dunia ndaniye akaiona
Dhahabu na fedha nawata
pamba
Dhulikari nini alizokumba
Raha ya dunia isikughuri
Roho itungwapo ni mahashari
Zawadi ni zipi za kutungata?
Zuhudi ya ta'a huyaieta

Safari nendeto mwendo baidi
Sumbuko la ndia likishitadi
Shari'a hunena aso thawabu
Shufaa ya Tumwa limehabubu
Sali'ljahima mambo mazito
Surao wakao kwa mivukuto
Dhamirini mwako usisahau
Dhurubu methali kama hiyao
Tabaki za moto pindi z'i chaka
Tamaa ni ipi wewe kokoka?

Dhalimu wa huku ulimwenguni
Dhuluma humpa kwenda
dononi
'Akerabu wengi waso methali
'Usati za Mola wakiwasili

thiki moyo wako kutozunguka
atakujaziwe majaza mema.
jini na insi waitamani
illa kwa ambao watenda zema.
hesabu za waja wakipimiwa
illa kwa amali kutaqadama.
khitiyari yake nyumba ya nari
nyumba ya jannati na ya
jahima.
dini ya Rasula hushika sana
kuwa kitu duni kisiicho kima.
dhihizini mwako sifanye umba
kisa mwiso wake kwa zisokoma.
riba na maovu ukakithiri
wapija mayowe na kulalama.
zilizali hizo huyazipita
mbona upumbeeo bunu

Adamu?
si ya mtu kwenda aso zawadi
na kuchea kuwa mtu wa
nyuma.
shidda na mashaka hayatam-
thibu
huwa mbali naye nakumegema.
siyaha na zite katika moto
henda mteo na kunguruma.
dhiki za motoni udharau
wadhurubiwo wote ulama.
tini na majiwe yatabdishika
mbona upumbee, bunu

Adamu?
Dhili ya arishi hakai tini
nyumba ya majoka kama
milima.
'adhimu motoni meno makali
huwanyanganyia kwa
kuwauma.
Gharibu wabaya papo Mngu
Ghururi potofo za ulimwengu
Fahamia mambo nalokuwasa
Furaha za nyoyo ukiyafusa
Qalibi unani upotezee?
Qurubia ta’a ukakamie
Kamwe sikuoni kukiri uja
Kula ‘amali mbi henda kungoja
Labuda moyowa nimekwambia
Ludhu bi’ Llahi nakuusia
Mauti sidhani yana muhula
Muumini hapa chenda kilala
Nawe siliwae ukaikuwa
Nyuma nyuma ta’a ukukutiwa
Wallahi billahi thama taalahi
Ulate amri wake Ilahi
Hadi limudhili mwenye kwongoa
Hudalibushura alotongoa
Ya Rabi twaumba waume wake
Yule afurahi yule ateka
Na aliotunga Bunu Amini
Nazo bairi ni thalathini
ghibu nipokea matoni mwangu
na ziko nusuru na Jahanama.
vile isirari ukiyapisa
yepo siye mbee huna rehema.
qatili cha Mola uteuzie
ufie dinini mwake Hashima.
kiza cha juhali ukapambaja
kheri tanguliza ‘amali njema.
likwangamizalo ni ma’asia
kesho siratini uwe salama.
milele ziumble hufa ghafula
sipambaukiwi nili mzima.
ni hakki mauti yafaridhiwa
ufie dinini mwake Hashima.
usipowa’adhiwa utanabahi
hukunyang’anyia kwako kuuma.
hiba na ‘adhia tupe ‘afua
kesho siratini tuwe salama.
yyu la ghorofa ukatuweke
tukitana’amu nakuterema.
Aini na mimu ree mwisoni
Isimu ya dura Mwandhuma.

1. Write, O scribe, and send forth the script!
   Set in the forefront the Name of the Lord.
   Put in (carefully) the diacritic marks and the vowel points,
   So that readers may not mistake.

2. After the Name, there is the Introduction:
   In honour of the Prophet we will utter praise.
   The tidings of Paradise also let us publish abroad.—
   May the Lord grant us fulness of blessing.

3. The repentances of the creature—if he repents,
   Then it is for the Prophet to pray for him.
   Repent, ye creatures, in this world,
   That ye may be safe to-morrow on (the Bridge of) Sirat.

4. A reward, if the creature desire it,
   (Is that) thy soul be not encompassed by distress.
Strengthen thine obedience to the Lord; 
He will grant thee fulness of blessing.

5. The gracious garden in Paradise, 
Both Jinn and mankind desire it. 
(But) the mass of mankind will never see it, 
Save only those who do good (deeds).

6. Then, when the reckoning is made 
And the accounts of mortals made up, 
Entreaties avail not, even though thou utter (them), 
Except through good (works) going before (thee).

7. Loss is of the mortal who chooses (for himself) (?) 
His choice is the house of fire. 
Set apart one hour that thou mayest meditate 
On the house of Paradise and the house of Hell.

8. The mark of a mortal who desires Paradise (is this): 
He holds fast to the faith of the Prophet; 
And he has seen the world—the inside of it, 
That it is a thing of nought, without value.

9. Gold and silver I leave (behind, and all) ornaments. 
In thine amassing of treasure, be not turned aside. 
The heaper up of riches, what has he gathered? 
Then (comes) his end, as regards the things without end.

10. Let not the comfort of this world deceive thee, 
Nor do thou grow great through usury and wickedness. 
When the life is cut off, there is an assemblage (of people) 
Who utter loud cries and entreat mercy.

11. What is the store for the journey? 
Those shakings (agitations) thou hast not yet passed them. 
The abstinence of obedience thou hast not yet brought. 
Why art thou so careless, O son of Adam?

12. Go carefully on thy journey, the way is perilous:— 
It is not for the traveller who carries no store, 
When the difficulties of the road increase, 
And thou fearest to be left behind.

13. The law says that him who has (acquired) no merit 
Difficulty and trouble shall torment. 
The healing of the Prophet, which is so comfortable, 
Will be far from him and not support him.
14. Is not Hell a grievous matter?
   Cries and sobs in the fire,—
   The shapes of those who burn, amid the raging heat.
   The heat and the boiling up and roaring.

15. In thy meditation forget not
   The torments of the fire, nor make light of them.
   (They are) a tempest like to one
   Which should devastate the whole world.

16. When layer upon layer of fire blazes
   Beneath, even the great rocks shall be beaten down.
   What hope is there for thee to escape?
   Why art thou so careless, O son of Adam?

17. (As to) the tyrant in this world—
   The humble dweller in the hut is not placed beneath him.
   His tyranny sends him into the fire,
   (Even) the house of great snakes as (huge as) mountains.

18. Many scorpions, beyond counting,
   Bite in the fire, with sharp teeth;
   When rebels against the Lord arrive there,
   They snatch from them (parts of their bodies) with pain.

19. The wicked (have to) disappear where God is;
   Let me receive the mystery into my eyes (?)
   The crooked deceits of the world
   They also are helps towards Hell.

20. Understand the matters which I counsel thee:
   If thou so neglect them, . . . (?)
   It is joy of hearts if thou follow them.
   If to-day thou go not forward, thou shalt find no mercy (?).

21. What art thou, soul, that thou shouldst perish
   And choose the enemy of the Lord?
   Draw nigh to obedience and strive with all thy strength
   And die in the faith of the Hashimite.

22. I have never seen thee consenting to slavery
   Or embracing the darkness of ignorance.
   Every evil deed goes to wait; (?)
   But do thou rather prefer good deeds.

23. Perhaps, O my heart, I have told thee:
   That which destroys thee is rebellion;
Take thy joy in the Lord, I counsel thee,
So that to-morrow thou mayest be safe on Sirat.

24. Death, I think, has no fixed time.
Mortals day by day die suddenly.
If I, a believer, go to sleep (at night),
I may not see the dawn being alive.

25. And thou do not forget and grow boastful.
It is just that Death should be binding (on all).
After obedience, if thou art overtaken (by it)
Thou wilt die in the faith of the Hashimite.

26. O God! by God and His greatness,
If thou wilt not be warned, consider:
If thou departest from the commandment of God (?)
Thy pains will tear thee to pieces (?)

27. ................. (?)
As a free gift grant us deliverance (?)
............... he who speaks
That to-morrow we may be safe on Sirat.

28. O Lord, we pray Thee, both men and women,
That thou wouldst place us in the highest abode—
That he may be glad and she may laugh
When we are blessed and rejoice.

29. And he who made (this verse) is the son of Amin—
(His name is spelt with) Ain and Mim, and Re at the end.
And the stanzas are thirty.
His household name is Mwandhuma.

NOTES

Stanza 3. 
Mja, an old word for "slave", when used (as frequently in poems and proverbs) as a religious term, may be rendered "mortal". The same expression is sometimes to be preferred to "creature", as an equivalent for kiumbe.

Stanza 4. The rendering of the second line is that suggested by Mr. Howe, who takes to be meant for (properly ), as in stanza 15. As there seems to be no authority for any word which could be identified with the former, the initial consonant may have been altered to fit into the acrostic.
In the last line *atakujaziwe = atakujazi weewe*: the enclitic (and redundant) object pronoun is not infrequent in poetry.

Stanza 5, line 1. فَلِ جَنَانٍ can only be transliterated as in the text.

Stanza 8, line 3. “The inside of it,” *ndaniye = ndani yake*. It seems necessary to read this, as *nda nia = ni ya nia* (for دَنَّى، as in the MS.) “it is of intention”, gives no sense.

Stanza 10. غَرِ from غَرَ “deceive, allure”. It is difficult to account for the vocalization of Arabic verbs when adopted into Swahili.

Stanza 11. *Zavia*, in Swahili, usually has the sense of “present”.

But that given in the text (see Hava’s Dictionary, s.v. زاد) seems to suit the sense best.

*Huyapita* = Lamu dialect for *hujapita* (“Not-yet” tense).

Stanza 12. *Nendeto*: the suffix -to is (Krapf) “a particle denoting propriety, energy, goodness”; the commonest example is *manukuto* “scent” (from the verb *kunuka*). Here we might render either “carefully”, as in the text, or “vigorously, with energy”.

Stanza 14, line 3. *mivukuto*, properly “bellows”, so might mean “the blown-up flames”, but, according to Krapf, equivalent to *jasho* “sweat”, or (more generally) “great heat”.

Stanza 15. *Dhuruba*, more usually *dharuba*.

Stanza 16, line 1. This seemed the only possible meaning for طَبَقٍ. Krapf gives “tabaki, lining, fold, the thickness or quality of any material”.

Stanza 17, line 2. طَلِي is properly an abstract noun: “the abasement of the hut” (عَرِيش “trellis, shed”—Hava), but the rendering in the text seems permissible.

Stanza 19. The transliteration of this line is difficult: *papo* seems the only possible reading for ُبِبًا—no doubt written inadvertently for بُبًا, though this scribe is usually consistent in his use of ب for p.
The word could be read pambo, but this will not fit the context. 
Gharibu wabaya, taking the first word as a verb, is not, perhaps, an 
unusual order where special emphasis is desired; but we might also 
render: “Strangers (are) the wicked where God is.”

Stanza 20. Wasa, “counsel” is not given in the dictionaries; 
but it might have been coined as a supposed ground-form of wasia 
(from وَصِيَّ). 

Lines 2 and 3 are unusually difficult. Isirari might be derived 
from سَرَ “rejoice”, or be connected with siri (سَرِ) “secret, 
mystery”. Fusa seems impossible to identify: Mr. Howe suggests 
fuza = fuliza “go forward without stopping”—but it does not seem 
likely that any but a very ignorant scribe would write سَ for 
ز. If 
such a substitution could be admitted, a derivation from 
(فُوز) فاز “acquire” might be considered. In that case, the translation would 
read “It is joy of hearts if thou acquire them” (the matters which 
have been counselled). If we adopt Mr. Howe’s suggestion it is 
difficult to account for the object-pronoun ya. The conjecture fuasa 
(really a causative of fuata, “follow”) is perhaps not too far-fetched 
for poetical licence.

pisā for pisha, causative of pita; nyoyo, pl. of moyo. (See Stigand, 
Dialect in Swahili, p. 50, where it should have been pointed out 
that this form of the plural is confined to vowel stems.)

yeo = leo; mbee = mbele (Kiamu).

siye for usiye = usije; seemingly equivalent to usipokuja.

upotezze seems to be Kiamu for upotelee, and, similarly, in the 
next line, uteuzie for uteulie (teua = chaqua in standard Swahili). 
Qatili “slayer”—here, of course, “would-be slayer,” or “mortal 
enemy, i.e. Iblis” (Howe).

Stanza 22. Uja might be rendered either “slavery” or “service” 
—the former (the negative conveying commendation) seems to be 
implicated by the next line. The fourth word in line 3 could be read 
either henda or hari: the first would stand for huenda, the second, by 
a rather forced construction, would yield the meaning “Heat (i.e. 
the fire of Jahannum) awaits every evil deed.”

tanguliza, lit, “cause to go forward”—i.e. put in the first place.
Stanza 26, line 2. The MS. reads 

(vesipova'adhi wadhi utanabahi, the last word being written distinctly above the line). Wesipo . . . might be meant either for wasipo . . . or usipo . . . ; the latter seems to suit the context best, and the following wa, though not joined on to the preceding letter, evidently belongs to the word. The second ظ I cannot account for, unless by illegibility of the original MS., of which the copyist had to make what he could. Utanabahi might be either 2nd pers. subjunctive, or an abstract noun formed from the verb.

In the fourth line, nyanganyia (MS., no doubt by inadvertence nyangangia) seems to mean "snatch from", as in stanza 18.

Stanza 27. Lines 1–3 are extremely difficult, and probably corrupt. Hadî as a noun of Class 5 might possibly mean either "guidance" or "limit" (though the latter is assigned by Krapf to Class 3); but neither will yield a satisfactory sense. ظللي "abase". Mwenye kwongoa = "he who goes before", "the guide", "leader". Hibâ (Madan, s.v.) in Swahili means "a gift" (from حَبّ?—though here written with ه) (see Krapf, s.v. adia and athia), the same. The next line seems hopeless, whether we read Huda libushura or Hudalibushura (from نَسْر) or Hudaliposhura. Alotongoa might mean either "he who speaks" (tongoa in this sense is an archaic word explained as equivalent to sema), or, if we can admit an intransitive form, to tongoza, "who is allured," or "seduced".

Stanza 28. Ghorofa "upper floor" evidently means the highest of the seven heavens. In line 3, while there is, of course, no distinction of gender in Swahili, it seemed admissible, in view of the mention of waume (kwa) wake in line 1, to take the first yule as masculine and the second as feminine.

Stanza 29. The statement that the poem consists of 30 stanzas is perplexing, unless we can suppose that an introductory one has been lost at the beginning. Isimu ya dura seems difficult to explain from Arabic. Possibly it is a Swahili coinage from دار with the meaning suggested in the text. But in Galla (and Pokomo) dura is "first."
MABALE STORIES
(Continued from p. 378)

By J. Tanghe

lokulukwó na ŋkumba

THE PHEASANT AND THE TORTOISE

bakendèke (1) ɗgisolo. (2) bakomi (3) o molako,
They went fishing. They arrived at a fishing-camp,

balambi (3) bile tr bakale. (4) ŋkumba jo ti:
they cooked food so they were going to eat. The tortoise he so:

"tobomba (5) bile; tokendè (6) bo o ɗgisolo.
"let us put aside the food; let us go first to the dzisolo.

wautaka (7) biu na nsala tokale." (4)
(when) shall have come out we with hunger we shall eat."

lokulukwó aambi(3); bakwedidga (8) ŋkandu (9) o bwato. (10)
The pheasant agreed; they put the hurdles into the canoe.

mwana wa lokulukwó aikadgi (11) o molako.
The little one of the pheasant stayed in the fishing-camp.

badgingi (3) ɗgisolo, baabi (3) nsolo,  הבוקר
They surrounded the dzisolo, they cut the grass, they were

ŋe (12).
finished entirely.

ŋkumba akadgi (11) tr: "lokulukwó, outa (13) otuta (13)
The tortoise said so: "pheasant, come out push in

lokandu." lokulukwó auti, (3) ڡu, 防腐, 防腐, (14)
the hurdle." The pheasant came out,

alembi. (15) ŋkumba auti, (3) adgwi (16) nsu: ibe.
he fluttered. The tortoise came out, he got fishes two.

atuni (3) lokulukwó jo ti: "wakadgalaka
he asked the pheasant he so: "thou hast been sitting down
bodgadzi." (17) adzindi (3) lo'su: (18) atuti, atuti. (3)

to sit down." He went into the water again, he beat, he beat.

mbia adzindi (3) na mondgbir, (19)

Afterwards he went into the water with a plunge,

seké, seké, seké, (14) angangadzi (11) lokandu, aikabima (20) o

he lifted up the hurdle and he came out in

molako. alei (21) nsu: jabombaka (22) bangó,

the encampment. He ate the fishes which had killed they,
akobi (3) mwana wa lokulukoko mwaka o

he spread the little one of the pheasant palm oil (sauce) on

monoko, adzongi. (3)

the mouth, he returned.

lokulukoko amodgiledzi (23) ka, ka, ka; (24) ñkumba

The pheasant waited for him a very long time; the tortoise

abimi (3) jo tir: "nsu: ja nsoma," (25) babidzi (11) molike,
came out he so: "fishes very big," they took in the net,
bamokwedidga (26) o bwato, ba?wei (16) nsu:
they embarked it in the canoe, they poured out the fishes

o bwato, badgingi (3) nkandu, baki (21) o

into the canoe, they rolled up the hurdles, they went to

molako.

the fishing-camp.

ñkumba jo tir: "lokulukoko, kakwa (27) nsu;" The tortoise he so: "pheasant, (go) to fetch the fishes;

ibombiki (28) biu, tole nsala." lokulukoko
which put aside we, that we eat the hunger." The pheasant

akei, (21) aikakeka (20) nsu; bailei. (29)
went off, and looked for the fishes; they had eaten them.

atuni (3) ñkumba jo tir: "elei nsu:
He asked the tortoise he so: "it has eaten the fishes

nda?" (30) ñkumba jo tir: "mbele mwana wao.
who?" The tortoise he so: "maybe the little one of thee.
keka (13) mwaka o monoko mwanzi.” lokulukoko
Look (at) the oil on the mouth of him.” The pheasant
jo tr: “dzikambo we, tolamba (5) bi’su.” (31) baomani, (3)
he so: “matter no, let us cook other.” They quarrelled,
balei (21) bonamei. (32) baidgidzga nele. (33) baiti (3) nsu: mbeu
they ate so. They finished to eat, they dried fish fresh
o botala. butu (34) boindi. (3) batuki. (3) bokwe. (34)
on the drying-stand. The sun darkened, they slept. It went on.
bokwe (21) losu: (18) nekaaba dgisolo. (35) bafulodgi (36) nkandu,
They went again to cut the dzisolo. They unrolled the hurdles,
badzingi, (3) baabi, (3) dzigidi. (37)
they surrounded, they cut, it was finished.

nkumba akei na mondzi (19) aikabima (20) o
The tortoise went with a plunge and he came out in
molako, alei (21) bile, bibiabomba (38)
the fishing-camp, he ate the food, which it had put aside
bango losu: (38) lokulukoko amodgiledzii ka, ka, ka, (23)
they again. The pheasant waited for him a very long time,
alembi. (15) adzingodzii (39) dgisolo. nkumba abimi. (3)
he was tired. He unrolled the dzisolo. The tortoise came out.

lokulukoko amotuni (40) tr: “onakende nekaimbea?” (41)
The pheasant asked him so: “art thou going to slumber?”

nkumba jo tr: “wako na bolodzi? (42) te
The tortoise he so: “Is here not with hard work? If
bolembo, onakoka?” (43) badzingi (3) dgisolo
it (were) easy, are you able to?” They rolled up the dzisolo
lo’su: (18) badzilei. (44) bokwe (21) o molako.
again, they left it, they went to the fishing-camp.

nkumba aluboi (45) aikakwa (20) bile bibiabomba
The tortoise landed and he took the food which it had put aside
bango. (38) babilei (46) ... atuni (3) lokulukoko tr: “bile
they. They had eaten it. He asked the pheasant so: “the food
bilei nda?" (47) lokulukoko jo tr: "ŋokɔ." (48) has eaten who?" The pheasant he so: "I don't know."

mbia ŋkumba jo tr: "bobele mwana Thereupon the tortoise he so: "maybe the little one wao." lokulukoko akɛi (21) o mboka (49) ja molako.
of thee." The pheasant went to the end of the fishing-camp.

aɛni (50) ndʒila enalubwaka ŋkumba; (51) abekidga (52) he saw the path (by) which uses to land the tortoise; he laid motambo.
a trap.

badʒongi (3) o dzisolo, baabi, (3) dgiidgi (11) They returned to the dzisolo, they cut, it was finished nje. (12) ŋkumba auti, atuti, aidgidga, (52) entirely. The tortoise came out, he pushed in, he finished, akɛi (21) na mondʒibr, (19) abimi o esika he went with a plunge, he came out at the place enabimaka (51) jo, apidgi (53) o motambo, pio! where he was wont to come out he, he was caught in the trap.

abekи (3) mwana wa lokulukoko: "kantaŋgola." (27) he called the little one of the pheasant: "take me away."

atei. (16) lokulukoko amodʒiledgi, (23) amodʒiledgi, He refused. The pheasant waited for him, he waited for him,

alembi. (15) abidgi (11) moleke, akwedgida (8) nsu: he was tired. He took out the bow net, he embarked the fishes o bwato, aluki, (3) aikadɔwa (20) ŋkumba o in the canoe, he paddled, and he found the tortoise in motambo, amotuni (40) jo tr: "enakelaka ndgɔkandir the trap, he asked him so: "it uses to do so nevertheless je (30)! mbia okoloko (54) tr binalɛ (47) mwana thou! then thou usest to say so it has eaten the little one wangga, ndʒoka, enakelaka majɛle bobele je!" (30) lokulukoko of me, but, it used to do slyness only thou!" The pheasant
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"abeki (3) mwana: "kakwedgidga (27) bikiki bja biu,
called the little one: "embark the things of us,
toluka!"
let us paddle!"

"bakwedgidga, (8) nje. (12) nkumba aikadgi, (11) baluki, (3)
They embarked, entirely. The tortoise remained, they paddled,
bakomi (3) o mboka. bamboka (55) batuni (3)
they arrived in the fishing-camp. The village-people asked
tr: "nkumba alo walo?" lokulukoko jo tr:
so: "The tortoise is where?" The pheasant he so:
"nkumba anakelaka (56) majele mikolo minso, nabekjaka (57)
"The tortoise uses to do slyness days all, I had laid
motambo apidga (53) o mwango. (58) nakamoiki (59) omomei.
a trap he was caught in it. I left him there.
eloogi (3) bobele lokulukoko. (30) waidgi. (60)
was right only the pheasant. Here is finished.

Notes

(1) bakendeka < ba-a-kende-ke, remote definite past tense of kende, to go. ba- refers to lokulukoko na nkumba, a- is tense prefix, kende is the stem, and -ke, tense suffix.

(2) dgisolo. dgisolo is a special way of fishing. A certain area of grass along the bank of the river is surrounded by a lokandu or hurdle. The grass is subsequently cut and the fish is taken. A big bow-net is also placed in the middle of it. dgisolo also came to mean the place where such fishing is done.

(3) bakomi, balambi,ambi,badzungi, baabi, auti, atuni, adgindi, atuti, akobi, adzongi, abimi, baomani, baieti, boindi, batuki, badzongi, baluki, batuni, indef. past tenses of koma, lamba, amba, dginga, aba, uta, tuna, dginda, tutu, koba, etc.

(4) bakale, immediate future of le, to eat. Hence ele, something to eat; pl. bile, food. tokale is 1st pers. plural of the same tense.

(5) tobomba, 1st person pl. of the imperative of bomba, to hide, to put aside. Id. tolamba and toluka, from lamba, to cook, and luka, to paddle.

(6) tokende, 1st person pl. of the imperative of kende, to go.
(7) *wautaka*, future perfect tense of *uta*. *wa-* , locative prefix, *uta*, verb-stem, *-ka*, tense suffix. So, *wautaka bui* literally means: (when) here shall have come along we.

(8) *bakwedzidza*, indef. past tense of *kwedzidza*, to embark, causative form of *kwela*, applicative f. of *kwa*, to take. N. The indef. past tense of causative verbs always ends in *a*.

(9) *nkandu*, plural of *lokandu*, hurdle.

(10) *bwato*, canoe (pl. *mato*), is not a transformation of the English boat, but a noun of the *bo-* class derived from a verb *ata*, to split, to cleave, and meaning more especially here: to scoop out by splitting or splintering off chips. An interesting comparison, from a semantic point of view, may be made here with the Germanic *bait-*, Ags. *bät*, Eng. *boat*, Netherlandish *boot* (dial. *beitel*) from *bijten* = *splijten*, to split, or Germanic *skip-*, Eng. *ship*, High German *schiff*; in Netherl. *schijf*, Eng. *shive*, Old Norse *skifa* = to split.

(11) *aikadzi*, indef. past tense of *ikala*, to remain, to stay. (1 + i > *dgi.*) Likewise *akodzi*, *angaqodzi*, *babadzi*, *dgiidzi*, *abidzi*, indef. past tenses of *kola*, *angaqola*, *bila*, *ila*.

(12) *iidzi*, indef. past tense of * ila*, to finish; *i-* refers to *nsolo*, water-herbs. *nje* means quietly, as in *dgala nje*, to set down peacefully; also: entirely, as in *bile biidzi nje*, the food was finished entirely, i.e. all the food was eaten.

(13) *outa*, 2nd person sing. of the imperative of *uta*, to come out. Likewise: *otuta*, *keka* from *tuta* and *keka*. N. In the 2nd person sing. of the imperative, the pronoun may be either expressed or not: *outa* = *uta*, *otuta* = *tuta*, *keka* = *okeka*.

(14) *fu*, *fu*, *fu*, onomatopoetic adverb, imitating the noise made by the wings of the pheasant (wing = *dži* *fa* *fu*, pl. *ma* *fa* *fu*). Cf. further *seki*, *seki*, *seki*, imitating the tortoise swimming.

(15) *aλembi*, indef. past tense of *lemba*, to flutter. Cf. *alembi*, indef. past tense of *lemba*, (1) to ripen, (2) to get tired.

(16) *adzwi* (sometimes *adži*) < *adzwei*, indef. past tense of *dzwa*, to get, to find. (Recipr. form: *dzwana*, to meet with one another.) N. The indef. past tense of the verb is made by changing the final vowel of the stem into *i*. Cf. note (3). Monosyllabic verbs in *e* (*e*) and *a* (*o*) add *i*: *ke*, to go, *akei*, he has gone; *no*, to rain, *dgikolo dginai*, the sky is raining. Monosyllabic verbs in *a* mostly change *a* into *e* and add *i*: *pa*, to give, *amopei*, he gave him; *ta*, to throw, *atei*, he threw, he hit, etc. (although some would say: *abai*, he climbed). Monosyllabic verbs in *a*, whose final vowel is preceded by a semi-
vowel (j, w), always change a into e and add i: ja, to come, ajei, he has come; wa, to die, awei, he is dead; swa, to bite, aswei, he has bitten; njwa, to drink, anjwei, he has drunk.

(17) wakadgalaka < o-a-ka-d3ala-ka, remote past definite continuative tense of d3ala, to sit down. o-, pers. pron. prefix, 2nd person; a-, tense prefix; ka-, continuative prefix; d3ala, verb-stem; -ka, tense suffix. bodgadgi is the absolute infinitive of d3ala (suffix -i).

(18) adgindi, indef. past tense of d3inda, to go into the water. losu, pref. lo- and su: other, refers to lodginda, a diving, from d3inda, to dive. Likewise: bakei losu, losu: referring to loke(nde), a going, from ke(nde), to go, and badgigi losu, losu: referring to lodgindi, a rolling-up.

(19) mond3izi (pl. mind3izi), a plunge, else molibe In mond3izi, the n is inserted before the accent.

(20) aikabima, successive tense of bima, to come out. Likewise aikakeka, aikakwa, aikadgwa, succ. tenses of keka, kwa, and d3wa.

(21) alei, bakei, akiei, balei, aterei, indef. past tenses of le, ke, ta. Cf. note (16).

(22) jabombaka < i-a-bomba-ka, remote defin. past tense of bomba, to put aside, to hide. i = relative pronoun direct object, ref. to nsu: (sing. nsu:) fishes; a-, tense prefix; bomba, verb-stem; -ka, tense suffix. bangana, independent personal pronoun, subject, referring to nkumba na lokulukoko.

(23) amogajeldzi, indef. past tense of d3iila, applicative form of d3ila, to wait. a- refers to lokulukoko, mo-, pers. pron. pref. object ref. to nkumba.

(24) ka, ka, ka, means a very long time; also ti, ti, ti.

(25) na nsomo = very (superlative) with adjectives, as in monene na nsomo, very great, or many with substantives, batu na nsomo, many people (= batu be). Na nsomo literally means with fear. Cf. Engl. frightfully, Germ. fürchterlich.

(26) bambokwedziga, mo- refers to moleke, net. See note (8).

(27) kakwa (go) and take, future infinitive of kwa, to take. ka, prefix to infinitives depending on the imperatives of ja, to come, and ke(nde), to go, either expressed or understood. Here ke(nde) is understood. Likewise kangutseka: ka, prefix; n- <m, personal pron. prefix, 1st pers. sing., indirect object (for me); tangala, verb-stem, to remove, to separate; and kakwedziga, from kwedziga, to embark (see note (8)).
(28) ibombiki, from ibombaki, with assimilation, near past definite tense of bomba, to put aside, to hide. i-, relative pronoun, direct object, refers to nsu; bomba, verb-stem; -ki, tense suffix. biu, indep. pers. pronoun, 1st pers. of the plural.

(29) bailei, indef. past tense of le, to eat. ba = batu, people (understood); i-, pers. pron. pref. ref. to nsu.

(30) elei nsu: ndà? In interrogative sentences the subject is generally put at the end. Then the verb is introduced by the prepositional pronoun e., referring to esika, place, moment understood. Likewise: enakelaka ndgokande je? was it thou, that usest to do so? enakelaka, here, is the habitual tense of kela, to do. e-, pers. pron. prefix; na-, indic. present tense prefix; kela, verb-stem; -ka, suffix of the habitual tense. This special construction is also used with emphasis: enakelaka makaile bobele jo, it was he alone that used to play the jokes. enakelaka: e-, prepositional pers. pronoun; na-, indic. pres. tense pref.; kela, verb-stem, to do; -ka, habitual tense suffix. Also in elongi bobele lokulukoko, it was the pheasant alone that was proved to be right. elongi, from longa, to be proved to be right (in a lawsuit).

(31) bisu: bi-, pref., refers to bile, food, understood; -su-, other.

(32) bonamei, thus, so (adv.), is properly the demonstrative pronoun of the 2nd form (suffix -na); -mei is an enclitic, emphatic suffix. balei bonamei; understand: they ate, and there was an end to the quarrel.

(33) baidgidza nele, they finished eating. baidgidza, indef. past tense of idgidza, causative form of ila, to finish. See note (8).

(34) butu, in Mabale means sun, in Boloki night (night in Mabale = kja). makolo, in Mabale means day (mai, day time), in Iboko makolo = night. Cf. bwelr, in Boloki truth, in Iboko lie.

(35) nekaaba, future infinitive of aba, to cut down; neka, fut. inf. prefix.

(36) ba-fulodgi, indef. past tense of fulola, to unroll, reverse form of fula, to roll up.

(37) dig'idgi, indef. past tense of ila, to finish. dig- refers to digisolo.

(38) bibiambaka, remote definite past tense of bomba, to put aside. The first bi- is the relative pronoun direct object; the second bi- is the personal pron. pref., both referring to bile; a- is tense prefix; bomba, the verb-stem; -ka, tense suffix. bango is the indep. pers. pron. referring to lokulukoko na njumba. losu, another, refers to lobomba, putting aside, understood.
(39) adgingodgi, indef. past tense of dgingola, to unroll; reversionary form of dginga, to roll up.

(40) amotuni, indef. past tense of tuna, to ask. a- refers to lokuluwoko; mo-, pers. pronoun prefix, indirect object, to nkumba.

(41) onakende, art thou going. Indicative present of kende. o-, pers. pron. prefix; na-, tense prefix. nekaaimbea, future infinitive of imbea, to slumber. neka-, future infinitive prefix.

(42) wako na bolodzi? wako, indicative present of ko, not to be (negative of lo, to be). wa, locative prefix. Also eko na bolodzi.

(43) onakoka, indicative present of koka, to be complete, sufficient, to be able to. o-, pers. pronoun prefix, referring to lokuluwoko; na-, tense prefix.

(44) badzilei, indef. past tense of le, to leave; dgi, pers. pronoun prefix, direct object, ref. to dGISolo.

(45) aluboi, indef. past tense of lubwa, to land, neuter form of lubola, to unload.

(46) babilei, indef. past tense of le, to eat. ba-, pers. pron. prefix, they, people; bi-, pers. pron. pref., direct object, referring to bile, the food.

(47) bile bilei nda? Literally, the food has eaten who? Notice this special construction, in which the subject (nda?) being put at the end of the interrogative sentence and the object (bile) preceding the verb through emphasis, the verb is introduced by the prefix of the object. Cf. elei bile nda? and the less usual (moto) nda alei bile? In binale mwana wanga, bi also refers to bile, the food.

(48) ngoko!, I don't know; probably from nga oko; nga, yet, oko? In Lonkundu nga or ngoko or ngoe mean thus.

(49) mboka, from boka, to end, to limit, to enclose, literally means enclosure but is the general word for village, in a figurative sense. mboka, like bwato (see note (10)), has a semantological evolution which is analogous to that of the corresponding word in the Indo-Germanic languages. Compare: Celtic dunon, Germanic tün = enclosure. Hence Gaulish dunon = castle, Irish din, Welsh din = fortified town; Old Norse, Anglo-S. tün = enclosed place; Engl. town, place; Netherlandish tuin, High German Zaun = enclosure, enclosed garden. Further Lat. hortus, Netherl. gaarde, Engl. garden, High German Garten = enclosed garden, + omgorden, Slavish (Russian and Bulgarian) gorod, grad = town.

(50) anii, indef. past tense of ene, to see.

(51) ndgila enalubwaka nkoi, the path by which the leopard used
to land. enalubwaka, indicative present continuative of lubwa, to land. e-, relative pronoun pref., refers to ndgila; na, tense prefix; lubwa, verb-stem; -ka, tense suffix. Likewise: esika enabimaka jo, the place at which he always came out. e-, relat. pron. pref. ref. to esika; bima, verb-stem.

(52) abekidga, indef. past tense of bekidga, to lay (a trap). Likewise: aidgidga, indef. past tense of idgidga, causative form of ila, to finish.

(53) apiidga, indef. past tense of pidga, used here in the sense of to be caught.

(54) okoloko, you keep on saying, simple present continuative of kolo, to say; -ko, tense suffix.

(55) ba-mboka, abbr. of batu ba mboka, the people of the village. Here ba is the possessive particle (ba-a).

(56) anakelaka, indicative present continuative of kela. a-, pers. pron. pref. ref. to nkumba; na-, tense prefix; kela, verb-stem; -ka, continuative tense suffix.

(57) nabejyaka < na-a-bekya-ka, remote past definite tense of bekja, to lay (a trap). na-, pers. pron. pref. referring to lokulukoko; a-, tense prefix; bekja, verb-stem; -ka, tense suffix.

(58) mwango < mo-ango. Independent pers. pronoun referring to motambo.

(59) nakamoiki, indef. past continuative of ika, to leave. na, pers. pron. pref. referring to lokulukoko; ka-, continuative tense prefix; mo-, pers. pron. pref. 3rd pers. sing. direct object referring to nkumba.

(60) waidgi, indef. past tense of ila, to finish; wa-, locative pref.

**Connected Translation**

They went out fishing. They arrived at a fishing-camp and prepared some food they were going to enjoy. The tortoise said: “Let us put aside the food and first go to the dzisolo; as soon as we feel hungry, we shall eat.” The pheasant agreed. They put the hurdles into the canoe, whilst the little one of the pheasant stayed in the fishing-camp. They surrounded the dzisolo and cut all the grass, so that there was not a single blade left.

The tortoise said: “Pheasant, come along, push in the hurdle.” And the pheasant came along, fu, fu, fu, fluttering in the air. The tortoise came out and he got two fishes. “Don’t sit down like that,”
he said to the pheasant, "and act like a sluggard." And he went once more into the water, steadily pushing in the hurdle. And then he dived down to the bottom of the dzisolo, seke, seke, seke, he lifted up the hurdle and came out in the camp. He gobbled up all the fish, which they had put aside; he smeared palm-oil sauce on the mouth of the little one of the pheasant and then went back.

The pheasant had been waiting for him a very long time, and out came the tortoise saying there were indeed many big fishes in the dzisolo. They took the net out of the water, they pulled it on board and poured out the fish into the canoe. They rolled up the hurdles and went to the fishing-camp. The tortoise then said: "Pheasant, go and fetch the fish we have put aside, that we may eat with hunger." The pheasant went off, he looked for the fishes, but they were eaten. He then asked the tortoise: "Who has eaten the fish?" "Your little one, I should think," the tortoise answered, "just look at the palm-oil sauce smearing his face." "I don't mind," the pheasant said, "let us prepare some more." They had an altercation, but they ate and there was an end of the matter. When they had finished the meal, they dried some fresh fishes on the drying-stand. The sun darkened and they went to sleep. At daybreak, they went again to the dzisolo. They unrolled the hurdles, they surrounded the dzisolo and they cut the grass, so that not a single blade was left.

The tortoise dived; he came out into the camp and ate the food they had put away once more. The pheasant had been waiting for him a very long time, so that he got tired and he unrolled the dzisolo. The tortoise came out. The pheasant asked him: "Are you going to slumber?" Thereupon the tortoise answered: "Isn't this hard work, and if it were easy, would you be able to do it?" They rolled up the dzisolo again, leaving it as it was and went to the camp.

The tortoise landed and went to fetch the food, which they had put aside... but it was eaten. The tortoise asked the pheasant who had eaten the food. And the pheasant said: "I don't know." Thereupon the tortoise said: "Your little one and nobody else." The pheasant went to the end of the camp and saw the path by which the tortoise had to land and he set a trap. They went back to the dzisolo and cut it completely. The tortoise came along and pushed in the hurdle. When he had done so he dived and came out at the usual place. He was caught in the trap. He called to the young one of the pheasant, asking him to come along and help him out of it. The young one, however, refused. The pheasant kept
waiting for the tortoise and he got tired. He took out the bow-net, he pulled the fish into the canoe, he paddled and found the tortoise in the trap. He said to him: "Is it you, in fact, that did so? and you used to tell me it was my little one that ate the food, whereas it was you alone that played the rogue!" The pheasant called for his young one: "Put our things in," he said, "and let us paddle."

They put them in and nothing was left but the tortoise. They paddled and arrived at the village. Here the people asked: "Where is the tortoise?" And the pheasant answered: "The tortoise played the rogue, all the time; I set a trap and he was caught in it. I left him over there." The pheasant alone was declared to be in the right. This is the end of the story.

džibandža dža bangondo nsambo

**STORY OF THE YOUNG GIRLS SEVEN**

bangondo (1) nsambo bakendeke (2) majebu. badezwaka (3)
young girls seven went mushrooms. They (had) found

majebe be: (4); mpi bakw (5) nekadzw (6) džokwa (7) džiebe
mushrooms many; and they went to find one mushroom

džine be: (4); mpi badezipidzi. (8) ja:pilaka (9)
big very; and they pulled it up. When they had extracted

bango, mokidzi munso mobulunqani. (10) mpi batu ba
they, the earth whole trembled. And the people of

mboka enso bakwei (5) makongo na nguba, bakw (5)
the village whole took spears and shields, they went

nekaumba (6) na bango. bana banamei, (11) babakendeke (12)
to fight with them. Children those, who had gone

majebe (2) bakuki. (13) jakukaka (9) bango, baikadzwana (14)
mushrooms fled. When they had fled they, they met with

mwią monene, nkomba tr (15) Yengolongonda. wawi (16) mwana
a tree big, name thus Yengolongonda. One child

amobeti (17) lokata mpi mwete makwe (5) o nse. bango
hit it a blow and the tree fell to the ground. They

banso babai (5) o džikolo dža mwete monamei. batu
all climbed on the top of the tree that one. People
banamei, buŋko lo dgieбу (18) badʒadzi (13) o nsina ja those, owners mushrooms sat down on the roots of mwete. mwete mwango nsina nene (19) be (20) mokondzi wa the tree. Tree it roots big very. The chief of bango akadzi (13) ti: bo:kо (21) bato bakende nekakwa (6) them said thus: some men that they go to take mweja, bo:kо (21) bakwa (22) mbeki na mambengga mpo fire, some that they take pots with pepper thing ti (23) babalamba (24) jaindaka (9) butu, thus that they cook them. When had darkened the sun, banamei buku (25) na kja o mboka aŋgo (26) wa bango. those fled at night into the village(s) father of them. batu banamei (1) babakiliiliiliili (27) baibadza (28) The people those pursued them the women. baibadʒwa (29) we. mbia badʒangi (25) o They did not catch them not. Afterwards they returned to mboka ja bango. dzibandza dʒiːdʒi (30) banamei. (31) the village(s) of them. The story is finished thus.

Notes

(1) baŋgondo, sing. ŋgondo, a handsome young woman. baŋgondo nsambo is also the name of the Pleiades.

(2) bakendeke < ba-a-kende-ke, remote definite past tense of kende, to go. ba-, pers. pron. pref. referring to baŋgondo; a-, tense pref.; kende, verb-stem; -ke, tense suffix.

N. The final object of kende, to go, and ja, to come, immediately follows the verb: bakendeke majebu, they went-to fetch-mushrooms; bujei dzikambo, they have come for a palaver.

(3) badʒwaka < ba-a-dʒwa-ka, remote definite past tense of dʒwa, to get, to find. ba-, pers. pron. pref. referring to baŋgondo; a-, tense prefix; dʒwa, verb-stem; -ka, tense suffix. N. Verbs in -a have -ka as tense-suffix, those in e have -ke, and those in o have ko.

(4) be, adverb, very. dʒinene be, very big.

(5) bakweι, indef. past tense of ke, to go. Likewise: bakweι, from kwa, to take; mokweι, from kwa, to fall; and babai, from ba, to climb. Cf. lok. na ŋk., note (16).
(6) nekadʒwa, future infinitive of dʒwa, to get, to find. neka-, infinitive future prefix. Likewise: nekabuna, from buna, to fight; and nekakwa, from kwa, to take.

(7) dʒɔːko < dʒiːko, a certain one. dʒɔːko:dʒiebu. The regular word-order has been inverted. Cf. wawi mwana and boko batu instead of mwani wawi and batu boko < bəko. Note. In stories this inversion is very usual.

(8) badʒipidʒi, indef. past tense of pila, to pull out. ba-, pers. pron. pref. referring to bəngando; dʒi-, pers. pron. pref. object referring to dʒiebu. Note. In Mabale 1 + d > dʒi: pidʒi < pili. Likewise badʒadʒi, they sat, from dʒala, to sit, and akɔdʒi, he said, from kəlo, to say.

(9) japilaka < e-a-pila-ka, remote past def. tense of pila. e-, pref. referring to esika, place, moment; a-, tense prefix; pila, verb-stem; -ka, tense suffix. Likewise: jakukaka and jainaka, remote def. past tenses of kuka, to fly, and inda, to darken.

(10) mobulungani, indef. past tense of bulungana, to be disturbed, to tremble. The causative form is bulinginia, to disturb, to shake. bulinginia < bulungania, with regressive assimilation. The suffix is -ia.

(11) banamei, demonstrative of the second form (in -na); mei is enclitic emphatic suffix.

(12) babakendeke < ba-ba-a-kende-ke, remote definite past tense of kende, to go. The first ba- is the relative pronoun subject, the second the pers. pron. pref., both referring to bana; a-, tense prefix; kende, verb-stem; -ke, tense suffix.

(13) bakuki, indef. past tense of kuka, to fly. Likewise badʒadʒi and akɔdʒi, indef. past tenses of dʒala, to sit, and kolo, to say.

(14) baikadgowana, successive tense of dʒwana, to meet with one another. ba refers to bana; ika-, tense prefix; dʒwana, reciprocal form of dʒwa, to get, to find.

(15) tr, citative adverb, thus, so. Also found in Mbudza and in Bobangi and usually preceded by a pronoun to make a quotation. Mabale: ɲkumba jo tr, the tortoise he thus; Bobangi: mokɔnzi jɛje'tɛ, the chief he thus; Mbudza: andongo a tr, the tortoise, he so. In Swahili, it only survives in the quasi-interjection ati! whereas, in Luganda, it is also used, as nti, to introduce a quotation. Whitehead, in his Bobangi Grammar and Dictionary, p. 122, gives: "'ɛlɛ, adv., as, that, thus. It is usually abbreviated into 'ɛlɛ with the pronoun, when the verb to say or to speak should be understood."
It appears from the above examples that the original use of ti seems to be forgotten and that it has become an adverb.

Mabale, however, has a particle jeti (thou thus) used in the sense of “say”; e.g. moto mosu: te ajei, jeti tomeki nebenda bwato o mokidzi, when another man will come along here, say we could try to carry the canoe ashore. Is not ti, the verb, with the meaning “say” or “do thus”, usually followed by a “Lautbild” or merely a gesture, as we still get it fully conjugated in Sesuto, Nyanja, and Zulu (u-ku-ti)?

(16) wawi < o-awi. The numeral one is -awi; it takes the pron. prefix o, to agree with class 1.

(17) amobeti, indef. past tense of bete, to hit. a-, pers. pron. pref. subj. referring to mwana; mo-, pers. pron. pref. obj. referring to mweti.

(18) bakyolo, sing ṷkolo, possessor. bakyolo dziebu. After ṷkolo the possessive particle is omitted. Compare Swahili: mwendi intifi, the lord of the country, mwendi mali, a rich man (a man of goods).

(19) mweti mwango, nsina nene be:. In this sentence mweti mwango is the subject and nsina nene be: the predicate. nene < nene. Some say inene, but the prefix here is n with strong i resonance.

(20) boko < baoko is the indef. pronoun, some, certain. boko . . .

boko = some, . . . others.

(21) bakende. Subjunctive of kende, to go.

(22) bakwa. Subjunctive of kwa, to take.

(23) mpo ti, in order to; literally matter, affair, reason thus.

(24) babalamba. Subjunctive of lamba, to cook. The first ba- is the pers. pron. pref. subject and refers to batu, people, men; the second ba- is the pers. pron. pref. object and refers to bana.

(25) bakuki, indef. past tense of kuka, to fly. badzongi, indef. past tense of dzonga, to come back.

(26) o mboka ango wa bango, at their father’s. Comp. o mboka ja ango wa bango, at the village of their father.

(27) bakililililili, they pursued (them) with haste. Indef. past tense of a verb, probably kila, with reduplication of the syllable li. Cf. kilingana, to take to flight.

(28) baibadza, the women. < basi-badza. Sing. mo < mosi, e.g. mo-dgamba, an inhabitant of the forest, pl. baidgamba.

(29) baibadza. Negative indef. past tense of džwa, to get. ba-, pers. pron. pref. subject referring to batu; i-, negative tense prefix; ba-, pers. pron. pref. object referring to baibadza.
(30) ḏgiidzi, indef. past tense of ila, to finish. ḏgi-, pers. pron. pref. subj. referring to ḏgibanđga.

(31) bonamei, so, in this way; practically the demonstrative pronoun of the bo- class, second form (in -na).

**STORY OF THE SEVEN YOUNG GIRLS**

Seven young girls set out to gather mushrooms. They saw a great many. They wanted to get a very big mushroom, and they picked one. They had hardly done so, when the whole earth began to tremble. The whole village took their spears and shields and went to fight with the children who had picked the mushrooms, and who now took to flight. As they fled they met with a big tree, called Yengo-longonda. One child hit it a blow and the tree fell to the ground. All of them climbed to the top of the tree and the owners of the mushrooms sat down on the roots of the tree. The roots of the tree were very big. The chief said to the people: "Let some men go and fetch fire, and others take pots with pepper, that we may cook them." When the night came the girls fled to the village of their father. The people pursued them hotly. They did not catch them. Thereupon they returned to their village. That's the end of the story.
The Origin of the Pine-Cone Decoration of the Imamzadehs of Khuzistan

By J. M. Unvala

(Plate VI)

Persia is the land of imamzadehs or "the tombs of saints". Nearly every little town in this country is the fortunate possessor of one or more imamzadehs, to which hundreds of pilgrims come all the year round from far and near. The tomb, or very often a simulacrum of the tomb, as in the case of a good many imamzadehs no saint lies buried in it, forms its chief part, its sanctuary. There is hardly a sign of its orientation, except that the saint is buried with his face in the direction of the Kibleh. The shrine in which the tomb is placed is generally decorated by a dome. To this the imamzadehs of the province of Khuzistan in the south-west of Persia form a remarkable exception. They have all a tall cone, surmounting the flat roof of the shrine. This cone resembles a pine-cone with its series of shallow niches, which forms its only decoration. It ends in a short pointed metallic rod adorned with four metallic balls. This gilt ornament is common to most of the mosques and Muhammadan shrines.

The use of this pine-cone decoration in the imamzadehs of Khuzistan is not, I think, merely due to an architectural peculiarity. It is to be traced to Jewish influence, which was preponderant in Khuzistan up to the twelfth century of the Christian era. Benjamin of Tudela reports the existence of a considerable Jewish colony of seven thousand souls in Susa in his time (A.D. 1160–1173). Again, according to a tradition, Shuster, which succeeded to the importance of Susa after its downfall, was entirely inhabited by Jews. They are said to have accepted Islam en masse. If we consider the Susiana of the great Achaemenian monarchs, we see that after the liberation of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity many of their great men, like the prophet Daniel and others, not only lived in Susiana, but also held high positions at the Achaemenian court residing at Susa. Allusions to prove this are not rare in the Old Testament.

The origin of this pine-cone decoration is most probably to be traced directly to the nefeshes of the Nabataeans and indirectly, only as regards this form, to the baetulus of the Phoenicians. The word baetulus, Greek βατύλοις, is of Semitic origin—beth el "the house of God". It was employed generally for all sacred stones, but particularly for conic or ovoid, sometimes even for pyramidal ones. They are mostly considered to be of mysterious origin, like aeroliths, and as such they commanded the awe, admiration and adoration of primitive
peoples as divine residences of gods. The cult of baetuli was largely spread among the Phoenicians, and among peoples influenced by Phoenician civilization (Perrot et Chipiez, Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité. Tome III, Phénicie et Cypre, Paris, 1885, p. 59).

This cult of baetuli was very flourishing in the eastern provinces of the Roman empire in spite of the diffusion of Greek civilization and culture. Tacitus says that in his times Astarte-Aphrodite was worshipped in her celebrated temple of Paphos represented by a cone (Tacitus, History, ii, 3). The great goddess of Byblos is similarly represented by a cone, as is evident from the reverse of a coin of Byblos struck in the reign of Macrinus. The sacred stone is erected in the centre of a court encircled by porticos. This was the most celebrated baetulus of Phoenicia. Helioagabalus is reported to have been priest of the black stone of Emessa before he became emperor (Herodian, v, 5). This cult of baetuli was not restricted to the Syrian coast, but was spread through the whole of Syria up to the last days of paganism (Perrot et Chipiez, op. cit., p. 60).

The dead are considered in all ages to lead an ultramundane life and to possess supernatural powers. They are feared and respected not seldom as demi-gods, and thus they become objects of a special cult. Stones are erected in their honour, to which offerings are brought. These stones, or cippi as they are called, are generally ovoid or pyramidal like baetuli, and are raised on a pedestal. A number of small cippi were discovered in the necropolis of Sidon. They were mostly ex-votos like those found in Malta and at Carthage. It seems that in their essential character they serve the same purpose as baetuli. They represent the dead who are demi-gods, whereas the baetuli represent gods. The cippi were erected by the Phoenicians and by peoples influenced by Phoenician civilization. They were spread as far east as the Bakhtyari Mountains, where on an isolated rock near the Teng i Saoulek there is a series of bas-reliefs of the Parthian period, one of which, according to George Rawlinson, represents the worship of a cippus by a Magian priest (Rawlinson, The Sixth Oriental Monarchy. London, 1873, p. 393).

At the beginning of the Christian era a cippus was attached to every Phoenician tomb. It is a small cube on which a cylindrical stone column is erected. The latter is decorated at its further end with a garland of leaves and other ornaments. The name and age of the dead are inscribed on the base. A cippus was found at the foot of every sarcophagus that was not violated. Sometimes the cippus
The Tomb of Daniel, Susa.
formed the integral part of the sarcophagus. It is cut out in low relief on one of the smaller sides of the sarcophagus. This latter custom reminds us of the Muhammadan custom of erecting on the tomb of a man a small stone column decorated with a turban or a garland of flowers, according as the tomb appertains to a man or a woman (George Contenau, *La Civilisation Phénicienne*, Paris, 1926, p. 273).

Sometimes, as in the case of the sarcophagus of Um-el-Awāmid, a cippus mounted on a pedestal forms a sort of an altar erected in front of the sarcophagus. Such altars are not rare in Tyre. At these altars sacrifices for the dead were offered. It is possible that the small cippus found at Sidon were placed in front of the tomb itself, as is evident from a tomb of Tharros in Sardinia (Perrot et Chipiez, op. cit., fig. 173 and fig. 174). In this connexion two monuments erected in the plain of Amrith in Phoenicia near the famous caves of Amrith are worth mentioning. They are cippus of a very elaborate design, one ovoid and the other pyramidal, placed near each other on the outside of the subterranean tombs of the rich. They are called *El-Awāmūd-el-Megāzūl* or “spindle-columns” or only *El-Megāzūl* or “spindles”.

“The ovoid cippus is a masterpiece as regards its proportion, elegance and grandeur,” says M. Renan, who judged it from the restoration of M. Thobias. It is about 9.50 m. high. It has a round base, flanked on all four sides by four lions with their back to the massive column, so placed that only their heads are visible. A cylindrical column surmounted by a hemisphere is raised above it. This forms a gigantic monolith cippus. Two garlands formed of sixteen big denticles and pyramidal cuttings à gradins encircle the column. Each garland protrudes about ten centimetres, thus forming with the base four storeys. The subterranean tomb is reached from this monument by means of fifteen steps. The second cippus is composed of two parts, the square base and a sort of a cylindrical monolith with a band in the middle and a pyramid on with five facets crowning it (Perrot et Chipiez, op. cit., pp. 151 seq. and p. 149, fig. 94).

The nefeshes erected over the tombs of the Nabataeans are, I think, comparable, at least in their form, to baetuli and cippi, from which they are undoubtedly borrowed. But they are no longer the representations of gods and demi-gods to whom sacrifices are offered. They are the representations of the material soul, of the spirit of the departed, which is supposed to reside near the dead body (cf. *Syria*, vol. viii, 3, p. 261 seq.). ‘Abd-‘Obadath, the Nabataean strategos, erects two nefeshes over a tomb, one for his father Ithaibel and the other for his
son Ithaibel, who were killed in the war between Aretas IV and Herodus Antipas. The inscription which mentions this fact is dated A.D. 37 (Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum II, 196). The spiritual soul, the ruah, is never represented by the Nabataeans.

The famous "tomb of Absalom" in Jerusalem, which is hardly older than the Seleucid period, according to M. Perrot (Perrot et Chipiez, op. cit., Tome IV, Judée, etc., p. 278) is surmounted by a sort of a truncated cone, bulging out at the base, from which flames (?) are emerging. Is it not possible to interpret this cone as a nefesh erected over the tomb? In that case this nefesh would be doubly interesting, firstly as it would give us an idea of the nefeshes of the Nabataean tombs, of which it would be the precursor, and secondly as it would approach the form of the pine-cone decoration over the imamzadehs of Khuzistan. This peculiar pine-cone shape is most probably derived from the famous stalactite decorations of Persian architecture.

To sum up this paper, the pine-cone decoration of the shrine of the tomb of Daniel in Susa, and those of other imamzadehs of Khuzistan, shows the influence of the Jewish architectural tradition which produced "the tomb of Absalom". Similar pine-cone decoration is also found in Iraq, where Jewish tradition was very powerful as late as the twelfth century A.D. The domes of the imamzadehs of the rest of Persia go back certainly to the Sassanian architectural tradition, which is still kept up in Persia and other countries working under the influence of the Persian tradition. This tradition is so persistent that the new imamzadeh of Dizful built about five years ago has a pine-cone decoration over the sanctuary.

Finally, it must be remarked that in a site as old as Susa we see the two architectural traditions, Sassanian and Jewish, existing side by side. Besides the famous tomb of Daniel, Susa possesses two other imamzadehs, both reputed to be very old, which have domes and not pine-cones decorating their sanctuaries. It is interesting to note that when a new imamzadeh is built in Khuzistan the sanctuary is decorated invariably by a pine-cone, whereas in the case of the two old imamzadehs of Susa, which were recently rebuilt on their ancient sites, the sanctuaries are surmounted by domes as of old. Susa, though it had lost its importance as the chief centre of Khuzistan already in the time of Shapur I, retained its prestige as a considerable town in Sassanian times. It must have, therefore, possessed a couple of fire-temples, which like many others were either turned into mosques or imamzadehs by the Zoroastrians converted to Islam.
IT has been my happy privilege to contribute a paper to the volume of Indian Studies lately published in honour of my old friend Professor Lanman. It was an English translation of the Indian legend of the Birth of Lôrik, and, in the following pages, I endeavour to complete the presentation by giving the original text on which that translation was founded.

In the Province of Bihâr, and in the United Provinces of Agra and Audh, the Gôwâlîs (Gôpâlakas) or Ahîrs (Abhîras) are well known as an important pastoral tribe. Their caste-profession is cattle-keeping and selling milk and its products, and, though the milk they sell is not always free from suspicion—witness many proverbs—they are, as a body, looked upon with some consideration. There is a famous tribal legend concerning an Ahîr named Lôrik that is very popular among them, and the long folk-epic describing his birth and adventures is sung at all their festivals. A Bihâr proverb runs:

ketnô Ahîrâ hôhî siyânâ
Lôrik chârî na gâwâhi ânâ.
“However learned an Ahîr be
Nothing but Lôrik singeth he.”

In the cold weather of 1888–9 I found myself in camp at Rajauli, the traditional scene in the Gayâ District of the birth and early adventures of this Lôrik, and succeeded in getting copies of two recensions of the whole huge poem, taken down from the mouths of two reciters of repute. In the present paper I confine myself to giving the text of the first canto, as translated in the Indian Studies above referred to. In the former article, I dealt with the poem from the point of view of a student of Indian religions, and showed how, among the peasants of Northern India, the worship of Indra has still persisted, in the face of the Vaîşnavas and Śaivas of the city classes. The present text will, I hope, be found to be of interest to students of Indian languages.

The poem is called a Gît, or song, because, in recitation, it is sung or, rather, chanted; but, although uttered in measured phrases, it cannot be said to be in verse. Like other folk epics of northern

India, it is composed in short sentences, the length and general swing of each of which are governed by the convenience of the singer's breath and by the rhythm of the chant. Whatever these short sentences are, they are certainly not metrical verse, whether we measure by accent, by length of syllables, or by counting syllabic instants.

The language of the poem, of course, varies from place to place. As recorded for me it was naturally couched in the dialect of the Gayā district, that is to say, in the Magahī dialect of the Bihārī language, which, with a few slight irregularities, is the same as that described in vol. iii of my *Seven Grammars of the Dialects and Sub-dialects of the Bihārī Language*, and on pp. 30 ff. of vol. v, pt. ii, of the *Linguistic Survey of India*. Very few examples of this dialect have hitherto been printed. Here and there, as might be expected in a widely known poem of this description, we come across borrowings from other dialects, as, for instance, the word *raūrā* (*< rājākulaka*) (225), the polite Bhojpurī form of the pronoun of the second person. Such irregularities will give rise to no difficulty, nor will the frequent nasalization of final vowels, which, as a rule, is not recorded in the grammars.

Attention may be drawn to the very common use of interjections, usually little more than pleonastic. Note, however, that *hō* is used in addressing a male, and *gē* when addressing a female. *Ki rē daibā*, literally, "What, O Fate!" is a common equivalent to our "Lo and behold!" or "What do you think happened next!" A typical Magahī interjection is *rē*, O! In other parts of India the use of this word is more or less insulting, and, except in abuse, its employment is prohibited by good manners. But, even in ancient times it was noted as a word of customary conversation in Māgadhī Prakrit,¹ and in the modern speech of the Magadha country, or Magah, it is very common, and, especially in interrogative sentences, is used without the slightest tinge of disrespect. There are many stories based on this peculiarity of the Magahī dialect. For instance, we have the verse:

*Magah dēs hai Kañcan-purī*
*dēs bhalā hai, bhākhā burī.*
*rahalā Magah, kahalā “rē”,
tekārā-la kā marabē, rē.*

¹ Compare the *Prākrit-kalpataru*, II, ii, 28 (Māgadhī section), *saṁbodhanē ... “alē” ca “lē lē”. There is a somewhat similar use of *rē* in modern Bengali.
The birth of Lorik, 1–13

"Magah land is a golden scene;
The country's fine, but the speech is mean.
I lived there once, and hence my 'rē'.
Why do you drub me, rē, Sir, pray?"

The unfortunate speaker of this doggerel had once lived in Magadha, and had acquired the habit of using "rē" in every sentence. In some other part of India he does this and gets a drubbing for the insult; yet, so ingrained is the habit that, even while apologizing, he utters the objectionable word.

The text is printed in two versions, as given by the two different reciters. They differ considerably, but are mutually complementary. For further particulars, see the article in Indian Studies.
हो वाचा इंद्राजा। सूनही गे सुनही वाहिनी देविया गे। ४०। तोरियो बाहिनियाँ बवरा गे वेटूँ गे। तोहरी परलू राज मरतब के। हमरा परलू गे इंद्राजसन गे। हमड़ा रहलिर्वृट गे इंद्राजसन में। तोहरा भेजिलनि राज मरतब गे। ४५। कदन भ्रुमन दुख मरतब परलू। की राती देवी घुरी आहलों इंद्राजसन दरवार। तेकरी रवाव हो देवी देवी हर। साती भद्रा राज इंद्राजसन लेलों गे। हमरा देवी भद्र मुखन भेजाइ हो। ५०। रतिया भद्र गलिया हो मंदुरवा में रहतू। कोई नर नहीं नगर लेखी दुखगा के नाम हो। प्रहो वालिया चोल लोग मरत के। प्रहो तो चोल देवी रक्षपिया रे। सम के संघार चों रे करत। ५५। प्रहो वालिया चोल हर मरत लोग।

खबर नहीं घुरी जादुब राज मरतब हो। बा-लागी न सेवक देवी। अकुलों नंद। तालाकी घुरी न जादुब राज मरत भुजन। तेकरी जविया इंद्राजसन देवी हरी। ६०। सूनही गे सुनही वाहिनी देविया गे। सोरह सद सेवक इंद्राजसन में। की गे वाहिनी चुनि सेवक लेखी भालभार हो। सोरह सद सेवक टाटा कालउ वाला इंद्राज। की टाटा कलअ दुखगा के भीर में। ६५। नजरी हिंसार दुखगा देवी हर। अबि बात चोल मासी। देखावही। जलगी न सेवक देवी अकुलों नंद। ७०। ए भद्रा त-लू न जादुब मरत भुजन राज हो। तबि बात चोल वाला इंद्राज। सूनही गे सुनही वाहिनी देविया गे। कहहं पहवही गे अकुलों नंद। की गे वाहिनी अकुलो सेवक मर हरा गेलउ। ७५। तेकरी जविया दुखगा देवी हर। सूनही हो सुनही भद्रा इंद्राज। धरो तो वहनवा नहीं विषजरबल। प्रत्या जविया भद्रा हो देवी। मोर। जहाँ लुकिरबल हमर अकुलों नंद। ८०। जहाँ से सेवक हम हो परवर। प्रत्या जकुमिया इंद्राजसन देवी। मोर। की हो इंद्राज सेवक सेवक लेवबू हो निकल्ल हो। तेकरी जविया इंद्राजसन देवलखी। जहाँ सेवक मिलउ गे अकुलों नंद। ८५। की गे वाहिनी तहहं से सेवक सेवक लोजिने निकल्ल हो। जकुम देवलखनी वाला इंद्राज।

घुरी घुरी इंद्राजसन देवी दलाल हर। कहहं नहीं मिलर हो अकुलों नंद। कहं देवी दलाल हो देवी दुखगा हो। २०। की रे देवला जुमलाद नंदन के वन। सोरह सद परिया हो नंदन वन। सोरह सद परिया हो नचावः हलां अकुलों नंदन वन। जेद्रो जेद्रो परिया हो नहीं हो नचावः हो। मूडी काटी डिगरी बनावः हर अकुलों नंद। ६५। देविया काटी तवणा बनावः हर। अंधिया काटी सरणी बनावः हर। हाथ काटी लकडी बनावः हर अकुलों नंद। सोरह सती परिया नचावः हर नंदन वन। जाह्ये जुमलाद देवी दो दुखगा हो।

६००। नजरी उठाइ अकुलों नंद देवी दुखगा कहहं देवी हर। की रे देवला भगलाद बसो फुजवारी हो। बुतफं से वनरिया दुखगा गे।
हर। सून रे सून बबूला बुतहरूरी। जोध मरद सचिवनाथ नाथ लगाउँ यहाँ। ९०५। को रे बाबू सैल्ह मरद केने माग गेलउ। तेकरी जनविया बुतहरू ब्रह्म दे हर। सुनहरी ने सुनहरी देवी दुर्गा गे। जोध मरद सचिवनाथ नाथ लगाउँ यहाँ। तोरी पर नजरिया दुर्गा परलर। ९००। को मे माग के गेलउ बदुङ्का फुलविया रे। बदुङ्का फुलविया दुर्गा गुमलर। पुरी पुरी फुलविया दुर्गा खोजो हर। को रे दुर्गा कहहरी नहीं मिलद अकुलो नंद लाज हो।

ज काे से चागारी दुर्गा बदुङ्का। ९५५। की रे दुर्गा गेलउ महादेव फुलवारी। पुरी पुरी महादेव फुलविया दुर्गा खोजो हर। की रे दुर्गा कहहरी नहीं मिलद अकुलो नंद लाज हो। ज काे से दुर्गा चागारी बदुङ्का। की रे दुर्गा गेलउ दुर्गा महादेव के भीर हो। ९२०। फटिन पुजवा बदुङ्का बाबा महादेव खे। को रे दुर्गा उठः के जुलम नहीं हर हो। सवा मन घीशा माणका जाना। हर बाबा महादेव खे। पुरैवे मूंगँ बदुङ्का बाबा महादेव खे। की रे दुर्गा बदुङ्का हरी आसानी लाज हो। ९२२। तब बात बोली दुर्गा महादेव सती। सुनहरी हो सुनहरी महादेव खे। की हो महादेव कहहरी रखलो अकुलो नंद। चागारी जकडुबिया महादेव देवो हरी। ९३०। सुनहरी ने सुनहरी वहीन देवीया गे। नहीं यहाँ अचरज हो अकुलो नंद। की गे दुर्गा हो। दुर्गा बदुङ्का हरी आसान दरबार हो। तब बात बोली देवी। दुर्गा दोवा हो। पुरैवे मूंगँ दुर्गा दोवा हो।

ए से घर रे हमें महादेव हो नहीं अचरज। ९३५। ज-लगी। दोवा देवीया। दोवा देवीया। दोवा देवीया। दोवा देवीया। दोवा देवीया।

त-लगी। घर। घर। देवी। देवी। देवी। देवी। देवी। देवी।

पृथ्वी बिना। दुर्गा बोली। को रे दुर्गा सह। दुर्गा महादेव भभाई हो। दोवा देवीया। दोवा देवीया। दोवा देवीया। दोवा देवीया।

बाबा महादेव भभाई हो। जब अकुलो नंद बहरलर। दुर्गा बोली। दुर्गा महादेव भभाई हो। को रे अकुलो बलाकी मरत भुजन राज हो।

ज-लगी। नहीं अचरज। नहीं अचरज। दुर्गा दुर्गा। दुर्गा दुर्गा। दुर्गा दुर्गा। दुर्गा दुर्गा। दुर्गा बोली।

नहीं अचरज। नहीं अचरज। दुर्गा दुर्गा। दुर्गा दुर्गा। दुर्गा दुर्गा। दुर्गा दुर्गा। दुर्गा दुर्गा। दुर्गा दुर्गा। दुर्गा दुर्गा। दुर्गा दुर्गा। दुर्गा दुर्गा।

१५५। ज काे से चलाक। देवी दुर्गा अकुलो नंद। की रे दुर्गा दोवा मे बोला दुर्गा दुर्गा को जोध मे दुर्गा दुर्गा दुर्गा दुर्गा दुर्गा हो। जोध के दोवा अकुलो नंद। जोध के दोवा अकुलो नंद। जोध के दोवा अकुलो नंद। जोध के दोवा अकुलो नंद। जोध के दोवा अकुलो नंद। जोध के दोवा अकुलो नंद। जोध के दोवा अकुलो नंद। जोध के दोवा अकुलो नंद। जोध के दोवा अकुलो नंद। जोध के दोवा अकुलो नंद। जोध के दोवा अकुलो नंद। जोध के दोवा अकुलो नंद। जोध के दोवा अकुलो नंद। जोध के दोवा अकुलो नंद।
भगे मनी येक्कारे जे जे जाहीं ने। ९६५। सातो भूया हूँै हूँै इंदूरनी। सातो के सेवक सेवा कर० हलुँ। सवा सेर मसी तरहधी तले सेवक गर० हलू। सातो भूया अंग नरद० हलु०। बड़ सेवा कर० हलू छातों नंद। ९७०। भगे बहिनी सेवै हूँै इंदूरासन कारै हीं विरान हो।

तबे बाता बोलै बाबा इंदूरनहीं। सुनहीं रे सुनहीं छातों नंद। जबे तोरा श्रृंगारुँ बहीनी देवरे रे। को रे सेवक जाहीं भरत भूषण राव हो। ९७५। भगे वात बोलै छातों नंद। कौँदिवे कौँदिवे छातों नंद बोल० हु०। हाथ छोड़ उजरिया चब लगाव० हु० छातों नंद। सुनहीं हो सुनहीं बाबा इंदूरनहीं। तमाैं पीठ बहिनी वनावही हो। ९७०। बीहीं पर लखिन हो इंदर फरहाै। की हो इंदूर लखिन देहीं क़ामणैं को दृढ़ हो। एते बतिया छातों नंद बोल० हु०। तब वात बोलै बाबा इंदूरनहीं। ९७५। सुनहीं रे सुनहीं रे छातों नंद। काउँ से क़ामणैं लिखवही। तेकरी जबिया छातों नंद देश० हु०। सुनहीं हो सुनहीं बाबा इंदूरनहीं। प्रतता उजरिया हे माँग० हिल०। ९५। प्रेय्त हर रो बहिनी लिखवही। जानागी ने देहीं बिजुन भासन घोड़ा नारै मोर। जानागी देहीं तिरिया जाँढै में नहीं लिखवही। सोरह सदौ परियाैं इंदूरासन मेबी। की सोरहों सदौ हे से बिजुन जमुना फोह कहाज़कुल०। ९५४। दोहे तिरिया छातों इंदूर मराजु। के दोहीं तिरिया जमुना में देहीं के मराजु। सेह दोहीं तिरिया जबिया लिखवही। छाह लिखवहीं बाबा इंदूरनहीं। जानागी ने पिठिये भार ने लिखवही। २००। तबे-जाहीं नहीं हूँ मे देश० मरत भूषण डेग हो। जानागी न देहीं छोड़ मदगर कृतरी भीमसेन। हाथ के खाँड़ मदगर नहीं लिखवही। की हो बाबा इंदूर ता-जाहीं हूँ मे देश० मरत भूषण नहीं डेग हो। छाह हो लिखवहीं बाबा इंदूरनहीं। २०५। जेउँचो तिरिया पृथ्व तप कहीै होै। जेउँचो तिरिया पृथ्व मोरल होतुँ कुम के चटाइ में। बारही वरिस जेउँ मुनलिखवी होतु। तेकरी कोतिया जलम मोर लिखवही। की हो इंदूर तबे हूँ मे मरत देश० डेग हो।

२०५। वबरठूल हृदी बाबा इंदूर। जह वबरठूल गौरवी गनपती। जह वबरठूल पौँचै परणहीं। जह ए वबरठूल गृह मोन मरिया भागीरथ। की रे देहीं वबरठूल चारै मरिया चउधरी देवरान हो। २५५। तामाैं कीरी बहिनी बिकास० हु०। की लिखी मरिया चारै चउधरी देवरान हो। परिसैं लिख० हु० बिजुन भासन घोड़ा कारै हो। तबे लिख० हु० खाँड़ मदगर। कृतरी भीमसेन हाथ के खाँड़ मदगर लिख० हु०। २५०। तबे रे लिख० हु० रे दोहीं तिरिया हो। तबे तो पिठिया मरिया लिख० हु०। तेकरी जबिया इंदूर देश० हृदी। सुनहीं रे सुनहीं छातों नंद। नहीं तोरा पिठिया मरिया तोरा न लिख० हु०। २५५। हृदी राजर मौर तोरा नहीं मान० हु०। की रे छातों नंद लिख देवी एक दुध के भाँ। रे हूँ मे गढ़े
बनाले भद्या भेजवच। की रे छ्रुकी नंद वाह तो सोरा दुध भाग हो।
तव ती लिख० है बाणा इंदरन। २३०। गुजरे के पलिह्म कलंजरी गावौँ।
तहें वासले हैं बहु खुशबर भो बहु हस्तहार। वही तिरिया पुष्कर मरत
मुखन में बारह बरिस तप कहले है। बाजी तो वैद्यनिया नाम परले
है। बारहो बरिस रे बाज तप करते विलाहौ। २३४। तवो नहीं वाहै
वैद्यनिया नाम होते है। तेरहो बरिस गुणुँ चढ़ला। बाजी तिरिया
पुष्कर गंगवा धासन चलां। ब्राह्मी कोक्षा जलम लिख रे टैलिजू।

यहाँ तो लिखिये इंदरने देशानी। २४०। तव चारो कोणा राज
लिख० है। तव एक जलमिया टैल कर लिखरी। की रे दुर्बा कह
महीना जलम कोह्री बनसार हो।

लिखिन पदन सवे भेजवन। तव बहिया समटे पटवरिया हो। २४५।
ब्राह्मी सारितिया ब्राह्मीयां घरिया है। की रे दुर्बा तिरिया पुष्कर गंगवा
जे है धासन हो। जब धासन तिरिया पुष्कर जेल चललाद। सुशन सपनवा
दुखवा देलकार। मूं धासन जेठी बूढी भी सुखधनी। २५०। हसरे सेवनवा
गे चक्की नंद इंदरासन के। लिखिन पदन करिये हम छेरलिजत। ताती ने
खुदन तोरी कोल में स्वतन्त्र लेलउ भी। ब्राह्मी सारितिया ब्राह्मी घरिये
हो। की रे दुर्बा चक्की नंद गरभ रही गेजउ हो। २५५। जब तो नउ
महीना कोक्षा जेल बूढी खुशधन हो। की रे दस महीना चक्की नंद
लेलकार अंजूत हो। जब तो जलमिया मरता लेलकार। बुखान छोलाई
नहरो गनउलकार। राम के नहरों हैं चक्की नंद। २६०। की रे दुर्बा
दुलरे नहरों धरलाद नोरिक संजार।

In the following verses, which were collected from a different reciter, much of the preceding matter is repeated. They commence with invocations to Rāma and to Durgā.

उद्रत राम राम वदुद्रत राम राम। राम के नाम जाँ हम जनहरू।
तो झोचा पिछडी हम दूध वन। गंगा जी के गंगुटी माती ला के पिछडी
देठौँ नीपाय। भाग बेरी सुमिर लेतौँ माता भेजरी। २६५। रहती पैरे
दुखवा मा। दृति सुमिर।

तब बोल उदचार दुखवा मा। इंदर जी हमरा मेजलश मरत भुजन।
मरत भुजन में एक कर बदुदरा मोरा भेज। जोध में टैलापा लागी
जेल। २७०। तब मरत भुजन में उठ के दुखवा कोल्हास भेज। लेटरा
चेतरा पहिर के। बाँधी भर के झालुर फहरा के। देढ़ के पीकड़ उठरी
लगड़ल जाः। जा के दुखवा इंदरासन के दुरारी महलन ठार। २७५।
सातो भद्या इंदरन सव दुखवा के देढ़ के कापरमान। तब इंदरन सव
बहिया सो कहलक फरमाइ। कलज बढूष तोरा घाटलाद के मरत भुजन
से चढ़ले कवीलास।
तब बील उठल महाया दुषगा इंद्रन सब समझा | हम भागण पाता भहया मरत भुजन | २५० | तीन चापाध महल न गाह | प्रतवर जोघा सिरिजल हुः मरत भुजन में | राजा हेरवा राजा परेवा चब जोघा जीधी पतरा | राजा हेरवा प्रतवर हुः चधम बङ्दाल | जउन कहदिया के बांदीराज में वाँधं हुः | २५५ | बड़ा कहदी मर मर गाह | चहु जुगान कहदी बूढ़ा हो गाह | राजा हेरवा के मंत्री मनार जीत | ची भी चधम बङ्दाल | कहदिया नोगन के चाउट चाउट के पनिया बिलछाद | २५० | चउ पात पात मर के पुनी चोकर के लिठिया बिलछाद | तेकरा में के आधा आधा मंत्री के लेठ | आदमी चन्न विण भुखल चदनी के मास तीर के खाद | प्रतवर बिरियार जोघा बिकटपूर जीडिया | पतर चधम बङ्दाल | २५५ | सोरह सदू कनिया के रखल हुः कुमार | जउन कनिया के चावर हुः बिरियार | गभेल मार के कनिया के एक राज रखर हुः सुःताद | जिनिया हरन के कोट्ठे दे हुः हो | एक गुरवा में हजर बुढ़िया गोडीरिन | ३०० | नाम बुढ़िया गिनत उठ गंगा नेहार गिनत उठ दे हुः धूप जमामाँ | से तिरिया के परल हुः बौढ़ नाम | हे इंदर जी हमरा बिरिया दे दो।

तब महाया दुषगा इंदरासन में भेली ठाड | तब इंदर सब कहियन अन्यन सेवक लेख उठार | ३०५ | तब महाया दुषगा इंदर सहम्स्क के लेलकूद पकर | तब इंदर सहम्स्क गेलख पराय | तब डाँक दानव के दुशगा लेलकूद पकर | तब डाँक दानव भी सब गेला भाग | मरत भुजन में आवे के कोदेन न करद किल | ३१० | तब दुषगा भेला जाम्मा के किनारा | तब बुढ़ा बोहदा जी चुलर हुला लोडिया के सकार | तब दुषगा बाँध धर चे लेलकूद पकर | चल बुढ़ा बोहदा साथ मरत भुजन | हे दुषगा महाया हम न जावाद मरता के भुजन | ३३५ | हमरा सात जलम मरता के भुजन में भेल हुड | पहिला जलम भेला हम महाया दुषगा मकरी-घर जलम | तब महाया सब बेरहाल के मास बिच के खाडक | तब जलम भेला में महाया दुषगा बराह के रूप | राज नोफन महाया भोंक मार टेलन | ३२० | तब जलम भेला महाया दुषगा देवकी बेर पेट | तब नै महाया दुषगा मास हुल हरम परम बङ्दाल | से से मोर महाया बाप के बाँध के नाद टेलक बेदीखान | आधी रात मारै के महहना में जलम मोरा भेल | तब इंदर नत सब सीने के पुड़िया भेल टेल | ३२५ | तब बावा इंदरन जीरा भु अवदुःनिया के बाँदीर टेल भराह | तब राजा कंस के खोरिया बच गेली | तब राजा कंस मोरा खोजो जो बचीज | तब हम जह जह उठर हुल हुला पुडिया के चाँद | तहसी नादे हमारे बेर हुल बुढ़ | ३३० | बौढ़ के वौगुलिया के के जम्मा गेली हुल बिनार | तब बहस्वली बजाड के सोरह सद राधिका के लेलन बोलाह | तब सोरह सद राधिका मटुका चलक उठार | तब राधि सब चलकी जम्मा के किनार | दही मोर खा गेल मदुखिया टेलक पोर | ३३५ | धर बुढ़िया मोरा टेलक धबकरेयर
चिरवा पहिरले मोरा देखक ले के फारि। तब राधिका सब कंस हिंदुकाँ के कलक हूँ गोहार। मुनहैं है मुनहैं मोरा कंस वात। देवी की पेटवा में कहूँगरा पढ़ैरा लेन । 380। सोई मोरा कलक बारहो विगोहर। तब कंस राजा चमुंगा किमारे जारे गेल। तब बोलैं कहूँगरा जी कंस सुमुखाई। मुनहैं न सुन मोरा कंस मामू वात। इमरा मदिया वाप के तू कहूँ हैं विगोहर। 384। खूब हम तोहर मूँड़ काट कर राज लेवउ हिंदुकाइ। तब कोल हूँ कंस राजा कहूँगरा सुमुखाई। मुनहैं न कहूँगरा तू वचन हमार। इमरा मार के कहूँगरा लेवू राज हिंदुकाइ। इमरा दुड़ते वात केर देखूँ गुराई। 340। राख केर जोरवा देख न बताई। खूबैं केर कपड़ा देखूँहैं न विवाहाई। तब हमर मूँड़ काट के बोल बुढ़ी। तब कहूँगरा जी राख केर जोरवा देख गदाई। खूबैं खूबैं केर कपड़ा देख गदाई विवाहाई। 354। तब राख देख के मुंझिया लेलक काटी। तब राज दार लेलक कहूँगरा जी कहूँहै गाहै में।

तब कहूँगरा जी घृंजन घरेलू के सहकप। तब बाहं मुरैना वारनुज़ मुलवा के पास। तब मदिया दुकसा बाँधिया धकेर लेलक पकर। 360। इमरा मदिया दुकसा लेले आू हूँ भोरी। जसूंगन कानून कानून चबूंज के खाये के डकूम देखूँ मोर। कानून चबूंज मदिया दुकसा देखूँ पीए ला मोर। कानून हिंदुवरा मदिया दुकसा देखूँ कांदी ला मोर। वर्गी। समे मदिया दुकसा होतूर मोर वियाह। 365। तबे मदिया दुकसा देखूँ हूँ जवाह। खायै केर भिंडता बाबू बासू भट्टी रोज़। बासू खासी चलना मिलनू रोज़। बासू मन के खाउँडा देख उतार हिंदुवरा। बहुरत मन के बुजुर्गा तोरा रे बुझाई। 370। चौंडरारी मन के देवत बुजुर्गा कमर कटार। खूबैं चबूंज के देवत बुजुर्गा घोड़ा गाकार। खूबैं पहिला विश्वया होतूउ दुज़ा मारूर बाबू। दौसरे उड़ार होतूउ चंत्रलाइ के साथ। तब तू राज दार जबूँे विकुटपुर चंगठिय के भूम। 375। तब राख विकांगा धकेर के बाँधता कंदे में महिनव। तबैं कवे महिनवा बुजुर्गा रखता तोरा कुंजरा के बादा में। कवे तो महिनवा रहे बुजुर्गा निदिया गदाई में। तोरा बोलैं केर मारो से नहीं मरवही। वर्गम के भायी में तू नहीं मरवही। 380। खूबैं निदिया गदाई में तू नहीं मरवही। तोरा मलन हूँ कटने नहीं बिहियाई। पहिले राजा कसमा बुजुर्गा। राम के देहम बिस्व ू हूँ खंडर देख बनावार। 385। दुज़ार केर नहीं होतूउ विश्वया बुजुर्ग। खूब दुकसा चली मेला बुझिया खुल्हन हूँ पास। मदिया दुकसा देखकारु मलवा सुभाई। तब बुझिया खुल्हन के गरम रही मेल। नवे तो महिनवा बुजुर्गा केर गदाई। 390। बाहं वरस बुजुर्गा भेल सुभाई। तब मलत राजल घोबी खूबैं लोरिक केर हूँ पोखरिया पर दंड। खूबैं उहैं सहरा सती खूबैं बिजाघर दुनी देख के लोरिक के पढ़ा मलवा।
REVIEWS OF BOOKS

THE GEORGE EUMORFOPOULOS COLLECTION CATALOGUE OF THE
CHINESE AND COREAN BRONZES, SCULPTURE, JADES, JEWELLERY
AND MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS. By W. PERCEVAL YETTS. Vol. I:
Bronzes, Ritual and Other Vessels, Weapons, etc. 17½ × 12½,
pp. xii + 89, pls. 75 + figs. 46. London: Ernest Benn, 1929.
£12 12s.

The long first chapter, "Inscriptions on Bronzes" in Mr. Yetts' book is certainly by far the best introduction to the study of Chinese script and palæography that has been published so far. It is written with a strictly scientific exactitude and thoroughness, and at the same time it is easily read and interesting, with a good sense of what is essential and what can be left unsaid.

Mr. Yetts starts with a review of the traditional opinion of the history and evolution of Chinese writing, such as is embodied in the introduction to the dictionary Shuo wen kie tsî by Hû Shên. Then the author gives a rapid survey of the recent discoveries, which have forced us considerably to modify our views. If it ought to have been obvious long ago that the traditions about the most ancient stages of the Chinese script are so many myths, we now have to change our opinions still more radically, thanks to the discovery of the Honan oracle bones. The works of Lo Chên-yü, Wang Kuo-wei, Takata Tadasuke, and L. C. Hopkins now have to be taken into serious account.

The detailed discussion of the "six scripts" is useful and necessary as a background for all that follows. I wish to point out, however, a statement which must be said to be erroneous or at least misleading. Mr. Yetts says (p. 9): "Many words, formerly homophonous, have changed in pronunciation with lapse of time; and so the Phonetic Compounds ... no longer represent a phonetic mode of script." Instead of "homophonous" one should say "nearly homophonous", for according to all linguistic experience there is a law—formulated by the "Junggrammatici" half a century ago—that the same sound combinations under the same conditions develop in exactly the same way. Hence, two words really homophonous in Archaic Chinese, say two different kap, could never develop into phonetically different forms in modern Chinese, so that one became, for example, ko and the other kao or something of that kind. They will always run along together, whatever their evolution might be, so that both become
ko in Pekinese and both kap in Cantonese, etc. (except isolated deviations due to mixing of dialects). But if they were only nearly homophonous, the result of a diverging evolution may prove disastrous, in the way Mr. Yetts has in view. A kap becomes a Pekinese ko, and served as phonetic in a kiap, which has become (kiap > kiā >) chiē in Peking—and then certainly the hie shêng character “no longer represents a phonetic mode of script”. Mr. Yetts in a very happy way brings out the results of recent researches, and adds materially to them himself, as, for instance, in the discussion of the existence of the writing brush already in the oldest script epochs.

A much more dangerous topic is the question whether the various script types, ku-wēn, great seal, small seal, etc., are to be considered as consecutive stages, in accordance with the traditional opinion, or as parallel and co-existing modes of writing. It is the fashion at present to go very far in the latter direction, and Mr. Yetts unreservedly endorses the views of Lo Chên-yü to the effect that Li Sî (or the experts which at his command made the small seal the standard writing of the Ts'ìn dynasty—whether Li or his coadjuditors were responsible for the actual detail work is of little importance) was only a standardizer, not an inventor, and only made obligatory a script form, which had been in use in Ts'ìn for many centuries—indeed from Yin time, since thirty to forty per cent of the readable oracle characters agree with the small seal forms. Here Mr. Yetts concludes (p. 13): “In the light of the foregoing, it would seem rash to assume, as some have done, that Li Sû and the other Ch'in standardizers failed to interpret old forms rightly, and consequently invented new characters. These supposed misinterpretations and novelties may have long been known in the west of China, where the State of Ch'in had for centuries exercised the chief power. Likewise, the alleged creation of phonetic compounds under the Ch'in seems open to question.”

This statement calls for objections in both its parts. That the Ts'ìn standardizers did really distort the earlier characters, giving them altered elements which spoil the etymology, and that they thus were really “inventors” and not only standardizers, can be easily proved. Take, for instance, the word bufio. The small seal makes it consist of 來 and 月 (a “bundle” of days), whereas all bronze inscriptions, as far as I have been able to detect, make it (or its derivates) from 月 and bufio (phonetic); and the oracle inscriptions have still another totally different character, identified as bufio by Wang Kuo-wei.
has in the small seal two mouths (kou) at the top, but in the very numerous cases where this character occurs in the inscriptions, you find two upward strokes ending in circles—something totally different from the "mouths" of the small seal (which were interpreted as phonetic by Hû Shên). Again 乍 (u.f. 作 in the inscriptions) consists, in the small seal, of — and 亡, the latter having a 入 at the top. Among the hundreds of cases where you find this character in the Yin and Chou inscriptions, there is not a single case, as far as I know, where you can safely attest a 入 (ju) element in 乍. Many more cases could be adduced, but these will be sufficient. Since the small seal forms of these characters are *entirely missing* from the total material at our disposal from Yin and Chou time, we are certainly not entitled to guess that they "may have long been known in the west of China".

As for the creation of new hie shêng characters, it obviously went on, not only in Ts'in time, but in Han time and for centuries into the Christian era. The number of characters in the Chou literature are only a few thousand. Hû Shên, having hunted eagerly and long for characters, managed to bring together a thesaurus of 10,526 characters, and the K'ang-hi dictionary contains more than 40,000. It is of course impossible to suppose that all these myriads of characters (many of which are purely learned words) existed already in the Chou period.

The truth about Li Sî and his coadjutors will very likely prove to lie between the traditional opinion and the extreme one expressed by Mr. Yetts. A good half of the ancient characters used in Ts'in (and probably in various courts) since time immemorial were simple and practical enough to be accepted without further ado. Such as were not, Li simplified, and happened now and then, in so doing, to distort their composition. Mr. Yetts deciphers his inscriptions in a highly interesting and instructive way. For the shorter ones he has ample support in similar inscriptions in the big Chinese repertories, for the longer ones he has been able to consult various modern Eastern scholars. But his own part is far from negligible. With great acumen and fine "flair," he chooses from the bewildering maze of interpretations the elements which seem most acceptable to a Western mind, and his commentaries, though brief, are very suggestive. It is to be hoped that Mr. Yetts, who has shown himself, by this work, to possess a thorough and scholarly acquaintance with the whole of the existing literature in this extremely difficult field, will carry on his researches and give us an extensive "bronze epigraphy of China" for the Western student. Some very good materials for such a work Mr. Yetts gives
already in the present volume: the extensive bibliography of both Chinese and foreign works on the topic. It is true that there exists a comprehensive Chinese bibliography *金石書目* *Kin shih shu mu* by 黃立猷 Huang Li-yu (No. 74 in Yetts’ list). But as this appeared but recently, Mr. Yetts has had to bring together himself the great number of bibliographical data which he offers the student. And his list, so far as it goes, is superior to that of Huang inasmuch as it gives a description—short but to the point—of the works he recommends. Mr. Yetts’ list is a good selection of the most important publications on the subject, and as a matter of fact nearly every work of greater importance has been recorded by him. One would like to add, nevertheless, two items which are quite important, especially as they are among those of which Wang Kuo-wei has made a useful index in his 國朝金文著錄表 (in the 王氏遺書):

從古堂欽識學 *Ts'ung ku t'ang k'uan shih hue*, by 徐同柏 Sū T'ung-po.

敬吾心室彝器欽識 *King wu sin shih i k'i k'uan shih*, by 朱善旃 Chu Shan-k'i.

To the items on the Honan oracle inscriptions should be added the 龜甲獸骨文字 *Kuei kia shou ku wen ts'ü* (1917) by the Japanese scholar Hayashi (林泰輔).

In the list of Western books I miss some important German publications: B. Schindler: *Die Entwicklung der chinesischen Schrift aus ihren Grundelementen*, (Ostas. Zeitsschr. iii); B. Schindler: *Die Prinzipien der chinesischen Schriftbildung*, (ibid. iv); and A. Conrady: *Die chinesischen Handschriften und sonstigen Kleinfunde Sven Hedins in Lou-lan* (1920). On the whole, however, the bibliography is quite exhaustive, and greatly enhances the value of Mr. Yetts’ beautiful work.

B. KARLGREN.

When it comes to the question of collecting Chinese antiquities, it may be justly said that the earth can be divided into three main areas. The first may be named the home province, China and Japan, with the magnificent Government collection at Peking and private Chinese collections still not catalogued, and for this reason much too imperfectly known to Western connoisseurs. Japan stands pre-eminent because of the wonderful art treasures of the Shosoin and the unparalleled Sumitomo Collection of bronzes. Second in age and importance comes Europe, with many collecting centres, Government museums as well as private collectors. The third region, of most
recent age but full of promising possibilities, is the United States of America.

Hsiian-ho po ku t'u lu, the illustrated catalogue of bronzes in Emperor Hui-tsung’s collection, is the prototype of catalogues of Chinese bronze vessels, and probably it is one of the earliest archaeological works handed down to our own time. Another imperial catalogue was published by the Emperor Ch’ien Lung, and in more recent times grand-seigneurs like Tuan Fang and learned scholars like Lo Chên-Yü have carried on the tradition. In Japan the masterly publication dealing with the Shosoin treasures and the catalogue of the Sumitomo Collection of bronzes stand out as admirable modern contributions to the literature of art catalogues. Collecting in the American region is of too recent date for serious and systematic catalogue work to have started yet. It is still bent exclusively upon the conquest of art treasures, but the unlimited financial resources and the scientific spirit of the American students of Far Eastern Art is an ample guarantee that in due time our American colleagues will contribute their full share to the literature on the antiquities of Ancient China.

Among the many collections of Chinese antiques in Europe only one, the Eumorfopoulos Collection in London, in view of the wealth of its material and the splendour of the Catalogue, is worthy of mention side by side with the famous collections of the Far East. In the building up of this unique collection Mr. George Eumorfopoulos has been guided mainly by his unfailing taste and profound knowledge of Chinese art treasures. In planning the catalogue of his collection he had been highly favoured by the close and enthusiastic collaboration of prominent British scholars, such as Hobson, Binyon, and now Dr. W. Percival Yetts. Of these Dr. Yetts is the one who possesses by far the widest background of Far Eastern learning. As a medical officer in the Navy and later at the British Legation in Peking, Dr. Yetts spent many years in China, and used his time to the best advantage by acquiring a thorough knowledge of the spoken and written Chinese language as well as the literature on Chinese antiquities.

This splendid volume, the ninth of the Catalogue, which was published last February, bears abundant witness to Dr. Yetts’ familiarity with the native literature on Chinese bronzes. Professor B. Karlsgren has already discussed Dr. Yetts’ valuable analyses of the inscriptions on the bronze vessels, and here it suffices to mention his successful effort to bring order into the chaotic nomenclature of the
various types of bronze vessels. Another most valuable contribution is his study of the methods employed by the ancient Chinese artisans in casting their bronzes, a line of research which he has pursued not only with the aid of literary sources and the examination of actual specimens, but also in the light of the technique of bronze casting in general.

It goes without saying that the illustrations of the bronzes come fully up to the admirable standard set by the earlier volumes by Hobson and Binyon. In fact, these marvellous plates, and especially those reproduced in colour, give to the enchanted reader such complete illusion that only the sense of touch remains unsatisfied. It seems only just to give due credit for this wonderful illustrative material also to the publishers, Messrs. Ernest Benn, Ltd.

In describing the tripods, Dr. Yetts correctly emphasizes the fact that there exist intermediate specimens between the two main types, Ting and Li. This statement is fully corroborated not only by the bronze vessels reproduced by Yetts but also by several Neolithic clay tripods in the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm. I have little doubt, however, that these intermediate forms are only secondary and that each of the two types of tripods originated quite independently of the other. It seems entirely probable that the Ting tripod originated as a clay bowl, which was used for cooking by placing it upon three supporting stones, which were later replaced by three clay-legs attached to the cauldron. This cooking utensil with three solid legs has a world-wide distribution. In striking contrast to the universally known Ting tripod stands the Li, which seems to be an inheritance of the Chinese people alone. I have treated this problem in my Preliminary Report on Archaeological Research in Kansu, pp. 46-8, where I have made an attempt to explain the origin of the strange Li vessel as having been invented by the merging of three vessels with pointed bottoms in order to form a household utensil that could stand by itself, while at the same time offering a large contact surface to the fire when used for cooking. Independently of me, and even earlier, Hubert Schmidt has expressed the same idea (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1924).

Dr. Yetts has devoted an interesting passage to the interpretation of the family of bronze weapons that are known among the Chinese antiquaries under the names k'uei and ko. There is only one remark to be made on this part of his work: the use of the term “halberd” to denote these weapons will only add to the confusion already existing.
Earlier I have followed Schetelig in comparing the *ko* with the *hache poignard* of the early Bronze Age of Europe, and there is certainly a general similarity between the two types, though they are undoubtedly of quite independent origin. These Chinese arms have nothing in common with the halberd, as the true halberd always had an elongated pike-head at the end of the staff. On the other hand the Chinese antiquarians mention a weapon named *chi* which appears frequently upon the Wu Liang tomb reliefs of Shantung. This type *chi* in some essentials comes much nearer to the true halberd than the *ko* and *k’uei*; nevertheless, I feel very strongly that all these Chinese types of arms should best be designated by their Chinese names. Specimens of the type *chi* made in iron have been discovered by the Japanese archaeologists during their excavations in Corea. It may be worth mentioning that the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm has recently received two *chi* made of bronze, one very similar to text-figure 46 of Yetts’ work, the other quite a different type. Together with the two *k’uei*, A 152 and A 153, Yetts illustrates a weapon, A 154, which he speaks of as a knife. This statement is entirely incomprehensible, as A 154 is manifestly a *k’uei* with the clearly visible mark of the transversely attached wooden haft. In the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities we have some *k’uei* of exactly the same type and with evident traces of the transversely attached haft.

The more familiar we become with the small Chinese bronzes (tools, weapons, horse trappings, etc., as opposed to the bronze vessels) the more clearly do we realize that there exist among the material derived from the Peking market two entirely independent styles of art, which influenced one another in the course of their geographical contact, but were in their main features very different. One is the genuine Chinese style of art undergoing a marked development, from the style of late Chou to that of Ch‘in-Han, the other is the style of art of the steppe nomads living in the deserts and on the grassy plains of the North. The Chinese style of art has long been known and extensively studied, the style of the steppe nomads has been recognized in Northern China during the last two decades only, and has been named by most authors *Scythian*, a term which has been used by Dr. Yetts only within quotation marks, evidently in order to show that this careful scholar is well aware that the term is not appropriate when used for objects from the northern borderlands of China. In my lectures in London, Cambridge, Paris, and Berlin in the early part of this year I advocated a somewhat modified terminology,
using for the whole vast area covered by the style formerly named "Sceythian" the term suggested by Hubert Schmidt the "Eurasian Animal style", and I furthermore distinguished within this region four main provinces: Euxine, Ananino, Minusinsk, and Suiyuan, the last name denoting the Sino-Mongolian border-lands. The vast majority of the small bronzes in the Eumorfopoulos Catalogue belong to the Chinese style of art, but a small number are to be regarded as belonging to the animal style.

The two specimens that are described by Yetts as "Sceythian" I consider to be somewhat doubtful members of the family. A 151, an axe-head, seems to me rather closely related to the Ch'in stage of the Chinese bronze style, though it should be readily admitted that the Ch'in stage is specially closely interwoven with the animal style of the Northern steppes. A 156, a sword with antennae, has a distant connection with some daggers of the animal style, but is very far removed from the typical specimens. In the Catalogue there are four other objects, which I consider to belong probably or certainly to the animal style: A 168 is beyond doubt a knife of this group; and A 145 and A 146, two axe-heads, can be proved to belong to the animal style, thanks mainly to a specimen in the David Weill Collection in Paris. I consider it probable that A 97, an ornament belonging to the top of a staff, is also a member of the animal style group, but it would take me too far to give here the whole series of deductions which have led me to this opinion.

I think it very appropriate to conclude this small note by paying a tribute to Mr. Eumorfopoulos, the builder of that wonderful monument which has been so admirably described by three British scholars, Hobson, Binyon, and Yetts. It is only thanks to a most fortunate combination—rare among amateur collectors—of a scientific spirit and perfect aesthetic taste that he has been able to carry out such a splendid achievement. All the world over students of Chinese art and antiquities think of the Eumorfopoulos home on the Chelsea Embankment as a Holy Mecca, to which they long to make a pilgrimage for study and inspiration.

J. G. ANDERSSON.
A HISTORY OF ARABIAN MUSIC TO THE XIIIITH CENTURY. By H. G.
1929. 15s.

Dr. Farmer's studies in Arabian music are too well known to
require comment. By the extent and thoroughness of his researches
he has gone a fair way towards revolutionizing our knowledge of both
the technique of Islamic music and its influence in mediaeval Europe.
His new work is the first volume in a systematic survey of the whole
field, and forms a sort of historical prolegomena to the more technical
side of the subject. The chapters follow the conventional chrono-
logical divisions (i, The Jāhiliyya; ii, The Rise of Īslām; iii, The
Orthodox Caliphs; iv, The Umayyads, etc.). Each chapter is sub-
divided into three sections, the first expounding the relevant political
and cultural data, the second the various factors, social, legal, and
technical, which influenced the musical life of the period, the third
"the biographies of all the celebrated composers, singers, instru-
mentalists, theorists, scientists, and littérateurs". Apart from the
importance of these detailed surveys for the history of Arabian music,
the materials which Dr. Farmer has put together with such diligence
are likely to prove of great value in other fields of Arabic studies.
Chapter ii is mainly devoted to a discussion on the place of music
and musicians in Muslim Tradition and law, which is of special interest
to students of Islamic jurisprudence. A still wider field of research
which he has opened up (though without himself touching on it at all)
is the influence of music on the development of Arabic poetry—a
subject which has hitherto received surprisingly little attention from
Arabic scholars. The large repertory of facts collected in chapters
i, iii, and iv, even though many of them will doubtless dissolve into
air under a closer scrutiny, should prove of the greatest service to
the future investigator of this insistent problem. On these subjects
as well as on music, Dr. Farmer's book promises to be one of the most
stimulating productions of recent years.

A few errors of detail have crept into the historical sections. Why
rajaż is defined as "unrhymed poetry" on p. 9 is not clear, since
in its customary form rajaż has just twice as many rhymes as the
more complex metres. On p. 188, by a curious misunderstanding,
the Murābīţs (Almoravides) are called Murāwids. In his account
of Ishāq al-Mawṣili Dr. Farmer has not brought out the fact, stated
by Ahlwardt, that Ishāq followed the classical school of music of
Ibn Jāmi’ in preference to the school of his father Ibrāhîm—a point
of some importance if it is true. With a bibliography covering seventeen pages, there can be little that the author has overlooked; the principal omissions which I have noted are Martin Hartmann's brochure *Metrum und Rhythmus*, Mez's *Die Renaissance des Islams*, Ahlwardt's introduction to the *Weinlieder* of Abū Nuwās, and an interesting treatise of al-Jāḥīz (رسالة في الفيان, published by Dr. Finkel at Cairo in 1926) which supplements the notices on singing-girls contained in the *Ağhānī*. The very detailed material contained in volumes iv and v of Nuwayri's encyclopaedia does not seem to have been utilized, though the work is quoted in the Bibliography, but possibly the issue of these volumes came too late to allow Dr. Farmer to draw upon them.

H. A. R. G.

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The literature on the Ajanta Caves and their frescoes has already grown to considerable dimensions, but many of these books are costly and some of them are now un procurable; in any case, the present volume, in consideration of merits of its own, is a welcome addition to this literature. Mr. Vakil gives a detailed description of the more important caves, with accounts of the paintings, architecture, and sculpture, and a critical estimate of the character of the art they represent. He writes as an enthusiast, and his text is as attractive as it is well informed. The illustrations have been carefully chosen and are remarkably clear. The work reflects great credit not only on the author, but on the publishers, who have attained a degree of excellence seldom found in productions of the Indian press.

T. W. Arnold.

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Everyone interested in the Muhammadan architecture of India is acquainted with the deserted city of Fathpūr Sikrī, but the still more extensive ruins of Mandū in Central India, having been rather more difficult of access before the days of motors, have been little visited and are consequently less familiar to the average reader. Mandū was the capital of the independent Muhammadan kingdom
of Malwa for 130 years until in 1531 it was annexed by Bahādur Shāh, Sultan of Gujarāt, and was incorporated into the Moghul empire by Akbar about thirty years later. During the period of its independence it was governed by a series of rulers whose annals make entertaining reading, the last of whom Bāz Bahādur has attained undying fame through the romantic story of his love for Rupmati. Their capital was situated on the summit of a hill more than 2,000 feet above sea-level and separated from the main plateau of Malwa by a deep ravine; the top of the hill, which is almost flat, was protected by walls about 25 miles in length. Several of the Sultans of Malwa were great builders, and their palaces and mosques of considerable architectural merit still remain in a fair state of preservation, though for more than two centuries the ruins have been abandoned to wild beasts, and panthers still patrol the streets at night. Mr. Yazdani, the talented Director of Archaeology in H.E.H. the Nizam's dominions, has compiled an attractive guide to the monuments of this city, and, unlike most guides, it affords pleasant reading even to those who have not the good fortune to visit the site. The volume is finely illustrated with photographs and plans.

T. W. ARNOLD.

A Coptic Dictionary. Compiled by W. E. CRUM. (Part I : æ–ειουε.) Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929. 42s. net. (To be completed in five parts; subscription price for the whole, £7 7s.)

For previous Coptic lexicography, see the heading Wörterbücher on p. 447 of Stern's Koptische Grammatik (Leipzig, 1880). I transcribe his list, shortening his entries and giving them numbers:

(1) Kircher, Lingua aegyptiaca restituta, Rome, 1644. (Contains the scae of medieval Egyptian scholars.)
(2) Lacroze-Scholz-Woide, Lexicon aegyptiaco-latinum, Oxford, 1775.
(3) Rossi, Etymologae aegyptiaceae, Rome, 1808.
(5) Peyron, Lexicon linguæ copticæ, Turin, 1835.
(7) Goodwin, Gleanings in Coptic lexicography, ÄZ., 1869–71.
(8) Kabis, Auctarium lexici coptici A. Peyron, ÄZ., 1874–6.

So far Stern. To these add:

(9) Auctarium ad Peyronis lexicon copticum, Berlin, 1896. (Compiled from (7), (8) and other contributions to Coptic lexicography published in ÄZ.)
(10) Claudius Labib, Πίλεζικον Πατακτι Περαικχαλ, Cairo, 1895–1915. (Coptic-Arabic, five parts, α–ζ only; it ceased publication at the death of its author, and his remaining materials were dissipated.)

(11) Spiegelberg, Koptisches Handwörterbuch, Heidelberg, 1921.

Of those, (1) is a source-book, (2) (3) (4) out of date, (6) a compilation from (5) and (4), depending too much on the unscientific (4), and (10) is of little practical use to Western scholars, though it contains some material not accessible elsewhere. We depended almost entirely upon (5), with which we bound up (9), if we were so fortunate as to possess it; so that our working dictionary was nearly a hundred years old, supplemented by contributions to the technical Egyptological journal.

(11) marked a great step forward: but its aim was primarily etymological; the entries are ordinarily little more than a single line, and its essential feature is a column giving the ancient Egyptian equivalent of each Coptic word, in hieroglyphic script and transcription. There are almost no citations or indications of grammatical use—it is a vocabulary with derivations, not a dictionary. But it saved Mr. Crum much labour and his printer much expense. "Its most conspicuous novelty," he says of it, "is the addition, in all cases where justifiable, of the hieroglyphic or demotic etymology of the Coptic form. Some students will regret the absence of this important element from the present work and it was only after much hesitation that I decided to omit it. I cannot claim an independent judgment as to the appositeness of a demotic etymology, while to reproduce these in hieroglyphic type—for a mere transcription satisfies no one—would greatly have increased costs and yet have added nothing of adequate importance to what Spiegelberg has already given us." This may be illustrated by a single example. δοϊή: harp, says Mr. Crum, "meaning assured by determinative of hieroglyphic bnt"; and turning up the word in Spiegelberg we find its derivation $\text{ derives from } \deltaοιη\nu$. The works of the English and the German scholar are complementary.

But it is time to speak of Crum’s labours in the field of lexicography strictly so called. He has for a good deal more than twenty years been working through the whole of published Coptic texts, and has drawn upon much material yet unpublished: it is really an extraordinary feat for a single scholar, and this dictionary places him in the ranks of those orientalists who have advanced their studies
by a whole stage. It is safe to say that henceforward nobody will ever edit a Coptic text or discuss any aspect of the Coptic language without Crum’s help, and that his work will remain a lasting asset to British scholarship. The greatest accretion of material since Peyron’s day is in the region of non-literary texts, which were practically non-existent a hundred years ago. Owing to the absence of Greek originals, they are far more difficult of interpretation than literary matter, and Crum has quite often to admit of a word “meaning uncertain” or even “meaning unknown”; but in countless instances his skill and knowledge have adduced a certain or probable explanation, on many occasions by an ingenious emendation modestly put forward with a mark of interrogation.

Considerations of space and expense of printing have forced him to omit proper names and the Greek words which occur with such frequency in Coptic, but even here he has supplied some valuable help. When a Greek word is so deformed that it has assumed a Coptic form, he includes it; e.g. άνθεος (= πίναξ) and the enigmatical οὖθει sulphur, which must apparently be θεῖον: and though proper names are not entered as such, he gives them as derivatives; for instance, at the end of his article on ειλούλε (Ἄλουλι) grape, he quotes personal names παλόλιθ, πατλολε, πατλολε, Πατελλολε, πατελλολε, πατρομος, Παλολις, Πελολε, παλολε, τελλολε, τερεμου and place-names πιαραλολι, πιαντελλολε, τότος Τελολε, τέγω παλαλι, ομαλολετ = ούλας, Ψιελολε, of course all with references.

There is hardly any element of Coptic grammar more difficult than its prepositions. For an example of skilful arrangement I would recommend the reader to test the article on ε-, which Crum introduces as follows (I expand contractions):—ε- Sa’idic, Bohairic, Fayoumic λ- Achmimic, Old-Coptic, with suffix ερο. (ερο. in 2nd person plural) Sa’idic and Bohairic, αρα- Achmimic and Old-Coptic, ελα- Fayoumic, preposition (hieroglyphic r), simple or compound with noun: ενολ, ελαν, ερη-, ερατ-, ετδε-, ετοετ-, εροθ- ερολ, ερομ, ερον, εκιν; or with article and noun: επικοτε, επεσοι, επιγρυπο, επολε, επίκε, εοι; also in verbal prefix third future εβε- Sa’idic, Bohairic, εβα- Achmimic. Often strengthened by preceding εβολ, εροθ, εσρι, ερολ, with hardly changed meaning. Used for many purposes, chief of which are here illustrated. . . .” The illustrative citations then occupy four
columns, and the treatment appears to be both exhaustive and clear.

The dictionary is to be completed in five parts: every orientalist will wish Crum the health and strength to put his work through rapidly and to have the satisfaction of receiving the congratulations of the learned world on a linguistic monument aere perennius.

S. GASELEE.

ENGLISH-PUNJABI DICTIONARY. By W. P. HARES, of the Church Missionary Society. 7½ x 5. pp. iii + 478. Lahore, 1929. Rs. 5s.

This a very useful little dictionary, larger than its predecessors. It gives the Panjabi for over 14,000 English words and owing to its small size is a very convenient book to carry about. The number of words translated assures one’s being able to find some rendering for nearly all the things one wants to talk about. The Panjabi words are good, and if a European learns them all he will have an extensive knowledge of the language, while the proverbs quoted will enable him to add spice to his conversation.

The book gives one the impression of having been sent to the press before it was quite ready; when a second edition is called for it should be carefully revised. With a view to increasing its usefulness I may venture to make some suggestions.

It would be helpful if the compiler stated clearly which dialect of Panjabi he has chiefly kept in mind, whether the Eastern (Amritsar and the east), or the Western (Lahore and the west). A missionary is very unlikely to live long enough in the two areas to be able to deal satisfactorily with both forms of speech, and it might be better to take one dialect, perhaps putting in brackets such words from the other as may have been collected.

We need an explanation of the pronunciation intended by the letters used, and some further signs are required. The sign Ṽ is made to stand for four sounds which are usually distinguished, viz. cerebral Ṽ, velar Ṽ, dental or alveolar Ṽ, and lastly nasalization of vowels. Consequently a reader is constantly in doubt as to the correct sound. Thus, to take random examples, we find on p. 1 achâncak and nîvâ; on p. 38 jaṅgi and maṅkâ; and on p. 283 gaṅ and dhaṅ. Actually these words are acâncak, nîvā, jaṅgī, maṅkâ, gaṅ, dhaṅ. This vocabulary does not use cerebral ⟨⟩, but unless the western area is definitely to be excluded, ⟨⟩ should be indicated whenever it occurs. Words like nāl, kol, gal, pālā, in place of nāl, kol, gal, pālā,
sound ludicrous in a western village. My servants often laughed at a "silly man who said pālā for pālā". Similarly cerebral n should be printed much more freely (e.g. for most infinitives), and where western words differ from eastern in the use of n, the difference should be indicated.

The compiler says in his preface that when a word is written in several ways he has tried to regularize the spelling and adopt the commonest. He is right in systematizing the spelling, but he might well do so more completely, for there are still many inconsistencies. (We find dhíth, thíth, thitth for the same word.) As regards the second point the aim ought surely to be not the commonest spelling, but that which best represents the pronunciation. The spelling of many words needs to be thought out again. Thus vástkot, pyjáma, mensáb, hoshíyar should be váskot, pajámmá, mensáb, hushýár.

Again many words are printed as they are spelt in the sister (or daughter) language Urdu. It would be more natural to give Panjabi words a Panjabi form.

A great deal of space could be saved by cross references. There does not seem to be any object in giving the same Panjabi words several times over, as for example under abandon, forsake, leave, relinquit, and reject; or command, enjoin, and order; or again, reprimand, reproach, and reprove, with their corresponding nouns which are all on the same page, each with a full list of Panjabi equivalents.

It would be a great improvement if the constructions of verbs were given. Thus táqud karná, enjoin; should one say o'ná táqud kitá or o'ná táqud kütá or o'dí táqud kítá? All are theoretically possible, but only one is correct. But let us pass from these matters to the real solid work underneath.

This volume represents years of faithful labour carried on in the midst of many difficulties. I trust that Canon Hares will be much encouraged by the reception accorded to his dictionary.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.


This is a companion to Part I of this volume reviewed in Bulletin V, Pt. 1. It contains a collection of 168 words or grammatical forms in 364 languages, most of which are spoken in India. A few non-Indian languages have been added for purposes of comparison. The
words for the Indian languages are nearly all taken from the earlier volumes of the Survey. Very wisely the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association has been avoided. This alphabet should be employed only when one is pretty certain of the exact sounds. The signs used are given on p. 2, and will on the whole command assent, though some may object to the use of two different signs for the aspirate; e.g. mührā, m'āro. The Greek letters are satisfactory, being fairly well known. The following letters have been accidentally omitted from the list and should be added: c, ch, z, j, l, lh, r, rh, mh, nh, nh, y, q.

The signs for Arabic letters on p. 30 will be approved except that for ١.

The Introduction, pp. 1–30, contains much useful information about tones.

Some of the material in this volume touches me very closely, especially what is founded upon information which I collected myself. It recalls to me many linguistic journeys in the Himalayas. It reminds me of the delight with which I discovered in 1908 the fact that Śinā distinguishes the three unvoiced sibilants s, ś, ʂ, with their voiced counterparts z, ž, ʐ; contains not only the usual affricates ts, tsh, c, ch, but also the cerebral affricates c, ch; marks off the forward t, d, r, n from the back t, d, r, n; and finally separates the aspirated th, th, kh, ph, ch, ch, from the unaspirated t, t, k, p, c, c. There was then no Indo-Aryan language known which had the three unvoiced sibilants in natural speech. In the autumn of 1908 I communicated these facts to Sir George, and it is a source of much gratification to me that in this volume he has accepted them all, particularly because for some time he hesitated about doing so; out of a feeling of loyalty he was unwilling to think that earlier workers had been mistaken.

In one other matter connected with Śinā I must express my thanks. I have several times begged Sir George to discontinue the use of "Brokpa" as the name of a dialect of Śinā. He has here given it up, and now he speaks of the Śinā dialects of Drās and Dāh Hanu. There is still a little left to correct. t and d are not alveolar, but purely dental as in Urdu, Panjabi, and Lahndi. Pt. I, p. 329, seems to say that there are three d's, one alveolar there written d, and two others both written ɹ, one post-aveolar and one cerebral; but it does not follow up the statement about the two ɹ's; no examples are given, or lists of words which distinguish them. The truth is
that there is only one \( d \) phoneme, not two. The difference between \( t, d \), and \( t, d \), is the same as in Urdu and Panjabi, and is equally easy to recognize. Of course, people unaccustomed to making sound distinctions will often fail to make them in a foreign language, even when the sounds are the same as their own.

In the Part before us, Sir George has printed an accurate Gilgitī list sent by Col. Lorimer to replace the old one of vol. viii; one regrets the more that for Cilāsī and Drāsī the old inaccurate lists have been utilized. I could have supplied him with the words for both these dialects.

I am grateful to him for accepting my statement about tones in Panjabi and giving a list with the tones marked. Tones should be given for Lahndi also. Their use is widespread; I have found them in nearly every Lahndi dialect I have studied. They extend into Western Pahārī. In Śipā, too, I thought I discovered one special tone which distinguished certain words. The phenomenon requires investigation and should not be lost sight of.

For Lahndi Sir George writes Lahndā, saying that it is an English word. Lahndi is just as good an English word as Lahnda, and better than Lahndā. What we want to know is the Urdu or Panjabi word for the language. As a matter of fact, I have found that scholarly Indians speaking Urdu or Panjabi use the word Lahndi as the name of the language. It is the natural word, whereas Lahnda would be used only by those who were copying some European.

The full and able treatment of Kaśmiri represents Sir George's best work. The Pandits' dialect, as Professor R. L. Turner has pointed out, yields the equation \( ME -d- > -r- \). The Survey makes no reference to the Village Kaś dialect which has \( ME -d- > -r- \). On this important difference see JRAS., July, 1929, pp. 606-8.

Sir George must not hold the Phonetic Department of the SOS. responsible for my description of Sindhi implosives in Bull. SOS., II, 4, 835, 6. The first paragraph there is an ordinary unoriginal statement of what "implosive" connotes. Paragraph 2 mentions the four implosives found in Sindhi. Paragraphs 3 and 4 describe what, after careful study aided by a hand-mirror, I believe to be my own method of making the sounds. The Phonetic Department may or may not agree with me. It has, in fact, suggested to me that the argument in para. 4 is open to question.

Four names are given in the Survey for the \( ōkṛi \) alphabet, viz. \( ōkūrī, ōkkārī, ōkārī, \) and \( ōkṛī \). I have never heard any but the last,
\textit{tākri}. The derivation is unknown, but we may be sure it is not connected with \textit{thākur}. The \textit{Survey} throughout uses \textit{Landā} as the name of the shop-keepers’ script in North India. This should be \textit{lande}, for the word is always masc. plur.

Part ii of vol. i brings the \textit{Survey} to a conclusion for the present; and hat in hand we take leave of Sir George Grierson and his colleague Professor Sten Konow, begging them to accept the assurance of our immense gratitude for many hours of enjoyment, past and future. Salvete, valete.

T. Graham Bailey.


This edition has been printed in the series issued under the auspices of the Royal Society of Letters in Lund, which is familiar to Sanskritists from the equally important and skilled edition of the Nirukta by H. Sköld.

A reliable edition of the Saddanīti has long been wanting and we welcome in Mr. Smith’s work a thoroughly scientific achievement which satisfies all requirements for historical study.

The Saddanīti has been highly esteemed in the centuries of the Pali-Sanskrit revival in Ceylon, which began under Parakramabahu I. Its author Aggavamśa was a Burmese and one of the greatest lights of Pali studies in Burma. The date of the S.N. is traditionally given as A.D. 1154. Its importance consists in being the oldest authentic document about the condition of Pali and Pali knowledge in the twelfth century, i.e. 400 years prior to the oldest Pali MSS. which we possess, and it is to be regarded as the linguistic norm of the Pali Canon as we have it to-day. It is also important for the better readings of the Canon as it gives a great many quotations from the latter as examples of grammatical rules. With these we can test the oral tradition and its fixation in writing since the time of Vatṭagāmani. We may justly ascribe to the Saddanīti as high a position as an encyclopaedia of Pali philology as we are wont to ascribe to the Visuddhimagga as an encyclopaedia of Buddhist Dogmatics.

This first volume, \textit{padamālā} “word-garland”, contains explanations, paradigms, and etymologies, as we know them from the older commentaries and other exegetical works and which all go back to
Sanskrit models. But the Saddaniti (i.e. word-rule; Sadda = word as grammatical unit; Pada as syntactical) is far more exhausting and thorough, and Aggavamsa criticizes Kaccayana by expressly referring to the word-use of the Canon (palinaya). Thus the S.N. is a means of stating which Pali forms were actually in use as compared with those which are found in lexicographical lists (koshas) only. It is also invaluable for the study of synonmys, after the manner of the Niddesa which we find greatly enlarged here, but the beginnings of which we have already in the oldest Canonical books. Thus on p. 64 e.g. we have 22 synonmys for satto “human being” where the Niddesa (see Nd. i, 3 = Nd. ii, No. 249) has only 10. Among them we may note in passing the reading hindagu (= Indraja? cf. manuja) for the indagu of the Nd.; I wonder if we may assume a “cockneyism” for this form, such as Kern saw in Pali hāsu “quick” for Sk. āsu?

Language and style of the Saddaniti are on the whole the same as those of the Commentary literature of the tenth to twelfth centuries A.D., which represent a development of post-classical Pali under the influence of Sanskrit, as we find it e.g. in the Mahāvamsa Tikā.

The present edition has been done in Mr. H. Smith’s usual scholarly and painstaking way with an arrangement of the text which makes clear reading and verification of references easy. The print is excellent. We are looking forward to the publication of the two remaining parts (the Dhātumāla and the Suttamāla).

W. Stede.

Handbooks on the National Language Readers of Japan.


Vol. I consists of transcriptions from the texts of the National Language readers, divided into Lessons of suitable length. Each lesson is followed by instruction under the headings “Pronunciation”, “Meaning”, “Grammar”, and “Note”. Whilst the information given under “Pronunciation” is no doubt admirable, the practical value of a musical setting is very problematical. The grammatical notes contain a considerable amount of useful information, but unfortunately in using technical terms the author appears to have struck out a line for himself; thus, for instance, a form of the verb which is referred to as the “Present Tense” by such authorities as Aston, Chamberlain, Lange, Imbrie, etc., is labelled “Infinitive”. 
That neither definition is satisfactory is merely a perplexity of the language.

It is under the headings "Meaning" and "Note", however, that the chief value of this book will be found. Armed with this book (or set of books) by Mr. Ojima, the elementary student of Japanese will be able to prosecute his studies alone in a way hitherto hardly possible. He will, besides, have an illuminating commentary which will not only put him in close touch with simple everyday matters in Japan, but will also give him an insight into the spirit underlying the teaching given.

It is a pity perhaps that the English was not revised by a competent hand, but it would be unkind on this score to condemn a book which contains so much of what can be strongly recommended as wholly admirable.

N. E. ISEMONGER.


Mongolian dictionaries have been practically unobtainable for some time, and this has presented considerable difficulty and inconvenience to the student of the language. Accordingly the book under review has the greater value, for anyone who is able to read Japanese in native characters can now have recourse to this dictionary—at least in the early stages of his study—without seeking aid from Kovalevski’s Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français, or Golstunski’s Mongolsko-russkii slovar.

It contains about 17,800 words, i.e. very nearly 3,000 words more than are to be found in Schmidt’s Mongolisch-Deutsch-Russisches Wörterbuch, and as to its accuracy there should be no hesitation, for one of the authors, Mr. Han, is a native of Inner Mongolia, and has been for many years a lecturer in Mongolian at the Schools of Foreign Languages in Tōkyō and Ōsaka.

The words are given in the Mongol writing, but are so arranged that o and u, ő and ü, k and g, t and d, y and j in the initial syllable, as well as the medial k and g, t and d, can be distinguished. The arrangement is indeed excellent, but is not faultless, which is very unfortunate. To mention a few errors őg- "to give" and ötegüs "old man" are given under ü, and nööge "other, another", töriü "birth", möjke "eternal" are placed under nü, tü, and mü respectively.
The lists of grammatical terminations in an appendix are useful for constant reference by a beginner.

At the end of his preface Mr. Han states: *Mongol üge kiisekü abuyai-nar-tur Küürge metü bolyasuyai kememüi* “It is my desire that this book may serve as a bridge to those who wish to learn the Mongolian language”, but it will certainly do more than this and enable more advanced students to cross hitherto unfordable rivers.

It is a thousand pities, however, that the authors did not realize the fact that such a work as this might satisfy an urgent need, not only of the Japanese but also of Europeans who have not sufficient time to learn Japanese as a mere instrument for the acquisition of other languages. Admittedly, the compilation of a dictionary is no easy task, but a little more effort on the part of the authors would have made their work far more useful, if the meanings had been given in English also, or in French.

S. Yoshitake.

OUTLINE DUALA GRAMMAR. By E. A. L. Gaskin, of the Education Office, Buea, Cameroons.

This useful little book reaches us without date or publisher’s imprint (the preface is dated April, 1927, but the actual publication seems not to have taken place before last year), but one gathers that it emanates from the Government Press at Buea. A handbook of Duala in English has long been a “felt want”, as Saker’s *Grammar* (1855) and *Vocabulary* (1862) have long been out of print, as well as the works of Merrick (1854) on the cognate Isubu. Students were entirely dependent on German books, such as Meinhof’s small handbook (to which Mr. Gaskin acknowledges his obligations) and Dinke- lacker’s valuable *Dictionary*.

Duala is the most important of the north-western Bantu languages; Mr. Gaskin says that “with slight variations it is spoken and understood in the south of the British Cameroons by the natives of the Kumba and Victoria divisions. The estimated number of natives who can use this language in the British Cameroons is at least 10,000: this number will surely increase now that the Mandatory Power has definitely decided to encourage the use of Duala in the schools of Kumba and Victoria”.

The present work being avowedly tentative, criticism of pp. 3–4, from the phonetic point of view, would certainly be out of place.
but it is clear that the sounds have been carefully observed and, one would judge, accurately distinguished.

The group of languages to which Duala belongs is remarkable as departing in some respects from the Bantu norm, probably through the influence of neighbouring Sudanic speech. It has, however, preserved Meinhof’s 19th class—here called the fifth. (The order adopted in this book is that of Meinhof’s small grammar, which, for some reason or other, departs from the arrangement followed in the *Lautlehre.*) This is a diminutive class, with the prefixes i- < *pī (in Kongo and Manyema, etc., fi-) and lo- < lu. Johnston refused to consider this as a separate class and identified it with the vi- (plural of ki-) class, as 8a. The bo- < vu class, chiefly consisting of abstracts and collectives, takes, when susceptible of a plural, mi- as its prefix; this is exceptional, as in all other cases, so far as I know, the plural prefix is ma-. The three locative classes, which Mr. Gaskin does not notice, have disappeared, except for a few traces, e.g. the adverb wā “there”. The tones, a very important feature in Duala, are carefully marked; we may expect interesting results from further study in this direction.

Though its provisional character is insisted on, this is a most welcome and practically useful book.

A. W.


So much of the literature that has appeared upon the subject of Islam in recent years is made up of well-worn material and takes the form of compilations only, that it has appeared to some observers that the subject no longer affords opportunity for research, but the work of Dr. Margaret Smith has revealed an aspect of the religious life of the Muslim world which is entirely unknown to most persons and has received very little recognition even from the learned. To the common vulgar opinion that Muhammadans hold women in such low estimation that they do not even credit them with the possession of souls, the author of this work presents the life of a Muslim saint who was not only herself a woman but was the religious teacher of men to whom a high place was assigned in Muhammadan hagiology. Though
references to Rābiʿa are to be found in more than one European work dealing with Muhammadan mysticism, no scholar has hitherto devoted a monograph to the life and teaching of this remarkable woman. Dr. Margaret Smith has carried out her task with a thoroughness which is deserving of the highest praise and she has based her account on an exhaustive examination of all the available sources, both printed and in manuscript, both in Arabic and Persian. To the account of Rābiʿa herself she has added a study such as is not to be found in any other published work, of the place of women saints in Islam and of their extension throughout the Muhammadan world, and her account is all the more valuable since it is based not merely on the study of books, but on personal experience of the life of Muhammadan women from Syria to the Sudan. Her book has already received wide and appreciative recognition, not only among students of Islam but among persons interested in mystical thought generally, and she has added to the literature on Islam a work that is not only new in its scope, but is scholarly and exact.

T. W. A.

ZAKA ULLAH OF DELHI. By C. F. ANDREWS, with an Introductory Memoir by the late MAULVI NAZIR AHMAD. pp. xxx + 159. Cambridge: Heffer & Sons, 1929. Price 7s. 6d. net.

Extensive as the literature concerning the many aspects of the Muhammadan world is, for the English reader at least, there has been no adequate presentation of one of the most characteristic types of Muhammadan society, the man of learning. Devotion to learning manifested itself in a remarkable manner quite early in the Muhammadan era when scholars made long journeys to collect from the survivors among the Companions of the Prophet or the friends of these Companions such sayings of Muhammad and such record of his doings as they could remember. From the early period up to modern times there have been representatives of this devoted zeal for the acquisition of knowledge pursued without any thought of reward and communicated often without regard for remuneration, and such scholars have constituted a distinctive type in Muslim society. But the life of the majority of such persons was, from the very nature of the case, uneventful and the record that the historian gives of them generally includes little more than a few dates and an enumeration of their writings. The student looks in vain for a representation of personality and a revelation of the inner character
of such men. It is just such a picture as this that is provided by the biography that Mr. C. F. Andrews has written of Munshi Zaka Ullah, who was born in Delhi in 1832 when the distinctive ideals of cultured and devout Muhammadan society were still alive in that city. As a student his life was uneventful enough, and after thirty-seven years of service in the Muir Central College, Allahabad, as Professor of Vernacular Science, he returned to his native city and spent the remaining years of his long life there. It was not until Zaka Ullah was already an old man that Mr. Andrews came to know him, but from the subject of the memoir himself and from members of his family and his personal friends the author has produced an attractive picture of a fine personality, whom all who knew him remember with affection and respect.

T. W. A.


Mrs. Hasluck has placed all students of the comparative study of religion, and of Islam in particular, under a debt of gratitude by the publication of the studies which her husband made in preparation for two works, which his premature death prevented him from completing, Transferences from Christianity to Islam and Vice Versa and Studies in Turkish Popular History. Much of the material contained in these two carefully edited volumes is connected with a period of religious history that is particularly obscure and has received the attention of only a few scholars, namely, the history of the Christian population of the Byzantine empire after it passed under the rule of the Turks. Though the Ottoman historians wrote ample records of the progress of their victorious armies and of the political activities of the new empire, neither they nor the Christian clergy who had become subjects of the conquering power, seem to have cared to record the changes that took place in the field of religion, and it is only by a diligent search in literature which was not primarily written with the object of providing such information, and especially by the investigation of local cults and inquiries into the history of local shrines, that light can be thrown upon the obscure religious changes that took place between the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries. The patient research and the extraordinarily wide reading which were
required for the elaboration of Mr. Hasluck’s investigations are finestestimony to his unceasing industry and erudition. These two volumes are a perfect mine of material for the study of the religious history of the Balkans and of Asia Minor during these obscure centuries; they deal not only with the history of religious interactions between the rival faiths of Christianity and Islam—the spread and propaganda of such interesting sects as the Bektashis,—accounts of Christian sanctuaries frequented by Moslems and Moslem sanctuaries frequented by Christians, but also the classical scholar and the student of folk-lore and of primitive cults will find in them an immense mass of material difficult of access elsewhere. Only an editor familiar with the subject matter and the localities concerned, could have dealt in a competent manner with the manuscripts which the author had to a very considerable degree left in an unfinished state, and the completed work owes much to Mrs. Hasluck’s own researches and investigations, particularly in Albania and Macedonia.

The ample index deserves special commendation and few persons except those who have themselves attempted to compile an index covering over an hundred pages in double columns, can appreciate the immense labour and the familiarity with the subject matter that such a task demands. Students working in very diverse fields of research will find this index of immense use, as it covers a much wider range of interests than the actual title of the book at first suggests.

T. W. ARNOLD.


Mr. Rutter’s book is possibly the best Introduction to Arabia ever written. The story of his adventures, interesting in itself, is remarkably enriched by his vivid portrayals, especially of the persons with whom he came into contact, coupled with a certain reticence that excites the reader’s curiosity. His Arabian journeys began at al-Qāḥm in ‘Asīr, whence he made his way overland to Mecca. Unfortunately the marches were made by night for the most part and, his compass having been lost at sea, any extensive geographical observations were out of the question. The same considerations apply to his other journeys to and from Tā‘īf and to Madina and Yanbu’. At Mecca he stayed for some nine months, and after the Pilgrimage lived much as an ordinary Meccan citizen. His sly
descriptions of the life of the city make delightful reading, but there are no glimpses of that intense scholastic activity which was generally thought to occupy most foreign mujāwirs. At Madīna, on the other hand, he spent only a short time, visiting the sanctuaries, but his account of the city as it was in 1925 is most welcome.

To students of the East, in fact, it is for its account of the Ḥijāz during the first year of the Wahhābi occupation that the book is most valuable. (It may be remarked, in parentheses, that Mr. Rutter's publishers have done him no good service by trying to associate him—at Mr. Philby's instigation—with Burton, Doughty, and Snouck Hurgronje. As a contribution to our knowledge of Arabia, geographically, socially, and politically, his work is frankly disappointing. But as he himself makes no such claim, and no pretense to scientific accuracy or comprehensiveness, it would be out of place to criticize it on these grounds. What really matters is his own reactions to his environment.) The Ikhwān are given a fairly prominent, but by no means attractive, part, and their destructive activities are all noted with a quiet intensity of indignation. Mr. Rutter evidently shares the views of the Muslim commonalty (not to speak of the Ḥijāzī pilgrim-touts) on this subject, and has nothing but bitter words for the fanaticism of the desert-men. Yet his judgments on the townsfolk in their turn are not particularly favourable, and one is left wondering what his real feeling is towards the people amongst whom originated the religion to which—in a modernized and reinterpreted form—he is so obviously attracted.

H. A. R. G.


Usāma's autobiographical anecdotes form one of the most precious of extant sources for the social life of Syria in the Middle Ages and what may be called the local history of the Crusades. There is consequently every cause for satisfaction that it has at last been made accessible to English readers. Dr. Potter, who is the Lecturer in Medieval History at Queen's College, Belfast, has produced a very readable version of Dérenbourg's translation, and has supplied brief but adequate notes to elucidate the casual references in the text. Quite apart from the pleasure which is furnished by these lively observations and hunting tales, the book is one which history students
in particular would be well advised to read. From a strictly technical point of view, of course, this translation raises the question of the attitude of the Orientalist when one of the few plums (from our point of view) of Eastern literature is gathered by one who has no first-hand acquaintance with the original. We should not, presumably, be content to have an English version of a German work made from a French translation, and it is difficult to see why the case should be different with an Arabic work. There is the farther point that the first translation of any Arabic work can hardly be free from a certain proportion of errors, which a subsequent reviser is likely to reduce; besides, when a style so spare and laconic as is Usáma’s has to be rendered through the medium of a diffuse and wordy French translation, it is impossible to preserve anything of the flavour of the original. Such considerations, however, are not likely to appeal to the wider public, and on general grounds the book is heartily welcome.

H. A. R. G.


With the publication of that fine flower of mediaeval bureaucracy, Qalqashandi’s Subh al-A’shā, in fourteen volumes (Cairo, 1913–20), one of the most important sources for the history of Islamic culture was at last made fully accessible to Oriental scholarship. The new edition has already been freely utilized, but the materials which Dr. Björkmann has put together in the present Beiträge demonstrate afresh how much still remains to be quarried from this monumental work. The fourth and fifth sections of his book are designed to facilitate its use, the fourth giving a classified list of Qalqashandi’s sources, the fifth a detailed summary of the contents—both sections being the more welcome in view of the absence of any indices to the edition as it stands. The first section gives a brief survey of the beginnings of Islamic administration under the Umayyads and ‘Abbásids, together with a valuable bibliography of Arabic literature on the subject, including summaries of two MS. works, al-Baghdådi’s Kitāb al-Kuttāb and Hilāl as-Šābi’s Ghurar al-Balāgha. The second, and principal, section is an admirable monograph on the complicated history of the secretariat in Egypt. The third section comprises a draft list of secretaries of all the Caliphs and all the rulers of Egypt,
but with several lacunae, which presumably remain to be filled up from other sources; the names inserted under the Ikhshídids, for example, could have been supplemented from the history of Jamál ad-Dín al-Ḫalabí (in the appendix to Wüstenfeld’s Statthalter, 4e Abt.). The statement made on p. 18 that the technical use of the term diwân al-inshá’ cannot go back as far as the Tûlûnids, may be correct, but it is worth noting that the word inshá’ is used by Aḥmad b. Tûlûn’s secretary himself in relation to state documents (کتب اند احمد السلطانی: Ibn Saʿīd (ed. Vollers), 41). A final word of appreciation is due to the forty pages of full and carefully classified indices.

H. A. R. G.


With the completion of its second volume, the methods and tendencies of M. Massignon’s journal become more clearly defined. In every article some aspect of the social and intellectual structure of the present-day world of Islam is examined more or less fully. But just here, where one might expect the widest variety, there can be no overlooking the fact of a certain uniformity or monotony in its contents. The reason is not far to seek; M. Achille Sékaly Bey’s collection of documents relating to ‘‘L’Université d’El Azhar’’ (having already filled 90 pages in the first volume) occupy no fewer than 273 pages, or half the space available for articles; and 224 pages of the remainder are devoted to a variety of Turkish and Central Asian matters. No one would deny that it is of interest, and even of importance, to students of the Islamic world to have at their disposal the statutes of al-Azhar in extenso, the detailed syllabuses for its three grades of students, and its revenue and expenditure account, but one may question whether it is the function of a journal of this kind to give up its space to what is in effect a lengthy book of a mainly documentary and statistical character. If this is to be a regular feature of the Revue des Études Islamiques, it seems a pity that M. Massignon did not retain the system of the old Revue du Monde Musulman, which had certain obvious virtues in the presentation of ‘‘études de (sûr) longue haleine’’. The articles on Turko-Tatar subjects, on the other hand, deal with a variety of interesting topics,
including rural economy and workmen’s legislation in Turkey (the latter translated form the Russian journal Novyi Vostok) and modern Turkish music, and only appear to bulk so large because so little room is left for anything else.

The remaining articles all relate to the Berbers of Morocco. M. Paul Marty publishes the ‘urf, or code of customary law, of the Beni M’tir, which is deserving of special attention as the first complete code to be published. An article by M. de la Chappelle on the tribes of the western High Atlas effectively illustrates, within a restricted sphere, the operation of the historical and geographical factors which underlie the whole of Moroccan history. Most interesting of all is a little study in four pages, the title of which, “Les Chleuh de la Banlieue de Paris,” irresistibly recalls those “Voyages en Orient” of the elder Gautier—at the Crystal Palace. But few explorers in distant lands have had stranger discoveries to relate than that which Lieut.-Col. Justinard, aided only by his own acute observation and the municipal tramways, has made of the steady colonization of certain districts in the suburbs of Paris by tribal groups of Berbers from the still half-subdued territories in the extreme south-west of Morocco.

H. A. R. G.


The mediaeval history of the East has suffered sadly at the hands of chroniclers, both native and Western, and the appearance of a work in which political events are subordinated to social history is doubly welcome. Mr. Levy has already shown that Oriental scholarship and accuracy are not incompatible with the possession of an attractive literary style, and the ability to present his material in an interesting form. In this book he has drawn directly on a large number of original authorities, printed and manuscript, but the smooth-running narrative has no hint of the mosaic. Orientalists will probably find little that is entirely new to them, but almost all would confess that, after reading it through, they have gained a much clearer vision than before of the life of Baghdaa under the ‘Abbásids.

In the long range of five centuries covered by the “Chronicle”, it was inevitable that some statements should be open to question. The number which I have noted, however, is comparatively small, and few are of importance. The story related on pp. 11–12 belongs to the legendary narrative put together by Sayf, and one would have
expected some hint that it is in all probability entirely fictitious. Marwân II was certainly no "weakling Caliph" (p. 13). On p. 26 Mr. Levy says that Baghdaḍ "was not a fortified depot for troops"; the impression given by the historians, however, is that it was precisely for that purpose that it was founded. The statement about the Barmecides on p. 28 should have been corrected in the light of the facts recorded on p. 51; barmak is almost certainly a Sanskrit title. The phrase "regular wives, whose children were freeborn and entitled to inherit from their father" (p. 61) gives the misleading impression that the children of concubines were not freeborn nor entitled to inherit. Though the latter were in the early days socially inferior to the former, they were in every respect equal in the eyes of the law. The practice of kissing the threshold of the Caliph’s palace (p. 238) goes back at least to the fourth century of the Hijra. The Futunewa associated with the Caliph Naṣīr (pp. 241–2) still maintained some sort of existence under the Mamlūk sultans of Egypt after the destruction of Baghdaḍ.

H. A. R. G.


This is an admirable version of a most valuable work. "To the world of to-day," as Mr. Gibb says, "the men of mediaeval Christendom already seem remote and unfamiliar." "How much more," he justly adds, "must this apply to the great Islamic civilization that stood over against mediaeval Europe, menacing its existence and yet linked to it by a hundred ties that even war and fear could not sever." This would be his justification, if justification were needed, for placing in the hands of British readers this translation of the record of the travels of the indefatigable Ibn Battuta, who paints a more vivid picture of life in the many lands which he visited than any author of his age.

The work is styled "Selections from the Travels of Ibn Battuta", but so judiciously has the translator made his selections that there is no apparent breach of continuity, and the reader may rest assured that he has in his hand a comprehensive sketch of all the pilgrim’s wanderings and experiences.

The method of compiling the record, by a secretary at the dictation of the traveller, has produced an attractive treatise in an easy colloquial style, which the translator has wisely, and well, retained;
but Ibn Battuta seems to have kept no notes, and no memory, however excellent, as his undoubtedly was, could retain, without an occasional lapse, a minutely accurate record of nearly thirty years of travel, and the result has been occasional errors in dates and in place-names. As Mr. Gibb observes, the errors are comparatively few, considering the enormous number of places and persons mentioned, and his valuable notes contribute much towards the correction of many of them, but some, and especially those of chronology, it may never be possible to correct.

The translation is preceded by a most valuable introduction, displaying great critical acumen and learning both wide and deep. Its first section contains an account and a criticism of Ibn Battuta's work, and the other two provide historical and religious backgrounds. The historical section gives an accurate and complete, but most judiciously compressed account of the history of the lands visited by the traveller, and the religious section a lucid and instructive view of Islam in the fourteenth century of its orthodoxy and its mysticism, and of the life, the creed, the mentality, and the religious differences of Muslims. It will enable the merest novice to understand the circumstances of the traveller's wanderings, his difficulties, and his comments on men and affairs; but there can be few students of Islam who can afford to neglect it.

The work contains few misprints, but one on page 39—"defying" for "defying"—is especially unfortunate.

Mr. Gibb has earned the gratitude of all interested in oriental history, to whose numbers such work as his should add, and one of the chief merits of his book is that it is a foretaste of something better to come—a complete translation of A Donation to those interested in the Curiosities of the Cities and the Marvels of the Ways for the Hakluyt Society.

Wolseley Haig.

Christianity and the Government of India. By Arthur Mayhew. Faber & Gwyer. 12s. 6d.

This volume is not nearly so good as was Mr. Mayhew's former volume on education in India. The latter was well and carefully written; the present has the air of having been hastily scrambled together; it is adorned by such queer lapses as "epithet" where the author means "epitaph" and "propagation" where he means
"propaganda"; and he can write of "the coinage and effigy" of the Moghul emperor. Then, too, Mr. Mayhew's former subject was reasonably clear and definite, whereas the present is vague and general, comprehending the history of both Protestant missions and British rule in India. He is very well acquainted with the history of Indian education and the problems which it has had to meet; but he is less familiar with the two broad subjects which he has now endeavoured to compress into one slender volume. The essence of the view that he puts forward is that the Company's government was both cowardly and unwise in not patronizing more openly missionary activities, and that its attitude of religious neutrality had its part in bringing about the Mutiny. His argument is that since it was in fact a government of Christians, its assumption of neutrality was regarded by Hindus and Muslims alike as a mere mask behind which designs for the fraudulent disruption of their faiths might be matured. This seems to us a travesty of the facts. The Company was, we think, entirely right and completely justified in the view which it had consistently taken; nor can its conduct properly be described (with Mr. Mayhew) as "nervous vacillation". Dalhousie's active policy of reform undoubtedly played a large part in producing the atmosphere of unrest which made the Mutiny possible; and it would have had an even more marked influence had the Government been more closely associated with missionary activities. Akbar, Mr. Mayhew tells us, never aroused hostility; a remarkable commentary on the history of Badaoni. In short, the volume seems designed rather to illustrate a pre-determined thesis than to investigate the facts. H. D.

The British Crown and the Indian States... Drawn up on behalf... of the Chamber of Princes. King, 1929. 10s. 6d.

This slender volume aims at laying before the general public an account of the manner in which the relations between the Crown and the Indian States came into being. But it is a pity that it is not more judicial in tone and exact in statement. Thus the writer observes that the treaties concluded by the Company were inspired by "a spirit of equality of status". In most cases nothing could be further from the truth. The treaties did indeed exhibit a formal equality of status, but the most cursory examination of the documents shows clearly enough that the equality was a matter of form, not of substance. Again, regarding Wellesley's treaties, we are told that none stipulated for any limitation of armed forces in the States. The fact is so. But
when we remember that both in Mysore and in Oudh Wellesley took by treaty the power of giving advice which was to be accepted, it is clear that he was assuming authority over the whole state, and therefore over the extent to which the state maintained armed forces. The Fifth Report of 1812 is criticized for not dealing with the relations between the Company and the Indian States, as if that document had not been designed exclusively to deal, as indeed it formally declares, with the internal administration of the Company’s territories. Nor, as was perhaps to be expected, does the volume admit the possibility that the text of the treaties has to be read in the light of subsequent historical development. Yet that fact obviously dominates the whole situation; it is apparent, for instance, that the assumption of government by the Crown modified the position of the Princes, although the text of the treaties was formally confirmed. The volume must therefore be read with a cautious recollection of the prepossessions with which it was naturally composed.

H. D.


The period covered by these important and admirably edited volumes is that of the origin of the Portuguese power in Ceylon. The island was divided into three realms. The principal king, Bhuvanaik Bahu, soon found himself involved in war with the subordinate kingdoms. He sought help from the Portuguese, who had already established a factory at Colombo; and, as the extension of their power in Ceylon was a favourite object with the Portuguese, and as the Zamorin of Calicut, their constant enemy, was supporting Mayadunna, king of Sitawaka, the Portuguese at last in 1539 managed to spare a body of troops, under the command of Miguel Ferreira, for the assistance of Bhuvanaik Bahu. Ferreira was an able and experienced soldier, who had served under Albuquerque. The king, thus relying upon Portuguese help, fell more and more under their control, and presently sent a Brahman ambassador, Radasaksa Pandit, to Lisbon, with an image of the infant prince whose recognition as successor Bhuvanaik Bahu desired. The pandit returned with the necessary orders, and with six Franciscans under Frey João de Villa de Conde. After long discussions and prolonged delays, due to their preoccupations elsewhere, the Portuguese sent in 1547
an expedition to assist another king, Vikrama Bahu of Kandi; but they soon found that he was not willing to carry out promises rashly made in his name by a Portuguese adventurer at his court. In the next year occurred the disastrous expedition to Kandi under Jorge de Castro. In 1550 Ceylon was visited by the viceroy in person. This led to a policy aiming more directly at the control of the island, and was soon followed by the death of Bhuvanaik Bahu in very extraordinary circumstances, being shot by a member of his Portuguese guard.

On the whole, the conduct of the Portuguese appears but ill in the documents assembled in these two volumes. Indeed, their Ceylon record is low. But the papers which Dr. Schurhammer has collected from Portuguese and ecclesiastical sources shows us clearly how the two main principles of their policy interacted. They sought, in Ceylon as elsewhere, spices and Christians, and evidently felt that their work was still undone so long as the island remained unconverted to Christianity. Missionary influence seems to have played a considerable part in diverting the Portuguese from one alliance to another with the rival Sinhalese princes. The documents which Dr. Schurhammer has here published therefore offer a fuller and more complete view of the historical development than those of Mr. Pieris's recent volume, besides providing the student with the texts themselves, of which Mr. Pieris only gives a translation. The editorial work has been done with fullness and precision, even though St. Francis Xavier does not play that important part which one would have expected from the author's title-page. We should welcome a further selection of original papers illustrating the later period of Portuguese dominion in Ceylon under the same skilled editorship.

H. D.


The praise which M. de La Vallée Poussin in his preface bestows upon these Notes is well deserved. The book is accurate, judicious, free from prejudice, and very well informed. The study of the Gitā, as M. Lamotte says, is never finished; but he has greatly facilitated it by the skill and precision with which he has stated and discussed its main points.

After an introduction surveying the theories of the Gitā's composition
and stating the object of the present studies, M. Lamotte proceeds to deal with the poem in three sections. In the first he reviews the conditions under which it arose—the cult of Kṛṣṇa, the Bhāgavata sect, and Brahmanism in its earlier phases (Vēdas, Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads, and nascent Darśanas). In the second he analyses the Gītākāra’s speculative doctrines in regard to the nature and functions of the Lord, matter, and individual souls; and in the third he examines his moral and practical teachings, represented by jñāna-yoga, karma-yoga, and bhakti-yoga. Then follow a summary of the author’s conclusions on the nature and object of the Gītā, a telling criticism of Garbe’s unhappy attempt to dissect the Gītā into two recensions, a bibliography, and indexes. Most readers nowadays, we believe, will agree with M. Lamotte’s conclusion that the Gītā, as it stands, is mainly the work of a single writer, and that its unity lies in its general tendency and purpose, which is to win for the cult of Kṛṣṇa as many proselytes as possible by borrowing heterogeneous doctrines from many sources and unifying them more or less by breathing into all of them alike that spirit of devotion to a personal god of grace which was characteristic of the Bhāgavata church.\footnote{"La bhakti est le centre de gravitation de tout le poème," he justly observes (p. 116).}

The moot problems of the origin of the Kṛṣṇa-cult are but briefly handled by M. Lamotte; and with what he writes I regret that I cannot fully agree. He denies to Kṛṣṇa historical reality (p. 11), quoting Barth’s argument that it is “very improbable that Kṛṣṇa is directly related to the Kṛṣṇa of the Chāndogya [iii, 17], for how should the obscure disciple of a certain Ghōra have suddenly become the national hero of an important people of India, the warlike author of so many deeds of prowess?" With all respect I submit that this argument is fallacious, and that in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad, in which Kṛṣṇa is represented according to old brahmanic tradition, the Older Epic, where he appears in the light of a Kṣatriya legend which was current outside his church, and the Later Epic, in which he figures as the Supreme Incarnate, we have three mutually complementary standpoints. The facts represented by them may well have been almost or quite contemporary. Kṛṣṇa listening to a sermon of Ghōra, Kṛṣṇa ruling a powerful tribe, Kṛṣṇa worshipped as All-God—these are events which might have happened within a few years, even within Kṛṣṇa’s lifetime; but in literature they were handled from three different points of view—the Upaniṣada, the non-Kṛṣṇaite
Kṣatriya, and the Kṛṣṇaite—and at different times, and in the Epic the last two currents of thought are very imperfectly fused. To term the Kṛṣṇa Dēvakī-putra of the Chāndogya “obscure” is to beg the question and to take an unfair advantage of the two meanings of the adjective: for “obscure” may denote both “insignificant” and “hard to identify”. That Kṛṣṇa Dēvakī-putra of the Chāndogya was insignificant rests merely upon the ipse dixit of M. Barth; that he is hard to identify is just the point at issue. With all respect for the eminent scholars who have asserted the contrary (among whom I may name honoris causa my lamented friend Mr. Pargiter in AIHT, p. 328 n.), I submit that his identification with Kṛṣṇa Vāsudēvā is based on very strong probabilities indeed. The name Kṛṣṇa is common; but the name Dēvakī is so very rare that the only bearer of it in Epic, Puranic, and Classical literature, as far as I know, is the mother of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudēvā. Hence the combination of “Kṛṣṇa” with the practically unique “Dēvakī-putra” on both sides of the equation is in itself enough to prove that K. Dēvakī-putra of the Chāndogya = K. Vāsudēvā. But the context of the Chāndogya furnishes additional proof. Not to repeat what I have already written elsewhere (JRAS., 1929, p. 128), I will only say here that Ghōra’s sermon is exactly what we should expect a summula theologiae of the early Bhāgavatas to be, expressed of course in the language of an Apaniśada—worship of the Sun-god as blessed universal spirit, to whom the souls of the faithful pass on death, and a primitive form of karma-yoga. In the Gitā all this reappears, with more or less modification, and fortified by much additional matter from other sources. It is surprising that so judicious a scholar as M. Lamotte should ignore these striking points of contact and by a bold petitio principii accuse the early Bhāgavatas of “indigence complète” in regard to theology. The Gitākāra himself indicates that he was the heir of an ancient sampradāya of sun-worship, which inevitably had also a theological and ethical side. In iii, 42 ff., in a chapter bearing the capital title karma-yoga, he gives us a theory of the gradations of being (sense-materials, sense-organs, manas, buddhi, Supreme) and of the Yōga based thereupon, which is essentially similar to Kaṭha iii, 10 f., vi, 7 f. (with omission of avyakta); and the process by which nature as thus graduated is to be controlled in order to suppress “original sin” he describes as a Yōga which the Supreme taught to Vivasvant (a solar being), he to his son Manu, etc. (iv, 1 ff.). I refuse to believe that the Gitākāra invented this sampradāya: the facts
plainly suggest that before his time Bhāgavata tradition preserved an ancient theory of karma-yōga, associated with an ontology and ethics more or less like those of the Kaṭha, with which it connected an immemorial sun-worship.

In the Chāndogya Ghōra enumerates as the virtues of his church austerities (tapas), bounty (dāna), simplicity (ārjava), harmlessness (ahimsā), and truthfulness. The Gitākāra has borrowed this list (a clear proof of his spiritual derivation from the Chāndogya, with wide implications), and padded it out by the addition of seven more points (xvi, 1 f.). The Besnagar Inscription, however, reduces them all to “three immortal steps (padāni), which lead to paradise—self-control (dama), bounty (cāga), and heedfulness (apramāda).” No doubt the writer’s design in formulating these three “steps” was to rationalise or moralise the mythical strides of Viṣṇu; the question, however, is what virtues he meant by dama, cāga, and apramāda, to which he must have attached a wider meaning than they bear in the other lists. I am tempted to see in this triad a rude summary of the same principles as those of the Gitā. Under “self-control” are perhaps included most of the ideas which the Gitā treats under the headings of jñāna-yōga, karma-yōga, and bhakti-yōga. “Bounty” may denote not only gifts in general but also sacrifice, which occupies a prime place in the Bhāgavata religious life, for the Gitā insists on the necessity of sacrifice (yasṭavyam, xvii, 11), while it purifies and spiritualises the act by allowing it to be performed with the humblest materials, or even in symbol. And lastly, “heedfulness” perhaps may be understood in the special sense of “harmlessness” (ahimsā), for heedlessness (pramāda) is constantly condemned as causing men to deprive other beings of life.1

But ohe, iam satis est! it is time to conclude these observations on M. Lamotte’s book, from whom we take farewell with much gratitude for his excellent studies, echoing the hope expressed by M. de la Vallée Poussin in his penetrating and suggestive preface that the author of the present work will follow it up by similar researches into the later cult of Krṣṇa.

L. D. BARNETT.

1 Cf. the Jain use, e.g. in Tattvdrdhēdhigama, vii, 8; pramattya-yogāt prāna-vyūro-prayam hīṁśa, “killing means to deprive another of life as a result of heedless activity.”

Mr. Hill gives us a finely printed text, with a polished and scholarly translation and the notes necessary to its elucidation or defence (conveniently on the same page with the text); and an introduction in which he discusses the Krṣṇa-Vāsudeva cult, the date and circumstances of composition of the work, and its doctrine, and further elucidates his translation by means of a full argument. It is clear that he has spared no pains to make his edition as good as it could be: and he may justly congratulate himself on having produced a very good edition. Probably his translation was especially a labour of love: at any rate it gives the impression of care expended on the choice of every word and phrase: and the result achieved was worth the pains, for it is a pleasure to read the English version.

The Gitā is sometimes so difficult to determine to a precise meaning that the reader is inclined to raise the prior question whether the writer himself always had a definite meaning. Therefore, Mr. Hill's detailed statement of its argument is an essential part of his interpretation of the work; and reference to it is necessary in those passages in which the text does not obviously succeed in saying just what Mr. Hill—or, for that matter, any commentator or translator—thinks that it meant to say. Mr. Hill is among those who look for a definite and consistent body of teaching in the work. But there are different kinds of definiteness and consistency; and the kind which Mr. Hill finds in the work is not that which we look for in a systematic treatise. The Gitā has an extensive equipment of apparently technical terms which might suggest that a systematic philosophy or theology underlies them. And it may be that some of its terminology had a meaning to which we have lost the clue: Dr. Barnett states, for instance, that some of its terms and doctrines find their explanation in Pāṇcarātra theology. But the suspicion lingers that they are sometimes borrowed from a fluid "Sāṃkhya" terminology which was the common property of epic and purāṇa, and sometimes invented ad hoc; and in neither case employed with technical precision (although later scholasticism may have fixed them to the precision of a systematic theology in some cases). That seems to be the suggestion in Mr. Hill's note on xv, 16, where he says that "Poetry rises superior to terminology and the very confusion of terms helps to suggest the oneness of all which is the ultimate
doctrine of the Gītā". A fluid terminology is not incompatible with consistent teaching, though it may be with systematic doctrine. Mr. Hill's position is perhaps not misrepresented by the statement that though he would not claim that the work is systematic he does believe that it is fundamentally consistent. It is necessarily tied down to a certain definiteness in its doctrine of Action simply because it starts with the question whether anything is worth doing, and could not afford to forget for long the need of an affirmative answer. This gives it the characteristically ethical outlook which is its chief interest for some readers: and though it does not raise the questions of the Good and of the criterion of action, which a philosophy of conduct can hardly avoid, it does, in its reiterated conclusion (iii, 35; xvii, 47) śreyān svadharma vighunāḥ paradharmāt svanuṣṭhitāt, and in its basic doctrine of naiśkarmyasyiddhi, suggest comparison with Plato's definition of justice as "doing one's own work" and with the Platonic analogy between the good man and the artist who, as such, is not concerned with "wages" and wants nothing except to make a job of his job. Mr. Hill, however (quite justifiably), objects to the tendency to place Action in the forefront of the Gītā's teaching, as a partial view. He is himself interested in the book as, above all else, an expression of the religious spirit—he is somewhat reserved in the expression of his personal attitude, but (see p. 51) he plainly regards the Gītā as a high expression of that spirit. And in the religious attitude inculcated in the work he finds a reconciliation of the conflicting claims of action thought and devotion which makes its teaching for him fundamentally consistent. He claims that it teaches the ideal of a balanced life in which action, knowledge and devotion each play their part—"the balanced man must develop to its best every element that makes up personality." (Perhaps this dictates his rendering of samātva by "balance": though that word suggests rather neutrality or indifference.) Can we really find this Greek point of view in the Gītā? I cannot think that the relation between the three aspects is as organic in the Gītā as Mr. Hill's interpretation takes it to be. The various disciplines or yogas still seem to me to be presented as at best successive stages in the approach towards an

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1 The characterization of sukhām atyantikam at vi, 21-2, in the words yam labhēhā cāparaṁ labhāṁ manyste nādhiḥkim tatāh is precisely parallel with Aristotle's formal characterization of the Summum Bonum as the Good which cannot be made bigger by adding goods to it. Mr. Hill's rendering of adhikām by "more excellent" conceals the parallelism. The meaning is that there is nothing more to be added to it.
ideal which does not realize what is of value in each but merely negates them all.

Mr. Hill follows the present tendency to assign a rather early date for the composition of the work: a tendency which is in the nature of a reaction from earlier suggestions that it was written under Christian influence. These suggestions have been discounted by the Besnagar inscription which proves that the Bhāgavata cult of Vāsudeva prevailed early in the second century B.C. The work may then have been composed well before the Christian era. Mr. Hill thinks that internal evidence indicates that it was written early in the second century before Christ. But one of his arguments—that the Gītā does not stress the identity of Kṛṣṇa with Viṣṇu—has to face an emphatic assertion. In the revelation of his universal form (viśvarūpa) in the eleventh book Kṛṣṇa is not only addressed as Viṣṇu (Bhandarkar says that this is in contexts in which Arjuna may well have been reminded of the sun), but is described as bearing the emblems of Viṣṇu—kīrtinām gudinām cakrīnām ca. And there are passages which are not easy to reconcile with so early a date. Thus the reference at xiii, 4—Brahmasūtrapadaiscaiva hetumadbhiḥ—certainly seems to indicate (if only by the word hetumadbhiḥ, which means “reasoned”, not “well-reasoned” as Mr. Hill renders) the logical methods of a darśana, and must perhaps be taken in the obvious sense—not explained as a reference to “Upaniṣadic passages and verses current in the Vedāntic school”. And passages (x, 22; xiii, 5; xv, 7) which treat manas as a sixth sense-organ seem to indicate a relatively late date, when it is remembered that Diṅnāga criticised the Nyāya-sūtra for failing to class manas as an indriya.

It is not to be expected that a reader will always agree with Mr. Hill’s renderings; but he will soon learn to respect Mr. Hill as an interpreter even when he disagrees. There is for instance the passage at the beginning of the fifteenth book which uses the metaphor of the aśvattha in speaking of the phenomenal world. The aśvattha is, as Mr. Hill says, the pīpal; not the banyan (nyagrodha); had it been the latter the epithet ārdhevamūla at any rate would have been more intelligible. But the pīpal does not drop rootlets from its branches, like the banyan. Mr. Hill, however, notes that the pīpal is peculiar “in that its roots . . . do not altogether as in other trees lose themselves in a central rounded trunk, but, to a great extent retaining their separate form, climb up in a cluster. . . . Each root is thus continuous with its own branch . . . and therefore it is possible
to speak of the branch as descending to the earth and of the root as rising aloft". This novel and ingenious suggestion may be right. And yet this is no ordinary pīpal; and a cruder interpretation is possible—that it is pictured in the first couplet as literally upside down, because rooted in the heavens, and that the image is then corrected in the second couplet by the thought that after all the tree of samsāra is rooted below also, in human act and sacrifice. Of course the image as such then becomes hopelessly inconsistent: and the writer has to admit as much forthwith, na rūpaṁ tasyeḥa tatho-palabhijaye. Apart from such disagreements, Mr. Hill, like all translators, has his conventions and mannerisms. Why does he translate deva by "Heaven’s lords" for instance? And he shows a tendency to an inverted order of words which sometimes leads to obscurity and occasionally suggests an inclination to fall into blank verse. But these are small defects in an admirable translation.

One solid ground of complaint against Mr. Hill is that he does not provide any apparatus criticus. There are variants; and, even though it is impossible to give anything like a complete conspectus of these, it would have been distinctly useful to a reader to know whether variæ lectiones exist in disputable passages. Mr. Hill sometimes, but not always, mentions in his notes known differences of reading.

H. N. Randle.

TREATMENT OF LOVE IN Sanskrit LITERATURE. By Sushil Kumar De. pp. 87. Calcutta, 1929.

Although this little book be "meant more for the general reader than for the scholar", as Professor De himself modestly assures us, its importance is well warranted by the very name of its author. It deals with a topic which is all-important all over the world and perhaps nowhere more so than in India, viz. the treatment of love by poets and litterati. We would venture to assert that everyone of our fellow-scholars will read this fascinating little volume with the most vivid interest.

Dharma, artha, and kāma are the constituents of the Indian trīvarga. There may even be a caturvarga if to these three be added mokṣa but mokṣa, although theoretically ready at hand to everyone, is in fact obtainable only by a very few. And besides, the materialists at any rate would scoff at mokṣa as being a void and dangerous fancy of their more superstitious fellow-creatures, for, does not Cārvāka
tell us that mṛtyur evāpavargah. These ill-disposed people deny the existence even of dharma, telling us blankly that arthakāmaṇau puru-
sārthau. But materialism, for what ever be its real value, is a barren and uninteresting system of thought, and luckily it does not hold sway over the average human mind—at least not in India. Thus the Hindu clings to the trivarga as he has done since days of yore. The dharma forms the basis of the society of castes, the only society where one reaps the fruits of activity; artha makes possible a material existence; and kāma, love, physical as well as spiritual, inspires the sublimest feelings, gives the highest pleasure, and guarantees the everlasting existence of mankind.

To Love is dedicated a great part of Sanskrit as well as of other literature. The classical literature of India is full of its niceties as well as of its less savoury sides. And the Hindus possess in the Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana the one scientific treatise on love that the world has so far seen. To most of those who have made a superficial acquaintance with this peculiar work it certainly appears to be a store-house of impurities, and comparisons are drawn with the Ars amatoria of Ovid. Such a parallel, like many others, is totally false. Ovid’s poem, couched in elegant verses, is meant to be a favourite and instructive pastime to lascivious young persons of both sexes; Vātsyāyana’s book, composed in a dry and tedious sūtra style, is meant to be a scientific encyclopedia on kāma, one of the three main constituents of human life and society. Ovid’s life we know fairly well, and there is no doubt that he was a rake and a profligate; of Vātsyāyana we only know that he was a theoretician, but our knowledge of India would not preclude us from suggesting that he led the life of a recluse and even a saint.

As the subject of kāma plays such a dominating part in Indian literature it seems curious that no modern writer should have undertaken a wholesale treatment of it. Professor R. Schmidt, of course, has published his translation of the Kāmasūtra and his Beiträge zur indischen Erotik, and Dr. J. J. Meyer has made valuable contributions to the purely erotic literature. These, however, are works that would mainly interest the scholar—though it seems rather curious that works like those by Professor Schmidt should really be needed at all. The work of Dr. De again is one that satisfies the scholar and the literary public alike. Within a limited space its author has compressed a great many of the most beautiful and significant passages dealing with Love in various parts of Sanskrit literature. The materials
could, of course, easily be multiplied but we venture to think that Dr. De has shown a wise moderation in strongly restricting his choice.

The author begins with the two well-known hymns of the Rigveda, x, 95 and x, 10, dealing with respectively Purūravas and Urvāśī and Yama and Yamī. Both these little epic poems—for there can be no talk of either drama or ākhyāna—are filled with deep and heart-rending tragedy. The one tells us of the strong man who burns with love of a superhuman creature more coquettish and fickle-hearted even than her earthly sisters. In the height of his despair he threatens to turn away from the world for ever, perhaps even to commit suicide, but she only scoffs at him, and with a cynicism which if repellent is at least honest she advises him to abandon women who have the hearts of hyenas. Even more filled with tragedy is the story of Yama and Yamī. To a primitive age incest was not the horror that it is to a civilized society. Regular traces of it are found in Ancient Persia, and a myth in the Brāhmaṇas betrays to us that even in India Yama and his twin-sister were once looked upon as man and wife. But Rigveda x, 10 is composed by a poet who belonged to another age and cherished other ideals. In his partly very obscure poem the sister, inflamed with impure passion, craves for carnal conjunction; but the brother, a wiser and better being, absolutely refuses her offer, and warns her of the spies of the gods, ever on the move and never sleeping. There is not the slightest doubt that those are the spies of Varuṇa, the Great King, who alone among the Vedic gods is the upholder of morality and wreaks terrible vengeance on the sinner.

The learned author touches only very slightly on Epic and Buddhist literature and turns nearly the whole of his interest towards classical Sanskrit literature where, no doubt, is found the greater part of his material. We hear of the great lyric poets, Amaru, Bhartṛhari and others, as well as of the most luminous stars in the galaxy of classical writers, Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti. The anthology of Häla also earns the vivid praise of Dr. De and he even has some words of recommendation for the unknown author of the Caurapañcāśikā. Gross and licentious as are some details of that little poem it always has appeared to the present writer to deserve a far greater attention and praise than it has received, and he is very glad to find that an authority like Dr. De apparently shares his opinion.

We are at one with the author that the classical poetry holds an infinite store of beautiful and fascinating love-passages. But after
all there is perhaps still more in it that is schematized, unnatural, and tedious. There is, however, another literature which has been touched upon far too lightly by the author, viz. the Epics, which gives pictures of love more sublime than even the finest ones met with in classical poetry. First of all there is the story of Rāma and Sītā, sung by Vālmiki, and by an endless series of lesser poets down to the great Tulsī Dās. Rāma is one of the chief darlings of the Indian people, and no doubt he is a very fine type, though he lacks the manliness and spiritual grandeur that characterizes his less prominent brother Lākṣmaṇa. Sītā is undoubtedly the ideal wife, and there is room for no other feeling than admiration of the magnificent way in which she endures her unhappy life. But neither Sītā nor Damayantī nor Śākuntalā for all their loveliness and moral greatness can vie with the sweet and wise daughter of King Aśvapati who wrestles with Death for the life of the man whom she has herself chosen and brings home the prize by her prudent and courteous words. This is a type than which Indian literature has created no higher, nor could it well do. And she has only one manly equal, the Brahmin boy Naciketas to whom Death, though long reluctant, has to yield the highest and eternal secret. To suggest that these two find their Western counterparts in the daughter of Cymbeline and the young Prince of Denmark is only to suggest that as literary types they will never and nowhere be surpassed.

However, our enthusiasm for the love-tales of the Epics is carrying us outside the limits set by the masterly little work of Dr. De. We allow ourselves to congratulate and thank him for his last eminent achievement.

J. C.


The valuable treatise on poetics, called the Vakrokti-Jīvīta, was long thought to be lost until happy finds of manuscripts at Madras and Jaisalmer made it clear that so was not the case. Its author, generally known by the anonymous appellation of the Vakrokti jīvītakāra, is now mentioned in the colophon of the Madras MS. as Kuntala(ka), while the Jaisalmer one gives the more correct form of
Kuntaka, a name previously known by quotations in the works of Bhaṭṭa Gopāla and Aruṇācalanātha. Dr. De has made it highly probable that this author flourished during the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century.

It is extremely lucky that the task of editing this new work on alamkāra was put into the hands of Dr. Sushil Kumar De, who is undoubtedly, with Professor Jacobi, the foremost living authority on that intricate and formidable śāstra. Unfortunately the Jaisalmer MS. contains only the two first unmeṣa’s with the beginning of the third, while the remnant of the third and the fourth are found only in the transcript of the Madras MS., which is described by the able editor as being “hopelessly corrupt”. Consequently Dr. De has limited himself to editing the text of the two first and the beginning of the third chapters while an extensive résumé with numerous quotations gives a fairly adequate idea of the contents of the later part of the work. That the text has been carefully and excellently treated need not be emphasized here. A very pellucid introduction gives a detailed conspectus of the entangled poetical theories of Kuntaka. As we are, unfortunately, not at all at home in the mazes of the alamkāra, we shall wholly abstain from entering into details and may only state that Dr. De with his very good edition has rendered another real service to Sanskrit scholarship.

J. C.


In this nice and interesting little volume M. Renou has drawn up shorter or longer pictures of those Sanskritists who were according to his opinion the leading masters of Vedic philology and interpretation. Among the numerous names mentioned here we find the dominating figures of Roth, Grassmann, Ludwig, Max Müller, Bergaigne, Pischel, Geldner, and Oldenburg. And no deep reading is wanted to find out that the author has chosen Bergaigne and Oldenberg as the chief stars of this magnificent galaxy.

De gustibus non est disputandum; for, although persons who perhaps know but little about scientific research believe it to be objective and impartial, it is purely a matter of taste whom a scholar chooses as the past masters of his own field of research. Bergaigne was undoubtedly a genius, that species of scholar in which France has
always been fertile; but what he did was not to make the Rigveda more human and intelligible. He founded a new mythology—one would fain say a new religion—which with its male and female principals strongly reminds one of the system of Yin and Yang; and according to this mythological theory he interpreted the hymns in a way just as fancifully as any pandit might do it. His work will always be looked upon as a monument of strange genius and stupendous learning; but instead of bringing the Rigveda down to the earth it has carried it away into a very lofty and abstract Nephelococcygia.

Oldenberg probably will appeal more to scholars outside Germany than to some of his own countrymen. His racial origin made him something of a cosmopolitan and he was decidedly unlike the average type of a German professor. He was not a genius nor was he a truly great scholar—he was not peculiarly well read, and he had a remarkable propensity for evading difficulties. But he possessed what is perhaps just as important, an uncommon quantity of sens commun, and he made the very best use of it. He knew not only what to write but also, unlike many of his compatriots, how to write; his style was lucid and agreeable though at times perhaps a trifle too flowery. But with all this the greatest work of his life, his Rigveda commentary, is scarcely a milestone in Vedic interpretation for, unfortunately, its most characteristic feature is that at nearly every really difficult passage in the text one looks in vain for guidance and help there. To suggest with M. Renou, that Oldenberg "a ruiné les Vedische Studien" is—if the present writer has correctly understood this rather oracular expression—an exaggeration which is rather unexpected from an author who like M. Renou seems to claim a high authority in Vedicis.

It is an easy task to find fault with the authors of the Vedische Studien, as it will always be easy to do with the founders of a new science. Undoubtedly the vehement and clownish polemics of Pischel made much to inspire diffidence in his methods, and, unfortunately, his efforts in pure linguistics were at times rather ludicrous. Against the late lamented Geldner no such objections could be proffered, and there is scarcely any doubt that the most valuable parts of the joint work came from his pen. However, with all their shortcomings—and such there must of necessity exist in every human piece of work—the joint authors of the Vedische Studien and after the death of Pischel the surviving one have made themselves better merited of Vedic researches than has hitherto
any Western scholar, the marvellous Roth not even excepted. Not to have understood this seems to the present writer a tragic and dangerous mistake of M. Renou. After that we are less astonished to find that the name of the late lamented Hillebrandt is casually mentioned five times in his book—not even the title of the *Vedische Mythologie* is to be found there.

Amongst the most prominent forerunners of modern historians of religions was a man called Euhemeros. If Pischel was otherwise not a great authority on religion and seems even to have lacked interest in its underlying foundations, his euhemerism was undoubtedly a sympathetic feature. M. Renou (p. 43 seq.) seems not to think highly of it; however, it has possibly escaped him that in recent days Professor Konow and Dr. Barnett, and perhaps even other scholars, have taken up a similar and certainly still more outspoken point of view in these things.

To enter into a criticism of details would perhaps lead too far, but we may allow ourselves a few passing remarks. Rosen’s edition, of course, does not comprise the first *maṇḍala* (p. 3) but the first *aśṭaka*. That *ārmi*- and *ārva*- should belong to the same group of words (p. 37) seems rather fanciful; the first-mentioned word seems to have clear relations, characterized by an original *u-l-m*—not only in Avestan but also in other languages, while *ārva*- must probably have a totally different parentage. That *rad*- could ever mean “write” in the Rigveda (as Geldner thinks) is highly improbable. But the finds at Harappa and Mohenjo Daro make it clear that India knew some sort of writing long before the introduction of Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmi, and it is not totally absurd to suggest that Vedic Indians might have at least seen and heard of some sort of writing. Geldner at that time could, of course, know nothing of Mohenjo Daro. The sentence on p. 66: “On sait que Meillet a reconnu récemment pour quelques gāthās de l’Avesta la nécessité de supposer un contexte en prose” is something of a novelty to those—even if they be acquainted with the little book in which M. Meillet has stated his theory—who had long ago read the very same suggestion in two well-known works, viz. *Vedische Studien* i, 286 seq. and *Die Gāthās des Avesta*, p. iv seq.¹

To sum up: we are highly indebted to M. Renou for some hours of interesting reading but we must, unfortunately, refuse to share most of his leading ideas.

J. C.

¹ Cf. Die Suparṇasage, p. 71 seq.

The activities of M. Przyluski are manifold and admirable. His knowledge of Mundā and Mon-Khmer languages have enabled him to trace certain elements of the Sanskrit dictionary from the stock of Austro-Asiatic languages unfortunately inaccessible to most of his colleagues. His mastery of Sanskrit, Chinese, and Tibetan alike have made possible his extensive researches into the oldest history of the Buddhist congregation and the Buddhist scriptures of which we have here the latest and so far most important specimen.

The oldest history of Buddhism is obscure and has been interpreted in different ways by eminent scholars. The suggestions of Professor Stcherbatsky concerning the original teachings of the Buddha, set forth in his well-known works on Dharma and Nirvāṇa, are ingenious to a degree and seem to penetrate far into the mould of ideas from which rose the systems labelled with the name of the Tathāgata. At first sight they will perhaps seem to be incompatible with the theories of M. Przyluski. However, this is perhaps not the case after all. And the present writer would look upon such a possibility as being highly lucky; for, he has long felt himself strongly convinced of the probability of Professor Stcherbatsky’s ideas. And he must now admit that also the suggestions of M. Przyluski appear to him in their great ingeniousness and simplicity, highly attractive. The one reason for doubting them seems to be that at times they are perhaps even too convincing.

To M. Przyluski “le Bouddhisme primitif était une religion de joie, de bienveillance à l’égard de tous les êtres, qui promettait à ses fidèles la félicité du svarga. Le Bouddhisme secondaire se propose un idéal d’impossibilité et d’indifférence; le but est l’anéantissement dans le nirvāṇa. Dans l’ancienne doctrine le sensible et humain Ānanda était le Saint par excellence. L’Arhat détaché de tout est le type du saint nouveau. Jadis, śramaṇa et maîtres de maison étaient étroitement solidaires; ils communiaient dans les fêtes où se reformait le Mahāsāṃghika. À présent, l’élite vit à part; le clerc s’écarte du laïc... Monachisme aristocratique et nihilisme athée caractérisent le Bouddhisme secondaire.

Cette doctrine, peu faite pour satisfaire la masse des fidèles,
provoqua une réaction, d’où sortit le Bouddhisme tertiaire ou Mahâyâna. On croit de nouveau à la survie dans le nirvâna. Les anciennes vertus réfléchissent : l’humilité, l’amour des fables, le zèle apostolique. La perfection stérile de l’Arhat, est dédaignée ; on ne se hâte plus d’entrer dans le nirvâna. L’imagination populaire se réveille ; l’iconographie et la liturgie s’enrichissent ; le panthéon se repeuple. . . ."

We have allowed ourselves this long quotation which illustrates better than any remodelling the new and fascinating ideas of M. Przyluski concerning the stages of development within old Buddhism. First of all the age of popular religion when men lived together piously and charitably and saw the goal of life in the happiness of svarga, the Heaven of gods. Then follows the Hinayâna with its austere and forbidding doctrines; and finally the Mahâyâna marks a sort of relapse into the old ideals.

Buddhism in its origins was closely bound to the institutions of the society within the pales of which it rose. In this connection it is only right to remember that several scholars have already emphasized the insoluble connection between Buddhist, Jain, and Brahmîn monasterial and disciplinary institutions. But as Buddhism apparently rose within a country which was at that time only slightly Brahminized—a point of view underlined by M. Przyluski—these facts are perhaps of little importance here.

Now let us once more hear the ipsissima verba of the learned author. "Une religion naissante s’organize toujours autour d’un culte et, dans le culte, les fêtes sont probablement l’essentiel. Celles-ci sont des rituels destinés à maintenir ou à retablir l’ordre cosmique et social. Elles supposent des représentations collectives du temps, du monde, de la société. A chacune d’elles correspond un récit mythique ou légendaire qui explique les origines de la fête par les actes d’un dieu ou d’un héros." These sagacious observations are meant to afford a key to the understanding of the original structure of the Buddhist community and the Council of Râjaghrâ alike.

Buddhism undoubtedly rose in a country where, as M. Przyluski puts it, "le rythme des saisons est produit par l’alternance de la mousson sèche et de la mousson pluvieuse." Consequently, the whole life, agricultural and religious, turned round two cardinal points: the beginning and the end of the varṣâh. The festival of the setting in of the rains and the festival of their ceasing were the two great popular and religious times of the year. And as the Buddhist friars
during the first centuries of their existence did only live in fixed abodes during the rains and otherwise roamed about the country, they shared in the daily life of the common people, and consequently the great feasts of the country folk were also those of the Śākyan monks. These simple conditions soon altered when the monks took up their continual abodes in the vihāras.

These explanations are simple and ingenious and so far we can only express our admiration and consent. M. Przyluski finds that the relations concerning the legendary First Council, of which he has translated and studied a great number from Chinese and Indian sources, fully prove these admirable suggestions. In some of these sources there is a curious story of an old arhat called Gavāmpati who entered Nivṛūṇa close upon the decease of the Buddha. Behind this curious little story hides a reminiscence of the old sacrificial feast at the beginning of the wet period; we shall allow ourselves to return to this startling suggestion presently. Then follow the varṣāḥ during which the friars preach the Law of the Buddha to the lay community; and finally follows the festival marking the end of the pluvial season. Now, the relations of the Council of Rājagṛha have preserved the queer legend of the expulsion of Ānanda by Mahā-Kassapa owing to some alleged transgressions of a very futile nature. And this legend, according to M. Przyluski, preserves a remembrance of the old ritual purification of the community by the expulsion of a scapegoat.

M. Przyluski, in connection with his above-mentioned theories, has made profound researches into the development of the sects and the canonical scriptures which we cannot here follow in detail. No doubt most of what he has said here not only commands our admiration but also reveals the real historical development of the old congregations and their holy lore. Anyhow, it is quite obvious that we must revise, under the guidance of M. Przyluski, our "traditional" ideas of the formation of the samgha, the councils, and the canonical literature. It is e.g. extremely interesting to find him proving that Ānanda, the simple and lovable body-servant of the Master, was the real Saint of the old Church and the preacher of the original dharma. At a later period Ānanda was ousted by Kaśyapa and Upāli; but Mahāyāna again restored him to his old greatness and added new scriptures which were all said to rely upon his unquestioned authority.

That the expulsion of Ānanda does really represent the time-
honoured expulsion of the scapegoat, on which Sir James Frazer has written an admirable volume, we would fain believe, though the parallels adduced by M. Przybyski from Indian literature are of the very scantiest. As for old Gavampati, however, we are beset with rather grave doubts; and we shall allow ourselves, though with all due respect and diffidence, to differ from M. Przybyski on this point.

Gavampati, who is said to have lived in the "heaven of the Śūrīśa, is a curious figure; according to certain sources he had the hoofs of a bull, and he used to ruminate. We cannot follow the detailed argument of M. Przybyski, but it seems probable that he is right in seeing a Gavampati a Buddhist counterpart of the Śaivite Nandin. But we cannot follow him further when he wants to identify Gavampati with Śiva himself: "Qu'on l'identifie au taureau ou qu'on lui donne Nandin comme compagnon, peu importe: Rudra-Śiva est l'habitante de la montagne ainsi que le Gavampati du bouddhisme primitif et nous allons voir que ce séjour est celui qui convient à sa nature et à son activité."

To M. Przybyski Śiva is at one time the bull and the god of the winds and the thunderstorm; and precisely the same part is attributed to Gavampati by reason of certain legends concerning him in the Buddhist scriptures. Both of them represent old deities, with parallels in the East of Asia, who in some way or other are connected with the monsoons; Rudra as well as Gavampati are deities of wind and dryness battling at the beginning of the rainy season with the deities of rain and fertility. M. Przybyski then fixes upon the sacrifice known by the name of śūlagava. In it he finds a sacrifice originally attached to the beginning of the pluvial season: one killed a bull, which represented "le dieu de la Sécheresse et du Vent", offered his blood to the serpents, etc., all in order to invoke the powers of rain and to give expression to the wish that the deities of the dry season might succumb to those of the pluvial months.

Admirable constructions these, but upon second thoughts only slightly convincing. M. Przybyski apparently has not paid attention to the somewhat lengthy but really important contribution by Dr. Arbman on Rudra (1922); otherwise he would perhaps not have taken it for absolutely granted that Rudra was once a bull or that he is in reality the god of the mountains and the winds. There is probably more than one component within the dark and awe-inspiring shape of Rudra-Śiva; Brahminism here as elsewhere may have performed its work of compromise and contamination. We may
even admit that there is perhaps in Rudra-Śiva an element of a deity of the dry winds and the glowing heat—in other words what Hillebrandt thought to be the original nature of this god; but if such be the case this part of his nature might rather claim for Western than for Austro-Asiatic parallels. However, Dr. Arbman has no doubt proved that in the main he is a deity of quite another origin—an arch-demon of none too agreeable habits. And there can certainly be no tale of his having once been a sort of bull-deity. That Austro-Asians and Chinese imagined a god "de la Sécheresse et du Vent" under the shape of a bull or a buffalo we may take for granted upon the authority of M. Przyluski. In India, however, the buffalo, as will only seem natural, is mainly a water-spirit.

Consequently we do not feel able to follow M. Przyluski in his suggestions concerning the śūlagava. The rite, no doubt, is essentially of a primitive character, but it does not necessarily belong to the class of sacrifices among which M. Przyluski would like to enrol it. Cf. on the śūlagava Dr. Arbman, loc. cit. p. 104 seq.

If thus we feel unable to follow the learned author in some of his beautiful but rather adventurous constructions that does not, of course, diminish our admiration for his achievement as a whole. Few scholars have contributed more than M. Przyluski to elucidate the obscure and perplexing history of old Buddhism, and we hope soon to obtain more valuable and highly interesting information from him. By his venturesome and magnificent researches he has laid all his colleagues under a deep and never-ceasing obligation.

J. C.


The Sūtras of the Vaikhānasas have until quite lately attracted little attention from either Western or Hindu scholars. If we omit some Indian editions—all of them of limited value—there is scarcely anything to be remembered with the exception of a Leipzig thesis (Über das Grhya- und Dharmasūtra der Vaikhānasas) by the late Th. Bloch, published in 1896. But during the last three years no less than four publications on the Vaikhānasasūtras have been issued, viz. Professor Caland's paper in the Mededeelingen of the Amsterdam
Academy (1926), his above-mentioned edition (1927), and his translation (1929), and finally a thesis by Dr. W. Eggers called Das Dharma-
sūtra der Vaikkānasas (Goettingen, 1929). Whereas until lately we were possessed of very scanty means for making the interesting acquaintance of the Vaikkānasa ascetics, we are now endowed with fairly ample materials for studying this important but strongly neglected sect.

It goes without saying that Professor Caland’s edition is the best possible to be achieved with the means now at his disposal. In a short introduction he gives us notices of the manuscripts and editions of which he has availed himself in preparing his text. By this publication he has once more made Sanskrit scholars indebted to him and evoked renewed admiration for his critical faculty and unparalleled knowledge of the ritual literature.

J. C.


This is a short but useful conspectus of Telugu literature written apparently by two sons of the Andhradeśa. The fates of this literature are scarcely exciting, just as little as those of other native Indian literatures. The standards were set by classical Sanskrit, and the great plurality of writers contented themselves with either translating or imitating the famous masters of the kāvya style. Admirable as are the productions of the great poets of India they become less attractive when repeated or imitated in a parrot-like way by hundreds of poetasters. Still there is certainly much in Telugu literature—just as in Tamil and Canarese—which is well deserved of our attention and interest, and the natural sweetness of the Andhra language will always add to its attraction. The authors venture to think that there is still a period of revival and greatness in store for Telugu literature, and we concur with them in the sincere hope that this may be the case.

The opinions of the authors concerning the origin of the Telugu language (p. 15 seq.) are, if the present writer has correctly grasped them, entirely out of date. That Telugu and Sanskrit are not related to each other is too well-known a fact to be repeated here; nor could such a relation be established in the way which the authors seem to think possible.

JARL CHARPENTIER.


These two important books on a subject of great interest are to a large extent complementary. M. Soulié de Morant approaches the question from the point of view of the international lawyer, and seeks above all to define the exact limits of the extraterritorial privileges to which European subjects and certain persons under the protection of European States are entitled under the treaties with China. The work is done with skill and precision, and may be confidently recommended to all who seek to know precisely in what these bitterly attacked privileges consist.

Mr. Keeton’s work seeks to rather show how and why they have come into existence, and gives us the history of the question as opposed to its legal definition. Extraterritorial privileges arose, as he has no difficulty in showing, from the clash of totally different civilizations, and were in no wise the mark of inferiority, as modern Chinese writers so often aver. In fact European and Chinese conceptions of justice were too far asunder to permit of Europeans subjecting themselves willingly to so alien a system. It was not merely that the Chinese legal code was so loosely worded as to convey no definite idea of the law, or that Chinese judges lacked judicial training, or even that the written law was liable to fantastic interpretation and interpolation, such as might entirely change its content; but that ideas like that of collective responsibility, familiar to and accepted by the Chinese, had been long outgrown in the West. The sort of difficulty that arose is well illustrated by a case that occurred in 1839 and had much to do with the precipitation of the so-called Opium War. A villager named Lin Wei hi was killed in an affray between a number of sailors and some Chinese villagers. The Chinese authorities invited the Superintendent of Trade to surrender five persons who had already been tried and found guilty, not of murder but of riot and affray, promising only to execute one of them; that being refused, they then hinted that a sailor recently found drowned might pro forma be declared the murderer; finally war-junks attempted to board H.M.S.S. Volage and Hyacinth, in order to compel the surrender of some person who might be executed for the murder. This was the incident with which the Opium War actually opened. So long as the Chinese insisted that a death of violence must be followed by the
execution of some person who might stand for the murderer, and whose actual guilt was a matter of quite minor importance, it was manifestly impossible for the Western nations to submit their nationals to either the courts or the laws of China. Extraterritoriality thus became an inevitable incident of commercial intercourse. H. DODWELL.

**DIE ALTJAPANISCHE JAHRESZEITEN POESIE AUS DEM KOKINSHU.**


This excellent book, by a pupil of Dr. Florenz, gives text and translation of the first six books of the *Kokinshu*. The admirably close and literal versions will be of great assistance to students of the classical language. The Introduction is not so satisfactory. The author expresses surprise that in these poems “the personal is hardly ever touched upon”. Surely this is natural; the poems he has chosen to translate are about nature, not about man. He has only to turn to Books XI–XV (“Love”) and Book XVI (“Bereavement”), and he will find hundreds of poems both passionate and personal. The comparison which he institutes between Chinese and Japanese poetry is marred by the fact that most of the poems he quotes were not known to the Japanese in the tenth century. Thus on p. 37 a poem by Li Po is quoted. Li Po’s works are mentioned in the catalogue *Nihonkoku Genzai Sho Makuroku* (end of the ninth century); but they are, so far as I know, never alluded to in literature of the *Kokinshu* period, and it is generally believed that they remained almost unstudied until the fourteenth century. Next comes a poem by a poet whose date is not given, “Liu Ki King.” This is quoted from an article by Dr. Richard Wilhelm. What security has the author that it is a Chinese poem at all, any more than the poem on p. 238 of Wilhelm’s *Die Seele Chinas*? Next, a poem by Chang Chiu-ling. This is rendered into German from Professor Giles’s exceedingly free rhymed version. The result is something utterly unlike the original poem. Surely such a proceeding is unsuitable to work issued by so learned a body as the Hamburg Seminar für Sprache und Kultur Japans? A literal version could have been found in vol. v of Zottoli’s *Cursus Linguae Sinicae*. Finally, Dr. Chanoch gives a poem by Tu Fu whose works were quite certainly not known in Japan in the tenth century. They were not indeed at all familiar until the fifteenth.

Sugawara (p. 9, note 1) is a clan-name and should be followed by “no”.

A. WALEY.

At last we have a complete and adequate version in English of the biography of that picturesque and lovable figure, the Tibetan poet-saint Milarepa (Mi-la-ras-pa), whose teaching hymns and life-story, recorded in the Master's own words by his disciple Rechung (Ras-chuñ), are as well known and popular among all classes of Tibetans to-day, as if he had lived in recent years instead of in the eleventh century. It is because this biography is primarily a very human, and often extremely naïve, account of a man's earnest striving towards spiritual enlightenment, following an early career of vengeance and evil-doing, and his final success after undergoing incredibly severe trials and penances as a purification from his sins, that it still proves attractive to the average religious-minded Tibetan, and that, even in translation, it retains considerable charm for the less sympathetic western reader. The story is simply told, with many a touch of quiet humour, the style is easy and the miraculous is closely intermingled with the incidents of everyday life.

The reader of this book will gain no small insight, not merely into the externals of the ascetic life, but also into the gradual development of a devotee's mind by methods and in surroundings far removed from western experience; and, though he will inevitably reject as absurd and incredible many of the supernatural events narrated, which the Tibetan has no difficulty in believing, he will find here an account of Milarepa's doings and teachings, which in the main may be accepted as authentic, and incidently a vivid picture of the life of the period. And, as Sir Charles Bell has observed, "Life in Tibet does not appear to have altered very greatly during the last eight hundred years."

This work is, of course, in no sense a formal exposition of the Kargyütpa (Bka'h-rgyud-pa) doctrines, brought by Marpa from India, and transmitted by him orally to Milarepa, among other disciples. Unlike his guru Marpa, styled Lo-tsa-ba, or translator, Milarepa was no translator, professor, or commentator of the Buddhist Scriptures. His aim was to attain as quickly as possible to Buddhahood, and
systematic meditation the means. The only knowledge he needed was that which would expedite his spiritual progress. Except in so far as they directly and practically helped in this, to him scriptures, religious rites and observances counted as nothing.

This is distinctive of Milarepa and his ascetic school, and this is what J. Bacot means, when in his introduction to his *Le poète Tibétain Milarépa*, he writes "Milarépa—a dédaigné les Écritures bouddhiques ... Il rejette en bloc tous les textes et même les tantra". And, having learnt the direct ascetic path to enlightenment, he strove to show his disciples how to traverse it and to avoid all by-paths. He was above all a practical mystic, if we may be allowed to use the term.

But besides oral instruction, much of it secret, and only transmitted to the disciple proved worthy to receive it (as Dr. Evans-Wentz often reiterates), we hear of several manuals or treatises, mostly translations from the Sanskrit, being studied by Milarepa. As it has been said, these "handbooks for the Mystic lay down the strange and difficult practices by which detachment may be reached and freedom won". Such were the *Phyag-rgya-chen-po*, or *Mahā-mudrā*, on meditation, the *Chos-drug*, Six Doctrines, or branches of yogic science (p. 144), certain tantras (p. 133), the Drong-jug (*Hgroṅ-hjug*), on the "transmission of the mundane ... into the supra-mundane consciousness", a rare and highly esteemed work (p. 146), the Tūmno (*Gtum-po*), on "generating Vital Heat" (p. 156), a separate treatise on one of the "Six Doctrines". Also we hear of him reading the *Prajñā-Pāramitā* (p. 112). On the special treatises, the first-named two of which Kazi Dawa-Samdup and the Editor have translated, some useful explanatory notes are given.

It is of interest to observe the reaction of a Tibetan's mind to instruction in such a subject as the Dömchog (*Bde-mchog*) Maṇḍala (pp. 132–3), with which we are familiar from *Tantric Texts*, vol. vii (Arthur Avalon, London, 1919); the deities and places of the Maṇḍala became at one stage not only symbols of reality, but actual visible entities to him; while at a later stage he understood them to be merely states of mind and to have no value in themselves. The Kārgyūṭpa method, as noted before, was not to approach the Truths of Buddhism by intellectual means, by the study of logic, metaphysics, and the like, but after a prolonged and arduous discipline, so framed as to give complete mastery over body and mind, to attain by meditation to a direct insight or transcendental experiencing of them. While such meditation is a vital part of all forms of Buddhism, with the
Kargyütpas mental concentration, or *Dhyāna*, with its successive stages, was all important. An efficacious system of mind-control or *yoga* was the one essential instrument, and this is what Marpa meant by "the Mystic Truths, handed down—by Naropa—whereby one can gain Liberation in a single life-time, and attain to Buddhahood." (p. 95), and by "The Short Cut of the Immutable Path" (*Vajra-yāna*).

So much for what we consider to be the main interest of the biography, without any attempt to follow the actual story of Milarepa's career. Much in the introduction and notes, and in particular the mode of presentation may displease the critical student, who would prefer a more dispassionate attitude to the Editor's enthusiasm, highly coloured language and fondness for the esoteric. For the Editor approaches the mysticism and esoteric teachings admittedly with complete sympathy and not critically, and, perhaps is apt to tinge them with a theosophical outlook. But in this book he has shown more restraint than in *The Tibetan Book of the Dead*, and now, as then, we are grateful to him for much information not easily accessible or indeed to be found at all elsewhere. If his style lacks the clear-cut brilliance of J. Bacot's masterly introductory sketch, this is compensated by his fuller treatment.

We should have welcomed the publication, even without critical treatment, of the Tibetan texts, upon which Kazi Dawa-Samdup's translations are based both here and in the *Book of the Dead*, but the Editor's interest being "anthropological rather than philological", this "remains for scholars of the future", and so the few students of Tibetan have no means of comparing the English with the original. Tibetan names, etc., have been consistently presented in a phonetic form suitable for the English reader, and in many cases the full transliteration has been added. Mistakes in this difficult matter are commendably few. Dr. Evans-Wentz in his revision of the Kazi's translation has had the advantage of utilizing J. Bacot's French version of the biography. He has also consulted and given references to the other western matter concerning Milarepa (*vide* p. 26, i). We may here note that the lucid simplicity of the style of the original, on which the Kazi has properly laid emphasis, is in part due to its being an indigenous composition and so free from the rather complicated artificiality of the language of works translated from the Sanskrit. Dr. Evans-Wentz's English is slightly archaic and explanatory, while J. Bacot's French is terse and lively.
The introductory matter—detailed descriptions of appropriately chosen and beautifully reproduced illustrations; appreciations of the value and place in literature of the biography; sections on the Tibetan Schools of Buddhism, in particular of the Kargyütpa, of which Milarepa was the fourth Guru, on modern ascetics, the hermit ideal, the Arhat problem, the text and its translation, and so on in the thirteen short sections of the introduction—has been kept within the moderate compass of twenty-nine pages. The footnotes are fewer and more concise than were those in the previous work. Both contain valuable information, most of it well presented and necessary to an understanding of the biography, some culled from The Buddhism of Tibet, by L. A. Waddell, and to a less degree from the publications of Sir Charles Bell, Miss A. Getty, Mme A. David-Neel, G. Sandberg, and others, and some transmitted to the Editor by his Buddhist teachers in Tibetan and other lands.

In the treatment of matters mystic, as already remarked, we find a tendency to over-emphasize and to range somewhat far afield for parallels; but readers interested in mysticism will appreciate the Editor’s vivid mode of presentation of much difficult matter in a palatable form. “The Esoteric Buddhism of the Higher Lamaism” he justly states to be a subject of which “the uninitiated European knows very little, but about which he dogmatizes very much.” Whether everyone will accept his claim to speak *ex cathedra*, as an “Initiate”, is another matter. But where he conveys the teachings of his guru, the late Dawa-Samdup, he is on reasonably firm ground. Truly in such a field the explorer “requireth the Eyes of Wisdom and the Feet of Method”. We have nothing but admiration for the excellent format of this book which comes from the Oxford University Press.

H. Lee Shuttleworth.
Sanskrit Ārya swarnaprabhāsottama sūtrendrarāja nāma mahāyāna sūtra. It is one of the two large collections of Buddhist Scriptures in wide circulation among the Mongols.

The Kanjur, the Tibetan version of the Tripiṭaka, containing the above sūtra, was completely translated into Mongolian in the early part of the seventeenth century under the guidance of Legsdan Khutuktu Khaghan of Ĉakhar, who reigned from A.D. 1603 to A.D. 1634; the translation was completed in the year 1623. Later, the gSer ḥod dampa, together with other scriptures, was translated into Mongolian by Gušri Khan (b. 1581), and in the year 1659 the Altan gerel was for the first time printed in Peking in compliance with the orders of the Emperor Shun Chih.

Three Tibetan versions of this sūtra seem to be in existence, but as to whether they were all translated into Mongolian, or whether the Tibetan translation of the Chinese I-ching (義淨) version was the only one to be thus rendered the reviewer can venture no opinion. Unfortunately only a few chapters have hitherto been published: Chapter xxi contained in Popov’s Chrestomathy, Chapter xxvi in Schmidt’s Mongol Grammar, and a third said to be commented on by Pozdnyeev in his History of Mongol Literature, vol. iii. With these must be mentioned a Dhārani published by Mr. J. Ishihama in Shinagaku (Part iv, No. 3). The original of this text is the only fragment that escaped the great earthquake of 1923, which destroyed the valuable collection of the Altan gerel preserved at the time in the Library of the Imperial University of Tōkyō.

The sūtra was also translated from Tibetan into Kalmuk by Zaya Paṇḍita in the middle of the seventeenth century, but nothing was known of the text until the publication of the book under review. Here we have for the first time, thanks to the work of Mr. Haenisch, the complete text of the Kalmuk MS. preserved in the Kgl. Bibliothek in Copenhagen, transcribed in roman letters.

The Copenhagen MS. is the Kalmuk translation of the Tibetan twenty-one chapter version and is accompanied with the title: “This is the sūtra called the Altan gerel preserved in the Library of Aidrakhan. The 12th day of the Hen-month in the year 1841.”

In the present transliteration the author has taken pains to give in the footnotes the variants found in another MS. which is in the

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1. Laufer, Skizze der mongolischen Literatur, p. 218.
possession of the Dresdner Landesbibliothek, thus rendering the present work all the more valuable.

As to the transcription there remains room for improvement. The author has followed in the main the transcription adopted by Jülg in his copy of the Dresden MS. with the alterations of ss, j, j, and ç into s, y, j, and c respectively. The two former of these substitutions are, we think, quite justifiable, but the two latter might have been left unaltered, perhaps with advantage. The alteration of Jülg’s s into ds could also be bettered; it should certainly be replaced by dz. The most regrettable of all is the use of h for the velar fricative, for which nothing is better suited than the letter x.

All this, however, does not mar the significance of this work. It is in fact one of the most valuable contributions of recent years to the study both of the language and of the religion of the Mongols.

We sincerely hope that Mr. Haenisch will some day publish a comparative study of this Kalmuk text with the Tibetan original in the same way as he treated the Chinese translation of Sanang Setsen’s History of the Mongols.

S. Yoshitake.


This book is not merely rewritten since its original publication in 1906, but subsequent events have necessitated additions which have more than doubled its size. It is a most valuable contribution towards the discussion of a thorny and complex problem, and one is grateful to the author for pointing out, among other things, that the results of emancipation in the West Indies are by no means as ruinous as has been popularly believed. There was, of course, a phase of depression, as in all transition periods; but the losses which bulked so large in the public eye were those of the great estates, whose prosperity, after all, rested on a morally rotten foundation. The gradual growth, amid many difficulties, of a happy and prosperous free peasantry, was, naturally, less conspicuous.

All through Lord Olivier has consistently and ably upheld the thesis that so long as there is any discrimination, social or economic, on account of race, no society can develop healthily. It is often stated that racial equality is impossible where there is no intermarriage; this we hold to be fallacious, as the fact that two races or two nations
do not intermarry does not necessarily imply that one is inferior; both may prefer to keep their types unmixed. Lord Olivier does not argue this point, but he maintains, and I think with some reason, that race-mixture is not necessarily an evil, though no doubt it may be, under some conditions, and where adventitious circumstances have certainly contributed to make it so.

The scope of the book is a wide one, as the conditions of native industry are examined, not only in Africa (Kenya, South Africa, and the Portuguese territories—of which we have an appalling picture, derived from first-hand information) but in the West Indies and the United States. The case is fairly and temperately stated and the settlers' point of view fully taken into account—yet, when all is said and done, one cannot but feel that European civilization, so-called, has no great cause for congratulating itself on its dealings with "backward" peoples.

Quite apart from moral considerations, Lord Olivier has clearly shown the unprofitableness and, in the long run, the sheer impossibility of what he calls "repressionism"—an ugly but convenient word.

A book which all Colonial Administrators, whether or not they agree with all its conclusions, will find abundantly worth while to read and mark. One would have been grateful for an index, though the lack of one is to some extent compensated for by the admirable "summary of contents" at the end of the volume.

A. W.


It is at once surprising and discreditable that we should till now have had no English survey of French colonial policy—surprising because one would have expected a long colonial rivalry to breed close interest in the rival's doings, and discreditable because there are many points in which we may profitably compare our own methods with our neighbours'. It is probably realized by few save those who have studied colonial questions that in the last two generations the French have acquired dependent territories second in extent only to our own, and touching ours in every quarter of the globe. In one respect, of course, their colonial empire offers no similarity to ours. It includes no colonies de peuplement, no dominions. But on the other hand, it closely parallels us in tropical Africa and in Asia where it has had to encounter the same kind of problems that
have met us in Burma and India. The subject is therefore one of great interest. And Mr. Roberts's manner is on the whole worthy of his subject. Though perhaps his work might have been pruned with advantage, the information it provides is in general full and accurate, while the references furnish a very valuable guide to an extensive literature.

From our particular point of view, it is of special interest in three respects. The chapters on the North African colonies give an excellent survey of the difficulties encountered in dealing with a Muslim population; that on Indo-China does the same for the peoples of mingled Indian and Chinese cultures in South-Eastern Asia; while chapters i–v, and especially chapter iv, give a lucid and most instructive account of the general development of French policy.

Until recent times the dominant tendency of French colonial policy has been summed up in the word assimilation, as prominent in the policy of Napoleon III as in that of Colbert two hundred years earlier. The persistency of this idea has been not a little remarkable, and makes the articles which Diderot contributed to the Encyclopédie so curiously modern in tone. It was based on that false and most misleading psychology dominant in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, regarding man as "everywhere and potentially the same". Whether, therefore, he were a Berber or a Khmer, he was equally suitable for subjection to the Code Civil and capable of being transformed into a good Frenchman. Hence the vicious idea of treating the dependencies as if they were départements of France and subjecting the administration of justice in Tunis and Tonquin to the Minister of Justice instead of to the Minister of the Colonies. Indeed one of the most striking results of this attitude was that the Minister of the Colonies could deal only with trivial matters of personnel or the details of finance, instead of with colonial policy as a whole. Stated bluntly, nothing can appear less reasonable; and yet is it not fundamentally the principle that long dominated (if it does not still dominate) our relations with India? What else was the administrative policy of Cornwallis or the educational policy of Bentinck than a policy of assimilation? And though the efforts of British-trained governors-general were tempered by the ideas of men like Munro or Frere, more familiar with India than England, so also was the French policy by men like Lyautey in Morocco, or Paul Bert in Indo-China. The main difference lies in the fact that the French were more thorough-going and logical in their policy,
and that we never adopted the abominable system of attaching certain aspects of colonial administration to the logically related but essentially unsuitable home departments. The matter evidently raises questions far too complex for discussion here; but the student of our Indian policy will find in Mr. Roberts’s pages many most interesting parallels and illustrations.

H. D.


These volumes of the delightful and well-edited series of Broadway Travellers, though concerned with a side of the world in which we are not primarily interested, yet offer so many subjects for comparison that small apology is needed for introducing them to the notice of readers of these pages. The Spaniards in Mexico, with whom three of the four volumes deal, offer a very real and interesting comparison with the Portuguese in the east, while Lescarbot abounds in curious descriptions of tribal custom of general interest to all students of folk-lore.

Of these volumes Bernal Diaz’s work, as here published, consists of extracts from The True Story of the Conquest of New Spain, published by the Hakluyt Society in five volumes in 1908. The present selection has been made in order to illustrate the capture and topography of Mexico. Diaz was himself one of the conquistadores, and his narrative was published at Madrid in 1632; but this edition suffered from an extensive corruption of the original text by the editor, and since Diaz is almost the most important witness for the conquest, an exact edition, such as that of the Hakluyt Society and the present extracts, was most desirable. But the importance of this work lies not only in the light it throws on the feats of Cortes, but also in the information which it provides regarding Aztec civilization, so far as the Spaniards observed it in the sixteenth century.
The *Letters* of Cortes fitly accompany the volume of Bernal Diaz. They furnish the kind of evidence we look for, for instance, in the *Cartas* of Albuquerque. They are not letters in the ordinary sense of the word, but official despatches. Written in vigorous style, with no affectations or rhetorical devices, they relate the vicissitudes of the conquest, the organization of the province, and the expedition to Honduras.

Gage, on the other hand, shows us the province a century later. Born in an English Catholic family, he went abroad to be educated for the priesthood and entered the order of the Dominicans about 1625. He joined a mission proceeding to evangelize the natives of the Philippines; but having proceeded on his way as far as Mexico, he resolved to remain there, and travelled widely in Mexico and Guatemala. Returning at last to Europe in 1637, he visited England, Germany, and other countries, and then in 1640 he resolved to renounce his faith and settle in England. He signalized his accession to Protestantism by giving first secret and then public evidence against his former associates. He later compiled his volume on Mexico, mainly it would seem for the information of Cromwell, and, accompanying Venables' expedition as chaplain, died at Jamaica in 1656. Throughout the volume the reader must make ample allowance for the rancour of the renegade; but his work is undeniably vigorous. Gage was not merely a treacherous rascal, but also a shrewd observer and effective writer.

The fourth volume, that of Lescarbot, is like that of Bernal Diaz, part of a larger work. It was translated into English by the Huguenot Erondelle in 1609. An abridgement is to be found in Purchas, and Erondelle's translation was twice reprinted in the eighteenth century, in the *Harleian Collection*, vol. ii, and in Churchill's *Voyages*. Lescarbot is chiefly concerned with the foundation of Acadia, in which he took part, so that here, as in the rest of these volumes, we have the narrative of an eye-witness. Lescarbot, too, was deeply interested not only in the doings of his countrymen, but also in the customs of the strange peoples whom they found in Acadia. The whole of his second book is devoted to a systematic exposition of their mode of life from birth to burial, coupled with numerous comparisons with such of the manners of the ancients as were known to him. This ranks high among the similar works of his period, although his attitude is necessarily remote from that of the modern anthropologist.

H. Dodwell.
NOTES AND QUERIES

QUTBĀBĀD—ANOTHER NAME FOR DEOGIR (DAULATĀBĀD)

In an interesting ode in his fifth diwān Nīhāyat-ul-Kamāl (Brit. Mus. No. 25,807, fol. 459 b), written after the capture of Deogir by Prince Jūnā Khān (Muhammad Tīghlaq), Khusrau gives a glowing description of the manifold charms of that Deccan fortress and supplies us with a new name for it. This name, Qutbābād, which, curiously enough, has not been mentioned by any historian, was given to the city by Qutbuddin Mubārak Khalji. In the first two verses the poet says:

زهی مبارک شهر خجسہ نیکاد / کننام یاف فر نرقت سیر قطب آباد
جیوکفر بود درآن خلق یارگرفت دیو / از آنہ میزکہن دیوکیر نام نیاد

"Oh, auspicious (Mubārak) city of the king of happy dominions which received the name of Qutbābād from the Qutb (Pivot) of the world! When infidelity (Kufr) prevailed in it, demons (dev) tormented its inhabitants, and that is why the ancient Deo (Mahadeo?) called it Deogir . . . ."

The mention of the names Qutb and Mubārak would indicate clearly that the city acquired this title in the time of Mubārak Shāh, but evidently it retained it even in the reign of his immediate successor Ghiyāthuddin Tughlaq Shāh. It was the latter’s son and successor Muḥammad who changed it into Daulatābād.

It is interesting to note in this connection that E. Thomas in his Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of Delhi, describes a rare coin of Mubārak Shāh (No. 142, p. 179) which has the following marginal legend: "This coin was struck in the fortress of Qutbābād in the year a.h. 718." He remarks:

"This coin presents us with the name of a new place of mintage. We have no direct means of ascertaining the locality indicated by the designation Kutbābād. This, however, is the less a subject of regret, as there seems good reason to suppose that the term was only momentarily applied to that portion of the many-citied Delhi, which had the honour of constituting the immediate residence of Mubārak Shāh." It is amply clear, on the other hand, that the coin in question was struck in Deogir, a well-known place of mintage in those days. Moreover, no portion of Delhi is known to have been called Qutbābād at any time.

M. WAHID MIRZA.
THE DIFFERENTIATION OF GENDER IN THE SEMITIC NUMERALS

A SUGGESTED EXPLANATION

Perhaps the strangest phenomenon in the grammar of the Semitic languages is the peculiarity of the differentiation of genders in the numerals. The numbers three to ten take the feminine form when the noun following is masculine, and the masculine form when the noun following is feminine. Philologists have been puzzled by this anomalous usage, but it cannot be said that the explanations so far put forward have carried conviction, although the theories of Reckendorff in his *Die syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Arabischen*, pt. ii, p. 265 ff., are certainly most ingenious, even if they appear somewhat forced.

I offer a new explanation for this remarkable phenomenon. I go back to folk-lore for my explanation, and I suggest that the confusion of genders is deliberate and is due to the desire of the primitive mind to outwit the Evil Eye. That the Jews in Biblical times had an aversion for counting is well known. David's punishment for taking a census was swift and ruthless. This same aversion to counting is shared by many primitive peoples including nomad Arabs to this day, and it even persists amongst many orthodox Jews. I have myself known such Jews who, when compelled to count people, will say, "Not one, not two," etc. By putting a negative before the number they consider they have warded off the Evil Eye from themselves and the company. The primitive mind is largely a mixture of the naïve and the subtle. What could be more characteristic of that mind than to differentiate deliberately the genders of numeral and noun in order to confound the Evil Eye?

As far as I know, this explanation has not been put forward before. It may perhaps help to solve the most baffling phenomenon in Semitic grammar.

J. Leveen.

1 For a fascinating exposition of this theme, see Sir James Frazer's chapter entitled "The Sin of a Census" in his *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*. I am indebted to the author for this reference.
Sheikh Kadhim Dojaily, of Baghdad, who has been at the School for the past five years as lecturer in Iraq Arabic, has composed the following poem as a farewell to his friends:

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إلى أحبائي في المدرسة
أحبنا بناءً مصالي جميل
فيلي فواد لا يحب الحبييل
إنني إذا أرحل عن أردنكم
فلنكن بنداد عن لندن
فسوف تبقى لكم صورة
في ذاكرتي تذكركم بالمجيل
كاظم الديجيلي البغدادي
```

London 14, Shawal, 1279

Ktieb il-Genesi Maqlub Mill-lhudi u Mfisser Minn Dun P. P. Saydon

There has been of late a good deal of activity in the field of Bible translations into Maltese. Commendatore A. M. Galea has published in quick succession translations of Proverbs (1926), Ecclesiastes and Wisdom (1927), Tobiah (1927), Ecclesiasticus and the Song of Songs (1928), and Job (1929); but all his translations adopt the spelling of the old Xirka Xemia in which the kāf appears as C or Ch, and the qāf as K. Now, however, Dr. Saydon has come to the scene with the first of the projected series of historical books in which, for the spelling, he follows the system recommended a few years since (1924) by the "Commission of Maltese Writers".

It is needless to point out that, to outsiders, Bible translations are always invaluable inasmuch as "cribs" are always to hand in plenty whenever the student finds himself faced by any difficulty. The most obviously useful "crib" in this case being the Arabic Bible of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

According to the spelling here used K stands for kāf and Q for qāf, and the only stumbling-block to the English reader is the use of X for š and of j for y, as in li kienu jixtru ("which they had bought", 4714). The peculiarities of Maltese are plentifully illustrated in the present translation. For instance, for the word bin (a son) there is no Maltese plural and some other word has consequently to be used.
Jared lived after begetting Enoch *tmin mitt sena u wiled subien u bniet* ("eight hundred years and begat sons and daughters"). Again, though *Abu*, in its composite form *bu*, is common enough in Maltese, it has long ceased to convey the notion of "father": *u dan hu li gallhom missierhom* ("and this it is that their father spoke to them"), 4928. It is possible, though not likely, that this word *missier* stands for the Arabic *musawwir*, the well-known Quranic title for God, the Maker, Shaper, Schöpfer, but its feminine plural *missierjet* suggests a foreign importation. There are a good many contractions in which words, which are separate in Arabic, run together *kull ma kellu* ("All that he had") [kien-la], 461). *Intom taju li tnejn wildtmi marti* ("Ye know that my wife bore me two"), 4627. *Alla li jista' kollox dehiri* ("God who can do all things appeared to me"), 4823, *u llibbishomlhom* ("and He clothed them with them" [i.e. coats of skin], 321). A few of the constructions have a curiously Hebraic ring. Abimelech said to Isaac: Let there be an oath *bejnietna, bejnna u bejnek* ("betwixt us, even betwixt us and thee"), 2628, on which see the Hebrew text and contrast it with the standard Arabic.

In the sentence *wissa . . . li jimmelhom it-tlieles* ("he-gave-orders that they-should-fill their sacks"), 4225, the last word is Algerian Arabic (though with a Syriac analogue), and has much the same meaning as the word *Xkora* (4227), on which see Dozy's *Supplément*. Elsewhere we are told that Hagar went and sat her down over against Ishmael *daqs tafa' ta' qaes* (about a bowsight, 2116. *daqs = taqs, tafa' = dafa*').

On the whole—at least with the help of the crib—this translation should be quite easy to read. On the other hand I fear that, to write Maltese correctly is a much harder task. The intrusive and very elusive vowel-sounds have to be expressed and to anyone save an educated Maltese this is no easy matter. *Qal* : *imbierek Abram minn Alla* ("He said: blessed be Abram of God"), 1419) and, yet, in the next yerse, *u mbierek Alla* ("And blessed be God") 1429. Or again: *u tkun qrib minni, int u uliedek u ulied uliedek* ("and thou shalt be near to me, thou and thy children and thy children's children"), 4516), and yet *uliedu u ulied uliedu* (his sons and his son's sons, 467). The distinction in sound is very subtle, yet nevertheless apparent.

C. L. D.
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BULLETIN

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PAPERS CONTRIBUTED

MĪRZĀ MUḤAMMAD ḤAYDAR DUGHĻĀṬ ON THE HARĀT SCHOOL OF PAINTERS

By T. W. ARNOLD

Muslim historians have put on record such scanty and insufficient materials for the biographies of painters that any fresh information deserves attention, especially if it is provided by a contemporary of the painters in question. The following extracts from the Ta’rīkh-i-Rashīdī have hitherto escaped notice; the Persian text of this interesting work has not yet been printed, and these passages were not included in the abbreviated translation which Sir E. Denison Ross published in 1895. But he recently drew my attention to them, and kindly placed at my disposal two MSS. of the text in his private possession, and, further, revised and amended my translation; to his erudition are due whatever merits it may possess.

In addition to the two MSS. above mentioned, I consulted one in the India Office Library (No 39 (Ethē 2448), foll. 153–4b) and two in the British Museum (Or. 157, foll. 152b–4; and Add. 24,090, foll. 133–4b). There are variants in the text provided by these five MSS., but they are of little importance, as they appear generally to arise from carelessness on the part of one or other of the scribes.

The author, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar, is too well-known a personage to require any notice here; suffice it to say that he lived...
between A.D. 1500 and 1551, and was thus contemporary with most of the artists to whom he refers. His interest in them was probably due to the fact (mentioned by his cousin, Bābur) that Mīrzā Ḥaydar himself added the cultivation of the art of painting to his other accomplishments, having been (as he himself tells us) a pupil of Mawīnā Darvīsh Muḥammad.

"Painters.—Shāh Muẓaffar is the son of Master Maṣūr. In the reign of Sultān Abū Saʿīd he (Maṣūr) was unsurpassed, he is a master in his art; he has a delicate, fine brush, and no other painter’s brush has ever attained the same delicacy, with the exception of that of Shāh Muẓaffar; but he was somewhat more refreshing (as an artist) in that his strokes were firmer. But Shāh Muẓaffar surpassed him in many respects, for he had an exceedingly delicate brush, so clean and refined and matured that the eyes of all beholders were amazed. He died at the age of twenty-four. During his lifetime he completed eight group pictures (i.e., large compositions), and some persons possess examples of his pen and ink drawings. The masters of this art hold him in very high esteem.

Bihzād. As a painter he is a master, though he does not come up to Shāh Muẓaffar in delicacy of touch, but his brush is firmer and he surpasses him in his preliminary sketches and his grouping of his figures.

To an earlier period belongs Khwājah ‘Abd al-Ḥayy who lived under the Khāqāns of the house of Hūlāgū, who were rulers of ‘Irāq. It is the belief of these artists that he was a saint, and in the end he repented, and wherever he could lay his hands upon any of his own works he washed them off or burnt them; consequently exceedingly few of his works can now be found. He is unrivalled in purity and delicacy and firmness of brush; indeed in all the characteristics of the art of painting. After Khwājah ‘Abd al-Ḥayy come Shāh Muẓaffar and Bihzād, and after these up to our own times there has been none like them. Both of the two latter enjoyed the patronage of Mīr ‘Ali Shir.¹

Qāsim ‘Ali, portrait painter. He is a pupil of Bihzād and his works come near to those of Bihzād, but in this style (of painting) any expert connoisseur can recognize that the works of Qāsim ‘Ali are rougher than those of Bihzād and that his original designs are more unsymmetrical.

Maqṣūd is a second Qāsim ‘Ali, (also) a pupil of Bihzād; his brush is in no way inferior to that of Qāsim ‘Ali. But his original designs and finish are crude compared with those of Qāsim ‘Ali.

¹ The talented friend and minister of Sultān Ḥusayn Mīrzā (ob. 1501).
Mawlānā Mīrak Naqqāsh. He is one of the marvels of the age, and he is the master of Bihzād. His original designs are more mature than those of Bihzād, though his finish is not equal to that of Bihzād. But he had to do all his work when he was not actually in attendance on the Mīrzā,¹ either on journeys or at the court, either in the house or in the open air; consequently he was never able to settle down to work in his studio and stick to his easel (lit. paper). It is somewhat extraordinary that in spite of his occupations he used to engage in various kinds of athletics that are the very reverse of painting and drawing, and used to practise many violent exercises, such as wrestling and boxing, whereby he gained a reputation. It is strange indeed that he should have combined the painting of pictures with activities of this kind.

Another master is Bābā Ḥājī. He had an expert brush in painting, but his original designs were unsymmetrical. Throughout the whole of Khurāsān he is inimitable in sketching designs and drawing in charcoal. There is a story that in a certain gathering, in order to show off (his skill) he drew fifty circles and a half, which were exactly like those made by a pair of compasses, and there was not a hair's difference, big or small, between them.

Master Shaykh Aḥmad, brother of Bābā Ḥājī, and Mawlānā Junayd and Master Ḥusām al-Dīn the poignard-maker, and Mawlānā Walī—all these are skilled masters and no one of them is superior to the other.

Mullā Yūsuf is a pupil of Bihzād; he can work so rapidly that in ten days he can finish what it would take those masters one month to do; but he has not such an agreeable brush as those masters; his gilding is superior to his painting.

Mawlānā Darvīsh Muḥammad, who is my master, is a pupil of Shāh Muẓaffar; he has no equal in fineness of brush, nay he has even surpassed Shāh Muẓaffar. But he is not so symmetrical or expert or refined, and he is apt to make very crude strokes. He once drew a picture of a man on horseback, lifting up a lion on the point of a javelin; the whole of it only covers the surface of a single grain of rice.

There are a great many (other) painters, and so many of them are masters and proficient in their art that it is impossible to give an account of them all.

The Workers in Gold.—Yārī is a master in gilding, but his writing is better than his gilding. He is a pupil of Mullā Walī, but he has out-

¹ I.e. Sultān Ḥusayn Mīrzā, who ruled in Ḥarāt from 1470 to 1506.
stripped his master. Mawlānā Maḥmūd was a better gilder than Yārī, and he had planned an exceedingly delicate preface (of a manuscript) for Mīrzā Sultān Ḥusayn, but it remained incomplete, though he had worked upon it for seven years.

* * *

In that period there were many workers in gold, but the only masters among them were the two that have already been mentioned."
HASAN-I-SABBĀH AND THE ASSASSINS

By Laurence Lockhart

(PLATES VII AND VIII)

PERSIA has on many occasions produced remarkable heresiarchs, several of whom have exercised an influence extending far beyond the boundaries of that country. One of the most notable of these heresiarchs is Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāh, the Ismaʿīlī propagandist and founder and first Grand Master of the Assassins.

Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāh was born at Ray, in Northern Persia; the exact date of his birth is unknown, but, as far as can be gathered, it was in A.D. 1052 or A.D. 1053. Though claiming Ḥimyaritic ancestry, Ḥasan was both by birth and upbringing a Persian, and belonged, during his earlier years, to the Shiʿa Sect of the Twelve.

Many and varied are the stories and legends regarding Ḥasan’s life and character. Owing to the almost total destruction of the Assassins’ books and records at Alamūt after the capture of that fortress by the Mongols in A.D. 1257, our information in regard to Ḥasan is largely derived from hostile sources; as can be readily imagined, these sources are not free from bias. Ibn’l-Athīr, in his Tāʾrīkhū’l-kāmil, states that Ḥasan was intelligent and skilled in magic, mathematics, astronomy, and other branches of learning.

We have to-day only one source of what may be styled “friendly” information respecting Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāh. When ‘Alā’u’d-Dīn Aṭā Malik-i-Juvainī, the well-known author of the Jahān-kushā, was ordered by his patron Hūlākū Khān, after the capture of Alamūt, to examine the Assassins’ library there, and to destroy all heretical works, he only preserved one book. This book was a biography of Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāh, entitled the Sarguzasht-i-sayyidnā, of which Juvainī made considerable use when compiling that portion of his history which concerns Ḥasan and the Assassins.

According to the Sarguzasht, as quoted by Juvainī, Ḥasan was of a very studious disposition when a boy, being firmly resolved from the early age of seven to become a learned man. When aged 17, Ḥasan came under the influence of an Ismaʿīlī dāʾī or propagandist named

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1 His genealogy is given in the Sarguzasht-i-Sayyidnā as follows: 

والحسن بن

على بن محمد بن جعفر بن المسن الصباح الخير.


الصباح رجلًا شهمًا كافحًا عالماً بالهندسة والحساب والتجوم وغير ذلك.
Amir Ḍurrāb, but, although the latter succeeded in considerably shaking Ḥasan’s religious convictions, Ḥasan did not abandon the Sect of the Twelve and join that of the Seven until after he had undergone a severe illness. This event took place in the year A.H. 464 (A.D. 1071).

We now come to the legend—for it can be nothing more—of how Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāh, ‘Umar Khayyām, and the Niẓāmũl-Mulk, when fellow students at Nishāpūr, made a solemn vow that, should anyone of the three subsequently achieve success, he would befriend the other two.¹ The Niẓāmũl-Mulk was the first to succeed in life, he, as is well known, becoming Vizier to the Seljuk Sultān Arslān. It is related that both ‘Umar Khayyām and Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāh then came to the Niẓāmũl-Mulk and reminded him of their vow. True to his promise, the Niẓāmũl-Mulk offered ‘Umar Khayyām the governorship of Nishāpūr; ‘Umar, however, “being a philosopher and a man of sense,” asked instead for a pension, which was granted to him. The Niẓāmũl-Mulk then turned to Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāh and offered him the governorship of Ray or of Iṣfahān. Ḥasan, having higher ambitions, refused, but asked for a post at the Court, hoping, it is said, to become Vizier himself in due course.

Professor Browne has shown conclusively that the story of the three schoolfellows’ vow can have no basis in fact, since the Niẓāmũl-Mulk was a much older man than either ‘Umar Khayyām or Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāh.² It is curious, however, that this story should appear in the Sarguzasht.

Whatever may be said regarding the Nishāpūr legend, there is no reason to doubt that the Niẓāmũl-Mulk did befriend Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāh and give him a post at the Court. Authorities, however, differ as to what occurred subsequently, some averring that Ḥasan, having by reason of his abilities, obtained influence over the Sultan, endeavoured unsuccessfully to oust the Niẓāmũl-Mulk from his position of Vizier and take it himself. Others state that the Niẓāmũl-Mulk, noticing the rapid progress his protégé was making, became alarmed lest Ḥasan should supplant him, and deliberately discredited him in the eyes of the Sultān by means of a trick. All that can be said for certain

¹ According to the Sarguzasht: خوئن يکد پور بجورود و عهد کردن که از ما هرکدم که بدرجه برترک و مرتبه عالی رسید دیگران را تریت و تقویت کد.
² For Professor Browne’s reasons see his article “Yet More Light on Umar-i-Khayyām” in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1899, p. 409.
is that some event occurred which forced Ḥasan to leave the Court and converted his former benefactor the Niẓāmu’l-Mulk into his implacable foe.

After his enforced departure from the Court, Ḥasan spent two years studying Isma’īlī doctrine at Isfahān under Ra’īs Abū’l-Faḍl. One day he significantly remarked to his teacher, “Had I but two reliable friends, I would overthrow this kingdom.”¹ This remark greatly alarmed Ra’īs Abū’l-Faḍl who, fearing for Ḥasan’s reason, began treating him for insanity, giving him special soups and dishes suitable for strengthening the brain.² Perceiving his object, Ḥasan deemed it expedient to leave Isfahān, and proceeded by easy stages to Egypt, where he arrived in A.D. 1078.

By reason of his Isma’īlī beliefs, Ḥasan was well received at Cairo, and was treated with marked favour by the Fatimid Caliph al-Mustaṣṣir. It is said by some writers that Ḥasan received so many benefits at the hands of the Caliph, that the courtiers became jealous, and eventually forced him to leave the country. However that may be, Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāḥ returned to Persia in A.D. 1080, and thereafter travelled extensively through Khurāsān, Transoxiana, and even, it is said, Kashgar, preaching his “New Propaganda” in favour of al-Mustaṣṣir and his son Nizār.

By degrees Ḥasan gathered a number of adherents about him, and so laid one of the foundations for the carrying out of his great scheme, namely the formation of the Order of the Assassins. When the idea of forming this Order first occurred to Ḥasan and what were his real motives will probably never be known with any degree of exactitude. It is possible that Ḥasan had the germ of the idea in his mind when he made the remark which so alarmed Ra’īs Abū’l-Faḍl; as for his motives, personal ambition and desire for revenge on his enemies probably formed part, at any rate, of them. The next step Ḥasan took was the acquisition, sometimes by force, but more often by persuasion and guile, of a number of strong places to serve as bases for his forces. Ḥasan began by winning over to his ideas the governors

¹ See Ḥamdu’llah Mustauffi’s Tā’rīkh-i-Guṣida (Gibb Edition), vol. i, p. 517.

² Some twenty years later, when Ra’īs Abū’l-Faḍl was at Alamūt on a visit to Ḥasan, the latter said to him “Which of us two was out of his senses? And which of us had need of the aromatic beverages and foods mixed with saffron? Thou seest how I kept my promise once I had the aid of two helpful friends!”
of the castles of Girdkhāh and Turshiz; in A.H. 483 (A.D. 1090) he appeared before the castle of Alamūt, which is situated in very mountainous country some 50 miles north-north-east of the town of Qazvin.

According to the legend (which, with some variations, is still current in those parts), Ḥasan, when he came to Alamūt, offered the Governor, a man of the name of Mahdī, a large sum of money (it is said to have been 3,000 dinārs) for "the space of ground covered by an ox-hide". The simple Governor, dazzled by the apparent lavishness of the offer, gladly accepted Ḥasan's terms, whereupon the latter, having obtained an ox-hide, cut it into narrow strips with which he proceeded to encircle the fortress. Ḥasan then demanded, and what is more, procured its handing over to himself.

The Kadkhudā or Headman of Shuturkhān, a village a few miles from Alamūt, gave me a somewhat different version of the story. According to him, there was no fortress in existence when Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāh first came to Alamūt. Being struck with the extraordinary natural strength of the rock and the very mountainous country surrounding it, Ḥasan determined at all costs to become possessed of it and to build a castle thereon. The next step was to find the owner of the rock, and to strike a bargain with him; this turned out to be much easier than Ḥasan had anticipated, for when he met the owner he found him to be an ignorant peasant. The astute Ḥasan was quick to notice that the man, who was carrying a heavy load on his back, was too stupid to think of putting it down on the ground whilst conversing. Ḥasan thereupon thought of the ruse of the ox-hide and successfully put it into practice.

Though accounts differ as to the manner in which Ḥasan obtained possession of Alamūt, historical evidence goes to prove that there was a fortress there beforehand. The castle is said to have been originally built by a certain Ḥasan ibn Zaid (or Zaidān) in A.D. 860,1 during the reign of al-Mutawakkil.

Ibnul'athīr 2 describes the founding of Alamūt as follows: One of the kings of Dailam, whilst out hunting, sent up a trained eagle. Following the bird, he saw it alight on the site of the fortress and, finding this to be a place of great strategic importance, he ordered a

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1 Ḥamdullāh Mustaifi, op. cit., p. 527, says that Alamūt was built: بفرمان الداعی إلى المیت حسن بن زیدان الاقاری.
castle to be built there forthwith. "And he called it 'Aluh Mūt' [sic]," and the meaning of this in the language of Dailam is "The Eagle's Teaching". Many writers, Persian as well as European, have translated the name as "The Eagle's Nest", but, although the situation of the fortress certainly well merits such a term, this interpretation cannot, as Professor Browne has shown, be justified on etymological grounds. "Aluh" (الله) is good Persian for an eagle, while "Āmūt" (آموت) is a dialect form of "Āmūkht" (آمخت), meaning "teaching" or "to teach".

The historian Ḥamdu’llah Mustaufi has drawn attention to the curious fact that, if one gives to each letter in the full name of Ālūh Āmūt its numerical value in Arabic, the total amounts to 483, which is, as we have seen, the year in which Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāh obtained possession of the place.

It is said that Ḥasan once having ensconced himself in Alamūt, never left it until the day of his death in A.D. 1124, being occupied in drawing up the rules and regulations of his Order and in writing religious works.

Ḥasan, however, was not allowed to spend all his time in this peaceful manner, as he was soon called upon to defend Alamūt against a force which the Niẓāmu’l-Mulk sent against him. This army closely besieged the fortress, but Ḥasan was not unduly perturbed, and now made use of the terrible weapon which he had devised. This was the special emissary of the Assassins termed the "Fidā‘ī" or "The Self-Sacrificing One", who, as will be seen below, not only earned them their name, but also their terrible reputation. Ḥasan, in order to relieve the pressure, determined to strike, not at the besieging army itself, but at his chief adversary, the Niẓāmu’l-Mulk. A Fidā‘ī was accordingly dispatched who, after penetrating the enemy lines, made his way to the place where the Niẓāmu’l-Mulk then was. Disguising himself as a religious mystic, the Fida‘ī stabbed the aged...
minister to death, thereby throwing everything into confusion, and causing the siege of Alamūt to be raised.

Before proceeding further with the history of Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāḥ, and the Order, it will be as well to give a brief account of the composition of the latter, and to describe in some detail the terrible Fidāʾīs and the manner in which they were trained.

At the head of the Order was the Chief Propagandist or Grand Master (the "Dāʾī’d-Duʿāt"), the first of whom was, of course, Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāḥ. Under the Grand Master were a number of "Greater Propagandists" whom Professor Browne well likens to bishops, each being in charge of a district. Under these "bishops" were the ordinary Propagandists. All these grades were fully initiated into the doctrine and mysteries of the Order (it is to be noted that in point of actual doctrine there was probably little or no difference between it and the ordinary Ismaʿīlī Sect). Below the Propagandists were the Rafīqs ("Companions") and the Lāṣiqs ("Adherents"), two grades which were only partially initiated. After the Lāṣiqs came the Fidāʾīs who were, if we may so put it, the Assassins par excellence.

These Fidāʾīs were entirely uninitiated into the mysteries of the Order, but were nevertheless most carefully trained for the difficult and highly dangerous parts that they would have to play.

Extraordinary bravery, unflagging determination, and endless patience were essential qualities of the Fidāʾīs. If need arose, they would wait for months or even years for the opportunity to strike. If one attempt at assassination failed, another would be made; further, since death had no terrors for them, their murders were often perpetrated in the most public and spectacular manner. As a result, the Fidāʾīs seldom survived their victims, but, on the other hand, few of those whom they were ordered to slay ever escaped their fate, Saladin being a notable exception.

How, it may be asked, did Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāḥ and his successors imbue the simple peasants and mountain folk, from whom the Fidāʾīs were for the most part recruited, with this phenomenal courage and total disregard for death? In answering this question, one cannot do better than quote the picturesque account given by Marco Polo:

"He [that is, the Grand Master] had caused a certain valley . . . to be enclosed, and had turned it into a garden, the largest and most beautiful that ever was seen, filled with every variety of fruit. In it were erected pavilions and palaces the most elegant that can be

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1 See Marco Polo (Yule's Translation), vol. i, p. 139 et seq.
imagined. ... And there were runnels too, flowing freely with wine and milk and honey and water; and numbers of ladies and of the most beautiful damsels in the world, who could play well on all manner of instruments, and sang most sweetly, and danced in a manner that it was charming to behold. For the Old Man \(^1\) desired to make his people [i.e. the Fidā'īs] believe that this was actually Paradise. So he had fashioned it after the description that Mahommet gave of his Paradise. ... And sure enough the Saracens of those parts believed that it was Paradise!

"For no man was allowed to enter the Garden save those whom he intended to be his Ashishin.\(^2\) He kept at his Court a number of the youths of the country, from 12 to 20 years of age, such as had a taste for soldiering, and to these he used to tell tales about Paradise, just as Mahommet had been wont to do, and they believed in him just as the Saracens believe in Mahommet. Then he would introduce them into his garden, some four or six or ten at a time, having first made them drink a certain potion [hashish]\(^3\) which cast them into a deep sleep, and then causing them to be lifted and carried in. So when they awoke, they found themselves in the Garden ... a place so charming that they deemed it was Paradise in very truth. And the ladies and damsels dallied with them to their heart's content ... and with their own good will they never would have quitted the place.

"Now this Prince whom we call the Old One kept his court in grand and noble style; and made those simple hill-folks about him believe firmly that he was a great Prophet. And when he wanted one of his Ashishin to send away on any mission, he would cause that potion ... to be given to one of the youths in the garden, and then

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\(^1\) The Grand Master of the Order was sometimes styled in Arabic the Shaikhul-Jabal or "Chief of the Mountain". This title was mistranslated by the Crusaders as "Old Man of the Mountain", owing to the Arabic word "shaikh" (شیخ) or "chief" having the secondary meaning of "old man". The Crusaders, however, merely referred as such to the Grand Master of the Syrian branch of the Assassins; they were probably unaware of the existence of the real head of the Order at Alamut.

\(^2\) "Ashishin," from which our word "assassin" is derived, is a corruption of the Arabic word "Hashishyyûn" (حشيشيون) or "Takers of hashish", by which name the followers of Hasan-i-Sabbâh were often called. Pious Muhammadans frequently referred to them as "Malâbida" (متلابيد) or "Heretics".

\(^3\) It must not be supposed that the habitual use of hashish by the Fidā'īs was encouraged or even permitted. The reverse was the case, for not only were the peculiar properties of the drug still a closely guarded secret at that time, probably known only to Hasan-i-Sabbâh and a few others, but the habitual taking of the drug would, by causing listlessness and languor, have blunted precisely those qualities which it was wished particularly to develop in the Fidā'īs.
had him carried into his Palace. So when the young man awoke, he found himself in the Castle; whereat he was not over well pleased. He was then conducted to the Old Man’s presence, and bowed before him with great veneration, as believing himself in the presence of a true Prophet. The Prince would then ask whence he had come, and he would reply that he had come from Paradise! and that was exactly as Mahommet had described it in the Law. This, of course, gave the others who stood by, and those who had not been admitted, the greatest desire to enter therein.

"So when the Old Man would have any Prince slain, he would say to such a youth: ‘Go thou and slay so-and-so; and when thou returnest my Angels shall bear thee into Paradise.’ So he caused them to believe; and thus there was no order of his that they would not affront any peril to execute, for the great desire they had to get back into that Paradise of his. And in this manner the Old One got his people to murder anyone whom he desired to get rid of. Thus, too, the great dread that he inspired all Princes withal, made them become his tributaries.”

The above description is not altogether correct. What really happened was that the Grand Master, having selected some youths on account of their physical fitness, fighting qualities and determined character, would invite them to a feast. During the banquet he would engage them in conversation, saying that he had it in his power to transport persons to Paradise. At the same time he would cause them, without their knowledge, to be drugged with hashish. When unconscious, the youths would be carried from the Castle to the garden, where they would come to and enjoy themselves as described by Marco Polo. On the conclusion of their pleasant sojourn in “Paradise”, the youths would again be drugged with hashish and taken back to the Castle; it was then arranged that they should regain their senses in the exact spot where they had been drugged, and in the presence of the Grand Master. The latter would then inform the youths that corporeally they had never left him, but that he had

1 The weapons employed were generally daggers or knives which were sometimes poisoned. Cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, vol. i, p. 167 (Defrémery and Sanguinetti’s edition): ولايم سكا كن مسمومه يضربون بها من نعشا إلى نعشا.

2 Marco Polo’s account is not based on personal observation as far as Alamut is concerned, but it appears that he did visit one of the castles of the Old Man of the Mountain. It has not been possible to discover which of the many fortresses of the Assassins this one was. (See p. xxxviii of N. M. Penzer’s Introduction to John Frampton’s Translation of The Most Noble and Famous Travels of Marco Polo, London, 1929.)
allowed their spirits to enjoy a foretaste of the joys of Paradise whither he could at any time cause them actually to be transported, as a reward for services performed. The Grand Master would then give them orders to go on some murderous mission, promising them transportation to Paradise if they succeeded. He further assured them that, if by any chance they lost their lives whilst endeavouring to carry out their mission, they would go straight to Paradise. Thus in either case the Fidā'is were assured of the fulfilment of their desire.

That this system was effective the record of the Assassins well shows, and many are the instances that could be given of the desperate courage and contempt of death shown by the Fidā'is. It will be sufficient to mention here but a few of their deeds, in order to show to what an extraordinary pitch their valour and zeal were raised.

During the Grand Mastership of 'Alā'u'd-Dīn, Orkhān, the Governor of Khurāsān, having devastated villages and lands belonging to the Assassins, was killed by three Fidā'is just outside Ganja. The Fidā'is then rushed into the town, brandishing their bloodstained daggers and shouting "'Alā'u'd-Dīn! 'Alā'u'd-Dīn!" their intention being to seek out and slay the Vizier, Sharafu'l-Mulk. They failed, however, to find the Vizier, and met their end at the hands of the inhabitants, who hurled stones at them from the roofs of their houses.

Marino Sanuto relates that Henry, Count of Champagne, the titular King of Jerusalem, when on a visit to the Grand Master of the Syrian branch of the Assassins, was walking one day with his host in the grounds of the latter's castle. Pointing to some youths seated on the top of a high tower, the Grand Master remarked that he was sure that no Christians were as obedient to their princes as were his followers to himself. He thereupon made a sign to the youths, two of whom immediately leapt from the tower and were dashed to pieces at the foot. The Grand Master then offered to order the remaining youths similarly to immolate themselves, but the Count of Champagne said that he had had proof enough of their obedience, which was, he frankly admitted, greater than that of his own subjects.

Even the parents of the Fidā'īs believed it to be an honour for their sons to be employed as such, and, above all, to sacrifice their lives in the performance of their duty. Once, when a Fidā'i had managed to return safely to his home after accomplishing a perilous mission in the course of which his companions had perished, his mother actually cut off her hair and blackened her face, deeming it a disgrace that her son should have survived.
The Assassins did not always kill their opponents; after a time, when the dread inspired by their terrible deeds had become intense, a mere threat would often suffice to answer their purposes. For example, when Sulṭān Sanjar was conducting a campaign against the Assassins, he awoke in his tent one morning to find a dagger embedded in the ground beside him. Shortly afterwards the Sulṭān received a note from Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāh stating, “Had we not been well-disposed towards thee, we might have plunged the dagger into thy heart instead of into the ground.” Almost immediately afterwards, Muḥammad, Sanjar’s brother, was mysteriously slain, so the Sulṭān deemed it expedient to make his peace with such dangerous enemies.

A similar experience befell Nūru’d-Dīn, the Amir of Aleppo, when fighting against the Syrian Assassins. Like Sanjar, Nūru’d-Dīn judged discretion to be the better part of valour, and abandoned the campaign.

On another occasion, the celebrated Imām Fakhru’d-Dīn of Ray, in order to refute a charge that he was secretly an Ismaʿīlī, began openly to curse them and the Assassins.

Not long afterwards a newcomer joined the ranks of his disciples, and soon showed himself to be one of the most attentive and hard-working of his pupils. One day, however, the new pupil entered the Imām’s house when the latter was alone, and, unsheathing a long dagger, informed him that he was in reality a Fidāʾī. He then threatened the startled Imām with instant death unless he swore a most solemn oath to abstain in future from cursing the Assassins. The sight of the Fidāʾī’s dagger held menacingly aloft speedily induced the Imām to swear the required oath. The Fidāʾī thereupon sheathed his dagger, and handed the Imām 300 pieces of gold, saying that, while his Master paid no regard to the utterances of the vulgar, he feared the effect of anything adverse to him and his order that such a learned man as the Imām might say, since it would greatly influence his hearers against them. The Fidāʾī then took his leave, after promising the Imām further payments if he would keep his oath. It was subsequently noticed that the Imām no longer uttered his customary curses against the Assassins; on his being asked why he did not do so, he replied, “One must not curse them; their arguments are too convincing and pointed!”

There were two main factors which enabled the Assassins to strengthen their position and extend their power in the early days.

In the first place, the Seljuq Empire was thrown into a state of
chaos after the death of Malikshāh ¹ by reason of the struggle for the succession between his sons Barkiāruq and Muḥammad; this effectively prevented for some time any further attempts being made to evict the Assassins from Alamūt and their other strongholds.

Secondly, the outbreak of the Crusades in 1097, gave Ḥasan-i-Šabbāḥ an excellent opportunity to fish in troubled waters. He immediately despatched emissaries to Syria who, after gaining many partisans amongst the Ismaʿīlīs there and seizing a number of mountain fortresses, established the Syrian branch of the Order to which some reference has already been made.

It was perhaps fortunate for Ḥasan-i-Šabbāḥ and his followers that the Crusades began at this juncture, for the fearsome deeds of the Assassins, together with their heresy, caused pious Muslims to hold them in particular abhorrence; had the Muḥammadan world not been so preoccupied with the Crusades, it is probable that it would have undertaken a serious and concerted jihād against the Assassins and would doubtless have completely overwhelmed them. As it was, the Assassins did not always have matters their own way, for their castle of Dīzh-i-Kūh near Iṣfahān was captured in 1107, its governor Ibn Aṭṭāš being crucified and his followers put to the sword.

Under the first two successors of Ḥasan-i-Šabbāḥ, Buzurg-Umīd and his son Muḥammad, the same ruthless policy was continued, many notable people, including two of the ‘Abbāsid Caliphs, al-Mustarshid and his successor, al-Rāshid bi’llah, being killed by the Fīdāʾīs. When Muḥammad’s son, Ḥasan, known as Ḥasan ‘ala dhikrihi’s-salām, grew up, he gave out, during his father’s lifetime, that he was in reality the son of Nizār ibn MustaṢir, and gathered together some adherents. He was, however, severely admonished by his father and forced to declare in public that what he had said was untrue. Nevertheless, after Muḥammad’s death in 1162, Ḥasan, on becoming Grand Master, announced that he was the promised Imām.

In 1169 Rāshidu’d-Dīn Sinān, a friend of Ḥasan ‘ala dhikrihi’s-salām, became Grand Master of the Syrian branch of the Assassins. By his ascetic life and his manāqib or “miracles”, Rāshidu’d-Dīn attained a great ascendancy over his followers, and this fact, together with his able leadership, enabled him to become independent of the Grand Master of Alamūt. The latter, after vainly summoning

¹ Malikshāh died very suddenly in 1092, a few weeks after the murder of the Niẓāmu’l-Mulk by the Assassins, and many suspected that he had been poisoned by them.
Rāshidu’d-Dīn several times to submit, went to the length of despatching Persian Assassins to kill him, but they failed to achieve their object. 1 Rāshidu’d-Dīn established an efficient secret service and also instituted a pigeon-post; he was thus able to obtain information by what seemed to his adversaries, and indeed to the uninitiated of his followers, to be supernatural means.

Rāshidu’d-Dīn was a contemporary of Saladin and of Richard Coeur de Lion, and was for a time at war with the former. Saladin twice had exceedingly narrow escapes from the daggers of the Fidā’īs, and judged it more prudent, after the second attempt on his life, to come to terms with the Assassins.

A short while before he died, Rāshidu’d-Dīn brought about the death of Conrad of Montferrat. Some say that Richard Coeur de Lion was the real instigator of the deed, but others, probably with more truth, state that Saladin requested Rāshidu’d-Dīn to have both Conrad of Montferrat and Richard Coeur de Lion murdered, and that, while Rāshidu’d-Dīn agreed in the case of Conrad, he would take no action against Richard, since he feared that Saladin would become too powerful if both his principal enemies were killed. 2

To return to the history of the Alamūt Assassins, Muḥammad, the son of Ḥasan ‘ala dhikrihi’s-salām, was Grand Master from 1165 to 1210. Muḥammad was succeeded by his son Jalālu’d-Dīn who, even during his father’s lifetime, had shown a tendency to return to the orthodox fold; on becoming Grand Master, Jalālu’d-Dīn openly took this step, and either persuaded or compelled his followers to follow suit; the conversion of many, however, was only skin-deep, as will be seen later. This proceeding on the part of Jalālu’d-Dīn, which earned him the nick-name of “Nau-Musulmān”, naturally caused much dissension amongst the Assassins which, though not apparent on the surface, nevertheless tended to weaken their power. It was Jalālu’d-Dīn who first realized the danger threatening from the Mongols; he endeavoured to avert this by sending envoys, with offers of submission, to Gengiz Khān when the latter was advancing to attack Khwārazm.

Jalālu’d-Dīn died in 1220, his son ‘Alā’u’d-Dīn becoming Grand Master at the early age of nine. Simultaneously, the Assassins gave

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2 See Guyard, op. cit., p. 370.
up all pretence of being orthodox, and reverted openly to their former practices and beliefs.

The minority of ‘Alā’u’d-Din, his capricious nature and, later, his marked eccentricity which merged into madness, caused a further decline in the power of the Assassins. At the same time, clouds were gathering further to the East, and rumours of impending invasion by the Mongol hordes became current. In this latter connection, the following extracts from Matthew of Paris¹ will be of interest:

"About this time (A.D. 1238), special ambassadors were sent by the Saracens, chiefly on behalf of the Old Man of the Mountain, to the French King, telling him that a monstrous and inhuman race of men had burst forth from the Northern mountains, and had taken possession of the extensive, rich lands of the East... These people have very large heads, by no means proportionate to their bodies, and feed on raw flesh, and even on human beings... This powerful and noble Saracen messenger, who had come to the French King, ... asked assistance from the western nations, the better to be able to repress the fury of the Tartars; he also sent a Saracen messenger from his own company to the King of England... to tell these events, and to say that if they themselves could not withstand the attacks of such people, nothing remained to prevent their devastating the countries of the West... He therefore asked assistance in this urgent and general emergency, that the Saracens, with the assistance of the Christians, might resist the attacks of these people. The Bishop of Winchester, who happened to be then present... interrupted his speech and answered jocosely, 'Let us leave these dogs to devour one another, that they may all be consumed, and perish; and we, when we proceed against the enemies of Christ who remain, will slay them, and cleanse the face of the earth, so that all the world will be subject to the one Catholic Church...'."

Although the position of the Assassins was no longer what it had been, the Fidā’ís still retained their desperate courage, as the episode of the murder of Orkhân well shows (see p. 683 above). News of their prowess had, indeed, reached Mangû, the Great Khân of the Mongols. Mangû had been greatly impressed at his court one day at seeing the Qâdi Shamsu’d-Din of Qazvîn come into his presence, clad in a coat of mail. When asked why he wore this coat of mail, the Qâdi

¹ See Matthew Paris's *English History* (Giles' translations), vol. i, pp. 131–2.
replied that he always wore it as a protection against the daggers of the Assassins.

As he grew older, ‘Alā’u’d-Dīn grew more and more demented, and, becoming jealous of his son Ruknu’d-Dīn, tormented him to such an extent that he is said to have sent envoys to the Mongols offering to submit.

In A.D. 1255, ‘Alā’u’d-Dīn was murdered by one of his favourites, and Ruknu’d-Dīn became the eighth and, as it proved, the last Grand Master of the Assassins. He held the position for less than a year, for the Mongols, under Hūlākū Khān, the brother of Mangū, were already on their way to Persia with strict orders from the Great Khān to exterminate the Assassins before proceeding further west to attack Baghdad and overthrow the ‘Abbāsid Caliphate.

Hūlākū and his hordes came within striking distance of the Assassins in the autumn of 1256, and summoned Ruknu’d-Dīn to surrender. After procrastinating for some time, Ruknu’d-Dīn was closely invested by the Mongol forces in his fortress of Maimūn-Dīzh. Realizing that resistance was useless, Ruknu’d-Dīn surrendered to Hūlākū on receiving a solemn promise that his life would be spared. Once Ruknu’d-Dīn was in his power, Hūlākū forced him ignominiously to go round with the Mongol forces and summon his other strongholds to surrender. The majority of these castles, some fifty in number, capitulated at once, but Alamūt, and especially Girdkūh and Lamsir, made some show of resistance. By the beginning of 1257, however, all these fortresses had been taken and destroyed,1 and the power of the Assassins of Alamūt came finally to an end. As for Ruknu’d-Dīn, he was eventually put to death by order of Mangū, while his followers were either slain or were, as Juvinai says, “scattered like the Jews.” 2

1 If Chardin is correct, Alamūt must have been rebuilt in or sometime before the era of the Safavis, for he states in his Voyages (Langlès edition, vol. ix, p. 115) that it was used by them as a prison for illustrious prisoners who had incurred their wrath. Chardin describes Alamūt as “un fort château, proche de Casbin, bâti sur une haute roche, aux bords d’un précipice, et où, dans les siècles précédans, les rois réelguoient les personnes de leur sang, et d’autres dont ils vouloient se défaire sans éclat. On les y laissoit vivre quelque temps; et puis, lorsqu’on en étoit las, on les précipitoit sans qu’ils s’en aperçoussent en faisant semblant de les transférer d’une tour en une autre.”

Chardin is silent regarding the earlier history of Alamūt, possibly because he had no knowledge of it.

2 D’Ossin, in his Histoire des Mongols (vol. iii, p. 202), states, à propos of this remark of Juvinai’s: “Ils (i.e. the Assassins) ne furent cependant pas totalement détruits dans le Couhistan; car Mohammed d’Esfezor rapporte, dans son Histoire de Hérat, que, de son temps, c’est-à-dire vers l’année 1500, une partie des habitants
The Syrian Assassins, though they escaped destruction at the hands of the Mongols, gradually sank into insignificance, becoming in 1265 tributaries of the Egyptian Sultan Baibars.

The Ismaʿili Sect proper, however, continued to exist, and does so to the present day, having numerous adherents in India, Syria and Africa. It is of interest to note that the Agha Khan, who is the titular head of the Ismaʿilis, is a direct descendant of Ruknuʿd-Dīn Khūrshāh, the last Grand Master of Alamūt.

II

A Visit to Alamūt

The present writer makes no claim to have been the first European to visit Alamūt; as a matter of fact, several have been there before him. In 1831 a Colonel Monteith, while travelling in the northern provinces of Persia, visited the fortress, but although he gives some description of the place, he seems to have been quite ignorant of its history. Six years later, another British officer, Colonel Shiel by name, travelled from Tehran to Alamūt by a very arduous route. Both officers recorded their experiences in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society. In 1927 Professor Ernst Herzfeld, travelling by much the same route as Colonel Shiel, went to Alamūt from Tehran. So far as the writer is aware, Professor Herzfeld has written no account of his visit; this is much to be regretted, as there can be no one better qualified than he to describe the place and its history.

In July, 1928, the present writer, in company with two friends, set out from Tehran for Alamūt. Leaving Tehran by car one afternoon, we reached Qazvīn, 96 miles distant, the same evening. Having engaged the services of two muleteers and their six mules, we made an early start from Qazvīn the next morning. For the first mile or so our track (for it was nothing more) led us through the pleasant fruit gardens surrounding Qazvīn, but thereafter it went, in a direction slightly east of north, across the barren plain to the foothills of the Talaqān range. After climbing the foothills we followed the winding and stony trail up the main range to the top of the Simār Pass, 7,200 feet above sea-level. We reached the top at sunset, and found de cette province était encore attachée aux erreurs de la secte. Ils levaient, parmi eux, une contribution pécuniaire, sous le titre de denier de Hassan Sabbah, dont le produit était consacré à l'entretien et à l'ornement de son sépulcre, 'et l'on dit même,' ajoute cet auteur, 'que maintes vieilles femmes mettent à part chaque dixième pelotte de fil qu'elles ont filée, ce qu'elles appellent la dixme de l'Imam, c'est-à-dire de Hassan Sabbah.'
our exertions rewarded by a marvellous view. Looking back whence we had come, we could see a dark patch on the plain representing Qazvin and its gardens, while beyond were lofty and distant mountains in the direction of Hamadân. The finest view, however, was in the opposite direction, that is, to the north and north-east. Right at our feet, as it seemed, was the Shâhrúd valley, an enormous rift 4,000 feet in depth, and beyond it were mountains ranging from 12,000 to 14,500 feet in height, many of them still snow-capped. Every here and there clouds from the low-lying Caspian littoral had welled up over this mountain barrier and streamed down a short distance on its either side. These clouds and the snows on the higher peaks were all tinged a wonderful strawberry red by the rays of the setting sun.

On the flank of one of the mountains opposite, though as yet hidden from our view, was our objective, Alamût.

Descending the pass a short distance we pitched our camp in a pleasant spot surrounded by cornfields close to the village of Simlâr. At first, however, it seemed that we were to have a troubled time, for scarcely had we begun to settle down for the night when a terrific altercation broke out a short distance away. It turned out to be between the villagers and our muleteers, and was caused by the latters’ mules straying into a cornfield and enjoying a plenteous, but entirely unauthorized, feed. To judge from the amount of noise, one might have expected rivers of blood to flow, but soon everything quieted down, after, I believe, a kran or two had changed hands!

Peace having been restored, we were able to pass a comfortable night in the cool mountain air, being lulled to sleep by the murmur of a stream nearby. The next morning we went down to the Shâhrúd river, which we followed upstream in an easterly direction for some 5 or 6 miles until we came to the point where it is joined by the Alamût river. Crossing the Shâhrúd by a primitive bridge just above the junction, we went up the Alamût gorge, which is about a mile and a quarter in length, via the bed of that river. The sides of this gorge were sheer cliffs, from 150 to 200 feet in height. As these cliffs were perpendicular for most of the way and in places even overhanging, the bed of the river was the only possible route; fortunately for us, the river was low.

On emerging from the gorge we were able to leave the river bed and so dry shod once more. Camp was pitched for the night some miles further up-stream, at a small village called Shâhrak.
Starting shortly after sunrise on the following day we soon reached the village of Shuturkhân, which is situated at the point where a stream in a deep ravine running down from the mountains joins the Alamût river. Looking up this ravine we could see a large projection on the side of the mountain immediately facing us—the mountain of Alamût. This projection was the rock of Alamût; it was some 8 miles distant from Shuturkhân and fully 3,000 feet higher.

When we arrived at Shuturkhân, the villagers mistook us at first for some conscription officials who were at that time busily engaged conscripting the "young eligibles" of the district. We were therefore received with marked coldness, not to say hostility, but, on it being discovered that we were merely "Firangis" on the way to Alamût, scowls were instantly replaced by smiles. We were then taken off to see the Kadkhudâ or headman of the village, who not only gave us a warm welcome, but insisted on acting as our guide to Gazar Khan, a village lying almost at the foot of the rock of Alamût.

The Kadkhudâ proved to be an intelligent man, and was fairly well acquainted with much of the history of Hasan-i-Šâbbâh and Alamût and with some of the legends connected therewith. He asked us, of course, the usual questions regarding our names, ages, nationality, and, above all, our object in travelling to Alamût. When we informed the Kadkhudâ in reply that our sole motive in making the journey was that of historical interest, he obviously failed to believe us, though he politely endeavoured to cloak his incredulity. "But surely," he said, "you must have come all this way to dig for the treasure which, they say, is still buried somewhere amid the ruins of the castle! Others have been here before, and they have all tried to find this treasure." There is little doubt that, despite our denials, he remained convinced to the end that we were really treasure-hunters.

Our way from Shuturkhân led us up the north-east side of the ravine, rising some 2,000 feet in the course of the 8 miles to Gazar Khan. When near the latter place we passed a small shrine, and a little further on we paused for a few minutes to take photographs, an excellent view of the rock being obtained from this point (see photograph No. 1). We then crossed the ravine, which had become much shallower, and halted in the shade of some trees just outside Gazar Khan. Our guide the Kadkhudâ went off in search of the village elders, with whom he soon returned.

We asked a number of questions regarding the castle and the famous
garden of the Assassins—on the very site of which we thought we might be sitting. We could not, however, glean any information respecting the garden, all trace of it apparently having disappeared.

Our mules having come up in the meantime with our baggage and provisions, we lunched in the pleasant shade of the trees with our new friends, and then set off on the final stage of our pilgrimage.

After wending our way through the narrow and tortuous lanes of Gazar Khân, we came to a sort of village green which was nicely shaded by plane trees of great age; through these trees we got glimpses of the rock of Alamût, which now seemed to tower above us. After crossing this green, we soon came to a ravine—a branch of the one we had followed from Shuturkhân—which, skirting the rock of Alamût on its north-west side, went on further into the flank of the mountain. We kept on the western side of this ravine for half a mile or so, until we had got to a point just to the north of the rock. Opposite us, across the ravine, was a high "neck" connecting the mountain to the rock. This neck joined the rock near the north-west end of the latter, some 200 feet below the summit. Close to this point was a vertical "chimney" in the face of the rock; this chimney had been securely blocked by masonry about halfway up. After crossing the ravine and climbing this neck, we followed a narrow path along the north-eastern face of the rock which is here most precipitous. This path, after descending slightly for some 200 yards, suddenly began to mount steeply, in a series of zig-zags to the top. Every here and there we came upon the remains of steps, and, just before reaching the top, we passed the ruins of what had evidently been the outer wall of the fortress. Colonel Monteith mentions this wall in his account of Alamût; to judge by his account, it was in a far better state of preservation in his time (1831) than it is now. Colonel Monteith also speaks of a tower on top of the rock, but this has completely disappeared.

The top of the rock is in the form of a narrow ridge running from N.N.W. to S.S.E. This ridge, which is divided into three sections by small gaps a few feet in width and depth, is 400 yards long and varies in width from 35 yards at the broadest part to only a few feet at the extremities. Running parallel with the central portion of the ridge on the S.W. side, some 50 feet below the top, are the remains of what appear to have been a retaining wall; the total area once available may therefore have been considerably greater than it is now.

According to my aneroid the summit is 6,200 feet above sea-level.
The height of the rock, relative to its surroundings, is greatest on the south-west side, where the top is fully 900 feet above the fields of Gazar Khān at its base. On the other side, the height ranges from some 750 feet at the N.N.W. end of the ridge to only 200 feet at the point where the neck joins the rock. As this neck slopes on its eastern side down to another ravine, the relative height of the ridge therefore increases as one proceeds towards the S.S.E. end, being there in the neighbourhood of 500 feet.

The only means of access to the top is by the path we had followed, the rock at every other point being quite unclimbable.

The main part of the fortress was evidently on the central section of the ridge, as the ruins are most extensive there, while at each end of it are walls running transversely across the ridge, the wall to the S.S.E. being still in a good state of preservation. The path we had come by, after reaching the bottom of the gap at this point, is led, by means of buttresses, diagonally across the face of this wall to the top of the central section. On this part of the ridge are the ruins of a number of buildings, of which little more than the foundations remain. Unfortunately, the extremely dilapidated condition of these remains precluded us from forming any definite idea of what the actual plan of the place had been.

Building material was stone for the most part, but good burnt brick was also used. The quality of the mortar employed was excellent.

There were masses of broken pottery lying about, not only on the ridge itself, but also on the top and eastern flank of the neck; the latter, therefore, must have been the site of a considerable settlement. Some of the fragments of pottery found had an excellent glaze, but, unfortunately for us, we could discover nothing intact.

On the N.N.W. section of the ridge are more ruins, while near the end, and some 50 feet down on either side are two reservoirs hewn out of the rock; adjacent to the reservoir on the south-west side are two other cuttings in the rock, in one of which a vine is growing; this vine, our guide assured us, was planted by Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāḥ himself!

There is another reservoir on the S.S.E. section of the ridge; these reservoirs, which were half-full at the time of our visit, are filled by rain or snow-water draining off the catchment area afforded by the top and upper slopes of the rock. Besides the reservoirs, there are a number of caves or tunnels, which may have served as store-places for provisions.
The view from the top of the rock is very fine indeed, and is in itself sufficient reward for the toil of the ascent. To the north towers the mountain of Alamūt, overtopping the rock by fully 4,000 feet. To the east are the jagged peaks of the Takht-i-Sulaimān, 14,500 feet in height, while to the south-east and south are more peaks of the Elburz range, of 13,000 feet and over. To the south-west is the Ṭalaqān range, over which we had come by the Simār pass. Westward and north-westward are spurs descending to the Alamūt and Shahrūd valleys from the range of which the Alamūt mountain forms part.

Having spent the greater part of the afternoon exploring the ruins and photographing them and the rock itself from various angles, we descended, not without some difficulty, the precipitous path, and made our way to the camp, which our servants and muleteers had pitched for us by the side of the stream flowing down the ravine to the west of the castle. It was a striking situation for a camp, as the rock of Alamūt towered almost perpendicularly above us.

An hour or so later, when the sun had set, and the rock of Alamūt was bathed in the soft light of the moon, it seemed to undergo a strange metamorphosis. No longer were the walls above us but dilapidated remnants; instead, they appeared to have taken on new—or rather, old—substance, and once more the historic fortress seemed to come into being. What with the wonderfully clear mountain air, the beautiful moonlight, and—above all—the romantic surroundings, it needed but little further stretching of our imaginations to picture Hasan-i-Šabbāḥ and his faithful Fidā'īs as being once again in possession of Alamūt. It was just as well, perhaps, for us, that they were not!

On leaving Alamūt the following morning on our way to the Caspian, we decided to try a short cut by mountain paths, to our first objective, a village named Dikin, about 15 miles west as the crow flies. As this route was impracticable for mules (and almost, as we soon found, for ourselves), we sent our animals and baggage by the much longer, but easier, way via Shuturkhān and the Alamūt valley. Our short cut proved to be very exhausting, as we had to cross no less than three lofty spurs of the Alamūt range, each one necessitating a climb and subsequent descent of fully 2,000 feet. The path was often very narrow and much worn. At one point, after a stiff climb up from the Anbij valley, a few miles west of Alamūt, we had to cross the face of a very steep slope; here, heavy rains had recently washed away most of the path, so that progress was difficult
The Rock of Alamūt seen from the south; the village of Gazar Khān is behind the trees to the left.

The northern side of Alamūt, showing the "neck" joining it to the mountain, the ravine leading south to the Alamūt valley, with part of the Elburz range in the background.

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[To face p. 694.]
The north-west end of the rock seen from a projection on the southern fall. The cuttings in the rock are artificial; the one on the left is a reservoir, and a vine is growing in the upper of the two cuttings on the right.

Reproduced with the kind permission of "Asia".
for a time. A slip would have resulted in a slide—almost a drop—
of several hundred feet. Later, we came to well-cultivated undulating
country, where the going promised to be easier. Unfortunately,
we then got caught in a heavy thunderstorm which, besides soaking
us to the skin, converted the ploughed fields into a mass of particularly
adhesive mud. This mud stuck in masses to our boots, and made
walking decidedly laborious. Consequently, we were very tired and
had lost all enthusiasm for short cuts when we eventually reached
Dikin.

Since leaving Alamūt we had, as it were, been going westward
along the base of a triangle, the two sides being the Alamūt valley
to the south-east and the Shāhrūd valley to the south-west; our
route was, therefore, converging on the latter valley.

Making a fairly early start from Dikin on the following morning,
we reached the Shāhrūd near a small village called Dehdushāb. Here
rather a pathetic incident occurred, for an old villager came up and
implored me to operate on his shoulder. I protested that I had no
surgical or medical knowledge, adding that even if I had, I would
not have been able to do anything, as I had only a pocket-knife and
no iodine. It took some minutes to convince the old man that I
really meant what I said, and then, as my companions were no better
fitted than I was to attend to his trouble, he went sadly away. In
those remote parts, every "Firangi" is supposed to be a hakīm,
and it is often hard to dissuade the peasants from this belief.

We crossed the Shāhrūd at Dehdushāh, and went for some distance
over undulating country south of the river, which we recrossed some
miles lower down at Pul-i-Anbu. Here the Shāhrūd is spanned by
a fine brick bridge.

After some welcome tea on the further side of this bridge, we had
a long climb of 2,000 feet, in pitch darkness and pouring rain, to the
village of Anbu, where we spent the night.

From Anbu our course lay slightly west of north, over down-like,
fertile country, high enough up to be pleasantly cool and free from
mosquitoes and flies.

We arrived at the village of Kilishūm at midday, and, after a halt
there for lunch, went on to Isbaili via Dailimān. Isbaili is a large
village situated just south of the ridge separating the Shāhrūd valley
from the Caspian depression. Here the forests come right to the top
of the northern slopes, and isolated trees, standing like sentinels on
the top of the ridge, can be seen from the village. The houses in
Isbaïli were well built of wood and had high-pitched shingle roofs, thus forming a welcome contrast to the mud-brick, flat-roofed dwellings to which we had been accustomed.

Spending the night and the whole of the next morning in Isbaïli, we only accomplished a short stage before nightfall, and camped in a beautifully situated clearing in the heart of the forest a few miles to the north of the ridge.

Once on the northern slopes of the mountains, the change in the scenery was really extraordinary. Gone were the majestic, but often gaunt and forbidding, peaks, and their brown and arid slopes; instead, we could see nothing but a vast expanse of tree-covered hills and dells.

Very fortunately for us, the uncertain weather which we had been experiencing had by now given place to brilliant sunshine, so we were able to see the forest country under the best of conditions.

A peculiar feature of the forests was the complete absence of any sign of animal or bird life; not once did we hear a bird sing or even call.

After passing a comfortable night in our pleasant clearing, we continued on our way down through the forest until we reached the small and picturesque town of Lâhîjân soon after midday. Here, not without regret, we paid off our muleteers, and hired an antique Ford, in which we bumped for a few miles over a very indifferent road to the large town of Rasht. From Rasht we returned by car to Tehrân, having spent a most interesting and enjoyable, but at times rather strenuous, holiday.
Matta-vilāsa: A Farce
By Mahendravikrama-varman
Translated by L. D. Barnett

Introduction

The little farce entitled Matta-vilāsa derives a peculiar interest from the personality of its author. For Mahendravikrama-varman (or Mahendra-varman, as he is sometimes called for brevity's sake) was a king of the glorious Pallava dynasty, and one of the most brilliant of his great race.

The founders of the Pallava dynasty seem to have been adventurers of Northern origin, who settled in the Dekkan about the beginning of the Christian era. The dissolution of the Sātavāhana or Āndhra empire about the third century gave the family an opportunity to establish themselves as an independent little power, and they rapidly extended their dominions until they ranked among the greatest states of the South, rivalling the mighty neighbouring kingdoms of the Colas, the Ceras, and the Pāṇḍyas. Their chief capital was Kāṇči or Kāṇci-puram, the modern Conjevaram, in which the scene of the present play is laid. To art, literature, and science they extended a generous and cultured patronage, and many of the noblest monuments of architecture and sculpture in Southern India perpetuate the memory of their splendid era.

Mahendravikrama-varman, son of Śimhaviśṇu Pallava, flourished about the beginning of the seventh century. Literature, sculpture, and architecture had a strong fascination for him: while the play Matta-vilāsa is the only book credited with his authorship, a considerable number of temples and caves exist inscribed with his names or the titles borne by him. These titles are many; we may mention of them the following: Matta-vilāsa (“Wild Sporter”), Guṇa-bhara (“Abundance of Virtues”), Avani-bhājana (“Earth-vessel”, i.e. he whose glory fills the earth), Śatru-malla (“Champion against Foes”),

1 The name Pallava appears to be a sanskritised form of the Middle Persian Pahlava, i.e. Parthian; hence we may infer that the family sprang from one or more of the Parthian adventurers who entered India during the troubled period of the Scythian invasions, which began about 150 B.C. and continued for several generations. Such immigrants usually became in a short time thoroughly hinduised, and this seems to have been notably the case with the Pallavas.
Lalitāṅkura ("Charming Scion"). Vicitra-citta ("He whose mind is many-sided"), Sākīrṇa-jātī, and Cēṭṭhā-kāri (both of uncertain meaning). The first four of these titles occur in the prelude and concluding verse of our play.

The titles Matta-vilāsa and Guna-bhara need some explanation. They are derived from a long compound word joveṇa (youth)-guna (quality)-bhara (abundance)-matta (intoxicated, wild)-vilāsa (sport), i.e. "he who performs wild or intoxicated sports, in the fullness of the qualities of youth", which occurs in the first speech of the actress in the prologue of our play. Hence it would seem that one of Mahendravikrama-varman’s literary names was in Sanskrit Yauvana-guna-bhara-matta-vilāsa, which may be freely paraphrased as "Gay Young Blood", and for the sake of brevity he styled himself sometimes Guna-bhara and sometimes Matta-vilāsa. With a thoroughly Indian play on words, however, the title Matta-vilāsa is also applied to the play, inasmuch as it represents the wild pranks of a drunken Śaiva ascetic.

Our play is a farce—in technical language, a prahāsana—and it is genuinely farcical. Its plot is of the slenderest kind—the wanderings of a tipsy Kapālīn or "Skull-bearer" (a Śaiva ascetic of a very low order who carries for alms-bowl the kapāla or half of a human skull) with his girl through the streets of Kāñci, the disappearance of his skull-bowl, his encounter with a Buddhist friar of rather lax virtue named Nāgasena, whom the Kapālīn accuses of having stolen his bowl, the squabble that thence arises between them, the interposition of a Pāṇḍūpata (a member of another class of Śaiva votaries) in the dispute, and the appearance on the scene of a wandering lunatic who brings back the missing bowl, which has been carried away by a pariah dog and picked up by the lunatic, whereupon all ends happily. But within this loosely jointed framework there is much rollicking fun of the knockabout kind, with no small measure of wit and humour. The characters are vigorously drawn, especially the tipsy Kapālīn with his unfailing flow of logic and theology and the Buddhist monk with


2 Possibly it is more than a coincidence that this is also the name of a celebrated Father of the Buddhist Church, the learned protagonist of the Mūlinda-paṭhā.
his leanings towards wine and beauty and his desire to find scriptural warrant for them, while the damsel’s shrewish femininity is cleverly sketched, and the poor lunatic babbles and acts with a consequent inconsequence that reminds the reader of Lewis Carroll. Altogether the little play is a remarkably smart product of the picaresque genre, replete with mirth and satire.

The Matta-vilāsa was published for the first time by the late Gaṇapati Śāstri in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series at Trivandrum in 1917; no other edition is known to me. The commentary from which I have published extracts in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, III, p. 281, contains some readings which differ from the corresponding passages in the Śāstri’s text, but nevertheless I have in most cases followed the latter in my version, although from a critical point of view much might be said in favour of the opposite course. The only translation known to me is Dr. J. Hertel’s Die Streiche des Berauschten (Leipzig, 1924), which I have found very useful, although in many cases my version differs from his. I have rendered the original fairly closely, but not, I hope, in a slavishly literal manner. No attempt has been made to reproduce in English the effect of the Prakrit dialects in which all the characters except the Kapālīn and Pāśupata speak in the original. Very probably, too, there are hidden in the text some topical allusions which are imperceptible to the modern Sanskritist. With all its shortcomings, however, I hope that this version will serve to acquaint the reader with a work of a curious and interesting kind.

Matta-vilāsa

Dramatis Personā

Satyasoma, a Kapālīn (a Śaiva mendicant monk of a low order, the members of which wander about with kapālas, or halves of human skulls, as alms-bowls).

Babhrukalpa, a Pāśupata (a Śaiva monk of another order).

Nāgarṣena, a Buddhist friar.

A Madman.

The Stage-manager.

Devasomā, Satyasoma’s wench.

An Actress, the Stage-manager’s senior wife.

The scene is laid in Kāṇcī (Conjevaram).
STAGE-MANAGER: The heavenly Skull-bearer, whose Dance, composed
Of all the three world’s course, is manifold
In speech, dress, person, act, and quality
And through emotion’s influences toucheth
Full many a feeling, and Who is Himself
Spectator, in His understanding’s vastness
Unbounded, deign to grant to you a glory
Filling the vessel of the universe! ¹

Aha! I really have found a very handy means of soothing my
senior lady wife, who is sulking against my younger wife, as we have
at last been appointed by the assembly to conduct a play. So I will
go to her.  

Madam! Hither, pray!  

ACTRESS (angrily): Sir, have you come at last to play the farce
of the sport of him who is intoxicated with the fullness of youth’s
charms? ²

STAGE-MANAGER: It is as you say, madam.

ACTRESS: Play it, then, with her whom you are going to make
love to.

STAGE-MANAGER: I am told that I am to play it with you.

ACTRESS: Did she order you to do it?

STAGE-MANAGER: That is so. Moreover, if you come into it you
will win great favour.

ACTRESS: It is you whom this concerns.

STAGE-MANAGER: Yes, Madam, it certainly does concern me, for
the assembly, gratified by your performance, will bestow its favour.

ACTRESS (joyfully): So—I have gained the gentlemen’s grace?

¹ The “Skull-bearer” is the god Śiva, who is represented as wearing a necklace
of skulls, and thus is the heavenly prototype of the Kapālin or Skull-bearer named
Satyasoma who is the protagonist of this play. Śiva’s dance, to which this verse
refers, represents the rhythmic course of the universe in all its phases. The words
which I have translated “Filling the vessel of the universe” (compare Shakespeare,
Henry V, prof. to Act iv, l. 3) are vyāpātākani-bhājanam; they contain an allusion to
the author’s title Avani-bhājanam (see Introduction, p. 697).

² This phrase contains two of the author’s titles, Matta-vilāsa (“Sport of the
Intoxicated One” or “Intoxicated Sporter”) and Gaṇa-bhāra (“Fullness of Virtues”).
See Introduction.
STAGE-MANAGER: Certainly, you have.
ACTRESS: If that is so, what reward shall I give you for the good news?

STAGE-MANAGER: Let us have no vain repetition about a reward for good news. Look you—

Dear love, I see upon thy face—rare sight!—
Cheeks marked with springing down, smiles beaming forth,
Brows bent: what more then can I crave of thee?

ACTRESS: What will you now perform, sir?

STAGE-MANAGER: Why, you said it yourself: the farce of the Sport of the Intoxicated One.

ACTRESS: Truly my anger, which made me speak according to my feeling, inclined to favour it. But, sir, who is the poet who is distinguished by this work?

STAGE-MANAGER: Pray listen, madam. He is the great king who is intent on the suppression of the Six Foes and who from his devotion to the welfare of others is like in quality to the primary elements, by name Mahendravikrama-varman, son of Simhavishnu-varman, the central mountain upon the earth-circle of the Pallava race, who in perfect policy has surpassed the whole circle of neighbour princes, who in valour and prosperity has been the peer of Akhandala, and who in the magnificence of his bounty, which has harmonised with his fortune's greatness, has made light of the King of Kings.

Moreover—

Wisdom and bounty, mercy, dignity,
Comeliness, skill in arts, and guilelessness,
Truth, valour, courtesy—such qualities,
Finding no place in this our iron age,
Have made in him their common home, as blend
In Nature's origin, the Primal Spirit,
Creation's fragments when the aeon ends.

Also—

From him, the mine of gems of witty speech
Of richest quality, good poets' verses
Win high reward, though deeper worth they lack.

1 Horripilation is often mentioned as a sign of strong emotion, especially pleasure.
2 These are lust, anger, greed, infatuation, wantonness, and envy.
3 The elements are ether, air, fire, water, and earth.
4 The god Indra.
5 Kubera, the god of Wealth.
Actress: Why now do you delay, sir? As it is a novelty, surely this performance ought to be staged speedily.

Stage-manager: Yes, and as for me—

My wealth's in song, and now the moving tale
Of poets' virtues has subdued my soul—
(A voice in the dressing-room:) Devasomā, my dear!

Stage-manager:

As brandy has subdued yon friar who comes,
Led by his wench, his wealth a beggar's bowl.

(Exeunt.)

End of the Prelude

(Enter the Kapālin with a wench.)

Kapālin (tipsy): Devasomā, my dear, it's true that through mortification of the flesh one becomes able to change his form at will,¹ for you by due observance of the Supreme Rite have in a trice attained a different shape of surpassing beauty. For—

Thy face is all at play, with sweat-drops springing
And arching brows a-quivering in sport;
Causeless thy laughter, indistinct thy words,
Red-flushed thine eyes, with pupils wandering
And faint side-glances, while upon thy shoulders,
Their garland-bands slipped down, thy locks stream free.

Devasomā: Master, you talk to me as if I were drunk—as if I were drunk.

Kapālin: What do you say, mistress?

Devasomā: Indeed, I am saying nothing.

Kapālin: Am I then drunk?

Devasomā: Master, the ground is whirling round, whirling round!

I seem to be falling forward. Hold me up now!

Kapālin: So be it, my dear. (Tumbles down as he is holding her

¹ The word tapas, here translated "mortification of the flesh", means properly "heat", and especially the magic fervour which ancient magicians, Yogins, Munis, and the like were believed to generate in themselves by Shamanistic exercises and self-torture, in order thereby to obtain control over nature and the gods. But with the school of Śaiva monks represented here by the Kapālin and his wench the "mortification" is something very different, to wit, indulgence in wine, spirits, and sexual pleasures, culminating in a "Supreme Rite" (parama-ćrata) of orgiastic revelry.
Somadevā, my dear, are you angry with me, that you keep away from me when I approach to hold you up? ¹

 DeVasomā : Yes, indeed, Somadevā is in the sulks, and so she is keeping away, although you try to make your peace and bow your head before her.

 Kapālin : Surely you are Somadevā! (Thinking.) No, I mean—Devasomā.

 DeVasomā : Somadevā, of course, is such a pet of yours, master, that you cannot address me by my own name.

 Kapālin : It was this tipsiness of mine, mistress, that offended you with a natural slip in words.

 DeVasomā : It's lucky that it was not you.

 Kapālin : How is it that the vice of liquor is thus seducing me? Well, well! From this day onward I abstain from indulgence in liquor.

 DeVasomā : Oh, master! Don't, don't for my sake ruin your holy life by breaking your vow! (She falls at his feet.)

 Kapālin (joyfully lifting her up and embracing her): Dhrīrṇa dhṛrṇa!² Reverence to Śiva! My dear—
Ho, don a right jolly and quaint attire,
Drink brandy and gaze in your wenches' eyes;
Long life to our Lord of the Trident,³ who found
That the road to salvation this way lies!

 DeVasomā : Oh, master, you must not talk like that. The Ārhatas ⁴ give a different picture of the Way of Salvation.

 Kapālin : Yes, fair lady, but they are heretics. Why?
They freely grant for Soul's sake that effects
Are like their causes, and they teach that Pleasure
Springs as effect from Pain—and so the wretches
By their own doctrine surely are undone.

 DeVasomā : Oh, may the sin be forgiven! ⁵

¹ In his drunken confusion the Kapālin addresses Devasomā as Somadevā, whereupon Devasomā (really or in pretence) detects in the latter the name of a rival in her lord's affections, and rails at him accordingly.

² This word is an ejaculation or sort of blessing supposed to be used by friars of the Kapālin order.

³ The god Śiva.

⁴ The Jains, or followers of the Arhats or Jinas. The Jains, whose doctrines are travestied in the following verse, hold that the soul is a real eternal entity, distinct from matter, and both pleasure and pain are material (more exactly, effects of matter upon soul); hence soul must be released from the influences of matter by means of the mortifications described below.

⁵ A common exclamation on hearing mention of some sinful act or speech.
KAPĀLIN: May the sin be forgiven! Truly those sinners ought not to be mentioned even by way of reproof who torture living beings with celibacy, plucking out hair, keeping the body filthy, fixing times for meals, wearing dirty rags, and the rest of it. There, now, my tongue is infected by this talk about the heretics, and I want to wash it clean.

DEVASOMĀ: Then let us go now to another brandy-shop.

KAPĀLIN: So be it, my dear. (They walk around.) Ha! the surpassing magnificence of Kāncī Town! The sound of its drums blends confusedly with the roar of the clouds resting upon the pinnacles of its temples, its market of flower-garlands may serve as a model for constructing the season of spring, and the tinkling of the girdles of its fair damsels is as it were the noise announcing the victory of the God of the Flower-Arrows.¹ Moreover——

The infinite, eternal, unsurpassed
Bliss without check, which saints supreme, whose minds
Compass all being, have conceived, is here
Found in all fullness; and——what’s very strange——
’Tis food for flesh, delight of woman’s love!²

DEVASOMĀ: Master, Kāncī is like Madam Vāruṇī,³ irreproachably sweet.

KAPĀLIN: Look, look, my dear! Yonder brandy-shop resembles the splendour of a sacrifice-yard; for in it the signpost is the sacrificial pole,⁴ the brandy is the Soma,⁵ the tipplers are the priests, the cups are the Soma-bowls, the roasted meats and the rest of the appetisers are the various fire-offerings, the tipplers’ talk is the Yajus-words,⁶ their songs are the Sāmas,⁷ the drawing-bowls are the oblation——

¹ The god Kāma (Cupid). He is represented as having a bow of sugar-cane; its string is a line of bees and its five arrows are tipped with flowers.
² This verse reads like a parody (by anticipation) of Goethe’s
   Das Unzulängliche,
   Hier wird’s Ereignis;
   Das Unbeschreibliche,
   Hier ist es gethan;
   Das Ewig-Weibliche
   Zieht uns hinan.
³ Vāruṇī (literally, daughter of Varuṇa, the god of the ocean) is used to denote among other things any spirituous drink.
⁴ The post to which the victim was tied.
⁵ The intoxicating drink, brewed from an unknown plant, which was drunk or offered in the Vedic rituals.
⁶ The directions for Vedic sacrifices, collectively forming the Yajur-veda.
⁷ The tunes to which the Vedic hymns were chanted, collectively forming the Sāma-veda.
ladies, thirst is the fire, and the keeper of the brandy shop is the master of the sacrifice.  

DEVASOMÄ: Yes, and the alms that we get here will be the portion of Rudra.  

KAPÄLIN: Ah, how good to look at are the tipplers' merry dances: they are accompanied by the rhythm of beaten drums and show diverse modulations of gesture and speech and brows, while upper robes are clasped by one uplifted hand, and the music's time falls out of measure for a moment as they put back into place downward-slipping garments, and neck-strings are disordered!

DEVASOMÄ: Oh, what a tasteful master you are!

KAPÄLIN: Yonder Madam Vāruṇī poured into the cups is the rejection of ornaments, the reconciliation of quarrelling lovers, the valour of youth, the life of sports; in short—

False is the tale, my love, that once the flame From Śiva's third eye burned to ash the frame Of Kāma. Nay, his body, through that heat, Melted to oil, which now inflames our hearts.

DEVASOMÄ: Yes, master, that is right; the Lord of the World, who delights in doing good to the world, would not destroy the world. (They both drum on their cheeks.)

KAPÄLIN: Madam, give us alms.

(A voice from the dressing-room): Here is an alms, master; accept it.

KAPÄLIN: I accept it. My dear, where is my skull-bowl?

DEVASOMÄ: I can't see it.

KAPÄLIN (reflecting): Ah, I suspect that it was forgotten in yonder brandy-shop. Good, let us go back and look.

DEVASOMÄ: But, master, it would be wrong not to accept the alms so politely offered. What are we to do now?

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1 The yajamāna, or person who causes the sacrifice to be performed at his own expense and for his own spiritual benefit.
2 In certain Vedic sacrifices a portion is offered to the god Rudra, one of the phases of Śiva.
3 Brandy; see above.
4 A reference to the well-known myth of the burning of the Love-god Kāma by Śiva when he inflamed the latter with love for Umā. The word for oil, sneha, also means love, and is here used with punning effect.
5 These words are addressed to a supposed woman behind the scenes. Religious mendicants regularly come begging for food, etc., of housewives, and the charity of India is boundless.
Kapālin: Follow the law of necessity, and take it in a cow's horn.¹

Devasomā: Yes, master, I will. (She takes it. Both walk around and search.)

Kapālin: How is it that I cannot see it here either? (In consternation.) Ho, Māheśvaras, Māheśvaras!² Have you seen our alms-bowl here? What do the gentlemen say? "No, we have not seen it."? Alas! I am undone! My holy life is ruined! How shall I now be a Kapālin? Ho, misery!

Whene'er I used to sit for drink and meat,
So pure, so helpful was my bowl!
And now, like parting from a dear good friend,
Its loss with anguish fills my soul.

(Falls down and beats his head.)

I have it! It is only a token³; I have not lost the title of Kapālin.

(He rises.)

Devasomā: But who has taken the bowl, master?

Kapālin: My dear, as there was roast meat inside it, I suspect a dog or a Buddhist friar has taken it.

Devasomā: Then let us wander through the whole of Kānci town to seek for it.

Kapālin: Yes, my dear, let us.

(They both walk about. Then enters a Buddhist Friar with a bowl in his hand.)

Buddhist Friar: Ah, our lay brother Merchant Dhanadaśa's grand charities surpass all houses, for I have got from him this alms-meal, abundant in varieties of fish and meat and pleasant in colour, scent and taste. Now I will go to the King's Monastery. (Walking

¹ The Kapālin ought to follow the rule of his fraternity by taking the offered food in his skull-bowl; but as he has lost it, he proposes to use the next best thing, a cow's horn, obeying the "law of times of distress", āpad-dharma, which permits the relaxation of strict rules under abnormal conditions.

² Māheśvara means a worshipper of Maheśvara, one of the phases of Śiva. The Māheśvaras formed bodies or corporations who protected the interests of the Śaiva church and its endowments, dispensed religious charities, etc.; the inscriptions often refer to them.

³ Lakaṇṇa-mātraḥ. But I suspect that we ought to read lakaṇṇa-mātram, "merely metonymy" : i.e. though the Kapālin or "Skull-bearer" has lost his kapāla or "skull", he does not cease to be a Kapālin, for the term as applied to him is used not in a literal sense but metonymically (as e.g. when one says "the cot is crying", meaning that the baby is crying in the cot, or "keep the curds from the crows", meaning crows and other birds). Our author loves jokes on logic.
about, to himself.) Ha! our supremely gracious Lord the Tathāgata has favoured the congregation of us friars with his instructions ordaining for us lodging in fine buildings, lying on bedsteads with well-made beds, eating in the forenoon, savoury drinks in the afternoon, chewing betel flavoured with the five kinds of fragrance, and wearing soft robes; but why did he not think of sanctioning possession of women and use of strong drink? No, as he knew everything, how could he fail to see that? It is certain, I think, that those poor-spirited and spiteful-minded Elders from envy of us young men have blotted out sanctions of women and use of strong drink in the books of Scripture. Where now can I find an uncorrupted original text? Then I would reveal to the world the whole teaching of the Buddha and confer benefit on the Church. (He walks about.)

DEVASOMĀ: Look, master, look! Yonder fellow in a red cloth is hurry ing along with timid footsteps, all his limbs hunched up and his glances cast to right and left, along this high road crowded with trustful folks.

KAPĀLIN: Yes, my dear, that is so; and what is more, there is something in his hand hidden inside his robe.

DEVASOMĀ: Then let us catch him up and take hold of him, master, and find out.

KAPĀLIN: Yes, mistress, we will. (Advancing.) Ho, friar! stop!

BUDDHIST FRIAR: Who is it that is talking to me in that way, I wonder? (Stopping and looking.) Oh, it is that rascal of a Kapālin who lives in Ekambam. Well, I will not be the target of his drunken sport.

(He hurries away.)

KAPĀLIN: There, my dear, I have got my skull-bowl! For his haste to escape in terror aroused by the sight of me amounts to evidence that he is the thief. (He runs forward and blocks his way.) Ah, rascal! where will you go now?

BUDDHIST FRIAR: Nay, brother Kapālin, do not talk so! What is this? (Aside.) Oh, what a pretty sister!

KAPĀLIN: Ho, Friar, just show it; I want to see what is in your hand, hidden inside your robe.

BUDDHIST FRIAR: What is there to see there? It is only an alms-bowl.

1 A title of the Buddha; literally, "he who has gone (or come) accordingly."

2 A sanctuary of the god Śiva (worshipped there as Ekāmbara-nātha), in or near Conjevaram.
KAPĀLIN: That is just why I want to see it.
BUDDHIST FRIAR: Nay, brother, do not say so; we must carry it hidden, you know.
KAPĀLIN: Yes, of course, it is to hide things in that sort of way that the Buddha has taught you to wear such long robes.
BUDDHIST FRIAR: That is true.
KAPĀLIN: It is the "relative truth"; I want to hear the "absolute truth".¹
BUDDHIST FRIAR: Well, well, enough of your fun! The alms-hour is passing; I must depart. (He walks away.)
KAPĀLIN: Ah, rascal! Where will you go? Give me my bowl. (He seizes the end of his robe.)
BUDDHIST FRIAR: Reverence to the Buddha!
KAPĀLIN: You ought to say "Reverence to Khara-paṭa!" ¹, for it is he who wrote the Thieves' Hand-book. The Buddha, however, is even superior to Khara-paṭa in this dignity; and why?
Your Buddha, while the Brahmons' eyes were closed,
Filled up his granary by filching notions
From Mahābhāratam and from Vedāntas.²
BUDDHIST FRIAR: Oh, may the sin be forgiven! ⁴
KAPĀLIN: How should the sin of so well-conducted a monk not be forgiven?
DEVASOMĀ: Master, you look as if you were tired. That skull-bowl cannot be got back by easy means; so take a drink of brandy from this cow-horn and strengthen yourself so as to carry on the dispute with him.
KAPĀLIN: So be it! (Devasomā hands the brandy to the Kapālin. He drinks it.) My dear, you too must refresh yourself.

¹ Some important schools of Buddhist philosophy distinguished between saṃyért-satya, lit. "truth in concealment", i.e. relative or phenomenal verity, and paramārtha-satya, "absolute" or "transcendental" or "no-mental reality". The Kapālin jokes on this distinction.
² The name of a legendary hero and typical arch-rogue, otherwise unknown. It has been suggested that he is identical with Mūladeva or Karpūsūta, a famous character of this kind in old Indian literature.
³ Vedānta denotes properly the Upaniṣads, and secondarily the philosophical systems based on the latter. Some important elements of Buddhism have close affinities with certain ideas of the Upaniṣads. From the Mahābhāratam, the great epic of the Bāhrata War, Buddhism borrowed nothing directly, but the Mahābhāratam among its very miscellaneous teachings contains some ideas which partly resemble it.
⁴ See above, 703.
DEVASOMĀ: Yes, master, I will. *(She drinks.)*

KAPĀLIN: This fellow has wronged us. But our doctrine lays chief weight on sharing our goods, so give the leavings to his reverence.

DEVASOMĀ: As you command, master. Take it, sir.

BUDDHIST FRIAR (aside): Oh, what a happy stroke of fortune! The only trouble is that folks will see. *(Aloud.)* Nay, madam, don’t speak thus. It is not proper for us. *(He licks his chops.)*

DEVASOMĀ: Be off with you! Whence will you get such luck?

KAPĀLIN: My dear, his speech, which contradicts his desire, is stammering, because his mouth is watering.

BUDDHIST FRIAR: Have you still no pity on me?

KAPĀLIN: If I had pity, how should I be “free from affection”? ¹

BUDDHIST FRIAR: Then one who is free from affection ought also to be free from anger.

KAPĀLIN: I will be free from anger if you give me back my property.

BUDDHIST FRIAR: What do you mean by your property?

KAPĀLIN: The skull-bowl.

BUDDHIST FRIAR: How, a skull-bowl?

KAPĀLIN: “How, a skull-bowl?” says he. But really it is quite natural:—

Thou art the son ² of him who in delusion
Denied existence to realities
Patent to sight—earth, ocean, mountains, seas,
And all the like; then canst thou also not
Deny the being of a little bowl?

DEVASOMĀ: Master, he will not give it up while he is only handled tenderly; so tear it out of his hand and let us be off.

KAPĀLIN: Yes, my dear, I will. *(He tries to tear it away.)*

BUDDHIST FRIAR: Be off, you rascal of a Kapālin! *(He shakes him off with his hand and kicks him.)*

KAPĀLIN: Why, I have fallen down!

DEVASOMĀ: Oh, you son of a slave-wench, you are a dead man!

*(She tries to tear out the Buddhist’s hair, and getting no hold on it, ² falls down.)*

¹ *Vita-rāga*, a common epithet for the perfect ascetic.

² The title “son of the Buddha” or “son of the Jīna” was often applied to pious Buddhists. Generally speaking, Buddhism denied not the existence of things, but their permanent reality and self-existence; but some schools (Mādhyamikas, etc.) define the highest reality as void.

² Buddhist monks shave their heads: hence the irate lady finds nothing to seize upon.
Buddhist Friar (aside): The Buddha's idea was right when he invented shaving of the head. (Aloud) Get up, get up, sister, get up! (He helps Devasomā to rise.)

Kapālin: Look, Māheśvaras,¹ look! Nāgasena, that scamp who calls himself a friar, is taking my girl's hand! ²

Buddhist Friar: Nay, brother, don't talk in that way! Surely our religion bids us to have pity upon those who fall into distress.

Kapālin: Is that, too, the religion of your "Omniscient One"? ³ Was I not the first to fall? Well, never mind that: now your skull shall be my alms-skull. (They all scuffle together.)

Buddhist Friar: Oh, misery, misery! ⁴

Kapālin: Look, Māheśvaras,⁵ look! That scamp who calls himself a friar, after stealing my alms-skull, is himself squalling. Well, I too will raise a row. Ho, an outrage on Brahmans, an outrage on Brahmans! (Thereupon a Pāśupata enters.)

Pāśupata: What are you shouting about, Satyasoma?

Kapālin: Ho, Babhrukalpa, Nāgasena, this scamp who calls himself a friar has stolen my alms-skull and will not give it back.

Pāśupata (aside): "What we have to do the Gandharvas have done." ⁶ This villain, just as with a bunch of fodder men will draw along a cow, lures the girl—a barbar's slave-wench, next a light-of-love for me—With a farthing that he shows her in the pocket of his robe.

¹ See above, p. 706.
² The "taking of the hand", pāṇi-grahaṇam, forms one of the main acts of the Hindu marriage-ritual, and the term is often used to denote marriage itself; on the latter sense the Kapālin here plays.
³ Sarvatāja, a title of the Buddha.
⁴ Apparently a play on the formula anicchēmaṇ dukkhaṃ anattam ("all is transient, misery, and unreal") which is mechanically repeated by Buddhist monks.
⁵ See above, p. 706.
⁶ A somewhat cryptic sentence which in the original forms an anuṣṭubh verse, and seems to be a proverbial phrase meaning something like "our bride is no virgin". The Gandharvas are usually in classical literature amorous godlings especially devoted to music. Originally, however, they were spirits of generation and fertility, Erotes, and as such were supposed to be peculiarly fond of women; hence in Vedic times it was believed that in the first days of every marriage a Gandharva was the rival of the bridgroom and had a droit de seigneur over the bride. So the Pāśupata probably means that Devasomā is "at her old games": after various affairs of the heart, she is now flirting with the Buddhist friar. He is himself smitten with her, as he tells us in the following verse, and he is revolting a scheme to win her; he intends to discomfit the Kapālin by supporting the Buddhist, and then no doubt to cut out the latter, whom he describes as a pratikasti ("Hurenwirth" according to the St. Petersburg Lex.).
So I will now break down the opposition by encouraging the bawdy rogue. Well, Nāgasena, is it as he says?

Buddhist Friar: Oh, master, do you also talk in that way?

“To abstain from taking things not given is an article of discipline; to abstain from false speech is an article of discipline; to abstain from breach of celibacy is an article of discipline; to abstain from destroying life is an article of discipline; to abstain from eating in forbidden hours is an article of discipline.” ¹ I betake myself for refuge to our Buddha’s religion! ²

Pāśupata: Well, Satyasoma, such is their rule; what is your answer to this?

Kapālin: Why, our rule is that we must not speak falsehood.

Pāśupata: Both statements are in order; how is one to decide between them?

Buddhist Friar: What reason is there that a friar who follows the Buddha’s teaching should take a brandy-bowl? ³

Pāśupata: Yes, but a reasoner cannot prove his case by mere assertion, as they say.

Kapālin: When the case is patent to the eye, ⁴ to quote reasons to the contrary is useless.

Pāśupata: What do you mean by “patent to the eye”? ⁵

Devasomā: Master, the skull-bowl is in his hand, hidden in the corner of his robe.

Pāśupata: You have heard, sir?

Buddhist Friar: Oh, master, this bowl belongs to no one else.

Kapālin: Then just show it.

Buddhist Friar: I will. (He shows it.)

¹ The Buddhist in order to clear himself of the imputations cast upon him repeats five out of the ten “articles of discipline” (śikṣā-pādāni, in Pali sikkhā-pādāni) from his breviary. The remaining five are abstinence from strong drink, worldly amusements, use of ornaments and unguents, use of large or decorated couches, and receiving money.

² A variation on a frequent Buddhist formula: “I betake myself for refuge to the Buddha . . . to the Faith . . . to the Church.”

³ The dialogue in this and the following speeches plays on the terms of logic. The Indian syllogism contains a ‘reason’, hetu, or what we should call a middle term, and an ‘assertion’, pratiṣñā, which anticipates the conclusion.

⁴ Another reference to logic. Knowledge is obtained either by direct sense-experience, pratyakṣa, lit. “what is patent to the eye”, or by reasoning by hetu; given the former, the latter is needless.
Pāṣupata: Look, Māheśvaras, look at the wrong done by the Kapālin and the virtuous conduct of this reverend gentleman!

Buddhist Friar: "To abstain from taking things not given is an article of discipline..." (He repeats the same formula as before. They both dance.)

Buddhist Friar: Oh, fie! He is dancing at a time when he ought to be ashamed of himself!

Kapālin: Bah, who is dancing? (Gazing on all sides.) Ah, he surely imagines me to be dancing when it is the creeping-plant of my joy that is merrily swaying, moved by the southern wind of delight at the sight of my lost alms-bowl.

Buddhist Friar: What is the reason that you do not look at it, master? Pray observe, master, this is its colour.

Kapālin: What is one to say to that? Cannot I see? This skull-bowl is blacker than a crow.

Buddhist Friar: So you yourself have admitted that it belongs to me!

Kapālin: True, I have admitted that you are clever in changing colours. Look!

This robe of thine, which once by nature stole
The hue of lotus-fibres, hast not thou,
An artist wondrous, changed to redness deep
As is the colour of the early dawn?

Moreover—

With a stain of kashāya that never comes off
You are covered both inside and outside too;
Then how can the skull-bowl that reaches you fail
To take the kashāya-stain from you?

Devasomā: Alas, I am undone, poor wretch that I am! Our bowl, from its having all good points, was as splendid as the skull of

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1 This speech in the printed edition (and MSS.?) is assigned to the Kapālin, obviously by error.

2 See above, p. 706.

3 Malagānila, lit. "wind from Mount Malaya" (Tamil malai, "mountain"). In literature Malay commonly denotes the Southern Ghats.

4 The meaning is that the friar's robes, originally white, have been stained a red or yellow colour (kusāya), in accordance with the rules of the Buddhist Church. The robes in the South are yellow, in the North red.

5 A play on the word kusāya, which denotes both red or yellow colour and sinful passions.
the Lotus-throned God and as bright of aspect as the full-moon, and was always fragrant with brandy; and now it has come to a state like this by being in touch with this fellow’s dirty robes. (She weeps.)

KAPÅLÎN: Nay, my dear, don’t distress yourself. It shall be clean again; for scripture tells that great beings through rites of purification become freed from defilement. For example:

By strict observance of this holy course,
Our Lord whose crest-gem is the crescent moon
Was freed from guilt that sprang from cutting off
The Grandsire’s head; the great Celestials’ Prince,
Who slew of yore the triple-headed son
Of Tvåștar, made atonement for his sin
By fivescore offerings and once more was pure.

Ho, Babhrukalpa, is it not so?

PÅŚUPATA: What you have said is in accordance with Holy Writ.

BUDDHIST FRIAR: Well, suppose the colour was made by me; but who has transformed the shape and size of the bowl?

KAPÅLÎN: Are you gentry not the offspring of Mâyà’s progeny?

BUDDHIST FRIAR: How long must I wrangle with you? Take it, master.

KAPÅLÎN: Thus indeed was the Perfection of Bounty exercised by the Buddha himself.

BUDDHIST FRIAR: In this plight what is now my protection?

KAPÅLÎN: The Buddha, the Faith, and the Church, of course.

PÅŚUPATA: This dispute is beyond my power to decide; so we must go to the Court.

1 Brahman, the Demiurge. There is a legend that he offended Śiva by his pride, and so Śiva appeared in the terrible form of Bhairava and cut off Brahman’s head with his thumb-nail. The following verse refers to this story.

2 The “Grandsire” is Brahman: see the last note.

3 The god Indra slew Tvåștar’s son Vṛtra (or Viśvarûpa, according to the Rgveda). Usually the Vedic poets praise Indra for this exploit; but a certain guilt attached to it, as it was regarded as the slaughter of a Brahman.

4 A pun on the double meaning of Mâyà. Buddha’s mother was named Mâyà, hence “offspring of Mâyà’s progeny” means “son of Buddha”, a title of Buddhist monks (see above, p. 709). But Mâyà also is the principle of cosmic Illusion, which, according to some leading schools of philosophy, makes the absolute unqualified single Brahma appear as a phenomenal universe of plurality. The Kapålin, in short, means that Buddhists are jugglers.

5 The Buddhist in weariness having handed over his bowl to the Kapålin, the latter compliments him by comparing his act to the dāna-påramitå or Perfection of Bounty, the first of the perfections (påramitås) ascribed to the Buddha.

6 See above, p. 711.
DEVASOMĀ: If so, master, then good-bye to the skull.1
PĀŚUPATA: What do you mean?
DEVASOMĀ: Why, this man has heaps of riches drawn from the revenues of many monasteries, and with it he can stuff the mouths of the Court officials at pleasure; but I am the maid of a poor Kapālin whose only wealth is a snake-skin and sacred ash,2 and what riches have I here that I should go into the Court?
PĀŚUPATA: It is not so.
Straight, solid, weighty, firm, yet delicate,
And of good origin are those true men
Who Law uphold, as columns palaces.
KAPĀLIN: Enough of this! A man of honest life has nothing to be afraid of.
BUDDHIST FRIAR: Well, master, you go in front.
PĀŚUPATA: Certainly.

(They all walk about. Then enters a MADMAN.)

MADMAN: There, there, that brute of a dog! You are running off with a skull full of roast meat that you have picked up. Son of a slave-wench, where are you trying to go? There now, he has dropped the skull and is running towards me to eat me. (He looks around.) I will smash his teeth with this stone. Aha, you are leaving the skull and running away! A crazy brute of a dog! You are angry with me for such bravery, I suppose.—The Ocean has jumped up to the sky on the back of a village boar, and knocked down Rāvana, and forcibly seized Śakra's son Leviathan.3—Hallo, you ricinus-bush! What are you saying? "Untrue, untrue"? Is not this frog, with paws as big and long as pestles, my witness? But what need have I of a witness when my valour is known to the three worlds?—This is what I will do: I will eat a morsel of the meat left over from the dog's meal. (He eats it, and cries out in bewilderment.) Oh! oh! I am killed, I am killed with tears! (He weeps and looks around.) Who are you that are beating me? (He looks around.) You wicked boys! I am the nephew of What's-his-Name, as Ghaṭotkaca was of Bhīmasena.4 Listen, too:

1 Literally, "reverence to the skull!".
2 Śaiva ascetics smear themselves all over with ashes consisting of burnt cow-dung.
3 The lexic's ravings are of course quite wild in their references to mythical persons. Rāvana was the demon-king who carried off Sītā, Rāma's wife; Śakra is the god Indra. The printed text, however, is very corrupt here.
4 Ghaṭotkaca was the son, not the nephew, of Bhīmasena or Bhima, one of the heroes of the Mahābhārata.
A hundred fiends are riding, are riding in my belly,
With spits in their hands and every kind of features;
And I spew from my mouth a hundred snakes and tigers,
Quite a naturally horrid lot of creatures.
How they worry me! Forgive me, forgive me, young gentlemen;
don’t worry me on account of this morsel of meat. (Gazing in front.)
Why, there is our master, Śūranandin! I will go to him. (Runs up.)

Pāśupata: Hallo! This lunatic is coming hither. There he is:—
Wearing a used and cast-off robe—his hair
Rough, utterly dishevelled, covered over
With masses wild of ash and dust, and mingled
With garlands left from flower-offerings—
While flocks of crows attend him, hungering
For leavings of his food—like some vast pile
Of village-refuse walking in man’s form.

Madman: I will go to him. (Approaching.) Pray, master, accept
this skull, which I got from a most respectable dog belonging to a
Cāṇḍāla.  1

Pāśupata (with a glance): Let it be bestowed on a worthy person.

Madman: Noble Brahman, pray do me the favour.

Buddhist Friar: This noble Pāśupata is worthy of it.

Madman (approaching the Kapālin, laying the skull on the ground,
circumambulating  2 it, and falling at his feet): Great God, pray do me
the favour; I clasp my hands before you.

Kapālin: Our skull!

Devasomā: So it is!

Kapālin: By the Lord’s grace I have once more become a
Kapālin. (He tries to take it.)

Madman: Son of a slave-wench, feed yourself with poison! (He
snatches away the skull and walks off.)

Kapālin (following him): This messenger of Yama  4 is carrying
away my life! Assist me, gentlemen!

Both: Yes, we will support you. (They all block the way.)

Kapālin: Ho! Stop, stop!

1 Grāmakuśāra. In this sense grāma-sāra is still used in Mysore.
2 A man of most degraded caste.
3 Circumambulation (pradaṇśina) is a form of adoration in which the worshipper
walks thrice around the person or thing worshipped, keeping the latter on
his right hand.
4 Yama is the god who rules in the nether world and dispatches thence his
messengers (yama-puruṣas) to fetch away the souls of those who are doomed to die.
Madman: Why are they blocking my way?
Kapālin: Give up our skull and be off.
Madman: You fool, do you not see it is a golden bowl?
Kapālin: If it is a golden bowl like that, who made it?
Madman: I tell you, master, the goldsmith, that man who wears a gold-coloured robe, made it, and it is a golden bowl.
Buddhist Friar: What do you say?
Madman: It is a golden bowl.
Buddhist Friar: Is he a madman?
Madman: Again and again I hear that word “madman”. Take this and show me the madman. (He gives the skull to the Kapālin.)
Kapālin (taking the skull): There he is now hiding behind the wall. Make haste and follow him.
Madman: I am obliged to you. (He hurries away.)
Buddhist Friar: Oh, wonderful! I am delighted at my opponent’s gain.
Kapālin (hugging the skull):
Long have I followed an unbroken course
Of holy living; to Maheśvara,
Our Lord, was my devotion dedicate.
He straightway vanishes when thou to-day,
O blessed skull, appearest for my joy!
Devasomā: Master, my eye revels, as one may say, when I see you like the evening combined with the moon.¹
Pāṣupata: My congratulations on your good fortune, sir!
Kapālin: Surely, sir, the happiness is yours.
Pāṣupata (aside): It is true that “the innocent have nothing to fear”, since this Buddhist friar has escaped to-day from the tiger’s jaws.² (Aloud.) Now, filled with joy at my friend’s happiness, I will await the cremation-hour³ of our Lord who resides in the Eastern Quarter⁴; and henceforth,

¹ I follow the commentary in reading āsvaṇṇakāravuttāṇa; the printed text has āsvaṇṇakāravuttāṇa.
² The Kapālin, with his dark body smeared over with grey ashes, is compared to the grey evening air, and the white skull to the moon.
³ See above, p. 710.
⁴ Dhāma-velā: compare Pali dhāma-kālā. Cremation-grounds (ūmaśānas) sometimes lay in the immediate neighbourhood of Śāiva temples, as in this case (cf. Mālati-madhavam, act v); and to haunt these was one of the spiritual disciplines enjoined upon Pāṣupatas (cf. Gāṇa-kārikā vi, with Ratna-ṭikā thereupon, and Sarevadāriṣṭa-sangraha, transl. Cowell and Gough, p. 104).
⁵ A reference to some temple of Śiva on the east of Conjevaram, which cannot be now identified.
May this dispute which parted erst you twain
Become an endless source of mutual love,
Like the Kirāta's strife with Arjuna.¹

(Exit the Pāşupata.)

KAPĀLIN: Come, Nāgasena, I desire you to forgive me if I have offended you.
BUDDHIST FRIAR: Does this too need entreaty? What can I do to please you?
KAPĀLIN: If your reverence forgives me, what more can I wish for?
BUDDHIST FRIAR: Now I will go.
KAPĀLIN: Adieu, sir, and may we meet again!
BUDDHIST FRIAR: So be it!
KAPĀLIN: Devasomā, my dear, let us go.

(Bharata-speech)

Ever for the weal of mankind may the Fire right offerings bear
Heavenward, kine yield milk in plenty, Brahmans con the Vedic lore;
Still intent on righteous duties, for as long as moon and sun
Shine above it in the heavens, may the world, distrest no more,
'Neath the sway of Śatrumalla, whose strong hand hath still'd his foes,
Ever bound in happy fealty, dwell in undisturbed repose.

(Exeunt both.)

THE END

¹ This refers to the legend (told in Mahābhārata and Bhāravi's Kirātārjuniyam) that when the hero Arjuna was worshipping Śiva, the god in order to prove him appeared in the guise of a Kirāta or barbarian and engaged him in battle, after which he revealed himself to Arjuna and bestowed on him his favour together with magic missiles and a miraculous bow.
SOME PROBLEMS OF INDO-ARYAN PHILOLOGY
FORLONG LECTURES FOR 1929

By Jules Bloch

I

THE LITERARY LANGUAGES

LITERARY languages of Western Europe are national languages as well; there is no divorce between them and the people; there may be a distance, but no gap between them and the ordinary vernaculars, and their growth and vicissitudes reflect those of the vernaculars. So the historians of the language are able to discover when, where, how they came into existence, and call them to give evidence as to its later destinies. For instance, we know the place where French was born, how it asserted itself against Latin, how it turned out provincial speeches; we can make a fairly good evaluation of the distance between written and spoken French, in the past and now. In India conditions are vastly different; our knowledge of its languages, at least in their most ancient stages, is based only, or nearly so, on literary languages, of which we know neither the local basis, nor the degree of connection with the vernaculars. They do not give expression to the thoughts and feelings of the people; at the most, they give an ideal picture of the culture of a small community. They may differ in character, some highly religious and aristocratic; some more popular, but religious too; the majority are mainly adapted for purely literary usages. The linguist has to be very careful in giving their evidence its proper value, before trying to construct the details of the history of Indo-Aryan. It is of this fundamental difficulty I wish to give you to-day a few instances.

First, in the past; and in the past, first in the Veda. On this class of texts, I shall not expatiate long, as their general conditions are well known. Speaking broadly, we may say that the Veda,

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1 I beg first to thank the Academic Board of the School of Oriental Studies, who not only invited me to London, but have allowed me to extend my audience by publishing my lectures in this Bulletin.

As they are only in part new or personal; as there is a want of proportion between the different parts, which would not be admissible otherwise; and mainly because they are at bottom more of a hortative than of an epideictic character, I have thought best to publish them as nearly as possible in the actual form in which they were delivered.

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and more specially the Rgveda, is a corpus, not a work; it marks not the beginning, but the end of a period of literary history, which may have begun before Aryans came into India; how far it may be considered properly Indian, is a question which has been much debated, and on which we may to-morrow adduce ourselves some small evidence. But, even if partially Indian, it is an invaluable document to the linguist, as the textual tradition of it has been admirably preserved; so that we gather from it a knowledge not only of a definite state of the Sanskrit language, but also of a long evolution of it: as there are found in the Veda side by side wonderful archaisms and typical Prakritisms.

But, as I told you, I will not delay over the Veda. Nor do I mean to follow the history of Sanskrit period by period; that would not only waste your time, as it may be found in books which every student knows; but it would prevent me from emphasizing the main fact on which I should like to lay stress, viz. the gap existing between ancient and classical Sanskrit. There has not been one Sanskrit, developing normally, so to say, in one line: Sanskrit literature consists of different literary languages differing not only in date, but in psychological and social character. The oldest, which was considered sacred, gave a model, but not birth, to the later ones: but to the linguist's view classical Sanskrit is made up of elements similar to Vedic, but essentially differing from it as widely as Pali or Prakrit.

Let us recall the fact which dominates all historical view of Indo-Aryan, and especially of Sanskrit, viz. that we have evidence from the inscriptions of Asoka that in the third century B.C. Middle-Indian vernaculars were not only in use, but had won recognition to such a degree that the king used them when addressing his subjects; as you are aware, only recently has this been the case again in India. More than that: some time after, another king, recalling his own history in a stone-inscription which is more a monument than an address, does it in vernacular; with him, vernacular obtains a really literary dignity, as, far from being in popular style, his inscription is a specimen of refined and rhythmical prose. If we had under consideration only these two texts, to which we may add more direct expressions of the people's thoughts, like the Bharhut inscriptions, and the oldest Buddhistic works, we should feel entitled to expect that from that period onwards profane thought, too, would find expression through the vernaculars. You know it is not the case; if in the first centuries of our era stanzas were written which we find collected in Hála's-
anthology, the main part of the literature of the same and of the following periods was written in Sanskrit; nay, Sanskrit dominates Prākrit literature to such a degree that Prākrit works can hardly have been understood, or even written, by non-Sanskritists.

But the Sanskrit of that time is no longer the Sanskrit of the Veda. Even in the Upanishads, it was no longer a purely clerical language, imprisoned in very ancient stylistic traditions; a new life has been infused in it from the Kṣatriya being admitted to higher culture; archaisms disappear, grammar gets simpler; style, still deprived of charm and refinement, has the virtue which the linguist appreciates so much: naturalness.

But a divorce will soon be brought about between literature and speech; the fact that Pāṇini teaches a language similar to that of the Brāhmaṇas may be considered in itself as a sign of decay; a few generations later, probably at the very time Khāravela gave that instance of a refined vernacular prose I was alluding to, Patañjali discloses the fact that Sanskrit, at least good Sanskrit, had become the language of only a small aristocracy in a limited country; may be Sanskrit was still heard among other classes, lōke: but bad Sanskrit, of course; and how far in use? Even among Brahmans, only the educated, sīṣṭa, used it both commonly and correctly. After that time, Sanskrit became the property of scholars, and less than ever a direct document of any spoken tongue. Nevertheless, the historian has to look into its development with care, because the vernacular documents of the same period are themselves thoroughly impregnated with Sanskrit, and both series have to be considered together; moreover, being laicized, Sanskrit could not help coming into a partial contact with the language of the people at large.

This is again a new phase, one might call it a revolution, the significance of which was long ago pointed out by my guru, Professor S. Lévi. He showed that Sanskrit was, so to say, snatched from the Brahmans by foreign conquerors, whose plan was to compete with or to utilize the Brahmanical power; this is evidenced by the striking opposition between the use of Sanskrit by Rudradāman and of Prākrit by his opponents the Sātakanis. A document has been discovered since, which at first sight contradicts this: it is an older Sanskrit inscription found at Ramipali, near Ayodhyā, brilliantly commented upon by Professor Jayaswal. It is written in Sanskrit, although of a layman; but its spirit is not lay, it has got a very strong Brahmanical character, as you will see from Professor Jayaswal’s articles.
So the explanation given by Professor Lévi holds good. The result of the revolution in question was a spreading of Sanskrit and its ability to be used not only in the educational part of literature, but also in works of fiction. You know to what degree of refinement it reaches in the classical period; but the works I allude to are the sportive creations of artists, not evidence for the linguist. Only texts of no pretention, or small pretensions, will help us to guess what the real development was; the prose of the Vētāla tells something about it. Kālidāsa’s poems show only his skill in handling traditional materials.

What are the characteristics of the traditional materials in use at that time? In other terms, what had Sanskrit become in the classical period? Its main features are: a more contracted and normalized grammar; and, on the other hand, a hugely expanded vocabulary.

I need not dwell long on the first character, which is well known to every student who, contrary to history, having mastered classical grammar, proceeds to Vedic. I just recall a few points: of the different terminations of the instrumental, only one is kept (sg. deveṇa, madhunā; pl. deveḥ; the same for the n. pl. devāḥ, bhuvanāni, nāmāni); the number of verbal forms undergoes very great reduction: those especially which admit of stem-shiftings, like nasal presents, root-aorists, have a tendency to disappear. This accounts for contraction of the grammar; as to its normalization, I may mention the reintroduction of the termination -āyāḥ of the fem. sing., which in the Brāhmaṇas was replaced by the dative termination; or the distinction between dhenoh and bhuvah, according to the length of the stem, and a tendency to replace both by dhenwāḥ bhuvāḥ; the creation of the 3rd sg. precative bhūyāt instead of the older bhūyāḥ; the middle voice extended to whole verbs when the present stem admitted it; the replacement of the partitive genitive in the complement of verbs by the accusative; or the universal use of the dual number, when two things are in question; which is not, as you know, its use in the ancient period. And so on: I may just content myself by mentioning a very significant fact, viz. the strict enforcement of the rules of Sandhi to a degree which goes against the older tradition, Prākrit usage, and let us add, common sense.

As to the vocabulary, no wonder it extended enormously, as Vedic works expressed only a part of the life and thoughts of one class of society. This view is corroborated by the fact that in classical Sanskrit many words are found which can be identified as inherited
from Indo-European. But there are, on the other hand, also words which are of "Prākrit" origin (I use Prākrit here as the language of the subjects, prakṛti).

E.g. you will find in the Rāmāyaṇa the word ajīra, meaning "court, place to fight in", cf. ajīra which in Pāli and in the Śilpa-
śāstras means "a courtyard". This word is of course the same as ajīra, which only R.V. has kept with the meaning of "a plain"; here we have an old Indo-European word preserved in its vulgar form owing to its being employed in a technical sense. Take, again, the word hāva used in MBh. and in the Kāvyas with the meaning of "calling" and of "coquettry, blandishments", as well. Native vocabularies put both under the root hū-, like hava "call", hāvaka, "summoner"; but Aufrecht has rightly seen that the second word can hardly be separated from MBh. bhāva "condition, character", wherefrom "emotion, liking, passion". It is easy to understand how a new shade of meaning may have been got by this word in the vernaculars, whence it has been taken in the literary language. Some connection between the word and its original has been felt: Pāli has hāvabhāra "coquetish gestures"; in Hindi hāvabhā means the same, according to the Śabdasāgar; in Marathi the m. pl. hāvabhāv expresses the complex idea of "actions and posture expressive of sentiment".

Professor Wackernagel has shown other instances of the use made of double forms by classical Sanskrit (Festschr. Jacobi, 11 sq.). E.g. pārayati, the fundamental meaning of which was "to carry across" has already in R.V. taken the sense of "to save, protect"; in A.V. its derivative pārayiṣṇu is found, meaning "rescuing"; but in the same Veda we come across the l form of it, pālayati; now, classical Sanskrit has kept both forms, giving one the meaning of "protecting, keeping" in general, to the other that of "resisting, being able". In the same way, rabh- means "to take hold of", labh- "to find, to receive"; śukra keeps only the technical meanings of "Venus" and "semen"; śukla is the general term for "white". And so on.

Again, new synonyms arise from the fact that classical writers give back to some words their Vedic values: so śloka is given the old meaning of "fame"; or they give to a word, partially synonymical with another, a new meaning taken from the second one: so yuddha borrows from devendra the new meaning of "pair"; or vastra from ambra that of "sky".
Another characteristic of classical Sanskrit is its ability to derive numerous nouns from older ones; you may get an idea of it by glancing for instance at the list published by Professor F. W. Thomas in the JRAS. 1899 of the words of the Harṣacarita not included in the P.W. As Professor Thomas says, many of them are "only such as any writer might form at will"; I may note in passing that it would be interesting to discover whether among them there are signs of preferential tendencies, and what were the reasons for coining those new words.

But all of these are old words rearranged and used by classical Sanskrit; there is also a huge mass of words of unknown origin; we must assume they are taken from local languages, but it is not easy to prove it; we may say a word on this question to-morrow.

Whatever the origin of the new words, the result was inevitably an extensive occurrence of synonymous groups. In spoken languages, synonyms are distinguished not only according to technical usages, but also by auditive or mental associations, by affective values; when the languages are cultivated, writers take account of these shades of meaning, to which they usually add a taste for etymology. Gawroński has, perhaps with some exaggeration, denied this in the case of Sanskrit writers. To see how far he was right, and to show the discrimination the best of them at least did make between synonyms, is indeed a very interesting study; the truth is, it concerns more the history of style than of language.

Such is the case also with a well-known characteristic of classical Sanskrit, viz. the use of long compound words. Of course, its basis is linguistic, and we recognize in it the consequence of two important facts:

(1) Use of the nominal sentence;

(2) Loss of terminations (the result of which is a certain degree of affinity between Sanskrit compounds and mediaeval Indo-Aryan poetry).

The result is this: a central idea being given, and often expressed by nominal forms exclusively, circumstances are grouped around it, expressed by adjectives or nouns, in oblique cases (those nouns and adjectives being again very often nominal groups). So the sentence appears like a sort of static ensemble, where ideas and images float, and words have scarcely any fixed form or fixed place any longer; liberated from grammar, the sentence allows of the most subtle evocations; the infinite richness of the vocabulary placed at the
disposal of the writer enables him to choose his words according to the rhythm or the quality of their sounds.

All this is very far from real speech and has to the linguist little value other than that of a pathological case. No wonder: think only of the many centuries which have elapsed since Asoka addressed his subjects in the vernacular of the time. To find a better contact with the spoken languages we must go back and search other dialects, written also, but nearer to the ordinary speech of the time.

A better contact, I said: not a full one. Take Pāli, for instance. If we looked to it to give us a good view of an old vernacular, we should meet with disappointment. And Pāli offers problems of its own, too, which cannot be overlooked.

The first point to be noted is that Pāli is not a direct offspring of Sanskrit. One has noted in it forms phonetically older than even Vedic, idha, sabbadhi; others could be adduced: e.g. pātu.¹ My friend H. Smith, a master of Pāli studies—much of what I shall say now I owe to him—has shown that in Pāli tikkhatum, the word meaning “time”, has a guṇa: a form which is met with in Balto-Slavonic (lit. tris kartus, O. Sl. tri kraty), but not in Indo-Iranian.

There are in Pāli archaisms of another sort; they do not disclose a state of the language in its original form, but are due to the rehandling of the texts under Sanskritic influences. Round about A.D. 400 Buddhaghosa, a Magadhan Brahman, a good Sanskrit scholar (so was his predecessor the Sthavira Mahānāman, whose two Sanskrit inscriptions dated A.D. 347 have been found in Mahabodhi), translated into “Māgadhī” the Sinhalese commentary of the Tipiṭaka; it can be shown that he often has Sanskrit in view, and others must have done the same, before him and after; we must not forget that the tradition on which all our MSS. (which are very modern) depend, dates at the most from the twelfth century, and relies on grammatical studies again, the result of which must have been some normalization of the texts.

The consequence of this is that the regularity of correspondences between Pāli and Sanskrit, which strikes the general reader (but exceptions will soon be found), may be deceptive. There are facts which tend to confirm that view; Professor Lévi has shown (J. As.,

¹ See now Donum natalicium Schrijven, p. 370.
1912, ii, p. 498 ff.) that proper and technical names give evidence of an evolution which the current text conceals; the parivṛjaka Māgandiya is Skr. Mākandika; the “Frontier-town” Ālavī (where-from Ālavaka, Ālavikā) is in Sanskrit texts, buddhistic and brahmanical, Ālavī; Pāli keeps the form atavī with the meaning of “forest” because it was usual in Sanskrit. Inversely, the Pāli name of the river Aciravatī, dates from a time when Skr. ajīra “agile”, found in Pānini, being out of use, the Skr. name Ajiravatī looked vulgar: hence Pāli Aciravatī, and in Sanskrit itself a new form Ajitavatī. In the same way Pokkharasāti is what some would call (wrongly, I believe) a Paisācism for Pauṣkarasādi, which is regular. Certain technical terms admit of a similar explanation: those offenses, which are liable only to temporary exclusion from the Sangha, which admit of “a remnant of Sangha”, are in Skr. saṅghāvaśesa, in Pāli saṅghādisesa, that is really *saṅghātīsesa.

So the reasons for keeping here the Middle-Indian form have been shown by Professor Lévi; the reasons are not clear, but the fact is obvious, in the case, e.g. of kāvitha, vidatthi. Probably extensive use has prevented Pāli writers from avoiding forms like mahallaka, duṭṭhulla, distinctly popular, where you recognize the well-known Prākrit suffix -alla, -illa, -ulla: probably a very old Indo-European suffix, which only popular languages admit; Latin, a peasant’s language at the start, has capillus, favilla, medulla, etc. Another popular tendency, extensively met with in Latin too, is to double consonants: this you find seldom in Indo-Aryan, mainly with pronominal bases: R.V. has itthā, itthām (once) which have to be compared with tathā; Pāli has kattha, yoga “where? where”, ettha “there” (etta is rare; there is no representative of Skr. atra); it has also ettaka, tattaka, cf. Pkr. ettia tettia, etc., deśi keddaḥam, Marathi kedhe as opposed to kevāḥ; again, the adverbs ettavatā, kittavatā; etto “there-from”, ettato “than that”. The word katthati, “to boast”, which has found its way into Sanskrit (MBh. katthatē), cannot, I think, be separated from kathayati— a word again derived from a pronominal basis.

Among popular forms preserved by Pāli, some seem to pertain to particular dialects. Professor Lévi, again, has noted vaṭṭakā “the quail”, which Kātyāyana mentions as vartakā sakunau prācāṃ (please notice prācāṃ). This leads us to the question of Magadhisms in Pāli. You know the native name of that language is Māgadhī; therefore we should not be surprised to find in it traces of nominatives in -e. But
this is a matter for discussion; I hope H. Smith will make known his views on it, which are in part founded on discussions in the Saddaniti he is just publishing; I mention some of them: pure (purah) and sure (ceah) were of course taken as locatives; some of the vocatives, which Geiger interprets as nominatives taken as such, are in fact feminine vocatives, and therefore quite regular; some real Magadhisms O. Franke rightly suspected to be employed with a view to ridiculing the persons who used them: so they are not really Pali. Local names may be adduced, e.g. Isigili, the name of one of the mountains of Rajagrha. There are lastly Sinhalisms, as you know the old Sgh. nom. sg. was in -e (a fact, to mention it in passing, which seems to go against a western origin for Sinhalese).

There may be also in Pali Dravidian influences: remember, e.g. the importance of Conjeeveram in Pali tradition. The new Copenhagen Pali dictionary notes that Akatti looks very much like Tamil Akattian, a singular form made after Agastayah, the plural of Agastya according to Panini.

So not only the local basis of Pali, but its very appearance and constitution offer many problems, which still await solution, and whose solution affects its linguistic interpretation. I shall not go on detecting in other Middle-Indian literary languages similar problems. Suffice it to remind you, e.g. that when we apply the term Magadhi both to the language of Asoka, where every final Skr. -ah becomes -e, and to the dialect of the classical dramas, where only nom. sg. masc. -ah becomes -e, we obscure for ourselves a very important question, and include under the same head two very different sorts of languages. But I shall speak of this elsewhere. Let me just turn now to a well-known literary language, the origin of which is recent and nevertheless very obscure, I mean Urdû.

There are native accounts of the matter, but not contemporary; and I hope you will soon see why. Among these, the most celebrated is that given by Mir Amman in 1801 in the Preface of his Bag o Bahar. There is no need to read it to you, although it may not be without interest to notice that his wording is sometimes obscure, and that he mixes social and linguistic matters. What he says about language amounts to this: in the oldest period "owing to intercourse of people the languages of the Hindus and Musalmans were partially blended together". Long after, at the time of Akbar, the meeting of lots of people come from all parts in the Urdû—that is, the Delhi bazaar—
resulted in establishing a unique language, in that bazaar; which language later got more and more refined.

The first statement, which is quite sound, does not concern Urdu; the second one is difficult to reconcile with historical probabilities and especially with the modern distribution of languages, as shown by Sir George Grierson in his admirable *Linguistic Survey*. As you will see there, not only on the western side of the Jumna, where Bangaru and Rajasthani are used, but also on the eastern side, local dialects differ from Urdu; even in the district of Meerut, which on the map shares with more eastern and northern parts of the pinkish colour of "Vernacular Hindostani" the language is of a different sort.\(^1\)

You will remember Sir George has noted Panjabi affinities in vernacular Hindostani, e.g. masc. nom. in -ā (ghorā, not ghorāu or ghorō), use of ne (Pj. nai) to indicate the agent case. In Ambala, it is said, "the speech of the lower castes has a strong tincture of Panjabi"; and, of course, the speech of the lower castes is the really local one. On the other hand, he notes Hindi affinities in eastern Panjab. The result he summarizes thus:

"Literary Hindostani is based on the vernacular Hindostani spoken in the Upper Doab and Western Rohilkhand. It grew up as a *lingua franca* in the polyglot bazaar attached to the Delhi court, and was carried everywhere in India by the lieutenants of the Moghul Empire."

Now, this states the problem but does not solve it. When, how, did that vernacular grow up as a *lingua franca* in Delhi? Must we admit that the speech of the bazaar had so much influence on the rest of the town and on the court? And, moreover, that sellers of grain, clothes, and pottery—not to speak of vegetables, continually came there from a distance of at least 60 miles if from the East with two great rivers to cross, at least from 100 miles if from the North? Lastly, had Delhi, at least in the first period of Muhammedan rule, such a recognized prominence in culture and language as supposed? Mr Amman, I think, is in a way right in attributing to Delhi its rôle as a capital only "in Akbar's time" (perhaps Shah Jehan would have been more correct); if ever it was, it could not before that time have been a capital in the Western sense of the word; I mean, a town getting from the start, for political and social reasons, a prestige over

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\(^1\) I am glad to agree here with the views of Professor Turner.
surrounding towns, such as Paris in my country; or a town which was a résumé of the surrounding districts, like London.

What happened in Delhi must have happened everywhere else; in fact, we know of Muhammedan settlements in all northern India, due to the system of jāgirs; we must also take into consideration the spreading of revenue officers (muqaddams), a number of them, by the way, being Indians. Last but not least, let us remember the numerous garrisons or camps, urdūs, in which the Indian element was very important: it is a well-known fact that the proportion of non-fighting people in the army was a huge one; and it is easy to surmise that if there were Indian soldiers in the fighting portion (of which we are sure), there must have been many more in the transport section and in the moving bazaars.

Now the Panjab was the first province to be under Muhammedan sway, and it remained so, long before other provinces; you remember the Panjabi affinities of Urdū. Shall we not be allowed to suppose that the first nucleus of the Indians of the army, which carried their language over northern India and Deccan, were perhaps not of the Panjab proper, as Panjabi is really distinct from Urdū—but of the districts of eastern Panjab, of Ambala, of the northern Doab? I am not so sure about western Rohilkhand, because the Urdū-like character of the vernacular has probably been due mainly to more recent influences. Those districts, you will remember, are even to-day two or three times more densely populated than the plains, so a numerical pre-eminence of their dialect on the Indian army would be easily intelligible.

If this be admitted, at least as a working hypothesis, it remains to see how this lingua franca, which to me is not the language of one bazaar, but of the army, came to be recognized as a literary language. This may be explained if we take into account the long time which history allows us. Let us see how this urdū kī zabān (this is the old name of it) spread over India. In northern India, its contact with local dialects was of no consequence; people must have understood each other, and there was a recognized equality between both dialects; only Muhammedan terms were taken in all vernaculars, the evidence of which we find in old works. Things took a new turn in the Deccan—when, from the fourteenth century onwards, Muhammedans settled in Gujarat, in Khandesh, even in Bijapur; there the Aryan vernaculars differed much from the northern dialect, and Dravidian languages also were in use. This, I suppose,
led the language of the army to take a position of its own: not a
court language, but partaking something of the lustre of the Court.\footnote{1}
It got a standing, was not only normalized—which is usual—but
came to be cultivated by Indian Muhammedans of the country, as
it was not in other parts of India. It is not a mere chance, but a
symbol, that centuries after Wali was called Bābā e r̄ēxta, not, I think
—far from it—because he was the first to cultivate it, but because
having begun his career in the Deccan, he came to Delhi and there
brought Urdu poetry into prominence. Only after that is Urdu
connected with Delhi as well as with other big towns of the North;
and its prestige as a literary language firmly established.

So, to my mind, the vernacular of the country bordering Eastern
Panjab was carried by Indian soldiers to the South; and there was
coined from it a cultured language. I cannot but recall the origin
of modern German, which was shaped in the Secretariats of Saxony,
of Prague mainly, and also of Vienna: that is, in colonial countries;
only later was it taken up by Luther and given by him to Germany.

I will not, I cannot pursue farther the demonstration of my
hypothesis in favour of which, I believe, can be adduced its general
agreement with linguistic, geographical, and historical data, so far
as known to me. I shall leave to better-equipped historians to decide
whether facts and probabilities support my views, which I myself
consider provisional. My main object has been to show that we have
not to be surprised if local basis and linguistic elements of older
languages escape us, when we are so uncertain as to the making of
a language written and spoken to-day, of which there are comparatively
old documents, and on the origin of which there are native traditions.

II

INDO-ARYAN AND DRAVIDIAN

I shall deal to-day with a very fascinating subject, one too, which
one has no right to escape. Compared with Indo-European in general,
and with Iranian in particular, Indo-Aryan languages have got
characteristics of their own, which cannot but strike the scholar:
the question arises naturally whether local conditions are not to be

\footnote{1} Ferishta, quoted by Babu Ram Saksena (Hist. of Urdu Lit., p. 33), notes that
by the order of Ibrahim Adil Shah, "the public accounts formerly kept in Persian
were written in Hindustani under the management of the Brahmins who soon acquired
great influence in his government."
resorted to to explain these peculiarities. "It seems a general rule," says Professor Konow, "that a people which invades a foreign country, to some degree adopts the pronunciation of its new home...on account of intermixture with the older inhabitants." I should rather like to lay the stress on the native inhabitants, and say that it often happens that the older inhabitants show themselves unable even if willing, to reproduce with full exactness in all points the language of their invaders; and as they furnish the bulk of the population, the time may come when the faults of the first generations come to be recognized as usual and correct forms.

Such cases have occurred in other Indo-European languages; the case about which agreement is most general is that of Armenian, where a consonant-shift similar to the Teutonic has resulted in a system identical with that of southern Caucasian languages. Another characteristic is the absence of the category of gender in Armenian and also in the same group of Caucasian tongues. So Armenian offers two striking examples of local influences; at the same time, it must be pointed out that these influences are limited if not to details, at least to special categories of facts; another fact has been adduced, viz. reduplication and "echo-words", which is less striking; and as to the nominal flexion of Armenian, although differing to some extent from the rest of Indo-European, Dr. Deeters has recently shown (in Caucasica) that it owes nothing to Caucasian. No other influence has been supposed.

Now there is at least in the Sanskrit phonetic system a conspicuous novelty, as old as the oldest documents, viz. the presence of cerebral consonants existing side by side with the dentals. And on the other hand, both series occur in Dravidian. Does this not give an indisputable evidence of local influence on Sanskrit, and a tempting invitation to look for more facts of similar origin?

It does indeed. But the temptation has its risks and drawbacks, which I must point out at once. First, if there are local influences, are they exclusively Dravidian? We know of another linguistic family in India, the Munda or Kol. There are indications that Sanskrit has borrowed a few words from unknown languages of that family; now, Munda possesses cerebrals as well as Dravidian. Shall we say that Dravidian influence is more probable than Munda influence because Munda-speaking peoples are to-day living in a limited part of Central India, outside the sphere of Indo-Aryan,
whereas Brahuis lying west of northern India give a geographical, so to say even a geological, evidence of a huge Dravidian territory, likely to have included the Aryan zone? But who knows whether the Brahuis have not migrated from Central India? In fact, their language shares not only with Canarese, but also with Kurukh or even purely eastern dialects peculiarities which are wanting in the actually surrounding languages, whether Iranian (Afghan, Baluchi) or Indian (Panjabi, Sindhi), e.g. b- for v-, absence of η. Even if we consider Brahuis as located in Baluchistahan for so many centuries, the geographical link between them and other Dravidians may easily be restricted to the coastal route taken by other migrations which we know of.

There are also doubtful details. In the course of history Vedic ɀ disappears, and as a rule archaic ɖ is again taken instead: shall we conclude that Dravidians lived exclusively in the West? (You may notice that Panjabi has still ɀ and, with some reservations, the same sound is found on a continuous area towards south, down to Ceylon.) And then did Mundas, who have no ɀ, occupy the Gangetic valley? If so, shall we admit that every Dravidian influence on Sanskrit is necessarily early, later influence being due to Munda? There are facts against this hypothesis. Moreover, account must be taken of the possibility, I should say the probability, of other races and families of languages having existed in India. As is well known, initial cerebrals are more and more frequent in Indo-Aryan in the course of history: they are not found in Dravidian, nor, as far as I am aware, in Munda. So as a rule it is better to speak of local influences than to specify their precise origin, in the absence of verification of details.

Another fact must be pointed out. Cerebrals have not been introduced wholesale in Sanskrit. In fact, their extension (but for the history of ɀ, which depends more on orthography than on language really) is rather progressive. At the start, cerebrals are but the form taken by dentals and palatalas under conditions depending on changes anterior to Sanskrit. Indo-Iranian had chuintantes, being old Indo-European s altered by neighbouring sounds; these chuintantes (to which as you know Skr. r must be added) have in their turn altered the dentals following them, which is quite natural in a language so prone to consonantic assimilations as Sanskrit; now the altered dentals have been pronounced like local cerebrals by those possessing them. On the other hand, Sanskrit ʂ, ʐ, ʰ formerly
had been something like tš, dž, džh, where the first element remained only, in the shape of a cerebral, when the consonant was implosive: that is why in face of Zend xšvaš “six” Sanskrit has šaṭ; in the same way are explained nominatives like viṭ, and instr. vidbhyaḥ (cf. Zend vižbyo) as distinguished from havirbhyaḥ (cf. Zend snavīšbya).

So the action of the substratum has been a subordinate to the action of the Indo-Aryan, and has only helped to hasten and fix the results of an evolution anterior to the contact of both languages. The same has been said, for instance, of the influence of Celtic on Romance by Professor Vendryes (R. de Ling. Romane, i, p. 273); and this is the reason why the action of the substratum is as a rule limited to special facts, as we observed in Armenian.

Other phonetic alterations of Sanskrit have been attributed to Dravidian, but we may dismiss them, as Munda offers similar characters. Let us see whether Dravidian traces may be found in Sanskrit grammar.

The decay of the old verbal system, which is a striking feature of the history of Sanskrit—we have alluded to it already—has been attributed to Dravidian influence: but that decay is not peculiar to India and may be observed, e.g. in Iranian. Details ought to be adduced to enforce such an hypothesis: Professor Konow has confronted Skr. krtavān with Tamil seydavan. I do not think he would still to-day lay weight on that comparison: -ta-vant- derivations are not unknown to old Iranian; on the other hand, the Dravidian form quoted is peculiar to Tamil, and cannot be considered Pan-Dravidian; lastly, whereas the Sanskrit form has exclusively the value of a personal verb, Tamil seydavan has only a nominal value (“the man who has done”), the corresponding verbal form being seydaṇ. Other facts which have been adduced have hardly any more significance.

One indeed is interesting, viz. the use of gerunds “denoting an accompanying or (more often) a preceding action to that signified by the verb of the class”. This is, of course, a matter of syntax. But it is a striking fact that the gerunds in -tvā -tvī -tya, unknown to Iranian and even to Indo-European, are of extensive use in Sanskrit, and especially in Classical Sanskrit and in Pāli. Their form, of course, has nothing in common with Dravidian gerunds, or relative participles, but their value is similar; both groups of forms have, to put it in Whitney’s own words, “the virtual value of an indeclinable participle”; or, to quote Speyer, they “enable the speaker to cut short subordinate
sentences and to avoid accumulation of finite verbs”. There is an idiom, expressed with the help of those gerunds, which is strikingly corresponding in both families. You remember that phrase, not unknown to older language, but especially frequent in Pāli, examples of which have been given by Oldenberg (Zur Gesch. der Altind. Prosa, p. 49 f.):

\[
\text{addasa . . . ; disvāna . . .}
\text{yena bhagavā ten' upasāṃkami ; upasāṃkamitvā . . .}
\text{pathamaṃ khettaṃ kasāpetabbaṃ ; kasāpetvā vapāpetabbaṃ ;}
\text{vapāpetvā . . .}
\]

This is an idiom very extensively used in Dravidian languages; I do not think there are similar uses in Munda; I quote a few instances from uncultivated languages:

Kui (Friend Pereira, p. 21, 61):

\[
gōsa ki sāsenju. sājanai krāṇdi ti vīk’tenju.
\]

to the forest he went. Having gone a tiger he shot.

\[
iduki sālmū. sājjanai tambēsani ārmū. ārsanai
\]

home go. having gone my brother call. having called

\[
nāi bahatani tāmū.
\]

near me bring (him.)

Gondi (Chen. Trench, ii, p. 16 f.):

\[
\text{ihun } \text{inji } \text{rjal } \text{gujri-bajade } \text{pada masala}
\]

Thus having said the king to the bazaar milk medicine

\[
\text{banian-igqatul } \text{tattale } \text{hattul. baniang igga } \text{hanjikun . . .}
\]

from the Banya to bring went. At the bania having gone . . .

\[
idke hurī } \text{pasit } \text{hurta barobar . . .}
\]

so to see she came out; on seeing . . .

A similar case is that of the distributive use of repetitions: ānreḍita compounds in the Veda are iterative (but for x, 15, 11: sādāh sādāh sādāta, which can be understood as distributive and has been so by Sāyana, by Hillebrandt, Keith, and others), but Āp. Sūtr. svam svam caritram sikṣeran “they must learn every one his own duty”, is distributive. Now this is unknown not only to Iranian, but to all Indo-European: possibly a small number of examples can be found in the New Testament, where they testify to Semitic influences; as the distributive repetition is quite common in Semitic.
But Semitic can hardly be adduced to explain the Sanskrit turn, which is, on the other hand, very usual in Dravidian:\footnote{Not unknown to Munda, at least to Santali. See P. O. Booding, Materials for a Santali Grammar, ii, pp. 61–2.}

**Kurukh** (Grignard, p. 269):

\begin{verbatim}
ornar  tang’ā  tang’ā  ghōron  ḍega’tā  helar.
\end{verbatim}

all their horse to make jump tried.

**Kui** (Winfield, p. 38):

\begin{verbatim}
ānu  roaniki  roaniki  tīni  tāka  laka  sīte.
\end{verbatim}

I to everyone three rupees gave.

**Kuvi** (Schulze, p. 81):

\begin{verbatim}
imbini  imbini  tāju-ta  rēceri.
\end{verbatim}
in what different places did you wander?

**Gondi** (Trench, i, p. 10):

\begin{verbatim}
iu  nēlk  bōnāng  bōnāng  āndūng.
\end{verbatim}
these fields to whom (bō-l “who”) belong? (\textit{\textasciitilde} {Hindi} kis kis ke haï).

**Canara** (Kittel, p. 302: pratyekārtha):

\begin{verbatim}
i  jāligeyol  ivarge  ponnum  ponnum  kuḍu.
\end{verbatim}
out of this purse to these (each) a gold coin give.

But the two last facts adduced are really phrases and testify to mentality rather than to grammatical influences proper. With vocabulary, we may hope to be on more solid ground.

More solid, in principle at least, it is true. But the ground is of a different sort. Corruptions of pronunciation and changes of grammar result from an unconscious mixing of two linguistic systems; on the contrary, borrowing a word is a conscious and often even a voluntary process; it does not alter, but enrich a language. If Dravidian words are found in Indo-Aryan, that fact will not in any way prove that the speakers of Indo-Aryan did formerly speak Dravidian. So that the Dravidisms in vocabulary which I am to deal with now are really a quite different subject from the Dravidian influences on Aryan phonetics and grammar, if there be any. This new subject presents difficulties of its own, practical and historical.

First, lists of words borrowed by Sanskrit from Dravidian have indeed been made already. I just recall the names of Caldwell,
Gundert, and Kittel, not to speak of more recent attempts, useful but partial, like that of Mr. Amrta Row. But those lists are at once too large and too narrow. Too large, because the majority of cases brought forward, even in Kittel’s Preface to his Kannada Dictionary, do not stand discussion, when they are worth it. Too narrow, because Kanara and Tamil do not suffice to identify a Dravidian form, and the other languages belonging to the same family ought to be taken into account: this implies a great difficulty, insofar as only one of these languages, Kurukh, has been described with a sufficient thoroughness; of the other, we have vocabularies which are certainly good, but not extensive enough to allow of a regular confronting of the various words subject to discussion.

A second point is the difficulty of distinguishing which language is the borrower, which the lender. Moreover, there may be intermediaries between both, or a common origin to elements they both have. Let us take an instance of this. The word ghota—“horse” which appears first in the Śrāntasūtra of Āpastamba (a southern text) recalls immediately Te. gurramu, Ta. kudirei, Ca. kudure: it is easy to reconstruct a prototype *ghutr. But if we admit that this *ghutr be Dravidian, we assume implicitly that primitive Dravidian possessed aspirated sonants. In this case, we are at once confronted with the notion of a consonant-shift in Dravidian; now this, as we know from Armenian and Teutonic, rouses suspicion of a substratum: have, then, Dravidian languages been imported into Deccan from another country? This is in accordance with the views of certain scholars, but is *ghutr really of Dravidian origin? Horse-breeding is certainly not a peculiarity of the Deccan. On the other hand, Egyptian, among whom horses appear in the sixteenth century B.C., has a word ḫtr denoting “team” or “horse”, which may have been taken from Arabia with the horses themselves. I may lastly, just for the sake of adding to the confusion, mention the Turkish name for the “mule” qatyr, mod. Greek χαίδαρος.

But let us not delay in these discouraging considerations; let us try to learn what we can from borrowings duly established or simply probable. One part of the subject I leave altogether aside, although in a way it may be considered the more important one, as symbolizing Aryan conquest of India: I mean, the Aryan words taken by Dravidian languages, a subject really worth studying, from different points of view. For instance in literary languages like Tamil or Canarese, they
ought to be traced in the more ancient periods, with a view to carefully distinguishing Sanskrit from Prākrit words; a description of Prākrit words taken by Dravidian languages would be very interesting in itself. In uncultivated languages too, discrimination ought to be made of Aryan words of different periods; possibly some old words lost since by Aryan languages could be traced there, and also facts significant as to the social contacts of both peoples. I shall to-day confine myself, as others have done, to Dravidian borrowings made by Aryan; not that I shall review all Aryan words which have, or may have been due to such borrowings—a long and possibly tedious subject—but I wish to point out some provisional results or rather problems, which arise out of their consideration.

First as to Phonetics. I have tried to show that the usual explanation of Sanskrit cerebrals is too simple and has to be admitted with reservations. On the other hand, words have been introduced into Sanskrit, which had cerebrals in them; and there are also Aryan words where cerebrals of Dravidian origin have crept in under favourable circumstances.

A verbal root tad- quoted in the Nirukta, is also found in Pāli tālēti, meaning "to strike"; A.V. has tāḍa, "a stroke." Probably tāla, P. tāla "musical time" is a derivative of this root rather than connected with karā-tala "palm of the hand" as some would have it. Lastly, tadulāh "husked rice, threshed grains", which is found already in A.V., may be a derivative of the same root, just as Gondi kurmi "the harder part of rice, kodon, etc., which remains after grinding" is connected with kurum- "to grind or pound grain in a mortar." Now of this Sk. tad- there is no good Aryan etymology; compare, on the contrary, Ca., Ta., Te. taṭṭu "to tap, strike", Ca. tāṭu "strike against", Ta. tāḷumbu "wound".

This Gondi kurmi I was mentioning has its equivalent in Sanskrit, too, but later, as far as texts are consulted. I allude to kuṭṭayati (Ath. Par., BhP.), Pāli koṭṭeti "to crush, grind"; Pāṇini has kuṭṭaka of unknown meaning. I should like to bring in here MBh. kuṭṭima "inlaid or paved floor, mosaic", although Professor Leumann would like to explain it by kytrima, which would correspond to a more general sense of "artificial". Now Kittel, No. 361, compares Ca. kuḍu, Ca., Ta. kuṭṭu, Ta., Te. koṭṭu, "to strike," to which we may add not only Gondi kurum-, but also Ca., Te. koṭṭu "pounding rice", Kurukh xɔr-, xɔs- "to smash" (kɔr- on the other hand, is borrowed from
Indo-Aryan, as k- testifies; for the same reason I leave aside Brahui kut- “pound”, kot- “cut in pieces”; of zal- “strike” I do not know what to say.

It would be very interesting to bring under the same head R.V. kāja, which seems to mean “hammer”; Kittel does it hesitatingly, No. 267, and compares Ca. koḍali “a wooden hammer”. I leave you the choice; and shall do the same as regards Rām. Suśr. kuṭhāra “axe”, lex. kuṭhātaientka, “axe”, kuṭhāka the bird “Picus bengalensis”; but the question may be raised, because there are cases of Dravidian roots in which aspirates coexist with unaspirated consonants.

You have noticed that in tāla, Pāli presents a cerebral which is replaced by l in Sanskrit; Professor Lüders has shown that in a number of cases Skr. l ought to be really l, and among them he quotes kāla (Pān. MBh.) “black”, which is kāla in Pāli and in Central Asian Skr.; whereas kāla “time” has everywhere the dental l; well, this must be the root of Ca. kāḍu, Te. kara “black”, Ca. kalgu “to turn black”, Gondi kossō “lamplblack”, and generally Drav. kār “black”; to the same group pertain Ca. kāḍige, Te. kāṭike, which recall Suśr. kajjala, H. kājal, side by side with kālik; but I must confess I am not sure of the details of the connection. Probably Kittel is right in bringing here also kalaṅka “spot, stain”, which is very recent in Skr. (Mṛch.) and is missing in Pāli, as far as our knowledge goes; and possibly kalusu “dirty”, which is older, but could also be connected with a group of Dravidian words beginning with kal- and meaning “agitation, making turbid”.

These are words taken from Dravidian with their original cerebrals. But I wonder whether in some cases Dravidian words with cerebals have not, as it were, helped to solve problems of Aryan phonetics.

The Sanskrit word atati is Aryan, as atitih = Zd. astiś testifies; well, in Middle Indian intervocalic -t- was to weaken, then to disappear, the result being that the word was in danger of losing all definite shape. Now epic Sanskrit has atati (Manu atyā?) which Kittel explains by Ca. āṭu: but the movements this word designates are more those of dancing, and I rather attribute to it the origin of atṭahāsa. But the Dravidian name of the “heel”, Ta., Ca. āḍi, Te. adugu “foot, foot-step,” which Mr. Amrta Row has already connected with Pj. adḍī, Guj. H. edī (cf. too H. āddā “heel of a shoe”), to which could be added names of the “sole”, Ta. ṭṭāi, Ca., Te. ṭṭa, may have furnished a pattern after which atati being modelled could also be preserved.

The same with the root pat-, which in R.V. seems to mean only
"to fly"; the corresponding Avestic word means "to fly" or "to rush"; the meaning of "falling", which is found in Greek, πτέρω πεσονμας, appears in A.V. and in Brāhmaṇas. The reason of its absence in older Aryan texts I do not know; but what interests me now is that the Middle Indian and modern word is pāṭi-. Now, pāṭu means "falling" in Telugu, "lying" in Canarese and Tamil; compare Ca., Ta. pāḍi, Te. pāḍu "ruin." Only exceptionally will you find the cerebrals in derivatives with the meaning of "flying": Pāli pāṭika "flag", pāṭaṇga "grasshopper".1

Let us now consider words which are, or seem to be, real and complete borrowings from Dravidian. And this, first in Sanskrit.

Some are self-evident and well-known. To designate "water" R.V. has apaṭh, vāri, udakam. Later on new words appear: toya in the Nighāṇtavah and in MBh., jala which is usually connected with galati, nīra, ambu. In face of this ambu Dravidian offers only Kurukh amm: possibly an Aryan word; or else an homonymous word ambu, frequent in Dravidian, meaning "bow" or "arrow", would have been expelled by this one. But nīra is certainly Ca., Ta. nīru, Te. nīḷu; what the connection of this last word is with Brah. dīr on one side, and on the other side with Ca., Ta. īr, Te. īmīri "moisture", Gondi yēr, Kuvi ēju, lastly Kui siro "water", is not clear.

As to toya, it has been connected rightly by Kittel with Ca. tuytōy-ō "to be wet", to which add Ta. tōy- "to dip, plunge", possibly Go. tōr- "to pour", Kurukh tuṇā "spout".

There are words for animals. As we spoke of water, let us begin with aquatic ones:

The old Aryan word for "fish" is matsya. Mīna is given by Amara and appears in Manu and MBh., not in Pāli, though, as far as we know; this is Ta., Ca., Go. mīn; Kui mīnu.

Musali (lex.) "alligator" and "house-lizard" is Te. mosali, Kuvi mossali; Ca. mosale, Ta. mudalei. In the northern languages we find Go. mogrāl, Kui magori, which seem to derive from Skr. makara. Kurukh magrā "a fish with a dart" can hardly be anything else. But what is makara? Has it anything to do with epic nakra, which in its turn recalls Can. negal, "alligator", Te. negalu, "shark"? 

1 A third verbal root where cerebralization of a dental remains mysterious is R.V. diyati, S. Br. dīṭara, MBh. udḍīyate, P. udḍeti. Here no Dravidian will help; but a crossing with the roots drā-, dru-, is conceivable; cf. Kati vudru-, Lahnda uddrāṛ brought forward by Professor Morgenstierne (Report, p. 60).
Now to quadrupeds:

Amara and MBh. have heramba = Ganesa. In the Malatim it means "buffalo". This is, as Kittel has seen, Ta. erumei, Te. erumu, Ca. emne, to which we can add Go. armā and other kindred forms which are in favour of Dravidian origin: Ta. ēr, Tu. eru, Ta. erudu, Ca. ʻettu, Te. eddu, Kur. āddo (original *ertu or *erdu).

Kittel has also confronted edaka (Kāt. Šr., Kauṭ.), P. elaka, with Ca., Ta. ēdu, Kui ēda "goat" (as to the vowel, cf. Ta. elu, Te. elugu: Kui ʻoli "bear"), to which we add Tulu ēdu, Te. elika "ram", Go. yēṣi and Brah. hēṭ "she-goat" (Kur. ērā is Aryan).

He proposes with diffidence to connect sedhā "porcupine" (Yajñ.; A.V. has śavāidh "dog-wounding") with Te., Ca. ēdu; he is certainly right, and we have here a case where Sanskrit has preserved the older form which actual Dravidian has corrupted.

I do not for the present put much weight on Skr. (lex.) pāḷi "louse" as compared to Ca., Te., Kur. āṇ, Ta. pēṇ "louse", Kui pēnu "flea"; Go. pārki is nearer but obscure. Better seems the connection of Pāli pulava pulavaka, late Skr. pulaka and a few others with Dravidian names of the "worm": Te. purugu, Ta. puḷu, Ca. puḷa, Kui priu, Kur. pocog, Brah. pū, "worm," Go. purī, the name of an insect.

In the realm of plants, some connections are probable but difficult to realize fully. Of R.V. phālam and Ta. palam, Ca. pan-, Te. ponḍu, Ku. panjka "fruit", Ku. panj-, Go. panḍ- "to ripen", which is the original? What is the link between A.V. puspm and Ta., Te. pu, Ca. pūvu, Kui puju, "flower," Go. pōr-, "to flourish"? Are Rām. Suṣr. kānānam and even kānāra in any way related to the family of Ta. kā kāḍu, Ca. kāl, Ta. kān "forest" Ta. kanru "plant"? Lastly, is not nālikera Suṣr., P. nālikera a Dravidian compound word? Ta. kēli is a rare substitute for tengu "the cocoanut tree"; on the other hand, Te. nāra, Ca. nār, Ta. nāri mean "fibre" and also "bowstring". I suspect there is some connection, but I dare not state it.

That names for animals or plants are borrowed locally is natural; it is more significant to find names of technicalities borrowed, and especially the name of the technique itself. Caldwell and Kittel have rightly compared Rām. kalā with Ta., Ca. kal-, Te., Go. kar- "to learn"; it may be that the name was taken at first with a special value, or with an affective one, something like "trick" in English. In any case, it shows that Aryan, which gave that name to the classical
collection of techniques, could not have considered Dravidian as savages.

They adopted probably some of their ways of dressing the hair: Kittel is, I think, right in quoting kuntala and cūḍā; he might have added cikura, which recalls the root cīgī-cīgur-, “to sprout,” and also Skr. jatā, H. jūrā; and even dāḍhikā (Manu), H. dāṛhī, “beard,” which neither phonetically nor semantically is easily explained by daṁṣṭra “tusk, fang”, but recalls the name for the “cheek” Ta. tāḷ tāḍēi tavaḍēi, Ca. davaḍa, Te. davaḍa. They learned also from the natives the use of the “fan” MBh. vyajana, P. viṇāṇī to which the corresponding verb is viṇayati. The correspondence is not regular in Sanskrit, and may be explained if we recognize in the verb the root of Ta. viṣu, Ca. bitu, Te. viṇu visara “to blow, fan, brandish”, Te. viṇa “fan”, visanakarra visarukarra “fanning stick, fan”.

They seem to have also adopted native names for small bodily inconveniences: lex. kharjū, Suśr. kacchū recall Ca. karcu, Te. karacu, Go. kask-, Kui kasa “to bite”, Ku. xas- “to scratch”, Brah. xār- “to itch”. Gāṇḍa Ait. “goitre”, Suśr. “boil”, is Te. gadda “bulbous root, goitre”, Te. gaddu “hump”, Ca. gaddē “lump, boil”, Ta. kalalei “excessence, goitre”, possibly Te. gaṭṭu “mountain”.

I do not consider it improbable that MBh. and Pāli maṇḍayati “to decorate” has something in common with Ca. māḍu “to do”, Ta. maṇ- “to decorate, polish”, Ku. mějhum “to adorn”, Ta. maṇḍam Te. maḷiye “house”. So does MBh. maṇju “lovely” recall Ta. maṇju “beauty”; Ta. maṇju “beautiful”, and maṇci which in Telugu means “excellent” and is in Canara “a home for ladies”, Ta. mangei “girl”, Te. mancu “to preserve, cherish”.

So far not any of the Sanskrit words quoted for which we can safely surmise a Dravidian origin, belongs to the Rgveda. I suspect the technique of grinding grain will furnish us with one.

A.V. and Pāli músala “pestle”, evidently a popular term, as appears from the s following u, and from the l, has been compared by Professor Wackernagel with A.V., v, 23, 8 maṃśaṣākaram and MS. mṛṣmṛṣākṛ-. There is no old root mas- or mṛṣ- meaning to “crush”; on the other side, the words in question recall strongly Ca. mase masagu “to rub, grind, polish, sharpen”, Kur. masasr- “to shampoo” (Hahn, not supported by Grignard), Go. masol “whetstone”, masit- “to sharpen” (Brahui muṣx is Baluchi); Hindi masalā “to crush”, might have come independently from Dravidian too. Now, about the “mortar”: the mortar in which soma is
crushed is R.V. i, 28, 6, ulākhala, which recalls the Dravidian names of the "pestle" Ta. ulakki, Toda wask (cf. Ta. uli, Toda us-kal, "fire-place"), Ca. onake; cf. Ca. okkal, "to thrash". It seems músla and ulākhala are both derivatives with a popular suffix -ala, of Dravidian words for "grinding", the latter having given a name for "pestle" to actual Dravidian languages, for "mortar" to the oldest form of Sanskrit.

I have laid stress on the popular character of these last words. There are adjectives and verbs which I believe have been borrowed from Dravidian in a more recent period, precisely by reason of their popular and therefore expressive character.

One of them, I think, is the root bol-, "to speak," which is used already in the Divyāvadāna, and which I am reluctant to explain by bra-; but we may compare Ta. vágú "noise, sound", Ca. bagulu bógalu "to cry, bell", and perhaps Ca. böbbe, Te. bobba "cry". In Prākrit and in modern Indo-Aryan we find a root her- "to see", which is kept in northern Dravidian speeches, Brah. hir-, Kur. ēr-, Go. hur-, Te. iru-. There are also some verbs indicative of movement in the modern languages: H. tairnā "to swim, float", has to my mind very little to do with the root tar-tir- "to pass over" but recalls Ca., Te. tēl- "to float", Brah. tār "swimming". In the same way H. gher "circumference", H. ghîrni, M. gheri "giddiness", M. ghîrû "gyration", H. ghîrni "a wheel for twisting ropes", and many words of the same root recall Te. giri "circle" giragira "circularly" and also "to be giddy", which is again the meaning of Ta. kirukiru; Kur. girugir- "to make haste", Brah. gidd- "to nod with sleep". There is a large group round H. hîlnā, M. hâlnē, G. hâleu "to be agitated" S. halnu "to go", Pj. hâlnâ, H. hâlnâ, Kšm. alarâvun "to shake"; Hemacandra has already noted halliam calitam, hallaphaliom śighram, halahalam tumulâh kautukaça; possibly H. halû, halkâ, etc. "light" have to come here; also the names for the "wave" halkâ, hilak hilkorâ, etc. : well, in Dravidian you have a set of verbs for "agitate", Ca. ale, Ta. alei, Ca. alugu, Ta. alângu, Ca. alaku alacu "to shake", Te. alacu "to trouble", alakana "light, versatile", Kui elki "agile" (Smith; not given by Winfield), and lastly Te. ala, Ca. ale, Ta. alei "wave".

Of the adjectives I shall content myself by quoting one, which is rather usual, viz. M. thanḍ, H., Pj. thanḍâ, "cool." This can hardly be anything else than Ca., Ta. tan, "cool," cf. tanḍi, Toda taned

1 Professor Turner, however, suggests influence of pairnâ (pratir-).
"cooleness, wetness", Te., Ca. *taḍi* "wet". The variety of Dravidian forms and especially the movable character of the nasal are in favour of Dravidian origin for this word, which is included in colonial English *mulligatawny*, where the second element is a Tamil word meaning originally "cool water" and is a compound of the word to which Hindi owes *thandā* and Sanskrit *nīram*.

These last instances are especially interesting as showing that Dravidian influence, as far as we know it from texts, is not restricted to older periods; if it be so, the Aryo-Dravidian problem becomes even more essential and fascinating.

In any case, one should not expect to find quantities of Dravidian words taken by Aryan languages in any period. The enormous bulk of Aryan words taken by Dravidian tongues, whether cultivated or not, testifies sufficiently to the recognized superiority of Aryan civilization. Similarly, in South American Spanish the number of words of native origin is comparatively small. All the more curious are the name *kalā* and the words we quoted along with it. You have seen what other kinds of words seem to have been taken: adjectives and verbs capable of affective value, names of animals or plants, that is nearly all.

But the consideration of the meanings is not all we have to note in these words. There are a few points of general importance which I think have to be mentioned before finishing.

Etymologies, as you know, are as a rule of two sorts: either they are self-evident, or they are a matter of probability and to a certain extent, of faith. I fear you will have noticed that a good many of those I have proposed to-day are of the second kind. This want of certitude is not entirely my fault. The fact is, we know too little of Dravidian phonology to reconstruct with a fair amount of exactness the old forms which Sanskrit or Middle Indian may have borrowed; and it is mainly so, because materials are missing, especially with northern Dravidian and Munda languages. But of this I shall deal to-morrow.

A consequence of this want of extensive vocabularies of uncultured languages is that we are for the present time at a loss in solving another problem. You may have noticed that, for many words quoted, we did find equivalents for Aryan words in southern Dravidian languages only. We cannot suppose that this is all due to the gap in our knowledge; for there are signs of a partial division of Dravidian vocabularies
between northern and southern dialects. Now that leads to the following question: when, where, how did Aryans come in contact with southern Dravidian languages? Are we to suppose that the languages of the Deccan came from Iran like Aryan ones? Some anthropologists believe so; and we have been led already to propose that hypothesis. But facts are against it, if Vedic has very little trace of Dravidian influence, and classical Sanskrit and Pāli much of it. Or shall we suppose that the words which appear in later texts were already in use among the real vernaculars before having been accepted by the written language? Allow me to leave the matter open.

One thing is certain, that is that at least during our era, Dravidian languages were spoken in the Deccan. Now, considering that people from all parts of India contributed to Sanskrit culture, the question may be raised whether foreign words were not imported into classical Sanskrit by individual literary men. I wonder whether inquiries made on particular works would not teach us something on the point, which is of interest for history of literature as such. What leads me to suspect that some of the words found in classical Sanskrit may be considered as provincialisms, rather than as real borrowings is this: some of the most characteristic borrowings I have quoted are missing in the vernaculars. So nīra, toya, mīna, edaka, heramba have disappeared, if they ever did really exist; they have not been found in Pāli (but for edaka), which is a comparatively popular language; the Hindi words, e.g. pānī, machli, mṛghā, bhaīs, are the Sanskrit words.

But to pursue this problem we want a detailed knowledge and a chronology of Sanskrit vocabulary; I, at least, have not got it, and I fear there are not many means yet to make the research easy. So that in a way the most positive conclusion of our inquiry will be a strong consciousness of the want of extensive dictionaries of Dravidian and Munda, and of historical dictionaries and indexes for Sanskrit. But of this more to-morrow.

III

Present Requirements of Indo-Aryan Research

Of the fundamental and delicate problems facing the historian of Indo-Aryan languages, which we have been reviewing up till now, of course no full solutions can be expected on all points, as even in

1 For instance, Heine-Geldern, in Festschrift P.W. Schmidt, p. 827 f.; from the linguistic point of view, see Professor Schrader's article, "Dravidsch und Uralisch": ZII. iii, p. 81 ff.
countries where documents of all sorts abound, many problems still await solution. But part of our ignorance here is due to imperfect knowledge of facts and documents which can be found out or are already at hand. And I propose to-day, by way of conclusion, to give an idea of the ways by which new documents may be collected, or, what amounts to the same thing, put at the disposal of linguistic research in a convenient fashion: as it is easy to see that lots of linguistic details well-known to specialists will be of no use to the philologist, if specialists have not collected and prepared them for him, so that he may use them after having of course duly verified them in their contexts.

Now, such a preliminary work has been only partially done. You know it has been so with the Vedas, and especially with the R.V. which many generations of scholars have studied with patience and precision. Not only has Indian tradition, for once, preserved there a faithful text; but we have, among other works, Grassmann’s vocabulary, a marvel of exactness, which a few mistakes of classification, easily discovered, do not prevent from remaining always up to date. Try to imagine where our science would be, did that vocabulary not exist; on the other hand, what new progress may be expected, when we get similar indices for the Yajurveda and later works. No wonder linguists have been mainly concerned with Vedic questions: not only the allurement of comparative philology, but also the excellence and handiness of the documents explain it; as the want of handy and critically sifted collections for later periods account partly for the comparative neglect in which later periods are held.

Let me just quote from Professor Edgerton’s Preface to his dissertation on the ka-suffixes: “There is... no Sanskrit lexicon which even approaches the completeness which would be attained by good word-indices of the various works included. In the Veda... this deficiency is especially felt in the Sūtra and Upanishad periods. These seem to have been only scantily covered by the Peterburg lexicon... Fortunately, we now have in Colonel Jacob’s excellent Concordance a word-list of the principal Upanishads; and from this have been extracted scores of words in -ka which would otherwise have been unnoticed... These facts are mentioned as showing the crying need which exists for indices of the principal Vedic works. Until they are produced any such undertaking as the present one must rest for the most part on the more or less unstable ground of the dictionaries”; or else, we should add, personal inquiries being too slow and tiring,
only small groups of facts will have to be studied, small questions raised, small results aimed at. Now you have heard what Professor Edgerton has to say about later Vedic works: what is the case with classical Sanskrit? Suppose we wish to investigate there, as a sequel to his work, the _ka_-suffix; or the extension of a verbal group of forms, say, the middle voice, or the optative, or the perfect; or even suppose we wish—a subject which should interest historians of literature as well—to define the different ways by which a poet like Kālidāsa produces out of a given vocabulary and a given grammar a style at once so personal and perfect. Nothing is left to us, but to examine a few passages selected haphazard, or to extract from an extensive reading some impressions statistically unfounded, philologically unverified; very uncertain or even misleading proceedings these are.

So my first point is this: whether the _Petersburg Dictionary_ of Boehltingk and Roth—with its new supplement—gives or does not give an equivalent of the _New English Dictionary_ or the Greek _Thesaurus_, we miss very badly indices of particular works: these indices being of course exhaustive, based on the best editions, and having even occasional recourse to MSS., and giving detailed references. As a minimum, at least, each editor ought to give a list of new words, or of those whose case is remarkable and whose form is incorrect according to grammatical rules. Some attempts have been made and are being made in that direction, not only for Sanskrit, but also for Pāli and Prākrit works; and it would indeed not be a bad thing to catalogue them, as one of my countrymen has recently done for Latin: but I fear, as things stand at present, the Sanskrit Catalogue of Indices would not take fifty-six pages like the Latin one.

Another work for which I beg to be allowed to plead as I have already done more than once, is a full list of Sanskrit words, taken from the _Petersburg Dictionary_, and from such indices as may exist, ranged according to the letters of the end. The native Kośas do it occasionally; but the range of their list is very small; Westergaard has done it for verbal roots; but I am not concerned with roots, but with existing words, and especially derivatives. I know of only two indices made on this principle, these by Grassmann again and by Whitney, both dealing only with Veda. Now, historians of the Latin language know what benefit, what amount of knowledge, and what saving of time they owe to Gradenwitz's _Laterculi_. I am confident such a reverse dictionary I think of,
especially if combined with particular indices as specified before, would at once allow Sanskrit philology to make a new bound forward, because it would give both documents and the chronology of them: subjects of study and means of explanation will come out of it, which we can at the most only imagine now. Let me just, for the sake of example, quote a small instance from Latin: in that language, there is a group of names in -cen (designating mainly musical players): *tubicen*, from *tuba*; *tibicen*, from *tibia*; *liticen*, from *lituus*, and so on: they are not all formed on the same principles, so phoneticians had to construct, as usual, nice by-laws to explain these which look irregular. But Professor Ernout has had recourse (in the *Mélanges Vendryes*) to a quite different method, which a view of the whole collection of similar words and chronological considerations allowed: *oscen* (*obs*), which is also used for the feminine (a sign of antiquity), is an old religious term; *tubicen*, which is regular, is in fact old too; and so also, *cornicen*, the name of the player of the incurvated trumpet as opposed to the straight one; on the pattern of these, the soldiers fabricated the name of the *liticen*, who played on the crosier-like trumpet; later, when Greek fashion introduced female players, *tibicina* and *fidicina* appeared. And so on; names in -cen, verbs in -cino, names in -cinium being ranged according to their appearance in Latin, are explained by mutual influences, not by fixed laws.

But it is time to leave Sanskrit and consider the modern vernaculars. There are of course reasons of fact which prevent us from building their internal history, and a comparison with studies concerning mediaeval and modern Europe would be very unfair: here we have plenty of old MSS. of all sorts of works, not only literary but also historical and technical; not speaking of the glosses and of the innumerable public and private documents, a mass of them already published in print. In India, we may hope to find some help in the documents kept in the daftars; and as a historian of renown told me that much was still to be found in exploring the *Epigraphia Indica*, I suppose linguistic data may be gathered there to. But it is only in a Non-Aryan language that we have a complete set of deeds, dating from the eleventh century onwards, viz. in Nevari; and models of deeds, like the *Lokapraṅkaśa* of Kṣemendra (seventeenth century) or the *Lekhapaddhati* published in the Gaekwad’s Oriental Series (fifteenth century) are brilliant exceptions in Indo-Aryan, not
sufficiently explored either, though. On the whole, we are reduced to literary works, especially for the mediaeval period. What help can we derive from them for the present?

Now, not only, as we shall see, are full indexes absent, not only are the vernacular dictionaries far from the standard of the Petersburg Dictionary or the New English Dictionary (the last one, which is one of the best, if not the best, I mean the Hindī Sabdasāgar, gives only occasional and partial references to written works, and with no precision): what is worse, the texts are intrinsically open to suspicion, and editors generally take no heed of their duty in that matter. There are a few exceptions; one of the most conspicuous being the Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtan of Candīdās edited by Basant Ranjan Rai. But his was a piece of special luck; usually, the textual tradition would be difficult to reconstruct: here a work has been discovered, which having been lost from sight since the seventeenth century, escaped copying and rehandlings and was miraculously preserved in MSS. of—said to be of—the fourteenth century. But look at the fate of Tukārām, a comparatively modern author (he dates from the seventeenth century): the edition considered the best (Indu Prakāś) has been made from MSS. which are not described; one of them being said to have been written by Tukārām’s eldest son, another by Gangājī, his disciple; another recent edition (by V. L. Bhave) has been prepared from one MS. of which photographs have been published: it is signed by Santājī Teḷī, and dated from some time before Tukā’s death; I don’t know whether the MS. has been accepted by scholars as authentic; what I know is that there is no historical palæography of Marāthī which would allow anyone to be convinced of it. Unfortunately, such palæographical studies are absent in other parts of India too; so I may be allowed to recall the necessity of giving the history of the texts as a frame to the history of the works, and consequently of the languages; I suppose there are in each province a sufficient number of dated MSS. to help in fixing the time of undated ones with a certain amount of probability: but scholars are wanting to pursue that study.

Let us return to Marāthī. Tukārām is very interesting indeed: but what help would we not derive from an authentic text of Nāmdēv or Jñānēdev! To speak of the latter only, the most archaic text of the Jñāneśvarī we have is that revised by Eknāth in 1506, that is, three centuries after the work was written. The late V. K. Rajwade has, it is true, published a MS. which according to him, dated from the
thirteenth century: but his proofs were really arguments and hypotheses, and I think have not been accepted: so that we get here nothing substantial.

So much for the MSS.; as to the editions, some are careful enough; but what about indices? There are indices of Jñāneśvarī containing those words which are difficult and fallen out of use; one of them at least has got exact references; none is complete, so that there is really no means of establishing the true usage and meaning of the words by comparing different contexts. As to Tukārām, there is, or at least, there was, in Poona a Tukārām Society, of which the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar has been a leader; he used to comment upon the songs of Tukārām in the meetings of the Society, certainly from the ethical standpoint, probably from the point of view of the language also: but no dictionary of Tukārām's work, no index of any sort has been published, if I am not mistaken, by the Tukārām Society.

Similar observations could be made about other literatures. We shall leave aside the edition of the Padumāwati of Muhammad Jaisī, which was the beginning of a magnificent work—no wonder, it was due to Sir George Grierson. The Nāgarī Pracārini Śabhā has published an old MS. of Tulsī Dāś, given an index of the difficult words again, nothing more. And what has been done for the Granth Sāheb, that modern Veda, a fundamental document of modern India? Since Trumpp, nothing.

Let us take an example from a poet who has been treated with a certain amount of care, as he is very popular, viz. Kabir.

That excellent scholar, Babu S. S. Dāś, to whom a volume has recently been dedicated as a commemoration of the completion of the Great Śabdasāgār, some time ago published an edition of Kabir's Granthāvali, which is a faithful reproduction of a MS. dated A.D. 1504. The principle of reproducing faithfully an old MS. is excellent; and the philologist will find there, if not Kabir's own words, at least a direct testimony of the language and the orthography of the beginning of the sixteenth century. I mean, if the date given for the MS. is correct; but from the photo which the Editor has given, it is easy to discover that the date has been written by a different hand from the rest. Possibly these two hands are contemporary; but Babu S. S. Dāś does not solve the problem, and, as I told you, I have no means of solving it by myself. Moreover, there is an introduction, and an interesting one: but no commentary.
You will find commentaries—but no indices—in the older edition of the Bijak by Rājā Viśvanāth Singh, and in the recent one made after “five old MSS.,” lying in Kabircaurā by a Kabīr Panthi, Bicārdās Śāstri. Commentaries are useful, and so are current translations. I am not entitled to speak of the philosophical interpretations; but the principles of literal translations in those editions are not given either, although it would be often useful to know them. To give an example: there are places where Kabīr uses technical terms taken from his calling of a julāhā. In interpreting them, in a majority of cases, editors differ, and so also the Hindi Śabdasāgar. And we do not know which were the principles, which the sources written or living, where they took their translations from; we cannot distinguish what is due to reasoning and conjecture, what to direct knowledge. For my own part, I have been able to understand a few terms by referring to that admirable book, Sir George’s Bihar Peasant Life: a book which gave forty years ago in India the model of a type of researches that have only since been developed in Europe, and with very great success; as you know, it is a full catalogue of technical terms, with explanations and pictures; it is a pity that since it appeared nobody cared to make another book on the same pattern; there ought to be many. As I happened to mention it because of Kabīr, let me just ask whether in comparing weaver’s technical terms in different provinces of the North, a good clue would not have been found to interpret those terms I was mentioning; there is a chance also that the same inquiry might throw indirectly some light on the Panjabisms which Babu S. S. Dās rightly notices in the middle of the Purbī of Kabīr.

The mention of a book devoted to living speech may lead me to the second part of my subject. We have been so far concerned with literature and books; another vast field is open to linguistic workers, and cannot be neglected; that is, the country itself and the languages as spoken.

Much has been done here already; owing to the activities of civilians, officers, political agents, missionaries, and native scholars, it may be said that, from the linguistic point of view, India ranks among the countries of the world which have been explored the best. No other large portion of the earth can boast of any so extensive and methodically uniform description as the one you see collected in the volumes of the Linguistic Survey of India. That will long give a
basis and a frame to linguistic studies in India. Since the compiler of it is also the discoverer of many forms of speech and the author of many other works (among which I shall just mention his magnificent Kashmiri dictionary in progress and again this model of a local inquiry, the *Bihar Peasant’s Life*); so I am sure he would not be the last to ask for furthering and deepening of the study.

I feel shy in giving suggestions to that purpose; as I constantly recall Goethe’s word, who said one should give advice only when prepared to co-operate and share responsibilities. Nevertheless, I do not think it may be useless to review some of the questions open, which await workers.

I shall start by recalling the resolution adopted by the Congress of Linguists held at The Hague a year ago and repeated, with special reference to India, by the Oxford Oriental Congress, viz. a request for collecting all that is possible of the languages in danger of disappearing soon. This in India is a particularly burning question as regards non-literary Dravidian and Munda languages: we have very good grammars of them, but miss more good dictionaries like those we have for Kurukh or Santal; and the number of long, spontaneous texts, taken down methodically from the lips of the people, ought to be increased. No thorough study of reciprocal influences between Aryan and those families of languages will be possible till then; of course, more general questions are involved by their study; and Indian people and powers are responsible for it. The matter is not limited to non-civilized language; a splendid monograph completed by a long series of texts of an Indian dialect spoken in England, the Welsh Gypsy, shows what could be done for dialects of the Aryan tongues in India; numerous useful lists of localisms here appeared from time to time in the Bangya Sāhitya Parishat Patrika for instance. Recent news shows that there is even field for complete discovery, e.g. in the Hindu Kush and Himalayan regions. I understand that Lieut.-Col. Lorimer, one of those who have given models of patient, modest and thorough work of that sort, in those regions, is going to Paris in a few days to represent India in a committee summoned by the Hague Commission of Linguistics, so I may lay the matter with him. I might just recall some types and objects of study which, apart from the Hague scheme, might be of interest to students.


2 See Appendix.
I wish to emphasize two special points: viz. the application of geographical method to Indian linguistics, and the influence of social distribution in the languages.

The importance of geographical maps for special linguistic facts—maps of the different forms taken by the same word, or of the different ways of expressing the same object or idea—cannot be overrated; it is not my duty to show here what immense progress has been made in Romance philology since the monumental *Atlas linguistique de la France*, by Gilliéron, was published, commented on by himself and his pupils. Recently a further advance has been made in Messrs. Jud & Jaberg's *Sprach- und Sachatlas Italiens und der Südschweiz* now in progress, where special stress is laid on *realia*, pictures of objects being added to purely linguistic maps. I really think that, if a young Indian scholar left his Indian studies temporarily and spent some time in following the work of Western linguistic geographers, that time would after all not have been lost for him or for his motherland.

Of course, it is not to be hoped that such a work, which must be done on a continuous country, could be extended at once to all India, not even to all Aryan India. The best scheme would be to confine it to smaller parts (but with a view to connecting it with the scheme of a universal inquiry proposed by the Hague committee); even then, one may be confident that such studies would necessarily lead to discoveries of new facts, to explanation of facts already known, and what is perhaps better even, to unexpected problems.

But there is a special difficulty with India, which has to be considered. It is a matter of common experience among Western linguistic geographers that the best method in a given place is to take down answers given to a prepared questionnaire by one witness only—of course, it wants much care to choose that witness: and I may in passing mention and show you a guide on this and on the numerous questions connected with linguistic inquiries, which has been published at Paris, and recommended by the Hague Congress. But in India, that method would often be misleading, because the living together of men of different tribes, communities or castes amounts to a rule and brings together many forms of speech. So that the geographical method will have to be adapted somehow to Indian conditions.

1 *Instructions d'enquête linguistique: Questionnaire linguistique*, published by the Institut d'ethnologie de l’Université de Paris (they have been prepared by Professor M. Cohen).
The influence of the social distribution of language is indeed a most important subject in India, and whether inquiries are done on geographical principles or on the shape of monographs of any kind, it must be brought into the foreground. It may be surmised that the consideration of castes will not only give a better view of the facts of to-day, but help to the explanation of the past. Not much has been done yet in this direction; I may mention that more than twenty years ago I made on the advice of my master, Professor Meillet, a small inquiry on such points in the Tamil country; the article embodying my results received the honour of being proposed as a text for counter-inquiries in a Census of India, but its significance is even to myself little more than of a programme. It so happens that an article (in French) appeared a few weeks ago on similar questions, which I take the liberty of showing and recommending to you. It deals with the fate of French words recently borrowed in Rumanian: you will see that their forms are different among different classes of people, and why e.g. among the peasants the French original may be preserved in a more faithful fashion than among the town people. If typical facts depending on the influence of the distribution of population can be found in Europe, what cannot be expected from inquiries in India! They may, of course, both help to understanding of the languages of India, and contribute to the general theory of language.

May I add that such inquiries could also be occasionally more than a matter of mere scholarship? Let me, for once, allude to a burning practical question, where of course I shall not interfere; but as Professor Meillet has said, "the function of the scholar is not to lead, but to enlighten those whose duty is to act." The day before yesterday, I told you about the origin of Urdu; I avoided as much as possible the name Hindustani, which, as denoting a unit in which Urdu and modern Hindi are both included, is little more for the present than a myth of Western origin, and to some Indians a utopia. I quite see the benefit northern India would derive from its realization for its mental unity and its popular education: towards that goal controversies on Hindi versus Urdu have done and will do little. As long as books for the people are not written with the same vocabulary in both Nāgarī and Arabic scripts, the goal will not be reached; as you know, the German language is the same, whether in Roman or

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Gothic garb; but the case is not the same for Urdu and Hindi. Now there have been prepared at twenty years' distance two tentative scientific vocabularies, one in Hindi by Babu S. S. Dās, one in Urdu by members of the Anjuman i Taraqqi e Urdu: it is really sad to see how little they agree. I know very well that Indians work here under a special disadvantage; the vernaculars having not been cultivated for a long time, technical vocabularies must be taken from classical languages; moreover, Western sciences come here all together, so there is a tremendous mass of notions to absorb and words to coin at one time (Chinese, as you know, although an ancient cultivated language, is confronted by the same difficulties). I know well, too, that the vocabulary of European medicine, for instance, is full of old Greek: but in Europe it is the same Greek you find in different languages (say, in French and English): but think of the progress of studies and of popular education in England, if for ordinary terms of medicine or physics half the people had Greek terms, the other half Latin or old Teutonic ones! Now, such being the case, I wonder whether disinterested students of linguistics could not help well-wishers of their country by starting among the less cultured masses and in ordinary conversations of the towns an inquiry to determine the terms already in common use for anatomy, physics, botany, and so on: educational writers could take account of their results, and that might give at least a first basis for a popular technical language.

I hope I shall be excused for intruding into practical matters; my main object was to point out the manifold value of linguistic inquiries into living speech, and the importance of social divisions. Allow me in finishing just to mention some of the numerous other questions worthy of study.

First and essential: instrumental phonetics. I am aware there are now scattered in India a bunch of scholars well equipped as regards this branch of science; but I think, they have no special laboratories in which to work. I hope the time will soon come when Indian Universities will awaken to the sense of their duty in that matter. We here cannot imagine linguistic studies, whether descriptive or historical, not being based on, or completed by palatograms, inscriptive records of the voice, phonograms, and so on. I was surprised to hear recently that there are not in India, not even in London, palatograms of Dravidian languages; I doubt whether there are many Aryan ones. I am pleased to show you that a start at least has been made in Paris: here is a recent description of Bengali cerebrals by
a Tchekish scholar. I wonder, to mention it in passing, whether recent controversies about Indian cerebrials would not have led scholars to a better agreement, had photos of palatograms of various parts of India been at their disposal. It may be hoped, too, that instrumental phonetics will help to detect influences of those languages which have been replaced by the actual languages, in the same way one has detected Etruscan characteristics in Italian of Toscana. Many more discoveries are to be expected from the same method, which is both practical and sedentary, and may please those students of language who dislike historical and bookish work and at the same time exploration and travel.

Of a more general character are studies which are not extensively pursued in Europe, but for which comparison of various civilizations would be of great importance. I think, for instance, of the progress of acquisition of the language among children; or the pathological aspects of the speech among the insane. The value of the studies already existing on the matters would be very much enhanced, were the general processes of acquisition and disintegration distinguished from their local features.

It was not my purpose to put before you a detailed list of subjects worthy of study; possible subjects are much more numerous, and have to be chosen according to circumstances and persons; my purpose has been to show you the most typical and urgent of the many important tasks open to Indo-Aryan philology. You may think, perhaps, it was rather the duty of a deeper scholar and of one less exclusively concerned with books than the present lecturer is; but you must admit that his imperfect knowledge of the many subjects he has come across puts him in a very good position to appreciate the difficulties involved in them; let those whom age, circumstances and courage enable to carry the work further listen to his call and help forward the progress of linguistic science.

**APPENDIX**

I am indebted to Lieut.-Col. Lorimer for the following account of the proceedings which subsequently took place in Paris and of the present situation. The meeting referred to took place in Paris on the 14th and 15th of June, 1929.

On the invitation of the "Comité International Permanent de Linguistes" (resulting from the Hague Linguistic Congress), some

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sixteen European scholars, distinguished in the study of the principal
groups of languages of the world, there met and constituted themselves
into the "Commission d’Enquête Linguistique". They then discussed
the principal aims to be kept in view in seeking to promote linguistic
research, and the methods to be adopted in pursuing them. The
results of these discussions were embodied in resolutions.

In addition to this, lists were drawn up of the languages in all
quarters of the globe which most urgently stand in need of
investigation, whether because of the probability of their total dis-
appearance at an early date, or because of their known intrinsic
importance in relation to outstanding linguistic problems, or because
some knowledge of them is essential to the filling up of large blanks in
the linguistic map of the world.

It is impossible here to refer to these resolutions or to these lists
of languages in detail, but it may be mentioned that in the Indian
sphere the following languages were mentioned as especially standing
in need of study or the publication of results: most of the Munda and
of the Dravidian non-literary languages, the isolated Burushaski
language in the Hindu Kush, and other languages in the same region,
the Brahui of Baluchistan, and the language of the Nicobar Islands.
The tones existing in certain Tibeto-Burman languages were also
mentioned as calling for study and record.

In the practical sphere it was recognized that the success of the
movement must largely depend on the extent to which it is possible
to awaken the interest of the principal Governments of the world and
to enlist their active assistance in supplying financial resources, in
finding suitable investigators and in publishing the results of work done.

Before all this, in the immediate foreground, stands the necessity
of obtaining for the C.E.L. that modicum of financial support required
for administrative expenses without which it cannot function
efficiently, nor, indeed, maintain any semblance of active existence.

The immediate problem therefore with which its members are
faced is that of obtaining small subventions from the various
Governments concerned, which in the aggregate will suffice to secure
the Commission from death by starvation. In England as a preliminary
measure appeals have been made for the support of academic and
learned bodies and individual scholars, and these appeals have met
with a very warm response. It is hoped that this weighty support
may not be without its effect on the official minds which it is ultimately
desired to impress.
THE MISCELLANEA OF I-SHAN: A LITTLE-KNOWN WORK OF LI SHANG-YIN

Edited and Translated by E. D. Edwards

"LI SHANG-YIN 李商隱 (T. I-shan 義山) A.D. 813–858. A native of Ho-nei in Honan. Graduated as chin shih in 837. Rose to be a Reader in the Han-lin College, and distinguished himself as a poet and a scholar." (Giles, Biographical Dictionary, 1188.)


Wang An-shih (Giles, BD., 2134) (A.D. 1021–1086) is reputed to have said that of all the men of the T’ang period the only one capable of fully appreciating the great Tu Fu was this same Li Shang-yin.

Born in A.D. 813, he lived during the reigns of no fewer than six sovereigns of the T’ang Dynasty and died some ten years after the birth of Alfred the Great. According to the T’ang ts’ai tzü 唐才子 in his early days he called himself Yü-ch’i Tzu 玉溪子 or Yü-ch’i Shêng 玉溪生. He wrote in a style of his own which later became known as the hsi-k’un style from the fact that Yang I (Giles, BD., 2387) and others of the Sung Dynasty including Liu Yün-shih 劉筠石 made a collection of their poems all in the style of Shang-yin and published it under the title Hsi k’un ch’ang ch’ou chi 西崑唱酬集.

Li I-shan’s poetry was considered equal to that of Wên T’ing-yün 温庭筠 and their names were usually coupled, but while Wên sang of women and beauty, Li, moved by the evils of his time, chose themes of a more serious nature, with the object of influencing and reforming his readers. That his poems were esteemed is evidenced by the fact that the T’ang shih chien chu 唐詩箋注; a selection of the poems of the most celebrated writers of the T’ang period published in 1732, contains twenty-eight specimens of his verse, a number exceeded only in the case of Tu Fu himself and equalled in only one other instance.

According to the T’ang ts’ai tzü there are extant four collections of Li’s works:

1. The Fan-nan Collection, Series 1, in 20 chüan. The Fan-nan Collection, Series 2, in 20 chüan.

¹有樊南甲集二十卷, 乙集二十卷, 玉溪生詩三卷, 初自號玉溪子, 又賦一卷, 文一卷.

These have been found in the following editions:

4. *Li I-shan wen chi chien chu* 李義山文集箋註. A Collection of the Prose Writings of Li I-shan, with explanatory note, in 4 chüan, 10 chapters, edited by Hsü Shu-lin 徐樹琳 and Hsü Ch'iuang 徐煥. 1708.

This collection comprises chiefly memorials, admonitions and other works of an official character, Li having held a post in the Board of Works as well as his Readership in the Han-lin College.

The *Miscellanea of I-shan*, being quite unofficial in character, is not included in any of these collections but is preserved in the *T'ang tai ts'ung shu* 唐代叢書, a collection of reprints of works written during the T'ang period.

The *Miscellanea* is a collection of more than four hundred pithy

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1 *T'ang ts'ai tsū* has 玉溪生 辭源 says the two are synonymous.
2 In former times a collection of 144 works was made by a recluse of T'ao-yüan and to this compilation were added twenty volumes during the reign of Ch'ien Lang (1736–1796). The date of the original compilation is not known.
sayings grouped under forty-one heads. Of no great literary merit, the book is yet interesting as a reflection of the manners of the period in which it was written, while as a manual of etiquette and morals it might well serve in modern China. Portrayed there also we find the same love of beauty, the same connection between a magnificent view and wine and poetry, the same taste for flowers as characterize the Chinese of the present day.

Western writers have tended to emphasize the difference between China and the West, while the Chinese thought themselves a race apart, but the *Miscellanea* might apply, save in the non-essentials of outward circumstances, almost as well to the West as to the East.

The style is terse and generally simple and there are comparatively few groups in which sentences of the same form recur throughout the group. It is as though the author, having heard, for example, the neigh of a noble steed (14, 1), or chanced to pass through a courtyard and see *lichée* shells lying strewn about, jotted these down as indications of luxury and added to his list from time to time; or returning from a feast spread out of the breeze on a hot day (17, 6) wrote it down as a disheartening event. (There is, by the way, a curious dislike of hot weather to which no fewer than eight references occur.) Another noticeable feature of the style is the vividness of the pictures conjured up by the phrases used. Sounds that are unbearable: a lonely house and gibbons crying; Unendurable: going home to a hating wife; Annoyances: for the lights to fail just when the luck begins to favour one—these, surely, are real, not imaginary, experiences of the author.

The meaning of the sayings seems clear enough and, with a few exceptions, no explanations have been given. In the versions to which I have had access there are only three unimportant variations in the text, these occurring in 13, 3: "poor" for "not known to fame"; 25, 12: "spoons and chopsticks on the bowl" for "to cross chopsticks, etc."; and 29, 4: *chi'en* : mean for *chéng jén* : witness.

1. 必不来
2. 醉客逃席
3. 客作偷物去
4. 追王侯家人
5. 把棒呼狗
6. 窮措大喚妓女
1. *Never Again!*

1. The intoxicated guest deserting the feast.
2. The guests making off with the spoons.
3. Noblemen’s servants being dunned.
4. Whistling up a dog with a stick in one’s hand.
5. A hard-up scholar inviting singing-girls.

2. 不相稱

1. 窮波斯
2. 病醫人
3. 不解飲弟子
4. 僕人相撲
5. 肥大新婦
6. 先生不識字
7. 屠家念經
8. 社長乘凉轎
9. 老翁入娼家

2. *Incongruities*

1. A poor Persian.
2. A sick physician.
3. A (Buddhist) disciple addicted to drink.
4. Keepers of granaries coming to blows.\(^1\)
5. A great fat bride.
6. An illiterate teacher.
7. A pork butcher reciting scriptures.\(^2\)
8. A village elder riding in an open chair.\(^3\)

3. 羞不出

1. 新婦失禮
2. 相撲人面腫
3. 富人乍貧
4. 處子犯物議
5. 重孝醇酒

\(^1\) Too well-fed to fight.
\(^2\) i.e. "Classics" or possibly Buddhist Sutras.
\(^3\) Peculiar to military officials.
3. Shameful
1. The newly-wed careless of the proprieties.
2. Bruisers' puffy faces.
3. A rich man suddenly poor.¹
4. A virgin forgetting the conventions.
5. A truly filial son getting drunk.²

4. 怕人知
1. 匿人子女
2. 犯人愛寵
3. 逃稅
4. 賊賊

4. Guilty Secrets
1. Kidnapping another's children.
2. Seducing another's concubine.
3. Dodging the Customs.
4. A robber's cache.

5. 不嫌
1. 饑得粗食
2. 徒行得劣馬
3. 行久得坐次
4. 渴飲冷漿
5. 行急得小船
6. 遇雨得小屋

5. Not to be Despised
1. Coarse food when hungry.
2. A poor steed when travelling afoot.
3. Any seat after a long tramp.
4. Cold broth to drink when thirsty.
5. A small boat when travelling in haste.
6. A small house in a storm.

¹ The wealthy are respected and loss of wealth involves loss of respect.
² Cf. 30, 3, 4, characteristics of filial piety.
6. *Reluctant*

1. The newly-wed to entertain guests.
2. A poor devil to contribute to a feast.
3. A poor family to make marriages.
4. To visit retired officials.
5. A pregnant woman to go afoot.

7. *Against the Grain*

1. Drinking wine when ill.
2. Attending meetings in hot weather.
4. Being ceremonious when sweating.
5. Being cauterized when in pain.
6. Abusing one's concubine at the behest of one's wife.
7. Exchanging visits in the heat.
8. Applying to resign on account of old age.
8. Resemblances

1. A metropolitan official, like a winter melon, grows in the dark.
2. A raven, like a hard-up scholar, croaks when hungry and cold.
3. A seal, like an infant, always hangs about one.
4. A magistrate, like a tiger, is vicious when disturbed.
5. Nuns, like rats, go into deep holes.
6. Swallows, like nuns, must go in pairs.
7. A slave, like a cat, finding any warm corner, stays.

9. Better Left Alone

1. When a hard-up scholar takes to music he ruins his career.
2. When a woman takes to poetry she offends against convention.
3. When a priest takes to drink he breaks his vows.
4. When a wretched slave takes to reading he makes mistakes.
5. When a young man takes to alchemy he invites poverty.
6. When a scholar takes to trade he demeans himself.

10. 惡 不 久

1. 夫婦爭小事
2. 罵愛寵
3. 大僚門客發怒
4. 贋禮官打罵公人
10. Passing Hates

1. Squabbles between man and wife.
2. Finding fault with a concubine.
3. Bad temper shown by underlings of a high official.
4. Abuse of his staff by a corrupt official.

11. 惱人

1. 遇佳味脾家不和
2. 終夜歎飲酒時卻空
3. 方謁上官忽背瘧
4. 賭博方勝油盡難尋
5. 遣不去無賴窮親

11. Tantalizing

1. Happening upon a delicious odour when one's liver is out of order.
2. Making a night of it and the drinks giving out.
3. For one's back to itch when calling upon a superior.
4. For the lights to fail just when the luck begins to favour one at cards.
5. Inability to get rid of a worthless poor relation.

12. 失本體

1. 不學發遺書題失子弟體
2. 吊孝不哀失囚禮體
3. 不收拾梳器家事口中不喃喃失老婢體
4. 送客不出門失主人體
5. 不闽腰不持刀砧失廚子體
6. 不點檢學生作課念書失先生體
7. 不口打口鳴失節級體
8. 早晚不點檢門戶家私失家長體
9. 僕子著鞋襪衣服寬長失僕子體
10. 逃席後不傳語謝主人失賓客體
11. 唱小樂行步遲緩失武官體

12. The Name without the Reality

1. A student who does not study the appointed themes is not a student.
2. A mourner who feels no grief when condoling with the bereaved is not a mourner.
3. An old servant who neither tidies things away nor chatters about family affairs is not an old servant.
4. A host who escorts a guest no further than the door is not a host.
5. A cook without an apron or a knife and chopping-block is not a cook.
6. A teacher who does not correct his pupil’s exercises and studies is not a teacher.
7. Underlings who do not squabble and curse are not underlings.
8. A head of a family who does not check his possessions regularly is not a head.
9. A servant who is slovenly in his dress is not a servant.
10. A guest who sends his host no word of thanks after a feast is not a guest.
11. An officer who mutters replies and marches lazily is not an officer.

13. 隔壁聞語

1. 說送物好所以必是不佳
2. 新娶婦却道是前緣必是酸
3. 說太公八十遇文王必是不達
4. 說食祿有地必是差遣不好
5. 說隨家豐儉必是待客不成禮數
6. 說室子住得洽好必是小狄
7. 咒罵祖先必是家計不成

13. Ambiguity

1. Only of a poor gift does one say, “Can it be repaid?”
2. Only of an ugly bride does one say, “She is my fate!”
3. Only of a nobody does one say, “T’ai Kung met Wên Wang at eighty.”
4. Only of a poor appointment does one say, “It’s a place to make a living.”
5. Only to be rude to a guest does one say, “Make yourself at home.”

1 Lit. a screen between what is said and what is heard.
2 T’ai Kung, a high state official, retired into exile to avoid the tyranny of Chou Hsin, last ruler of the Hsia Dynasty. Years later Wên Wang, founder of the Chou Dynasty which overthrew the Hsia (1122 B.C.), saw T’ai Kung (who was then eighty years old) fishing and invited him to become his chief adviser.
6. Only of a poor dwelling does one say, “It's quite all right to live in.”

7. Only those incapable of making a living for themselves rail at their ancestors.

14. Indications of Prosperity

1. The neigh of a noble steed.
2. The guttering of a candle.
3. Chestnut husks,\(^1\)
4. *Lichee* shells,\(^1\)
5. Flowers flying.
6. The twittering of orioles and swallows,\(^2\)
7. The sound of reading aloud,\(^3\)
8. To lose a hair-ornament.
9. Lute playing in a lofty belvedere,\(^2\)
10. The sound of pounding drugs and rolling tea.

\(^{1}\) Chestnuts and *lichees* are luxuries.
\(^{2}\) This refers to the bird-like sound of women’s voices.
\(^{3}\) Leisure to enjoy literature and music.
6. 說愛寵年紀小
7. 窮縣說官清
8. 自說勤苦讀書
9. 誇誇器皿值例

15. Exaggerations

1. To say that a courtesan feels affection.
2. To say that the pursuit of immortality (Taoist) brings wealth.
3. To say that an official’s service-record is taken into consideration.
4. To say that the king understands.
5. To say what income one derives from one’s land.
6. To say that one’s concubine is too young.
7. A needy magistrate prating about official probity.
8. To say of oneself that one studies hard.
9. To boast of the cost of one’s plate.

16. 酸寒

1. 山縣移市
2. 村縣喝道
3. 村縣待賓
4. 驅鳴村中
5. 村漢呼雞
6. 村漢著新衣
7. 牛背吹笛
8. 乞兒驅傩
9. 散樂打罩枝鼓

16. Incongruities

1. A rural magistrate transferred to the city.
2. To hear "Out of the way!" cried before a village magistrate.¹
3. A village magistrate entertaining.
4. A mule braying in the village.
5. A country lout calling chickens.
6. A rustic with new clothes.
7. Playing the flute on cow-back.
8. A beggar shambling along.

¹ It is not a prerogative of the village magistrate to have the road cleared for his chair.
17. **Disheartening**

1. Cutting with a blunt knife.
2. Catching the wind in a torn sail.
3. Trees shutting out the view.
4. A wall which hides the mountains.
5. No wine in flower time.
6. A feast spread away from the breeze in hot weather.

18. **Dismaying**

1. To infringe another’s taboo.
2. To meet an enemy.
3. To meet a creditor.
4. To blunder at a reception.
5. To hear one’s drunken remarks when sober.
8. 月下把火
9. 妓宴說尷事
10. 果園種菜
11. 背山起樓
12. 花架下養鴨鴨

19. Desecration

1. To hear "Out of the way!" when enjoying flowers.
2. To weep when looking at flowers.
3. To spread a mat on moss.
4. To cut down a weeping poplar.
5. To dry small-clothes amid flowers.
6. To be heavily burdened when travelling in spring.
7. To tether a horse to a conical rock.
8. To bring a lamp into moonlight.
9. To talk banalities at a musical banquet.
10. To plant cabbages in a fruit garden.
11. To build a pavilion which shuts out the mountains.
12. To keep poultry beneath a flower-stand.

20. 不忍聞

1. 孤館猿啼
2. 市井穢語
3. 旅店秋砧聲
4. 少婦哭夫
5. 老人哭子
6. 落第後喜鵲
7. 乞兒夜號
8. 居喪聞樂聲
9. 纔及第便卒

20. Depressing

1. A lonely house and gibbons crying.
2. The coarse talk of the market-place.
3. Sounds from the threshing-floor at a wayside inn in autumn.
4. A young wife mourning her husband.
5. An old man mourning his son.
6. The magpie after being "ploughed." ¹

¹ The call of the magpie denotes good luck.
7. Beggars calling at night.
8. A merry jig when in mourning.
9. To hear one has graduated among the first three and die forthwith.

21. Waste

1. Being ill in flower time.
2. Being harassed in fine weather.
3. A eunuch with a handsome wife.
4. A festival day in a poor home.
5. A well-to-do family at loggerheads.
6. A poverty-stricken family with beautiful flowers.
7. Seeing a beautiful view and not making a poem.
8. A fine house and no entertaining.

22. Unendurable

1. The hot season by a fat man.
2. To go home to a hating wife.
3. To come across greedy and tyrannical superiors.
4. Hatred for one’s everyday colleagues.
5. A long journey in the hot season.
6. Long contact with a coarse person.
7. A wet day in a boat with leaky awnings.
8. Dirt and damp in a poor cottage.

23. 難容
1. 僧道對風塵笑語
2. 僕人學指大體改
3. 卑幼傲尊長
4. 僕妾營言語
5. 武人村夫學書語

23. Not Permissible
1. Priests joking with courtesans.
2. Servants imitating scholars.
3. Juniors behaving arrogantly to their betters.
4. Servants and concubines cutting into the conversation.
5. Soldiers and rustics trying to talk like scholars.

24. 意想
1. 冬月著碧衣似寒
2. 夏月見紅似熱
3. 入神廟若見鬼
4. 重幔下似有人
5. 過居家覺瘧
6. 見水心中涼
7. 見梅齒軟

24. (The Power of) Suggestion
1. Wearing green in winter makes one feel cold.
2. Seeing red in summer makes one feel hot.
3. Entering the shrine of a good spirit suggests seeing a bad one.
4. Heavy curtains suggest someone lurking.
5. Passing a butcher’s gives a frowsy feeling.
6. Seeing water cools one.
7. Seeing plum trees makes one’s mouth water.
25. **Bad Form**

1. To wrangle with one’s fellow guests.
2. To fall from one’s polo pony.
3. To eat or smoke in the presence of superiors.
4. Priests and nuns lately returned to ordinary life.
5. To vociferate orders at a banquet.
6. To cut into the conversation.
7. To go to another’s bed in boots.
8. To preface remarks with a giggle.
9. To kick over tables when a guest.
10. To sing love-songs in the presence of one’s wife’s father or mother.
11. To reject distasteful food and put it back on the dish.
12. To lay chopsticks across a soup-bowl.

26. **不適時宜**

1. 下賤人前談經史
2. 向婦女吟詩
3. 認他高貴為親
4. 將主人酒食作人情
5. 殘食還主人
6. 將男女赴席
7. 誇男女伎倆
8. 榮男女嬌駭
9. 宴上包彈品味
10. 強學時樣損束
11. 食後不起妨主人
12. 問主人魚肉價
13. 興寡婦認親往來
14. 吃他飲食不謹讓
15. 借他用物令自取
16. 入人房訪取人物看
17. 得人恩不思報
18. 向人花園採果
19. 窮漢說大話
20. 家貧學富人
21. 作客自呼賓
22. 暑月排宴久坐

26. Inopportune

1. To talk books before a nobody.
2. To recite poems to a courtesan.
3. To claim relationship with some exalted person.
4. To be hospitable at the expense of one’s master.
5. To return half-eaten food to the host.
6. To take children to a banquet.
7. To flatter skill in children.
8. To encourage children to be petted and proud.
9. To monopolize the tit-bits at a banquet.
10. To insist upon the latest fashion.
11. To hinder one’s host by sitting on after a meal.
12. To ask one’s host the price of food.
13. To be on friendly terms with a widow.
14. To eat another’s food and not defer to him.
15. To make the lender come for a borrowed article.
16. To enter private apartments or pick up another’s things to look at.
17. To be ungrateful to a benefactor.
18. To pick fruit in another’s garden.
19. To talk big when hard-up.
20. To play the rich man when poor.
21. To be a visitor and call oneself a guest.¹
22. To feast and waste time in summer.

¹ i.e. claim the privileges of a guest.
27. **Mortifications**

1. Failure of an honoured guest to accept one's invitation.
2. The arrival of a disliked person\(^1\) uninvited.
3. To be unable to rid oneself of a drunken man.
4. To be penniless when things are cheap.
5. To go for a stroll and run across a creditor.
6. To be seated next an enemy.
7. To meet a disliked person\(^1\) on a hot day.
8. A lovely concubine and a jealous wife.

28. **Stupidities**

1. To have money and not pay off debts.
2. To recognize one's faults and be unable to reform.
3. To listen to another's conversation and contradict him sharply.
4. To read another's essay and assail it violently.
5. To be blind to one's own failings but violently disapprove of another's.
6. To guess wrongly in a drinking game but refuse to pay the forfeit.\(^2\)
7. Insolently to pose as wealthy when poor.

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\(^1\) Or a guest who does not drink.

\(^2\) Guessing games to encourage drinking were (and are) common in many forms, the penalty for an error being to drink a cup of wine.
29. Unenlightened

1. To discuss a man’s faults behind his back.
2. To love betraying secrets.
3. To destroy one’s family for love of wine.
4. To be a suborned witness.
5. Deceitfully to hasten to flatter.¹
6. To blab abroad the shortcomings of one’s relatives.
7. To demand division of property while parents are alive.
8. To be ignorant of the order of precedence in an assembly.
9. To cherish resentment and yet expect forgiveness.
10. To be kind to a man and expect gratitude.

30. 時人漸顛狂

1. 無故讒妒他人
2. 酒後呼鬼神
3. 孝子說歌令
4. 重孝閑難走馬
5. 響記恩門
6. 長大漢放風箏
7. 養開漢出入
8. 婦女出街坊罵詈
9. 賣田了吉凶
10. 將田宅與人作保

¹ Lit. three heads and two faces.
30. Present-day Idiosyncrasies

1. Unreasoning jealousy.
2. Invoking the Spirits in one’s cups.
3. Dutiful sons reciting ditties.¹
4. Truly dutiful sons going to cock-fights and races.
5. Enemies remembering those who were kind.
6. Adults flying kites.
7. Supporting idlers.
8. Women cursing in public.
9. Selling property to defray wedding or funeral expenses.
10. Mortgaging one’s real estate on behalf of another.

31. 非禮

1. 呼兒孫表德
2. 母呼舅作渭陽
3. 對父母呼妻弟
4. 聽妻話惟尊長
5. 祭亡人卻動樂
6. 徑入他人房闈

31. Improper

1. To call upon sons and grandsons to testify to one’s virtue.
2. To send a maternal uncle away during one’s mother’s lifetime.
3. To call wife or younger brother in the presence of one’s parents.
4. To uphold one’s wife and blame one’s elders.
5. To sacrifice to the dead and yet make merry.
6. To walk straight into another’s private rooms.

32. 忍屈

1. 好父母無好子
2. 好兒無好婦
3. 好女無好婿
4. 有錢不會使
5. 好衣不會著
6. 好言話不邋撓
7. 有正帛不裝著

¹ 合 = songs, “ditties.” 張可久, also called 小山, a scholar of the Yuan Dynasty, wrote a collection of rhymes and songs with the title 張小山小令.
8. 好顔色不進 正  配
9. 好妾驅使重難事
10. 惜錢 有 病不 醫
11. 男女長成 不 數
12. 家藏書不 識 讀
13. 明月夜早睡
14. 有好花不吟詩  酒
15. 近好山水不遊玩
16. 有名味懷藏臭腐
17. 清要官自犯賊罪
18. 有美質懶惰廢業
19. 權在手不作好事
20. 年少時好聞不習事

32. Things gone Agley

1. Good parents lacking good sons.
2. A good son lacking a good wife.
3. A good daughter lacking a good husband.
4. Having money and not knowing how to spend it.
5. Having fine clothes and not knowing how to wear them.
6. A fine dwelling left unswept.
7. Having silk and not making clothes.
8. Having a beautiful colour and not knowing how to match it.
9. A beloved concubine urging one to a very difficult matter.
10. Being too sparing of money to get treatment when sick.
11. Letting children grow up uneducated.
12. Having a library and not reading.
13. Going to bed early on moonlight nights.
14. Looking at beautiful flowers and neither reciting poetry nor drinking wine.
15. Failing to enjoy fine scenery when near it.
16. Having delicate-flavoured food and yet being stingy enough to hoard rancid bean-curd.
17. An official demanding probity in others and himself breaking the law against bribes.
18. Having a good constitution and wasting one's patrimony by idling.
19. Having power and not using it to do good.
20. In youth loving ease and learning nothing.
33. Unlucky

1. To eat lying down.
2. To sigh when nothing’s the matter.
3. To sing in bed.
4. To eat bareheaded.
5. To write bareheaded.
6. To swear an oath involving one’s parents.
7. To beat one’s breast and curse another.¹
8. To sit on grass.
9. To perform the toilet in the light of the sun or moon.
10. To dip spoon or chopsticks in the bowl before the meal begins.

34. 須 貧

1. 家 有 慢 婦
2. 早 童 晚 起
3. 養 子 不 及 父
4. 作 債 追 陪
5. 倉 庫 不 點 檢
6. 莊 園 不 收 拾
7. 拋 撒 飲 食
8. 愛 賭 博 飲 酒
9. 滅 藏 無 用 物
10. 靡 米 養
11. 食 喜 聚 逐 樂
12. 家 事 不 愛 惜

¹ Curses are apt to light upon the person pointed at and an angry man beating his own breast inadvertently indicates himself as the object of his curses.
13. 多蓄爱宠
14. 好迁移不止
15. 好结纳权贵
16. 慷不中礼
17. 物贵争买
18. 物贱反不买
19. 多作淫巧
20. 遮羞家人作非为事

34. Poverty is inevitable when one—
1. Has a lazy wife.
2. Lies long abed.
3. Brings up a boy to be inferior to his father.
4. Borrows money in order to give entertainments.
5. Does not check store lists.
6. Neglects one's farm.
7. Throws away food or wine.
8. Likes gambling or drinking.
10. Is careless about grain.
11. Wastes one's estate in the pursuit of pleasure.
12. Is not thrifty.
13. Maintains many concubines.
15. Frequents the company of the powerful and rich.
16. Is economical to the point of meanness.
17. Insists on buying when things are dear.
18. Does not buy when things are cheap.
19. Tries too many smart tricks.
20. Screens the members of one's family when they do wrong.

35. 必富
1. 勤求俭用
2. 見艺广学
3. 常点检家事
4. 不迷酒色
5. 不欠贷负
6. 奴婢解耕织
7. 夜眠早起
8. 家养六畜
35. Wealth is assured when one—

1. Seeks diligently and uses sparingly.
2. Learns a trade and widens experience.
3. Takes stock frequently.
5. Does not borrow.
6. Has hinds who can plough and maids who can weave.
7. Sleeps by night and rises early.
8. Rears stock.
9. Ploughs in proper season.
10. Stores up when the season arrives.
11. Has children who are harmonious.
12. Has not a mistress who believes in Buddha.
13. Has women-folk who all agree.
14. Puts up with hardships.
15. Inventories one's valuables.
16. Gathers the "mites" that make the "muckle".
17. Catches the market.
18. Does not trample on goods.
8. 不習賤劣事
9. 不妄自逞能
10. 尊敬有德
11. 不親近小人
12. 不妄信奴僕
13. 入門問諱
14. 入境問風俗
15. 夜間常醒睡
16. 有疑問人
17. 不共愚人爭是非

36. They are capable who—
1. Keep their natures within moderate bounds.
2. Are discreet in secret matters.
3. Associate with the wise.
4. Understand what they are about.
5. Do not babble in their cups.
6. Respect other people’s taboos.
7. Judge the present from the past.
8. Do not practise meannesses.
10. Esteem the virtuous.
11. Join not themselves to the meaner sort.
12. Credit not blindly the words of servants.
13. Inquire what to avoid.
14. Inquire about the customs of any state they enter.
15. Are on the alert at night.
16. Ask when in doubt.
17. Do not argue with every chance comer.

37. 敦 子
1. 睦祖業
2. 立言不回
3. 知禮義廉恥
4. 精修六藝
5. 談對明敏
6. 進退威儀
7. 忠良恭儉
8. 孝敬慈惠
9. 博学广览
10. 交遊賢者
11. 不事嬉遊
12. 有守
13. 遇事有知識

37. *Train a Son to—*

1. Learn the ancestral business.
2. Keep faith.
3. Be ceremonious, just, moderate, modest.
4. Be thoroughly versed in the six kinds of knowledge.
5. Converse intelligently.
6. Be dignified in social intercourse.
7. Be loyal, true, respectful, economical.
8. Be filial, reverent, kindly, gracious.
9. Read widely and hold liberal views.
10. Make friends with the worthy.
11. Avoid becoming a slave to amusement.
12. Practise restraint.
13. Be resourceful.

38. 教女

1. 習女工
2. 議論酒食
3. 溫良恭儉
4. 修飾容儀
5. 學書學算
6. 小心軟語
7. 間房貞潔
8. 不唱詞曲
9. 聞事不傳
10. 善事尊長

38. *Train a Daughter to—*

1. Learn women’s duties.
2. Understand catering.
3. Be meek, true, respectful, thrifty.
4. Have as adornments consideration and manners.
6. Be careful to speak softly.
7. Be modest.
8. Sing no ditties.
9. Avoid gossip.
10. Delight in serving her elders.

39. Lapses

1. Trying to be a Jack-of-all-trades.
2. Scolding another's servants.
3. Boring a hole in the wall to spy upon neighbours.
4. Entering a house without knocking.
5. Being careless about spitting.
7. Opening boxes and letters.
8. Lifting chopsticks before the host's signal.
9. Laying down chopsticks before all have finished eating.
10. Stretching across the table to reach things.

40. 見他會
40. Presumption

1. Opening another’s dispatches.
2. Riding another’s saddled horse.
3. Trying another’s bow.
4. Pricing another’s possessions.
5. Criticizing another’s composition.
6. Settling another’s domestic affairs.
7. Taking part in another’s quarrel.
8. Deciding in a dispute.

41. 無見識

1. 不說事因先罵人
2. 不問道理隨人做事
3. 俗人學僧家道塲
4. 遇事不分別是非
5. 縱兒子學樂藝
6. 縱兒子籠養
7. 男兒學女工
8. 要小下便宜
9. 不得飲酒至醉
10. 不得獨入寡婦人家
11. 不得黑暗獨行
12. 不得與無賴子往還
13. 不得戲取物不言
14. 不得開人私書
15. 不得借人物用經句不還

41. Ignorance

1. To abuse another without saying why.
2. To join in a scheme without investigation.
3. For a layman to imitate the ways of the priesthood.
4. Not to discriminate between right and wrong in a matter.
5. To allow a son to indulge in dancing.
6. To allow a son to cage animals.
7. For a man to learn women’s work.
8. To be on the look-out for petty advantages.
Note.—The remaining sentences may have originally formed a separate group as they have a common form distinct from the earlier sayings under this heading.

9. Don't drink to intoxication.
10. Don't enter a widow's house alone.
11. Don't go alone in the dark.
12. Don't consort with rogues.
13. Don't take things for fun and say nothing about it.
14. Don't open another's private letters.
15. Don't borrow without returning promptly.
NOTES ON THE TEMPLE OF HEAVEN AT MOUKDEN

By E. D. EDWARDS

(PLATE IX)

By A.D. 1616 Nurhachü had become the acknowledged leader of the Tartar tribes which he had overcome one by one. In this year, at the request of the chiefs, he assumed the title of Emperor, with T'ien Ming 天命 as reign-title. T'ai Tsu 太祖, to give him his dynastic name, captured Moukden in 1621 and transferred his capital thither in 1625. He died in 1626.

T'ai Tsu's son, whose Ch'ing dynastic title is T'ai Tsung 太宗, succeeded in 1627 and took the reign-title T'ien Ts'ung 天聰 which he retained until 1635. He continued his father's conquests and his influence increased. In that year the time seemed to have come for the assumption of a new dignity so he took to himself a dynasty, naming it Ta Ch'ing 太清.

Certain emblems belong to an emperor; certain attributes are necessary to a dynasty. China had long been a model in the east, particularly in matters of ceremony. As a Chinese dynasty had ancestral temples, so the new (Manchu) Emperor built his; as the Ming had an Altar of Heaven, so the new dignitary must also have such an altar. He built it south-south-east of Moukden, his capital, about three miles outside the mud wall and half a mile from the Hun River, on the left bank. With the assumption of these new dignities, he took also a new reign-title, Ch'ung Tè 崇德 (A.D. 1636).

The Ch'ing Emperor watched the closing years of the Ming until 1643, when he died, leaving his throne to a son, best known as Shun Chih 順治, a boy in charge of the Regent Dorgun. Events led to the entry of the Regent with his charge into Peking in 1644 as conqueror and thenceforward the Ch'ing dynasty reigned there. Moukden ceased to be the capital and consequently the sacrifices to Heaven were no longer performed there but in Peking. The Moukden Altar fell into ruins.

In view of the importance of the Moukden Temple of Heaven in the early part of the dynasty it is surprising that it was not better preserved by the later Ch'ing rulers and also that so little has been written concerning it by either Chinese or foreign writers.1

In a paper read before the North China Branch of the Royal

1 Brief reference is made to the erection of the Temple in the Encyclopedia Britannica: Moukden, and by H. E. M. James in The Long White Mountain. It is not included in a list of China's monuments published by the China Monument Society in the Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (vol. xliii, 1912).
Asiatic Society on The State Religion of China during the Manchu Dynasty, by E. T. Williams, M.A., and published in the Journal of the Society (vol. xliv, 1913) there appears only one reference to the performance of the Sacrifice to Heaven before the entry of the Manchus into Peking: "The Tu Ch'ing Hui Tien 大清會典 records that the Emperor T'ai Tsung Wên, in the first year of the period Ch'ung Tê, offered sacrifice to Heaven in the southern suburb and issued an edict saying: "The ancient emperors and kings before they were acquainted with cooked food, in performing the sacrificial ceremonies used the raw flesh of animals for offerings. After generations carefully followed in their footsteps without change . . . Later to prevent its spoiling it was allowed to cook and offer it. From this it became a rule in worshipping Heaven to use the cooked flesh of oxen."

"This edict was issued before the conquest of China" and must therefore refer to the worship of Heaven on the Altar at Moukden.

The substance of the above article is included in Mr. Williams' China Yesterday and To-day (Harrap, 1923), again without any further mention of the early worship at Moukden. But certain features of the Peking Temple may have been characteristic of the Moukden one also. Referring to the former the author says: "Color, form and number all play an important part in the construction of the temples. . . . The prevailing colour of the Temple of Heaven is blue, the azure of the sky."

In this connection it is interesting to note that Mr. C. H. Brewitt-Taylor (to whose kindness I owe the details of the Moukden temple in its present state) says, "On one visit I saw a small piece of blue tile peeping out of the earth near the south gate. It was inconvenient to dig it up just then, and at my next visit it had disappeared."

"During the Ming Dynasty," Williams continues, "the tiles of the Temple of Heaven were green . . . When the buildings at the temple in Peking were repaired by Ch'ien Lung he directed that blue tiles should be substituted."

There is no reason to suppose that the altar in Moukden was covered, but it may well be that the gates were roofed over with tiles in the manner of gates, though this is not, it must be admitted, suggested by the plan of the temple in the Shêng-ching t'ung chih.

1 This plan may not be accurate. The text of the Shêng-ching t'ung chih states that there were nine steps, for example, whereas the plan shows but one flight of three.

2 Topography of the Province of Shêng-ching (Fêng-t'ien).
(Fig. 1). It may even be possible that the terraces which formed the altar were paved with blue tiles, for "when the Temple of Heaven in Peking was repaired by Ch’ien Lung and it was decided to enlarge the existing altar, a memorial addressed to the throne on the subject contained these words, 'In the old arrangement the tiles were little more than two feet square; in the present they must be enlarged to three feet five or six inches. Under these circumstances it will be
difficult to use tile, and it will be necessary to obtain stone of a moxa blue color." (E. T. Williams: *State Religion*).

"The circle, too, is appropriate to Heaven... hence the shape of the altars... Odd numbers belong to Heaven. Nine is the key number at the Altar of Heaven and the music consists of nine pieces." (Ibid.) The note in the *Shêng-ch'ing t'ung chih* says that the topmost terrace of the altar at Moukden consists of nine layers (i.e. circles of tiles) and is 18 \((9 \times 2)\) feet in circumference, the second of seven circles with circumference 36 \((9 \times 4)\) feet, and the third of five circles with circumference 54 \((9 \times 6)\) feet. All the three terraces are 3 feet in height. Thus the odd numbers are represented and nine is particularly emphasized.

*Notes from Chinese Sources*

*Tu shu chi ch'êng* 圖書集成¹: "T'ai Tsung Wên Huang Ti (having completed the city of Moukden) then built the Altar of Heaven." Also, "Beyond the mud wall, outside the Tê-shêng 德盛 Gate was set up a circular mound surrounded by a wall 110 chang² in circumference. On the south were three gates (or possibly a triple gate) and on the east, west and north one each."

*Ta Ch'ing hui tien*: "In the beginning of the dynasty, from the first year of Ch'ung Tê (1636) began the sacrifices on the altars in the suburbs. In the first year³ of Shun Chih (1644) it was determined that annually, on the day of the winter solstice, sacrifice should be offered to Heaven on the circular altar, and on the day of the summer solstice sacrifice should be made to earth on the square altar. In the fourteenth year were performed the ceremonies for invoking a good harvest and thereafter the ceremonial music and usages became gradually more complete."

"In the first year of Ch'ung Tê, in the fourth month, were originated the sacrifices to Heaven in the southern suburb. (Note: Outside the Tê-shêng Gate on the nine-stepped circular altar.)"

*Ta Ch'ing i t'ung chih* 大清一統志 (*Topography of the Empire*): "The Altar of Heaven was outside the Tê-shêng Gate. It was here that sacrifice was offered to Heaven in the beginning of the dynasty. The surrounding wall was 113 chang in circumference. On the south side

¹ Full title: 古今圖書集成.
² 丈 = 11 ft. 9 in. English measure.
³ i.e. the first year of his reign in Peking.
there was a triple gate (or three gates) while on the east, west and north there was one each. In the forty-third year of Ch’ien Lung an edict was sent to Shêng-ching ordering that the altar should be repaired. In the forty-eighth year it was repaired under instructions from the Throne.”

Shêng-ching t’ung chih (1779 ed.): “The Altar of Heaven. Five li to the south, outside the Tê-shêng Gate, was set up a circular mound, constructed in the old style (i.e. in the style of the old Ming altar at Peking) in three terraces. Each terrace is built upon the circular surface of the one below and the bricks are laid round layer by layer (i.e. in concentric circles).

“The topmost terrace consists of nine concentric circles and is eighteen feet in circumference, the second of seven circles thirty-six feet in circumference and the lowest of five circles fifty-four feet in circumference. All the three terraces are three feet in height. 1

“The surrounding wall is 113 chang in circumference 2 and has a gate on the south and one each on the east, west and north. On the first terrace sacrifice was humbly offered to the Most High Ruler of Almighty Heaven, the tablet facing south, and to the Holy Ones (ancestors) in order of rank, their tablets facing east and west (Fig. 2).

“On the second terrace were offered the complementary sacrifices to the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, the Constellations, Clouds, Rain, Wind and Thunder, the tablets (of these deities) facing towards the east and towards the west respectively (Fig. 2).

“In the first year of Ch’ung Tê, in the fourth month, T’ai Tsung Wên Huang Ti having obtained the imperial seal and having, at the request of the chiefs and the great ministers, humbly accepted the exalted title, went in person to make the sacrifice announcing the fact. This was the inauguration of the sacrifices to Heaven in the south suburb. (Here follows a list of the utensils, etc., in use at the sacrifices.) 3 The musical instruments were placed at the foot of the altar, suspended some on the left and some on the right. The ceremonial rules were very complete.

“In the eleventh month, on the day of the winter solstice, T’ai Tsung, having personally led the imperial princes, their sons and all

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1 This was the precise arrangement of the tiles of the original Altar of Heaven in Peking.
2 The wall of the Temple of Heaven in Peking is square.
3 The list is too long and detailed to be included here.
the ministers, civil and military, in a three days' fast, sacrificed to Heaven on the circular altar to announce that his troops were taking the field for the purpose of reducing Ch'ao-hsien.

"In the third year of Shun Chih (A.D. 1647) regulations were drawn up to the effect that whatever repairs might be required to any of the altars in Shêng-ching report should be made to the Shêng-ching Board of Works who should thereupon examine into the matter and carry out the repairs.

"In the forty-third year of Ch'ien Lung (A.D. 1779) the Emperor went to Shêng-ching. Orders were received for the repair of the altars.
In the tenth month of the forty-fifth year (A.D. 1781) the repairs were completed.

"In the forty-eighth year (A.D. 1784), in the autumn, the ninth month, the Emperor visited Shêng-ching.

"There were four poems made to commemorate the repairs to the altars and temples. These poems were called (1) Chin an 護案, (2) Yü chih 御製, (3) Kung tsai 恭載, and (4) T'ien chang mên 天章門."

Unfortunately I have not been able to consult the Féng ch'ang pai shan chi 封常百山記, the record of a journey taken under imperial command by a high Manchu official to the original home of the Manchus, while the Ch'in ting man chou yüan liu k'ao 欽定滿洲源流考, "researches into the history, antiquities and geographical details regarding the Manchu nation, drawn up in compliance with an imperial mandate about the year 1777" (Wylie, Notes on Chinese Literature), although it records the history of the worship of Heaven, gives no details of the temple at Moukden.

Notes on the Ruins (Plate IX)

The altar is a circular mound three feet high. It is of brick, now overlaid with dust and overgrown with weeds. The note in the Ta Ch'ing hui tien says that it had nine steps. There are no traces of stone. There are two other mounds, east and west, both on a brick foundation and also overgrown.

The note in the Shêng-ching t'ung chih says there were four gates, one on each side. There are now four openings, enlarged from the old gates by the disappearance of bricks, but there is nothing to indicate that, as stated in the Ta Ch'ing i t'ung chih, there were three gates (or a triple gate) on the south side.

Perhaps four-fifths of the surrounding wall are left. The circumference is approximately 1,100 feet. The wall is of brick, 41 courses high, say 10 feet. It is 2½ feet thick, and roofed with three layers of brick, the lowest layer projecting over the wall so as to protect it from wet. The bricks are grey, smooth, well-made and hard. They measure about 12 by 6 by 2 inches. (The ordinary house brick is 9 in. long, while the bricks of the Great Wall and of the walls of Peking are very much larger.)

The sills of all four gates remain. It is probable that the gates were roofed over.¹

¹ See comment on p. 788 by Mr. C. H. Brewitt-Taylor.
The purpose of the two lesser mounds referred to above (Fig. 3) is not clear. They can scarcely have been used by the musicians, for the position of the musical instruments is stated to have been at the foot of the altar and these mounds, as will be seen from Fig. 3, are at some little distance from the larger one. Beyond the deities mentioned there seems no indication of the worship of any others in the Temple of Heaven. The *Yü chih Shēng-ching fu* 御製盛京賦, a poem in praise of the city of Moukden written by the Emperor Ch’ien Lung, records the erection of a circular altar and refers to the height and solidity of the wall, but says nothing of these two mounds. Amiot, in his translation of the poem,¹ says: “D’un côté sont les appartements du jeûne et des expiations; de l’autre sont ceux où l’on

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¹ *Eloge de la Ville de Moukden...* Paris, 1770.
dépose ce qu'on doit offrir”—this presumably by analogy with the practice at Peking. There appears, however, to be no reason to connect such possibly temporary structures with the two mounds, which were of a permanent character. In the Temple of Heaven at Peking there stands in the south-east corner of the square court which surrounds the altar a “cylindrical structure of green glazed tile”, the altar of burnt offerings, while in the south-west corner are three tall masts on which are hung the lanterns which illumine the early morning sacrifices, and it is to these positions that the mounds of the Moukden Temple approximate most closely.
THE latest work published in the Balamanoramā Series is Vasudeva’s Rāma-kathā.

The editor has rightly pointed out that the author cannot be the famous Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatīrī, the famous poet-grammārian-devotee of Kerala, as was suggested by the late lamented Mm. T. Gaṇapati Śāstri. One may not subscribe to all that he has said about Kula-śekhara, but it must be conceded that he has laid proper emphasis on the fact that our author cannot be identified with the famous Yamakapōet who wrote the Yudhiṣṭhira-vijaya. It may also be admitted with the editor that he cannot be the same as the author of Śauri-kathodaya and Tripura-dahana, for their parentage differs, and the styles of the two are different. Similarly, it may well be accepted that our author is identical with the writer of Saṃkṣepa-rāmāyana and Sa-bhārata. So far I agree with him; but I am not so sure that the authors of Rāma-kathā and of Vasudeva-vijaya, the grammatical treatise to which Nārāyaṇa wrote his supplement, cannot be identical. I cannot also agree in assigning this Vasudeva to the seventeenth century, a view that has been induced by an incorrect reading and a wrong interpretation.

The opening stanza of the quotation given from the Saṃkṣepa-rāmāyana, as given in page 9 of the introduction, gives an incorrect reading in the third pāda. It reads prakāśaḥ śrīkaro rājā; but the correct text is prakāśaśrīkaro rājā. This is the reading given in the manuscripts which I have had occasion to examine, and it is significant as proving the family to which Ravi Varma belonged. The expression prakāśaśrīkaro rājā means “the king who brings prosperity to the kingdom of Prakāśa”, i.e. the ancient kingdom of Veṭṭat in South Malabar, not the least important of the kingdoms in ancient Kerala. This family was at one time the chief centre of light and learning, and our traditions say that many literary stars enjoyed its patronage. The most important patrons of whom we now have any information are Rāma Varma, Ādiya Varma, and Ravi Varma. A reading of the various contexts in which these names occur suggests that the latter two were contemporaries, the one following the other on their ancestral gaḍi. The editor has had to find out a
royal house to locate his author, and in the absence of any information regarding the various royal families of Kerala he naturally tried to find for him a place in a family which has produced an Āditya Varma. But the substitution of the correct reading and the identification of the kingdom of Prakāśa with the Veṭṭat kingdom show that the Āditya Varma of the text need not, rather should not, be transplanted from Veṭṭat in South Malabar to Travancore in South Kerala. The author of the Rāma-kathā was a protégé of Āditya Varma of Veṭṭat and not of Travancore. Hence the date of the work, as fixed up by the editor, cannot claim correctness or finality.

I have elsewhere elaborated my view of this Vāsudeva, and the following is a summary of it. I incline to identify him with the Vāsudeva who figured as a budding boy-poet at the court of the famous Vikrama of Calicut, which at the beginning of the fifteenth century contained a number of literary gems. Uddanda, the author of the drama Mallikā-mārutam and the poem Kokila-sandeśam, Nārāyaṇan Namputiripād of Cennos Mana, the author of Tantra-samuccayam, Kākkaśeri (Dāmodaran) Bhāṭṭatīrī, the famous rival of Uddanda, and the author of Vāsumati-vikrama, a drama in six acts—these are a few of the Sanskrit poets who graced that court. The genius of the young Vāsudeva first manifested itself in a Saṃdeśakāvyya, the Bhringa-sandeśa, in reply to Uddanda’s Kokila, which was written at the instance of the great Vikrama himself. We have no information that the literary traditions of this warrior-statesman-poet king were continued by his immediate successors; on the other hand, we see that literature flourished in other courts, for instance, at Cochin and Veṭṭat. One therefore inclines to think that after the demise of Vikrama Vāsudeva, then in his prime, migrated to the court of Veṭṭat, where he found new masters in Āditya Varma and Ravi Varma, at whose bidding he wrote the Rāma-kathā, Saṃkṣepa-rāmāyana and Saṃkṣepa-bhārata. From this point of view, the Rāma-kathā may well be assigned to the closing decades of the fifteenth or the opening decades of the sixteenth century.

I am also of opinion that this Vāsudeva is identical with the grammarian Vāsudeva who wrote the grammatical treatise Vāsudeva-vijaya, to supplement which the famous Nārāyaṇa Bhāṭṭatīrī wrote his Dhātukāvyya. Himself a grammarian of no mean order, it is strange that he should have written a supplement, and not another original work. But a reason can be found if we may identify the grammarian with the scholar of the same name in the Bhāṭṭa Mana.
In the closing years of the fifteenth century and the opening years of the sixteenth, the Payyūr Bhāṭṭa Mana rose to high eminence. During this period it produced well over a dozen members, all of whom were distinguished scholars. The most famous of them are Rṣi and his brothers Śaṅkara and Bhavadāsa, and Rṣi's nine sons, Paramēśvara, Nārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva, etc. The nine brothers had one sister, and her son was the grammarian Nārāyaṇa. The author of the Rāma-kathā may well be identified with the Vāsudeva who was one of the nine brothers, and the grammarian. On this view there was a reason why Nārāyaṇa should write a supplement only; for he is thus paying his homage to his uncle. From our point of view, then, Vāsudeva the author of the Rāma-kathā is identical with the Vāsudeva of Payyūr Bhāṭṭa Mana, the boy-protégé of the Zamarin Vikrama, and the author of Bṛṅga-saṃdeśa and the grammatical treatise. This suggests the opening years of the sixteenth century as the date of the Rāma-kathā.

In concluding this note, it may not be out of place to emphasize that great care must be taken in dealing with Kerala Sanskritists, because there is a confusing recurrence of similar names both among protégés and patrons, and a complete absence of a connected history of Kerala. These make the subject very difficult. It is also worth remembering that Travancore history is not Kerala history, that it is only a part of it, and not the whole of it. This important fact cannot be too much emphasized, because it has been very often forgotten, and even recognized scholars have been found who have said that Bhāskara Ravi Varma, the donor of the Jewish plate, was a king of Travancore! This clearly attests the popular ignorance of the very fundamentals of Kerala history, an ignorance which has considerably vitiates the conclusions of even eminent scholars and led them to propound astonishing theories.
GLEANINGS FROM EARLY URDU POETS.—II

By T. Grahame Bailey

QUTB MUSHTARI, 1609, A DAKNĪ POEM BY MULLĀ VAJHĪ OF GOLKUNDA

QUTB MUSHTARI is a MS. poem in the India Office Library. The Catalogue of Hindustani MSS. states (p. 64, No. 122) that the name and author are unknown; but Mohyeddin Qadri in his recently published Urdū Shahpāre gives the name of the poem, points out that twice in the course of it Vajhī is mentioned as the author, and adduces convincing reasons for concluding that this Vajhī and the author of the prose work Sab Ras, which was twenty-five years later, are the same person. The date of Qutb Mushtari is A.H. 1018 = A.D. 1609.

Urdū Shahpāre is a work of great value. It discusses Urdu authors from the earliest times down to the death of Vali and to illustrate their writings gives well-chosen extracts, many of which are taken from MSS.

It has been debated whether Vajhī or the King of Golkunda, Qulī Qutb Shāh, was the first literary writer of Urdū poetry. The King reigned from 1580 to 1611. The exact date of his work is not known, but as it is unlikely that he wrote nothing till the last two years of his life, I have no doubt that the greater part of his poetry (which occupies 1,800 MS. pages) was anterior to Vajhī’s poem. These two authors are of the highest importance. Before their time verse had been religious and moral, written not as poetry, but as a means of instruction. The chief religious poets before 1600 were Shāh Mirā Jī, d. 1496, his son Shāh Burhān, d. 1582, Khūb Muḥammad, who wrote in 1578, and the author of Nūr Nāma about the same time. Of these Shāh Burhān was a writer of real poetic merit. They all belonged to the Deccan or Gujrat.

From the ease with which Qulī Qutb Shāh and Vajhī handle the language it is plain that Urdu poetry was even then not quite in its infancy. There is a surprising modernity about their writing. The bad habit of dependence upon Persian was only beginning.

Qutb Mushtari deals with a legendary incident in the life of the King during whose reign it was written. He dreams, while a prince,
of a lovely maiden. After a time he sets out in search of her, and at the end of many adventures finds and marries her. Vajhi, who was poet laureate, must have been encouraged by the King to write the romance, for without his sovereign’s approval he would not have dared to do so. It will be seen that he is fresher and more direct than most of the poets of the following century, and from the standpoint of poetry his work stands higher than that of many who are far better known. He is in fact little more than a name in prose, and is unknown in poetry.

With a view to making the text accessible to a larger number of scholars and students I have transliterated it into Roman. This has necessitated a decision upon the pronunciation of every syllable. It is perhaps regrettable that a quasi-canonical character has thus been given to ideas about early Dakni pronunciation which are sometimes conjectural, but the advantages outweigh the disadvantages. I have tried to make the spelling fulfil the metrical requirements of the poem, but have omitted the frequently occurring, unwritten extra -ā.

"THE DAWN OF LOVE," FROM QUTB MUSHTARI BY MULLĀ VAJIHI OF GOLKUNDA, 1609

1. Na bhep par divisible voh na āsmān mē<br>Rahyā Shāh usī nār ke dhyān mē.

2. Lasyā talmalāne bahūt dhāt sō<br>Kahyā jāe na bāt dū(vū)bāt sō.

3. Na yū bāt har ek kāf fām hōe<br>Vohi jāne jis par jo yū kām hōe.

4. Kadhi oakh hāse hor kadhi oakh roe<br>Kadhi sudh pāve kadhi sudh khoe.

5. Isī dhāt din rāt rahtā ache<br>Apas mē ape yū voh kahta ache.

6. Bhulāi cācal dhun vū yū Shāh kū<br>Kī lubdāe jyū kāhrūba kāh kū.

7. Uthe hor phir soe Shāh jāe kar<br>Kī dū(vū) nār bhā khāb mē āe kar.

8. Jo har bār yū khāb mē yār āe<br>To ‘āshiq kū bin khāb bhā kuc banhāe (nabhāe).


10. Lasyā Shāh usāsā bharan āh mār<br>Kī nazdík nē hai vū kanvunt (gumvunt) nār.
11. Kadhë be khabar hoe kadhëhoe hushyär
   Kadhë pëv pëv kai kadhë yär yär.
12. Yë sun mutribë sab khabardär hue
    Jo mastän the dadan(vâ) so hushyär hue.
13. Bahütt dhät sü bät samjhäe kar
    Kahe Shâh kâ nazdik yâ äe kar:
14. Ki ai Shâh tâ Jam Shâh khurräm ho ac
    Nahë gam tuje kuc tâ be gam ho ac.
15. Jakuc tuj kâ honä so häãir hai sab
    Ussâã jo bhartä so tâ kyä sababb
16. Kahyä Shâh dië méc dharnä bhalä
    Kis päs zähir na karnä bhalä.
17. Kise kaü ki munj ‘ishq us kâ ahe
    Vohi jâane munj ‘ishq jis kâ ahe.
18. Jakoi räz yâ bâp kan khole gä
    Divânä huä kar munje bole gä.
19. Nahë bät kahne kì yä khoł kar
    Ki samjhää ab kis kâ moä bol kär ?
20. Achä sej par mauj jyä äb më
    Ki catkä lagä gäi sakä khâb më.
21. Jiüä mutribä Shâh kâ samjhä kahe
    Tagâfsul kiye Shâh hor cup rahe.
22. Kite kai ki mastä ke cälë hai yä
    Kite kai pirat ke ulâle hai yä.
23. Kite kai use kuc ochät huä
    Kite kai use ‘ishq kä puç huä.

Urdü Shahpäre, pp. 189, 190.

"The Wine Feast," from Qùth Mushtarî by Mullà Vajhî, of
Golkunda, 1609

1. Shahanshâh majâlis kiye ek rât
   Vazirâ ke farzand te sab sangât
2. Har ek khùbssûrat har ek khùsh liqâ
   So har ek dîlkash har ek dîl rubâ
3. Mahâbat ke kâmâ mê jam Jam hai jyä
   Shujä’at ke kâmâ mê Rustäm hai jyä
4. Nadim hor mutrib sughar fahmdär
    Athe Shâh sä milkar yä sab ek thâr.
5. Șurăhi piyāle le hātā mane
       Naḍimā te mashgūl bātā mane.
6. Lage mutribā gāne yū sāz sū
       Ki dharti hale mast āvāz sū
7. Jo mutrib dū(ṕū) sāhṛā mē is dhāt gāe
       To phir un kū is shauq te hāl āe.
8. Jo gāvan vū Shāh kū kamāte athe
       So rāgā pa rāgā jamāte athe.
9. Naḍimā laṭāfat mē jo cakh āe
       To rotyā ko khush kar gharī mē hāsāe.
10. Sharāb hor șurāhi nuqal hor jām
       Hue mast majlis ke logā tamām.
11. Jo huī rāt ādhī bichī do pahar
       Khabardār yārā hue be khabar.
12. Bisar gai naḍimā āraz bāt kā
       Gāvāe khabar mutribā zāt kā.
13. Na milte na khūbī jhagarte kahī
       Yakas ke āpar ek parte kahī.
14. Lage mast ho saīne mastī saṅgāt
       Yakas ke so pāvā āpar ek hāt.
15. So yū kuc voh yārā hue be khabar
       Ki pāṇī pīte the sharāb hai kakar.
16. Yakas kū bulā ek azmāo sū
       Gale lagte the mast ho chāāo sū.
17. Bajāo jo kai to uthe gāe kar
       Saṭe mutribā hosh khushī pāēe kar.
18. Șurāhi piyāle sū hamdast ho
       Kirā phirte the dū(ṕū) dono mast ho.
19. Yīṭā mast sāqī huā sud gāvāe
       Ki pyālā mange to șurāhi kū lyeāe.

Urdu Shahpāre, pp. 191–2.

THE DAWN OF LOVE

1. Not on earth she appeared nor in heaven.
   The prince recked of naught but the maid;
2. He was restless in numberless ways.
   Nor in words could the matter be told,
3. Nor yet could all understand,
   Only he upon whom it had passed.
4. Now a little he smiled, now he wept,
   Now lost, now alive, to the world.
5. In this state he remained night and day,
   With himself alone had he speech.
6. The charmer absorbed all his thought,
   Like amber attracting the grass.
7. He arose, but anon went and slept,
   For the maid was seen only in dreams.
8. If the friend comes thus in a dream,
   Then the lover wants nothing but sleep.
9. Bewildered, distressed and perturbed—
   No peace all the day, save in sleep.
10. The prince breathed out groanings and sighs,
    For that virtuous maid was not near.
11. Lost in thought or alert, now he says
    "My dear, dear one," and now "my dear friend".
12. The singers were roused by the news,
    E'en the drunken all sober became.
13. They reasoned with him many wise,
    They spoke to the prince, coming near,
14. "O prince, like King Jam, be thou glad;
    Thy sorrow is groundless, grieve not:
15. Whatever thou needest is here;
    Then why dost thou utter these sighs"?
16. Said the prince, "To keep secret is good,
    Good also to tell not one soul;
17. To whom can I say that I love her?
    Let her whom I love alone know.
18. To my Sire be this secret imparted,
    He'll surely regard me as mad.
19. Not openly can this be told,
    To whom can I trust this my woe?
20. On my couch I'm a tossing sea surge,
    For my dream-friend my thirst has aroused."
21. In vain did the singers console,
    He turned a deaf ear and was dumb.
22. Many said "These are follies of youth",
    Or "These are o'erturnings of love",
23. And "This is love's savour", said some,
    And others "Mere lightheadedness".
A Wine Feast

1. One night the Emperor an assembly made,
   The sons of ministers sat with him there,
2. And every youth was handsome, fair to see,
   And winsome every one with youthful charm.
3. In war as unafraid as great King Jam,
   In bravery not Rustam's self more bold.
4. Courtiers and singers, elegant and wise
   Sat in one place together with the King.
5. Goblet and pitcher taking in their hand
   The courtiers one and all engaged in talk;
6. And when the singers rhythmically sang,
   The earth was trembling with the jovial sound.
7. Upon them as they sang in that wild waste
   A frenzy passed through overmuch desire;
8. And they that served the King in minstrelsy
   Were adding melody to melody.
9. The singers entering into merriment
   Would presently make even mourners gay.
10. With wine and pitcher, salted fruits and cup
    Intoxicated all the guests became.
11. When half the night was come and midnight lowered,
    Bereft of sense were friends with sense before.
12. Courtiers remembered not how to converse,
    And singers their surroundings heeded not.
13. Not meeting as friends meet nor quarrelling,
    But falling every one upon his friend.
14. The drunken courtiers swaying drunkenly
    Placed each his hand upon another's foot.
15. And in this way the friends lost all their sense
    And drinking water, "Sure, 'tis wine" declared,
16. And each to other called by way of test,
    And drunken on the necks of shadows fell.
17. When bidden play the singers sang instead,
    Witless each man through joy and revelry.
18. The pitchers holding goblets by the hand
    Did reel from side to side inebriate.
19. The page became so drunk he lost his wits
    And gave a pitcher when a cup was sought.
Notes

In the transliteration into Roman character the words in brackets are what appear to me to be the correct reading for the word given immediately before, which is that in the printed text.

The chief points of Dakni grammar which emerge are the following: trans. verbs are used in the same way as intrans., even in tenses formed with the past ptcp. The agent prep. ne is not found. -ā is the plur. ending, both nom. and obl., masc. and fem.

It will be noticed that Northern Urdu and Dakni words, forms and constructions are intermixed. A number of the Dakni words have long since disappeared from Urdu. Some are still common in Panjabi.

The spelling frequently reminds us of the actual pronunciation of modern Urdu as distinct from that usually laid down in books.

In these notes "U. " stands for Northern Urdu.

The Dawn of Love.

1. bhūṛi for bhūṛi. nār, woman.
2. dhāt, manner, kind. vū, U. voh.
4. acha, is.
5. lubdā, connected with lubdāh.
6. hor, and.
7. namāy, na bhāy, not be pleasing.
8. kai, U. kahe.
9. ho ac, become (either ac or ach).
10. jakue, U. jo kucch.
11. kis for kise.
13. sakī for sakhi.
15. kīta kai, U. kitnō ne kahā. pirat, love, a word still common in the Deccan.
16. puṭ, a common word used in North India as well as the Deccan, practically "admixture" or "taint", but with either good or bad sense. Two hundred years later Sayyid Inshā wrote Rānī Ketaki kī Kahanī in pure Hindi; "aur na kisī bolī kā mel hai na puṭ." And 'Ali Ausāt Rashk, 1799-1867, said itnī puṭ īmān kī rakhtā nahī, I have not even so much faith.

The Wine Feast.

1. saṅgāt used prepositionally, with or along with.
3. *jam*, more often *jamjam*, happy, happily; often like English "with pleasure", for "certainly", "by all means". Here a play on the name of King Jam.

4. *athe*, U. *the*.

6. *hale*; the vowel in both Pj. and Dak. is *a*, as in eighteenth century U., *halnā*, shake, is not the same as *hilnā*, become accustomed: Pj. *allnā*, *ilnā*.

7. *sahrā*, used for the place of meeting, as if a picnic in the desert.


14. *satne*, also 17; *satnā*, leave, give up, hence lose; Pj. *saṭṭnā*, *sujṭnā*. *mastī saṅgāt*, U. *mastī se*.

15. *kakar*, U. *kahkar*.


CHILDREN'S STORIES FROM CHINESE TURKESTAN

Collected and translated by R. O. Wingate

جینک تمور باتو نینک حکایه سی
اویکان زمانته جینک تمور باتو دیب بر پهلوان بار اریدی
انینک بر سینکلی سی بار اریدی جینک تمور باتو بر کون
سینکلی سی نسیحت قیلیب ایتی ای اوکام توخته کیرسیه ۱
تاک دینانک موسولک کیرسه پاش دینانک دیدی ویته بر سوز قیدی
اوی نی سبور سانکیز بر دانه قوناث جیقیسه اینی توخته غه بیرینک
وبر دانه گوله جیقیسه اینی چایناب موسولک کا بیرینک دیب
نصیحت قیلیب اوزی شیکاری جیقیب کتی بیرکون توخته کیرسیه
تاک دیدی وتوخته سونی اواچاق غه ۴ اوروب اوت زن اوجوردی
وموسولک کیرسه پاش دیدی وموشولک اوزی دین بر نجه جینک
کوشت نی الیب قاجیه اول وقت اول جوکان قایداغ قیلای
دیب یغلب موشولک نی پاش دیاسام وتونخه نی تاک دیاسام بولور
ایکان دیب قیلنن کننی غه بیشمان بولوب اولتوردی اول وقت
ایشیک نینک الیدا بردیم مانکننیاندیک بر دید اول وقت امدی
اکام کلکان ۵ اوخسایدور دیب خیال قیلیب توسره
جينك تنور باتو اويدة بارمو
ملسّان قليلجّي ياني دا بارمو
دُول دول آلّي اينيل دا بارمو
واناك واناك كوجوكى حويلي دا بارمو
دب اتكلاّدى جوكان ديدى كا
جينك تنور باتو اويدة يوق دو
ملسّان قليلجّي ياني دا بكتى
دُول دول اتّى تكيّدّه كتى
واناك واناك كوجوكى اتّى دا كتى
ديدى اول وقت ينّه باش ليق 10 يالمون كوكوز كيريب تونكلوك
غه بر ارغمجى ساليبد اول فّيز بلا نى ايب كليب تاباني غه بر
تمورى سانجيب فان ني 11 شوروب ابّةدى اول فّيز سريق بولوب
كيى بر ندّه كون دين كين اكاسى كليب ابّةدى اى اوكم نه بولدى
نه اوجى كون جى اينكير سريق بولوب كتى دىدى اول جوكان
ابّى هيج نه بوبلادى دىدى اكاسى ابّى هيج كيناهينكيز بولسه
اوتشوى دنك دىدى اول جوكان ابّى 12 تونّه نى تاش ديب 13 یديم
اوتّ نى اوجورى و 12 موشوك نى باش ديب 13 یديم كوشت
نى ايب قاجى اندى كين برية باش ليق يالمون كوكوز كليب تابانيم
The Story of Ching Timur Vatu

In olden time there lived a paladin called Ching Timur Vatu, and he had a sister. One day Ching Timur Vatu charged his sister thus, saying, "Oh, my little sister, if a hen should happen to come in, don't say 'Takh' (i.e. Shoo) to it, or if a cat should come in, don't say 'Pash' to it." And again he added, "If, in sweeping the room, you come on a grain of maize, give it to the hen, or if you come on a bit of dried apricot, chew it a little and give it to the cat." And when he had given these instructions he went off to his hunting.

One day a hen came in, but the girl (lit. she) said "Takh", 
whereupon the hen upset the water into the fire and put it out. And when a cat (happened) to come in, she said "Pash", and the cat ran away with several pounds of meat.

Then the maiden began to cry, saying "Whatever shall I do? If only I hadn't said 'Pash' to the cat, and 'Takh' to the hen."

And as she sat regretting the wrong she had done, someone came up to the door outside. Then she guessed that it was her brother arriving, but as she surmised she heard (a voice) say,

"Ching Timur Vatu is he in the house?
Mesliyan his sword, is it by his side?
Doldol his horse, is it in the stable?
Vang Vang his puppy, is it about the place?"

So she replied:

"Ching Timur Vatu is not in his house,
Mesliyan his sword went by his side,
Doldol his horse went too beneath him,
And Vang Vang his puppy ran before him."

Then there came in a seven-headed ogre, who, fastening a rope to the skylight, seized the maiden (bound her up), pierced holes in her heels with a bit of iron, and sucked and drank her blood. So the girl became weak and pale (lit. became yellow).

Her brother arrived some days later, and he said, "Oh my little sister, what is the matter? Why has your face become so pale?"
The maiden answered, "Nothing is the matter." But her brother said, "Whatever you may have done wrong, I have forgiven it. Now speak."
The girl answered, "I said 'Takh' to the hen, and it put the fire out; and I said 'Pash' (Out of the way!) to the cat, and it ran off with the meat: and then a seven-headed ogre came in, and pierced my heels and drank the blood." Then her brother asked, "Is it going to come back?" And the maiden answered, "The ogre is just coming now."
And at that moment the old wretch arrived, and asked the same questions as before. The brother said (to the girl), "Say that I am away." So the maiden called out,

"Ching Timur Vatu went away to hunt,
Vang Vang his puppy ran before him,
Doldol his horse went beneath him,
And Mesliyan his sword went at his side."
Then the old wretch entered, and Ching Timur Vatu killed it with his sword. And after that Ching Timur Vatu moved, to live at another place where the air was very good. And in that place there were also many wild animals (to hunt?).

**Notes**

I overheard an old woman telling this story to some small children, so I sent a boy who could write, to take it down from her lips. Hence come certain words not used in literary Turki, and such repetitions as دیده at the end of every speech.

1. Shoo!
2. Pash! is usually pronounced “posh”—Get out of the way! A word very much used in colloquial Turki. Other such words that are not used at all in written Turki are “maili”—Never mind! No matter! “Taṅg” تانک I don’t know! and the children’s word “Pa!” پا—too hot! which are all in the nature of interjections.
3. Dried apricot.
4. From أوروماک to upset, to roll.
5. “Presumably,” from اوخشاق okhshamaq = to be like. Okhshaidōr always takes the present or past participle.
6. Mesliyan. Possibly a name, or an adjective denoting “sharpness.”
7. Doldol. This was the name of ‘Ali’s mule; it may originally have had some meaning, or it may be onomatopoeic, like the following name, in which case it would be equivalent to Trot, Trot.
8. Vang vang = Bow wow.
9. The final r of dūr is dropped to rhyme with Vatu.
10. Ogre.
11. From شراماق shuramaq = to suck.
12. Notice accusative after این eyṭi, instead of the usual dative.
13. Written as accusative, instead of correctly این. The sounds of t and d in Turki very closely approximate to one another.
14. Lit. “Say, No!” یوق when pronounced yoq = “not,” or “is not”, or “does not exist”; but pronounced yaq = “No!” دانک dang is here written as pronounced, instead of correctly دانک. 
خدا اوجود اوغورلوق قیلانان اوغري حکايه سی
بر اوغري براکون اوغورلوق اوجود نیت قیلیب جیبیتی بر
اوکره کا جیبیتی اوى نینک تونکلو کیدین قایلاسه نهایت بر
صاحب جمال نورانی بر یکیت اولتوردود انینک بر خاتوئی بار
ایردى اول نهایت سرت قوقلوق ایردى اولار باتادورغان
وقتده اول خاتون ایرینی سن اوران نینک ایاغیدین کیرکیل دیب
کوب خفه قیلور ایردى بیچاره یکیت اول خاتون نینک قیلیان ظلم
جیرلا بیکا چیدامائی بر کیچه یغلار ایردى ای خدا مو نداغ موش
توقوق قری دین مین خلاص قیلمشیل دیب اول اوغرى این
کوروب رحیم کلب من نهی یل نینک ایچئه اوغورلوق قیلیب
یورون من ایمیا هیچ صواب ایش قیلماشیم براکون خدا اوجود
بر اوغورلوق قیلای دیب اول یردین جیبیت باشچه بریرکا
باردى بر اوکره کا جیبیتی توکلوک دین نظر قیلمشیک بولسه
سل دیو افرنس دیک بر بد بشیر خطای اوران غه کیرای دیب
تورادود بر فرستین کین اویدین پری ذات دیک بر چوکان
جیبیت اوران غه کیرکالی توردى اول خطای انی کوروب حی
منینک ایاغین غه کیریب یاقتیل دیب یو تیتنیه کیرکالی قومیادی بو
بیچاره چوکان اول خطای نینک بوطی قوواگیبلاب باتئی اول
اوغری فکر قیلیدیک بو چوکان اول نورانی یکیت کا لاپک ایکان
اول موش توافق قرى بول خطاییه لايق ایکان دیب اهسته تونکاکی تشبیب کیریب اول چوکانی کوئاریب اول یکیت نینک ایچیکا سالیب قویدی اول موش توواق قرینیا یب باریب اول خطاییت نینک ایچیکا یب کیریب قویدی اوغیری اویکا بانیب کنی نصب شهر بولفارنده اول یکیت نینک ۴ بدل هاریکا یومشاق بر راحت اوروندی بو یکیت ۵ تعمیب خدامیمن نالیم نی اجابت قلیب بو خوش رويبدنی یومشاق ملیکینی منکا تکوزوب دور دیب فکر قنیلی و اخلادی اول چوکان هم اویفانسه ۶نیات چریالیق گریکیت نینک قوئیدا یافتان کوروب منینک آم نی خدامی اجابت قلیب اول افلاس خطای دین منی خصاص قلیب دور یویکیت قوئینیه کلوترکان اؤخشاپیدور دیب یهایت خرسند بولدی ایرنی سی خطای قوئینی گوره خانه کا کیریسیه ۷داکرکه لا ارینک جوزه نینک توریلاپیتی الایندور ایشیکا الینی سپورمایدور خطای در عضب بولوب کیریکی دیب یوئسه خاقنی اوخلاد قنیلیب دور خطاییت نینک ۷ ایچینی کبیت ۸آنکیام پیدی دیب قونکیا ایکینی تپی اول خاقنی قونقونجهین حیران بولوب من قایداغ بولوب بیتختای نینک اورانیم کبیت قاانان دور من دیب تورسه اول خطایی خویشی خویشی دیب بر ۹بانکابنکه نی کوتاریب

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مورغلي توردى اول موسى تورواق قرى يلانکناج اويدين قاتئ
امجا كلاريني 11 سانك كالانتيب اول خطى ارقة سيدين قوغلاب
مانكدى خلافت مسجددين يانيب ايكان اني كوروب خلق لا حيران
بولوب حويرى 10 جانكوردى نه بولدى ديب سوردى اول خطى
ايتي كا منده خاتون يوق بولدى بوخابون اوران دى 12 بانكرى بولدى
بوخابون منده خاتون ايماس ديدي اول خاتون دين سوردى سيز
كيم نينك خاتوني ايردينكير ديب اول ايتي من فلاني يكيت
نينك خاتوني ايردين ديدى سن بوخطاي نينك امي كا قجان
كلينك ديدى اول موسى تورواق قرى ايتي كا من كييحى ايريم
نينك ايجيدى ايردين اوريناى يبوخطاي نينك بوتفانيدى باقان
كوردو مديدى قوم جاجت لىر بيلان اول خطى اول يكيت
نينك امي كا باردى قابلاى خاتوني اول اويدى تورادور اول
خطى يكيتي كا ايتي اى ءوخود منده خاتون سنده خاتون
سنده خاتون 13 ينكرى بولدى منده خاتون 13 بيرنكرى بار
سنده خاتون 13 الينك كز باردى اول يكيت ايتي كا حي جانكوردى
بكار كب يفي판ك منده خاتون سنده خاتون اورنيدا نه ايش
فييلننك بار ديب اول م در 9 مبانى كن البب جيقيب هر
ايكي لاسي نى اوروب جيقاردى
THE THIEF WHO STOLE ON GOD’S BEHALF

A thief one day went out to carry through a theft that he had planned. He climbed up on to a roof, but happening to look through the skylight of the house, he saw a youth who was possessed of the most dazzling beauty, sitting below. He was married, but his wife was an extremely ugly hag. When their bed-time came, the wife said to her husband, “Here you, get in at the bottom of the bed,” and continued to make herself unpleasant. One night, unable to bear his troubles and his wife’s tyranny, the poor lad was weeping, and prayed, “Oh God, deliver me from this horrible old woman!” And thereupon the thief watching, took pity on him, and said to himself, “How many years have I not passed in thieving, and not done so much as one good deed yet! But this day I will do a robbery for God’s sake.”

Then he left that place, and going to another, he climbed up on to a roof, and when he was in a position to peep through the skylight, he saw a nasty creature of a Chinaman, as ugly as any devil, who was about to go to bed. A moment later a fairy-like maiden came out of (another) room, and she also was going to get into the bed, when the Chinaman seeing her, called out, “Hey, get in and lie down at my feet.” He would not let her share any of the quilt, so this poor girl lay hugging the Chinaman’s feet.

Then the thief thought to himself, “This maiden is worthy of that handsome young man, and that hideous old hag will do for this Chinaman.” And so thinking, he quietly made a hole through the skylight, got in, carried off the girl, and laid her in the young man’s bed. Then, taking the hideous old woman, he re-entered the Chinaman’s house and put her down there. Then the thief returned home.

At midnight the youth’s body rubbed against something soft and nice, and the young man, astonished, thought to himself: “God has granted my petition and given me this fair-faced, soft-limbed princess in exchange (for the hag).” And he fell asleep. The maiden too happened to awake, and finding herself lying in the arms of a very handsome youth, she exclaimed in delight: “It seems that God has heard my sighing, and it must be He who has freed me from that wretched Chinaman, and brought me to the bosom of this youth.”

In the morning the Chinaman got up, but when he went into the pawnshop, no one was dusting the table where the ledgers lay, and no one had swept in front of the door. And when he went back into the house in a rage, his wife was still asleep. Then the Chinaman in anger, swore at her (lit. said “Nangmai pedi”) and kicked her a
couple of times behind. The woman, in a maze with fear, said, “Whatever has happened, that I should come and find myself in this Chinaman’s bed?” As she spoke, the Chinaman seized a piece of wood and threatened her with it, crying, “Get out! Get out!” The horrible old woman fled, half-naked and shaking, out of the house; while the Chinaman came in pursuit after her.

People were just returning from the mosque, and astonished at the sight, they asked, “Hi, Sir Chinaman, whatever is the matter?” The Chinaman answered, “I lost my wife, this woman became lying down in the bed. This woman is not a wife for me” (talking broken Turki). Then they asked the woman, “Whose wife were you?” and she replied, “I was wife to the young man So-and-So.” Then they said, “And when did you enter this Chinaman’s house?”

The hideous old hag said, “Last night I was in my husband’s bed, and when I awoke I found myself lying in this Chinaman’s quilt.” Then the congregation went with the Chinaman to the house of that young man, and when he (the Chinaman) looked, behold his wife was there in the house. Then the Chinaman said to the young man, “Oh Sir, I have a wife, you have a wife. You have a wife, she became wife to me. You want to give my wife (back) and to take your wife.” But the youth answered, “Hey, Sir Chinaman, do not talk nonsense (or slander). What is it that you propose to do? to take my wife in exchange for yours!”

And he in turn snatched up a board, and coming out he drove them both away.

Notes

1. قوقوق filthy.

2. موت تتوافق hideous, evil (from شرطك ?).

3. صواب أيش, lit. “a righteous deed”, but usually used in Turki for “doing a good turn”, or “a work of supererogation”.

4. بدنالوركا honorific plural.

5. تعجب. In my MSS. this was wrongly spelt with a d for t. The t in Turki is often almost interchangeable with d in pronunciation. Not only can one meet Mehmet as a colloquial form of محمد but it is usually regarded as another form of the name Muhammad, and written مختوم; possibly by analogy with Ahmed
Children's Stories from Chinese Turkestan

(often pronounced Ahmet). Both forms of the name are used. Cf. Mary Ann and Marian in English.

6. نهایت, used for "very" throughout this story, would, in speech, probably be replaced by bek (بک?). Nihayet bek is often used colloquially for "extremely".

7. اچیغی کلدنی, lit. "his bitterness came"; the ordinary idiom for "become angry".

8. One of the commonest Chinese words of abuse. Raquette, Eastern Turki Dialect, Sec. 1.


10. A title used only to Chinese. Raq., East. Turki Dial., Sec. 1.

11. سانک گالامالک to flop. A rare verb. Properly the causative form of ساکو لاماک to hang down.

12. "you lie down", with the Chinese ending ze added. And so later throughout the Chinese speeches. This is usual in Chinese-Turki. Cf. the very familiar word بلانکرم balangze "your child" (or "your wife").

13. برکیز بار. Broken Turki. But probably the 2nd pers. possessive suffix added to the root, instead of, as properly, to the future participle, i.e. برکو قیل, "for you to do"; to convey the sense of "you wish to give", "you want to do".


بربای هریل دادووج مز دکار ايشلاقوئ ابردى هر مز دکار
المان دا بر اوئ نی سمیز باقر ابردى اول مز دکارنی م بآی جه
باقر ابردى اول بای اندین اول مز دکار وغ اورئ نی لیاب بیجک
دیدی مز دکار معقول دیپ بیجک داب م اوزینی یاساب بیجک
و سفرکا باریب برتراغه باری بار اول تاغدا التنون بار ابردى اما
تاغه جیفکان آدم هرکیز توشمالاس ابردى اول بای ایتئی بواوئی نی
سویفن دیدی ادم توغررای سویدی بای ایتئی اینان کچیکنیه
كوشت قاليب دور البنك ديدى آدم معقول ديب باشيتي تيره
بنك إيجيكا "ليقتي" اول آدمي نب ربتى و آدم تيره نبنك
إيجيكا كيريب كنتي اندين اول بای افگيني بوعوب "نرى راق
باريى توريى اول وقت توش لار كليب انى اليب تاغ تويه
سيكا اليب قيقيب توسنار تيرى ني ب اجيتي اندين اول دى كار
قيقيب شول بای نى تاش برلان اول توراتو ديب التون نى "نازا
اتى بای نرى توريى اندين كين كليب "تيريب خورجين غه
ساليب اطغه ارتيب اوى كاتى
ينه برمر تبه شوندانج قيلدى امي اول مر دكار آدم 8 آهسته
تاغين توشوب ينه شير كا كيردي اول بای اوجينى قطار
مر دكار الغالي بارغاندا اول آدم باشته ىانكى بولوب ينه كلدى
أول بای بالدورك ديك قيلي دى اول بای بارغاندا باي ينه اوى نى
سويى ديدى اول آدم معقول ديب سويدى اول بای يتي اتنا
كيمكه ىوشت بار ديدى اول آدم اتى حى بى اوزلىرى
قايلاب باقسلا ديدى اول بای باشيتي تيره نبنك إيجيكا تىقسه
مر دكار برني بى و بای إيجيكا كيريب كنتي اندين اول آدم
إيجى "بوعوب كويدى و توش لار تاغ توپى سى كا اليب قيقيب
كتى قوشلاى تيره نى يسه بای تيره دين قيقيب شول آدم
اولسون ديب التون تاش لارن نى ىناوى انى اندين مر دكار بای نبنك
A certain Bey (i.e. rich man) used to engage three labourers a year. And when he had got a farm labourer, he would fatten up an ox; he used also to see that the labourer fared very well for the space of one month. After that time (one day) the Bey said to the labourer, "(Come) drive out the ox." "Very good, Sir," answered the man and went out. The Bey then got ready, and set out too, and after they had travelled some way they came to a mountain. Now in this mountain there was gold, (but) no one who climbed up the mountain had ever been able to get down again. (Lit. any man who climbed... had never been able...)

The Bey said, "Now flay this ox." So the labourer cut its throat (or, slit it up?) and flayed the beast. The Bey said, "Look here, there is a tiny piece of the flesh left (sticking to the hide). Take it away." "Very good," said the labourer, and put his head right inside the hide. Then the Bey gave him a kick, and the man disappeared completely into the hide.

Thereupon the Bey bound up the opening of the hide, went away and waited a short distance off. Presently the eagles came and carrying off the hide, flew to the top of the mountain. There they pecked a hole in the hide (lit. ate until they opened the hide), and the labourer climbed out. Thinking, "I will kill that Bey by (dropping) stones (on him)," the labourer hurled down lumps of gold in a most violent way (lit. violently threw). But the Bey kept some way away, and (only) afterwards came and piled up (the gold), packed it into his saddlebags, loaded up his horse, and went home.

Again a second time he acted in the same fashion. But the (first) labourer, with difficulty managing to clamber down from the mountain, came back to the city. And when the Bey went a third time to hire a labourer, that man changed his appearance and got taken again (lit. came again). The Bey doing again as he had before, when they arrived (at the mountain) again, he said "Now flay this ox." So the man said "Very good", and flayed it. Then the Bey said, "Look, there is still a little flesh left inside," but the man answered, "Hi Bey, please have a look yourself and see (that there is not)." Then the Bey poked his head into the hide, whereupon the labourer
gave him a kick, and he disappeared inside. Then the man tied up the opening, and the eagles came and carried off the hide to the top of the mountain. And when they had pecked a hole in the hide, the Bey clambered out. And saying to himself, “This labourer had better die,” he hurled lumps of gold at him. Then the labourer got hold of the Bey’s saddlebags, and gathering it all up, he rode off on the rich man’s horse. When he came to the city, the labourer married the Bey’s wife, and he too became an extremely rich man (lit. very much a Bey too).

Notes

1. يِسَامِاق more usually means “to build”.
2. From تُوْغِرا ماق toghramaq = to cut across.
3. From تَيْقِماق tigmaq = to insert (or to prick out flowers).
4. بوُغِماق. Usual meaning is “to choke”, but here clearly means to bind.
5. نَرْى neri—far, corresponding to بَرْى beri—near.
6. تَازَا taza, a colloquial word meaning “extremely” ; used to strengthen the meaning of the word it qualifies, e.g. تَازَا أَتَى taza atti = he threw violently, تَازَا بَى taza bai = very rich, or extremely influential a man. بَى, pronounced bai in Turki, is used largely as a title.
7. From تِزِمَاق maq = to pile up, stack (wood).
8. in Turki either “slowly” or “gently” or “softly”.
NOTES ON A GRAMMAR OF THE LANGUAGE OF ONGTONG JAVA

By H. IAN HOGBIN

PART I. Phonetic System.
PART II. Morphology.
PART III. Syntax.
PART IV. Texts.
PART V. A Representative Vocabulary.

To the north-east of the Solomon Islands lies a ring of coral islands surrounding a lagoon about 100 miles in circumference. The nearest land is the northern tip of the island of Ysabel, which is some 200 miles to the south-west. This group of islands has been variously called Ongtong Java, Lord Howe's Group, Leueneuwa, Leua Niua, and Lua Niua. The three latter are more or less unsatisfactory attempts at writing the native name of the largest island, Luaniua. There is no native name for the whole atoll and it is not only misleading but also wrong to use Luaniua for the purpose. Lord Howe has already given his name to three other Pacific Islands, so that it seems best to take the name which Tasman gave and call the atoll Ongtong Java.

These islands are populated by natives with undoubted Polynesian affinities. In physical type they show a resemblance to the Samoans and their language is a Polynesian dialect, but in other respects the culture shows some marked differences from those of the central Pacific. The social organization is closely paralleled by that of Sikiana, in the south, and by that of the Tasman Islands, the Mortlocks and Fead Island (Nuguria) to the north. This organization is not characterized by rank, which is so important in Polynesia.

Ray has already collected the linguistic data from earlier writers and published them in the Journal of the Polynesian Society for 1917 (pp. 98 sqq.). To this paper it is not necessary for me to refer in detail, as the information is admittedly fragmentary. In one or two places it is quite incorrect.

I spent several months at Ongtong Java during 1927 and 1928, and the accompanying paper includes some of the results of ethnological research carried out at that time. It was also part of a thesis submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in the University of Sydney. I have to thank Professor A. R. Radcliffe-Brown of the University of Sydney for suggesting the main plan and also for much help in

1 Part of the Anthropological Research carried out while the author held a Science Research Fellowship of the University of Sydney (1927–29). The research was directed by the Australian National Research Council.
almost every step in the discussion. Indeed, he is chiefly responsible for any value that the paper may have. I also am indebted to my friend, Mr. A. H. Pelham, of Teachers’ College, Sydney, and to Mr. J. R. Firth, of University College, London, for suggestions and criticism.

There are two tribes on the atoll, the Pelau tribe in the northern islands, and the Luaniua tribe in the south. Their language is identical in all but a few minor points, e.g. in Pelau “foot” is kapuae; in Luaniua it is kapuae.

PART I

PHONETIC SYSTEM

The Ongtong Java language has five vowels which will be represented by the symbols a, e, i, o and u. Of these, the a, i, and u are pronounced as in Italian; the e and o correspond to the closed e and o of French (as in été and cocher). The sounds may be either long or short, but the quantity does not affect the quality of the vowel. This must be borne in mind especially with regard to the final a, which must never be pronounced like the English indefinite sound (as in the last syllable of “author”).

The pronunciation of three of the consonants is unalterable, m and v, pronounced as in English, and η. This symbol represents the ng of “singer”, and must not be confused with the sounds in “finger”.

As in other Polynesian dialects, the sounds which in our language are represented by b and p are normally indistinguishable to the native ear, and are used indiscriminately. For the sake of uniformity I shall use p throughout. Practically the same applies to the two sounds which in English are written as k and g (as in “great”). There is one exception to this rule. Whenever one syllable begins with the nasal η and the next with the k-g phoneme, it is the g sound only which may be used. Again for the sake of uniformity I shall use the k symbol, but it must be remembered that the word which I shall write layikuku must be pronounced as if it were layiguku. Similarly, kulanikava must be spoken kulanigava.

In Polynesian generally we are familiar with the regular change of consonants from one dialect to another. It is therefore no surprise to find that the Samoan f is represented in Ongtong Java by h, so that alofa has become aloha. The Samoan s is apparently in the process of change. For this sound there is no hard and fast rule; it
is perfectly permissible to say *kahi* or *kasi* (Samoan *tasi*) and *hoa* and *soa* (Samoan *soa*). Although it does not preserve uniformity I have thought it best to give each word its most common pronunciation. Thus, I shall write *kahi* because one hears it slightly more frequently than *kasi*; similarly, I shall write *soa* because I heard it more often than I did *hoa*.

Another typical trait of Polynesian is the almost indiscriminate use of *l* and *r*. I am not quite sure how these sounds are formed exactly. I have followed the Hawaiian convention and not the Maori because in reduplicated syllables, e.g. *lelele, kamatili'i*, etc., it is usual to employ the *l* sound only.

The glottal stop takes the place of an extra consonant and is written as an apostrophe (*pe'a, 'olalo*, etc.). There are in all, then, five vowels and eight consonants, though for the sake of convenience we are compelled to use one extra symbol, the *s* as well as the *h*. The following is a complete list —

\[
\begin{array}{c}
i \\
e \\
o \\
a \\
u \\
\end{array}
\]

*h*, the aspirate;

*k*, voiced and unvoiced velar stop;

*l*, partaking of the sounds of both liquids;

*m*, nasal labial stop;

*n*, velar nasal stop;

*p*, voiced and unvoiced labial stop;

*s*, unvoiced, post-dental fricative;

*v*, voiced, bi-labial fricative;

', glottal stop.

These consonants may be arranged in a table, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plosives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>l, r</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[1 \text{ I do not wish to imply that the Ongtong Javanese people came from Samoa originally. I am merely using Samoan as a typical example of a Polynesian dialect.}\]
The letters within the brackets represent sounds which are used by the natives but do not appear in my phonology because they are not distinguished as separate phones. I have included (d) because I think that the l, r phone does occasionally approach a d.

There are no diphthongs and when two vowels are used together each has its full value; ’ai is a word of two separated elements and haeo a word of three. Two consonants can never be used together. Almost all syllables are therefore open. However, in quick speech, where the final and the penultimate vowel are the same and the latter is accentuated, the final vowel is completely lost—lanyisi frequently becomes lanyis.

Accentuation generally falls on the penultimate syllable. If the word has only two syllables this means that it is the first which is stressed. So general is this rule that it is only necessary to indicate accentuation in the exceptions. This is done in the following way—ama’ku (stress on ku). If two words are combined to form a compound each will retain its original accentuation. The word maka has the normal stress; when it is combined with si, the resulting compound is ’maka’-si. Proper names must be mentioned separately. The general rule of penultimate syllable stress still holds provided the proper noun has more than two syllables. If it has only two syllables, then it is always the last which is stressed, e.g. ma'o, pe'i, ho'u, etc.¹

Accented a, or an a after a glottal stop, may be changed to o at any time, e.g. va’a may become vo’o; ’ayau, ’oyou; ’alalo, ’olalo, etc.

PART II

Morphology

Throughout this paper I shall base my remarks to a great extent on what Jespersen has said in his Philosophy of Grammar.²

Of the various mechanisms covered by the word morphology, there are some which we can disregard completely because they do not occur in Onqtong Javanese. Affixation, internal modification and change of stress are never used.

Of the mechanisms which are found, I propose to begin by giving the words with a specialized function, firstly, the pronouns.

¹ There are no exceptions to this rule and it will not be necessary therefore to indicate their accentuation in the following texts.
² London, 1924.
Personal Pronouns

Singular. 1st person: 'anyau, mayau,1 au,2 'aia2 (co-existing alternative forms).
2nd person: 'a'oe, ma'oe1 (co-existing alternative forms).

There is no third personal pronoun. Its place is taken by a noun plus the demonstrative particle.

Dual. 1st person \{ inclusive: kava. \\
\} exclusive: mava.
2nd person 'olu (literally, two).

Plural 1st person \{ inclusive: kakou \\
\} exclusive: makou.
2nd person 'okou.

As in the singular, there is no third personal pronoun. The noun plus the particle is used.

Possession.

The ordinary personal pronouns serve as possessives also. They are placed after the word they qualify, e.g. ke moeyau 'anyau, literally, "the mat I", must be translated "my mat"; also, ya moeyau 'okou, literally "the mats you", must be translated "your mats". Two special possessive pronouns may be used for parts of the body and relatives3:

kou my, our.
ko your (singular and plural).
e.g. kou lima my arm.
ko lima your arm.

Nevertheless it is still possible, though scarcely usual, to say:—
ke lima 'anyau my arm.
nal lima 'olu two of the two you.

Interrogatives

'oai who?
(i) ai whom?

e.g. kamaya 'a'oe 'oai? literally, "father you who?", which must be translated, "who is your father?"

1 Only employed occasionally.
2 Scarcely ever used.
3 In songs, where the grammar is always lax, it is possible to use kou with one's own personal possessions. For example, one of the songs which the winner of a canoe race may sing speaks of kou cu'a (cu'a = canoe).
ya kama kakala 'ayau i ai?, literally, “men say I whom?” translates “who do they say I am”.

ehia how many?
i hea | where?
ke hea | where?

E.g. ya kaiya 'a'oe ehia? literally, “the brother of you how many,” translates “how many brothers have you?”

'a'oe i hea where are you?
pe he how?
ke a what?
yaea why?

'a'oe e 'aka ke a? What are you laughing at?
'a'oe e uaka pe he? How do you work?

Numerals

The numerals are also words of specialized function. Used alone they run as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kahi</td>
<td>sivo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lua</td>
<td>seyahulu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kolu</td>
<td>seyahulu ma kahi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha</td>
<td>kipu lua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lima</td>
<td>kipu lua ma kahi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ovo</td>
<td>kipu kolu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hiku</td>
<td>hui kalau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>valu</td>
<td>semaka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also

- one pair siaua
- two pairs luava
- three pairs kalayuaa
- four pairs hanyuaa
- five pairs sehui

When these numerals are used adjectivally a particle must be placed before them. There are three of these particles:

- ho used only with kahi.
- ko | two co-existing alternative particles, used with all numbers except kahi.
- e | except kahi.

E.g. ke yiu ho kahi one coconut.

ya yiu ko kolu three coconuts.
N.B.—The answer to the question *ya yiu ehia?* (how many coconuts ?) is *ko kolu* or *ko ha*, etc. The noteworthy fact is that the particle must be used.

With cardinals these same particles are employed. The difference in meaning is indicated by the use of the singular particle for nouns (*ke*) instead of the plural (*yi*), e.g.

- *ke aho e kolu*  
  the third day.
- *yi aho e kolu*  
  three days.

**Particles**

In Ongtong Javanese there are certain stems which are normally meaningless to the native if they stand alone. These stems are given a function by the addition of a particle.

1. **Noun Particles.**—A stem is made into a singular noun by having the particle *he* or *ke* placed before it. If the stem has more than two syllables it is both possible and usual to omit the particle altogether. Very occasionally the particle may be omitted with words of two syllables.

\[
\begin{align*}
    &he kaiyi \quad \text{the cry, a cry.} \\
    &ke kaiyi
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
    &ke ka'kala \quad \text{the language, a language.} \\
    &ka'kala
\end{align*}
\]

Other particles serve to make the stem into a noun of numbers other than the singular.

- *sa*  
  dual particle.
- *ya* or *yi*  
  plural particle.

\[
\begin{align*}
    &e.g. \quad sa kaiyi \quad \text{two cries.} \\
    &ya kaiyi \quad \text{the cries, cries.} \\
    &yi kaiyi
\end{align*}
\]

The addition of *yi* is all that is required for the plural when a noun begins with *a* without a glottal stop.

- *aiku* becomes in the plural *yaiku*  
- *akaha* " " " *yakaha*

It is not possible to say *ya aiku* or *ya akaha*, but it is perfectly permissible to say *yi aiku* and *yi akaha*. Similarly, if the stem begins with any other vowel *yi* may be used but not *ya*. With these other vowels (*e, i, o, and u*) it is not permitted to add the *yi* simply.

- *elemaka* (eye) in the plural is *yi elemaka*.

This is the only plural permitted for this and similar stems.
Stems beginning with he . . . if they are used in the singular never take the particle, but are used alone. In the dual and plural they are normal, e.g.

heka\u201au \hspace{1cm} a year, the year.
yak\u0119 heka\u201au \hspace{1cm} years, the years.
hehe\u0119u \hspace{1cm} a thing, the thing.
yak\u0119 hehe\u0119u \hspace{1cm} the things, things.

(2) Verbal Particles.—There are three tenses in Ongtong Javanese, the indefinite, the past, and the future. The latter two are only used if they are absolutely necessary and generally the indefinite tense does duty for them both. These three tenses are indicated by three corresponding particles:—

'e or i, the indefinite tense particle.
'u, the past tense particle.
a, the future tense particle.

The first of these particles may always be omitted from the stem if it has more than two syllables, e.g. kakala, lelele, etc.

Let us take the stem o:—

\begin{align*}
e & \hspace{1cm} \text{every tense of the English verb "to go".} \\
i & \hspace{1cm} \text{every past tense of "to go".} \\
u & \hspace{1cm} \text{will go, shall go.} \\
o & \hspace{1cm} \text{I shall go.} \\
\end{align*}

\text{e.g.} \hspace{1cm}

\begin{align*}
'\text{anau } e & \hspace{1cm} \text{I went.} \\
'\text{anau } i & \hspace{1cm} \text{I am going, etc.} \\
'\text{anau } e \hspace{0.1cm} o & \hspace{1cm} \text{I went yesterday,} \\
'\text{anau } u & \hspace{0.1cm} o \hspace{0.1cm} \text{ke aho-la} & \hspace{1cm} \text{I had gone yesterday, etc.} \\
'\text{anau } e & \hspace{0.1cm} o \hspace{0.1cm} \text{kai-a} & \hspace{1cm} \text{I shall go to-morrow.} \\
'\text{anau } a & \hspace{0.1cm} o \hspace{0.1cm} \text{kai-a} & \hspace{1cm} \text{I shall go to-morrow.} \\
\end{align*}

There are three other particles which go with verbs—se, hi and ha. se is the negative particle, and is placed in front of the other verbal particles, e.g.

\begin{align*}
'\text{anau } se & \hspace{0.1cm} e \hspace{0.1cm} \text{alo-la} & \hspace{1cm} \text{I do not love} . . . \\
'\text{anau } se & \hspace{0.1cm} u \hspace{0.1cm} \text{alo-la} & \hspace{1cm} \text{I did not love} . . . \\
\end{align*}

hi is the volitional particle;
ha is the causative particle;

\text{e.g.} \hspace{1cm}

'\text{anau } hi \hspace{0.1cm} 'ai \hspace{1cm} \text{I wish to eat, I am hungry.}

ha oki ! \hspace{1cm} \text{Make stop !, an exclamation made to a crying child.}
The following is a complete list of the verbal particles:—

- *e* or *i* indefinite tense indicator.
- *'u* past
- *a* future
- *se* negative indicator.
- *hi* special particles.

(3) Relational Particles.—There are two particles which express relations, *i* and *a*. The first is used to indicate that the following word is the object, and the second to indicate that the following word has a possessive force. Neither of these two particles is necessary for the expression of the relation and they are frequently omitted. Indeed the *a* is almost never used at all, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
'\text{aya}u & \text{ e aloha } i 'a'oe \\
'\text{aya}u & \text{ e aloha } 'a'oe
\end{align*}
\]

I love you.

and

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ke la'a}u & \text{ a maakua} \\
\text{ke la'a}u & \text{ maakua}
\end{align*}
\]

the staff of the priest.

(4) Demonstrative Particles.—

- *yei* this, these.
- *ya* or *la* that, those.

These particles are always put after the noun. They are the only ones to be so placed and for convenience I shall use a hyphen with them, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ke } \etaiu-la & \text{ that coconut.} \\
\text{ke } \etaiu-ya & \text{ this coconut.} \\
\text{ke } \etaiu-yei & \text{ that coconut.} \\
\etaa & \etaiu-la \text{ those coconuts.} \\
\etaa & \etaiu-ya
\end{align*}
\]

These particles sometimes serve instead of the definite article, there being no articles in Ongtong Javanese.

It will also be remembered that there are no third personal pronouns. A noun plus a demonstrative is used instead, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kama-la} & \text{ that man there, he.} \\
\text{kama-la kakala } i '\text{aya}u & \text{ he told me.} \\
'\text{aya}u & \text{kakala } \etaa \text{ kama-la} \text{ I told them.}
\end{align*}
\]

(5) Accentuation Particle.—As I have written them, it will be found that the first syllable of many proper nouns and pronouns of three syllables is *'a* or *'o*. This is really a particle incorporated into the word
itself. I have already explained that all proper nouns of two syllables have the final one stressed. The class of proper nouns and that of pronouns with which we are now dealing may be described as words of two syllables preceded always by a particle. In such words the stress is normal, that is, on the first syllable, e.g. 'a'pau, 'a'oe, 'o'pu'a, 'a'si'a. My inclusion of the particle as part of the word is justified because the two are quite inseparable.

(6) Other Particles.—Jespersen points out that in some languages there is no real difference between a preposition and an adverb: "down" in the sentence "you go down" should not be separated from the same word in "you go down the street". In Ong tong Javanese "down" in each case will be preceded by the same particle.

*i*—the particle placed before all adverbs and prepositions, e.g. loko (in), keliu (below), mua (before), etc. If the adverb or noun has three or more syllables the particle may be omitted, e.g.

\[
\text{ke kama i loko ke mo'u} \quad \text{the man in the garden.}
\]
\[
\text{ke kama haele i loko} \quad \text{the man goes in.}
\]

and

\[
\text{ke papa i aluka ke papae} \quad \text{the box above the table.}
\]
\[
\text{ke manu 'u lele i aluka} \quad \text{the bird flew up above.}
\]

The following is a complete list of the particles:—

Before stems:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ke or he} & \quad \text{noun, singular (may be omitted in certain cases)}; \\
\text{sa} & \quad \text{noun, dual}; \\
\text{ya or yi} & \quad \text{noun, plural}. \\
\text{e or i} & \quad \text{verb, indefinite tense (may be omitted in certain cases)}; \\
\text{'u} & \quad \text{verb, past tense}; \\
\text{a} & \quad \text{verb, future tense}. \\
\text{se} & \quad \text{negative particle}; \\
\text{hi} & \quad \text{to wish to}; \\
\text{ha} & \quad \text{to cause to}. \\
\text{ho} & \quad \text{before numbers used adjectivally.} \\
\text{ko or e} & \quad \text{before numbers used adjectivally.} \\
\text{'}a & \quad \text{indicates accentuation when used with certain proper} \\
\text{'o} & \quad \text{nouns and pronouns.}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^1\) o and a are interchangeable after a glottal stop, vide above, p. 826.
relational particles.

sign of adverb or preposition.

After stems:—

this, these.

that, those.

As an example, let us take the stems 'ai and kakala:—

ke 'ai
ya 'ai
e 'ai
'u 'ai
a 'ai
hi 'ai
se hi 'ai
ha 'ai
ke 'ai-yei
ke 'ai-la
ke kakala
kakala
sa kakala
ya kakala
e kakala
kakala
'u kakala
a kakala
se kakala
hi kakala
ha kakala
kakala-yei
kakala-la

food.
the articles to be eaten, the foods.
to eat, etc.
ate, etc.
will eat, etc.
to be hungry.
not to be hungry.
to cause to eat.
this food.
that food.
language, speech, talk.
two languages, two speeches.
languages, speeches.
to speak, to talk, etc.
spoke, etc.
will speak, etc.
not to speak.
to want to speak.
to cause to speak.
this language.
that language.

Reduplication.

Reduplication is common in Ongtong Javanese. It serves two main ends, to intensify and to express frequentative action.

Intensive.—

le  run
yoho remain
lehu ash
ulu top
lelele fly
yoyoho sit
'ulehulehu cloud
uluheulu hat
It is obvious that in each of these examples there is a connection between the two words (a cloud is regarded as a grey thing like ashes).

Frequentative.—
aloalo paddle.
velevele sweep.
manumanyu to look around for some time and decide finally that someone is in hiding.
sausau to be caught up by the wind, carried away, then brought down again, then carried up again. This word is also used of the outrigger of a canoe when the force of the breeze is just lifting it in and out of the water.

These two uses of reduplication are frequently combined, e.g. haki break, hakhaki to go on breaking a thing until it is in small pieces.

mayava belly, mayamanava contemplate, i.e. turn a thing over in one’s belly for a long time.

Word Combination

This mechanism is also common.

(1) Words may be combined to extend the meaning, e.g.
maka extremity, lima arm
maka-lima finger.
also va’a canoe, kua open sea, hence foreign parts
va’a-kua steamer.
also maka extremity, si coconut meat
maka-si a stick for removing the meat from the coconut.

(2) In some types of word combination the second word merely modifies the first, e.g.
moa fowl, kai cry
moa-kai crying fowl, i.e. rooster.
also kama man, ha to make, makua venerable, senior.
kama ha makua man made senior, headman.

In sections (1) and (2) the general rule is that the primary always stands first in the combination.

(3) A few words with an adverbial force may be attached to the end of certain words, e.g.
-mai to me (this word cannot stand alone).
-iho "downward", normally, but in combinations of this sort it generally means, from a place where I am not at present, but which is nevertheless connected with me.

kakala-mai tell me.
kapili-mai close to me.
aumai bring me.
haeliho come back from a place where I have been.
keiho fall down.

t the ship will come back from the Solomon Islands.

In any combination if the first word ends with an a and the second begins with the same vowel, one of them is elided, e.g.

heu place, akaha frigate bird
heuakaha place of the frigate birds.

Order of Words

1. Adjectives always follow the noun they qualify. (Adjuncts always follow their primary), e.g.

ke yiu e lahi the big coconut;
y a yiu e mea the brightly coloured coconuts;
y a yiu ko kolu three coconuts.

The exception is:—

kama'i, "many", which may precede the noun, though not necessarily. If it does then the singular particle must be used:—

kama'i ke yiu many coconuts.

2. Adverbs follow the adjectives they modify. (Subjuncts follow their adjunct), e.g.

ke yiu e lahi hamali'i literally, "the coconut big little," translates, "the medium sized coconut."

3. Adverbs usually, but not always, follow the verb they modify. (Subjuncts follow their adnex), e.g.

hale vave go quickly.
ke manu 'u lele aluya the bird flew upwards.

4. Prepositions are placed between the two words which they link together: the "governed" word always stands after the preposition, e.g.

ke kama i loko ke va'a the man in the canoe.
ke poi i muli ke hale the dog behind the house.
hale i nua ke la'a'u go in front of the tree.
PART III

SYNTAX

Number.—In Ongtong Javanese only two of the classes of words may have number—the pronouns and the nouns. In the latter it is indicated by means of the particles.

he or ke singular;

sa dual;

ya or yi plural.

For a detailed discussion of this see above.

N.B.—Verbs never have number.

Case.—How are we to define case? On our definition hangs the question as to whether or not there is case in Ongtong Javanese. If it is something which can only be expressed by actual modification of the word as in Latin, then Ongtong Javanese has no case. I myself would definitely agree with this. The concept which in other languages is sometimes expressed by case is expressed chiefly by position. I explained before that there are relational particles, but it is never essential to use either of them and one, the a, is very seldom employed, e.g.

ke moena ma'o literally, "mat Ma'o," translates "Ma'o's mat".

ke hale ke si literally, "house copra," translates "house of copra", i.e. store.

ke hale a heku'u the King’s house.

Precisely the same rules apply to the pronouns except that there are two special ones which may be used for relatives and parts of the body

kou

and ko

e.g. kou kamana

kamana 'ana

ko lima

ya moena 'okou

my, our.

your (singular and plural).

my father.

your arm.

your mats.

An oblique object is placed immediately after the word which governs it. The particle may or may not be placed before it, e.g.

kaia ke poi piaka Piaka beats the dog.

'aana haele i pelau I am going to Pelau.

'ana haele pelau

ke poi i loko he hale the dog in the house.
The position of the subject is not so definite. If there is no object the nominative will always stand first; if it is a pronoun it almost invariably stands first; if it is a noun and there is an object it may or may not stand before the verb. In the latter case it is rather more frequent to find the verb placed first, e.g.

'ayau kaia ke poi  I beat the dog.
'ũ kaia ke poi piaka  Piaka beat the dog.
\[ e \ kaįi \ ke \ paipį \ ke \ kama \ \]
\[ ke \ kama \ e \ kaiįi \ ke \ paipį \ \]
the man lights his pipe.

**Gender.**—There is no gender in Ong tong Javanese.

**Tense.**—There are three tenses—indefinite, past and future. These are indicated by particles:

- *e* or *i* indefinite.
- *a* future.
- *'u* past.

**Mood and Voice.**—There are no moods in Ong tong Javanese. What in English is indicated by the imperative mood may be indicated by the particle *ha* "to make" or "to cause". This is not a true imperative.

After finite verbs where we would in English place an infinitive or a participle, Ong tong Javanese uses a noun, e.g.

- *e oki ke 'ai* to finish eating.
- *e loa ke vaga* to know how to spear fish.

With all nouns of more than two syllables the noun particle may be omitted, e.g.

- *e oki lelele* to finish flying.
- *e loa makau* to know how to fish.

After verbs of motion, instead of *ke*, the particle *ŋo* is used. This may also be omitted before words of more than two syllables, e.g.

- *haele ŋo uŋu* to go to drink.
- *haele kakala* to go to talk.

There are no voices in Ong tong Javanese.

**Adjectives.**—Adjectives always follow the noun they qualify, e.g.

- *he hiye laue* a good woman.

There is no copula in this language, and we might also translate this sentence as "the woman is good".

It might plausibly be argued that there are no adjectives in Ong tong Javanese, e.g.

- *he hiye e lahi* the fat woman;
- the woman is fat.
he hīne e lahi huhua  the fat woman sings;
the woman is fat and 1 is singing;
the fat singing woman.

he hīne huhua e kani  the singing woman cries;
the singing and 1 crying woman;
the woman sings and cries.

It seems best, nevertheless, to keep the expression adjective, that is, according to Jespersen, to regard these words sometimes as subjuncts instead of adnexes.

Adjectives are never compared. If a comparison is necessary a circumlocution is used, e.g.

'anau makua, 'a'oe holili'i  I am old, you are young, i.e. I am older than you.

It is now possible to summarize a part of the syntax according to the Jespersen scheme.

**Junction**

(1) The primary always precedes the adjunct. 2 Nouns only may be primaries; adjectives, nouns, and pronouns may be adjuncts, e.g.

ke pamalo e mea  the red calico.
kakala luaniua  the language of Luaniua.
hale-pēi  this house.

(2) The subjunct always follows the adjunct. Probably only adverbs may be subjuncts, e.g.

ke yiū e lahi hamali'i  the medium sized coconut.

**Nexus**

(1) If there be only primary and adnex, then the former will always precede the latter, e.g.

'anau haele  I go.
he hīne huhua  the woman sings.

(2) An adnex generally precedes its subjunct, e.g.

haele vave  go quickly.
aloalo hamaloa  paddle strongly.
haele vave vave  go very quickly.

1 There is no word for "and" in this context.
2 The two exceptions to this rule are the true possessive pronouns kou and ko, which precede the noun, and kama'i (many), which may or may not precede it.
(3) Where we have a sentence consisting of subject predicate and object, the order of words may be either of two ways:—

(a) predicate + object + subject. (This is rather the more common form.)

or

(b) subject + predicate + object, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{'u kaia ke poi he kama} & \quad \text{the man beat the dog.} \\
\text{he kama kaia ke poi} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

(4) An indirect object always precedes a direct object, e.g.

\[
\text{kakala piaka ke yiu} \quad \text{tell Piaka about the coconut. (kakala = tell about.)}
\]

Clauses

There is only the one type of clause in Ongtong Javanese. Further, conjunctions are practically never used, so that clauses run on together. If two verbs have the same subject it will only be stated once. It was pointed out above that the usual word-order is verb, object, subject. The most usual word order with two clauses is:—

\[
\text{verb + object + subject + verb + object}
\]

e.g.: \text{'u oki ke 'ai piaka haele pelau.}

lit.: finished the food Piaka will go to Pelau; i.e. When Piaka has finished eating he will go to Pelau.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{e kaka ke va'a kama kakala i'au haele la.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

lit.: carves the canoe the man told me to go there; i.e. The man who is carving the canoe told me to go there.

The first example might also be translated:—

\[
\text{Piaka has finished eating and will go to Pelau.}
\]

and the second example:—

\[
\text{The man carves the canoe and tells me to go there.}
\]

Both these second translations convey a different meaning to us, but the Ongtong Javanese does not distinguish between our "when I have . . . ." and "I have . . . ." except by the context.

It is, of course, possible to make the word order:—

\[
\text{subject + verb + object + verb + object,}
\]

and it is usual to place the subject before the first verb if the second is of the English predicative type, e.g.:—

\[
\text{kama 'u kaka ke va'a malili} \quad \text{the man who carved the canoe is ill.}
\]

It will be apparent that there is nothing corresponding to the absolute phrase. One was led to expect this from the word system.
The absence of relative pronouns also led one to suspect correctly that there would be no adjectival clauses.

*Reported Speech*

Speech is almost always reported directly, e.g.

\[ \text{kakala ka'apaka, olu'a ku ka'apaka i o i mo'u.} \]

said the man, “We two married people will go to the garden.”

Other examples of reported speech will be found in the accompanying texts.

*Other Notes*

It is impossible to express such ideas as “a three days’ journey”, “in three hours,” etc. in the abstract. They must always be made concrete, e.g.

\[ \text{haele pelau vaho-pei si'i a/a ke aho e kolu.} \]

lit. go from Pelau now, Sikiana the third day; i.e. Sikiana is three days’ journey from Pelau.

“Three hours’ time” is indicated by pointing to the place in the sky where the sun will be after that interval has elapsed, and saying:—

\[ \text{avea ke lla, etc.} \]

lit. by and by the sun . . .

i.e. When the sun is there . . .

Although words exist meaning “for a long time”, “far away,” etc., natives prefer to give a more concrete expression to their thought, especially in narrative, e.g.

\[ \text{haele haele haele vahialoa e ike pei.} \]

lit. went went went Vahialoa saw Pei.

i.e. When Vahialoa had gone for a long time he saw Pei.

**PART IV**

**Texts**

The following text I have copied exactly from my notebook. It is a typical example of a folk tale. The first line is Ongtong Javanese, the second a literal translation, and the third an idiomatic translation.

\[ 'a$i\text{\textipa}h a h\text{\textipa}g. \quad l\text{\textipa}i\text{\textipa}o he 'a\text{\textipa}ve ke\text{\textipa}ma-ya. \]

'Aśinya woman Lilio brother of her

'Aśinya was a woman and Lilio was her brother.

\[ a$a\text{\textipa}u se maki\text{\textipa}h \text{\textipa}o av\text{\textipa}g a\text{\textipa}ma-ya. \]

I not know the consort of him

I do not know the name of his wife.
ya kamali’i kamalili’i he hire, kamalili’i kayaka.
the children child female child male.
They had two children, a girl and a boy.

ke ’akala ’u malama, kakala kayaka,
the dawn was light said the man
At daybreak, as soon as it was light, the man said,

’olua lu kayaka i o i mo’u ke ave ’aia
two married people go to the garden sister my
“ We two will go to the garden ; my sister

i lolosi ya kamali’i. ’olua i mo’u;
look after the children. two to the garden
will look after the children.” The two went off to the garden ;

omai; ke hale-la se velevele; ya kamalili’i
return the house not sweep the children
they returned ; the house was not swept ; the children

he’au kaia. i omai i kakala kama’ya-la ya kamalili’i
thus beat returned said the father of the children
had been beaten. The father of the children spoke

pe’ei, “ ya kamali’i kaia a’oe yaea?” “ a’ayau
thus the children beat you why I
in this way, “ Why did you beat the children ? ” “ I

se hi ’ai ya ’ai; ’aayau hi ’ai ya kama ’a’oe.”
not wish to eat foods I wish to eat the children of you
do not want food to eat ; I want to devour your children.”

kakala pe’ei, “ avea kaiao maua i o i mo’u ;
said thus by and by to-morrow we two (excl.) go to the garden
The father replied, “ To-morrow my wife and I will go to the garden ;

a’oe ’u kaia ma’oe kamalili’i ’u ’ai i o maua,
you killed you child ate go we two
when you have killed a child and eaten it we will return,

i omai kamalili’i-la ’a’oe ’u oki ke ’ai, keya !
return the child you finished eating that
if you have finished eating the child, good,

poi ’a’oe e ’ai kamali’i keya !”
you eat child that
if you eat it, good.”
i oihoko kamalili'i-la oiyka ke manava yo 'ai.

She began to eat the belly of the child.

Ya vae kaoko; keya. i haeliho ke 'ave

The legs remained on one side. Her brother returned

ke hige-la yo ike ya vae kaoko.

of the woman to see the legs remain

and saw the legs still there.

i kakala pepe " 'a'oe i hamai yo 'ai

did thus you come to eat

He said, "If you come and eat up

ya vae-pei i oki haeaka, 'a'oe 'u se kaia,

these legs finish completely you not killed

these legs completely you will not have to be killed,

'a'oe seai, 'a'oe 'u kaia ". keya, he hige-la

you not you killed then the woman

if you do not, you must be killed." The woman

e alo ke 'ai. i ko ka'u i kaia yo make

is unwilling to eat takes the axe hit dead

did not wish to eat so he took the axe and hit her till

kaia i 'ave. yo kanu i kaiao i o i mo'u.

to kill the sister to bury to-morrow go to the garden [the body.

she was dead. The next day the parents went to the garden to bury

kamalili'i 'u yoho a so'ia. i haeliho

the child remained alone came

[came

The remaining child was left alone. (The spirit of the dead woman)

yo 'eli ke lua. i 'eli'eli i keiho

to dig a pit dig fall

and dug a pit. When it was dug the child fell

kamalili'i-la i loko. i kasusu'imai i aea'e

child inside wriggle top

into it. It wriggled about in order to reach the top.

se le va ke aea'e. ko lua-la oihoko

not able to come to the top those two return

It could not reach the surface. The two returned
ke mela 'u po, yo aya kamali’i-la.
the darkness night came to call out the child
when night had come and they called out to the child.

seai. omaka kamali’i-la e moe i loko ke lua 'u make
no see the child lie inside the pit dead.
There was no reply. Then they saw the child lying dead in the pit.

The text below is another typical folk tale:—
simusea e yo ho peikahei. heynua-pei e make hi’ai.
Simusea lived at Peikahei this place died wanting to eat
Simusea lived at Peikahei. The people of this place (Luaniua) were
[dying of hunger.

e o yo ’au i kai hamai ke ma no yo ’ai
went to swim in the lagoon came a shark to eat
If they went to swim in the lagoon, a shark came and ate

ya kama; oiho ke avava miki’ia kiya’ohu;
people went to the reef inhales clam
them; if they went to the reef, a giant clam engulfed them;

oiho i kua hanikia ke oahaku; e o i mo’u
went to the open sea came together the stone went to the garden
if they went to the open sea the stone crushed them; if they went to

[kaluelumia ke heli. simusea hamai; hamai vasilia’e
chased the hawk Simusea came came to ask
a hawk chased them. Then Simusea came. He came and asked

heku’u. “ ‘a se ike ke heli?” i mea’e pepehi,
the king you not see the hawk replied thus
the king if he had seen the hawk. He replied,

“’a oe hamai se ike ke heli?” i mea’e simusea seai.
you come not see the hawk replied Simusea no

“Did you come here and not see the hawk?” Simusea told him no.

i yo ho a kiaoa yo ha’olo ya kamali’i i o yo ’au.
waited till to-morrow to tell the children to go swimming
He waited till the next day and then told the children to go swimming

ya kamali’i e alo, ’u haele yo ’au i kai.
the children unwilling went to swim in the lagoon [himself
The children did not wish to so he went to the lagoon and swam
ke mayo-la ’u haeliai yo ’ai simusea.
the shark went to eat Simusea
The shark went off to eat him.
simusea e ha ke mayava. ke mayava ’u maha
Simusea cut the belly the belly was cut completely
Simusea cut its belly, cut it through completely.
i masi’e simusea yo ko ke mayo, i hapaomai
stood up Simusea to take the shark brought
He stood up and took hold of the shark and brought it
i uka. i huleiho he’nya-yei yo maka. I kaiao
to shore ran down this place to see to-morrow [Next day
to the shore. The people of the village ran to the beach to see it.
kaka maka-si i haeliho ke avava. yo miki’ia kiya’ohu.
trimmed a stick went to the reef inhaled the clam [him in.
he trimmed a stick and went to the reef. The clam tried to suck
i ko maka-si isi kiya ke ’ohu, i ko i hapaomai i uka.
took the stick took from its shell the clam took brought ashore
He took his stick and removed it from its shell; then he brought it [ashore.

i hamai kaiao i ko kiki’e, i haeliho
came to-morrow took husking stick went
When the next day came he took a husking-stick and went
ke oahaku. ha’ikia ke oahaku ; ha ku kiki’e-la,
the stone came together the stone make firm that stick [his stick.
to where the stones were. They came together but he had made firm
yo eu i maseu ke oahaku. i yoho a kaiao
shake broke the stone waited till to-morrow
The stone shook and broke. He waited till the next day
i haele i mo’u. i haeliaku kiya ke heli-la.
went to the garden went to the mother of the hawk
and then went to the garden. He went to the hawk’s mother.
kukuyu ya pupu’u. halahi koko’a, he hiye-la se ike.
cook taro passed the door the woman not see [him.
She was cooking taro. He passed by the door but she did not see
i va’aimai i ike ke hiye-la. i ayaího “ ’a’oe ea
went back saw the woman called out you there
He went back and she saw him. He called out to her, “ You there.
e hamai yo maka ko kama.' i mea'e
come to see your son replied
I have come to see your son." The woman replied
ke hiye-la, " 'a oe i mau kau kama-pei?" simusea
the woman you strong my son Simusea
" Are you as strong as my son? " He
i me'a'e, " yo " i haele yo yoho ke heli-la.
answered yes went to wait for the hawk
answered " Yes ". He went in and waited for the hawk.
'u hamai, " manu manu kama."
came look for a long time and come to the conclusion a man is here
When it came back it said " I believe there is a man here ".
i me'a'e ke hiye-la, " 'oai manu manu kamana?
said the woman who think my son
The woman asked it who did it think was there,
'a'au la'ia. 'a'oe hamai yo 'ai. 'a'au i kau aiho
I alone you come to eat threw outside [outside
she was alone, let it come and eat. She said she had already thrown
ya ha'a-nyu. " i haela'e ke heli-la yo 'ai ya puputu.'
the coconut husks came the hawk to eat the taro
the coconut husks (i.e. the nuts were ready to eat). The hawk came [and ate taro.

e me'a'e ke hiye-la " 'a'au haio i meaku
said the woman I hid
The woman said " I have hidden
'a'au ike kama hamai. " e mea'e ke heli-la,
I saw man come replied the hawk
a man I saw come here." The hawk asked
" 'oai? " ke heli-la i leiko simusea yo 'ai.
who the hawk flew down to eat Simusea
who. The hawk flew down to eat Simusea.
simusea i leaku. simusea yo ko'o payapa-ua
Simusea jumped Simusea perched on the shoulders
He jumped and secured himself on its shoulders.
i le ke vai-la'i ke heli-la. 'u ka'i,
flew to the sky the hawk cried out
The hawk flew up to the sky. It called out
"i ove 'a'au o uina e mamaoe, ke la e iyi
fly I above far away, the sun will burn
"I will fly up and far away till the sun burns
ma ke polepole." ¹ kanji simusea, "ke la e iyi,
like iron called out Simusea, the sun burn
like iron." Simusea called, "Let the sun burn,
i ove 'a'oe e mamao. i kau ma ke polepole." ¹
fly you far off rest on the iron
you may fly far away and rest upon the hot iron."
ko lua-a 'u kili ke vai-lani i hakuli
the two left the sky turned
The two of them left the sky behind.
ke heli-la hakaliaya i hakeiho i oio a kapaliho
the hawk right over fell down came close to
The hawk turned over and flew down rapidly close to
ya la'au-la. i haki'e simusea yono ho kapa ma'ana.
the trees came under Simusea stopped on the belly
the trees, but Simusea (seeing the trick) climbed on to the belly of the
[bird and remained there.

i sae ke apokua ke heli-la.
staked the back of the hawk
The back of the hawk was staked instead.
i uhu i le hoe i alu'a, "i ove 'a'au
pulled out flew again up fly I
Uninjured it flew up again. "I will fly
i ouina i mamao, ke la e iyi yei
go far away the sun will burn thus
far away and the sun will burn us. Then we will
i kau ma ke polepole." ¹ kanji simusea
we will rest on the iron, cried Simusea
alight on hot iron." Simusea replied
"i ove 'a'oe i ouina i mamao ke la e iyi yei i kau ma ke polepole." ¹
'u kili i alu'a, hamaoha, oio a kapiliho
left above came down went close to
They left the upper regions and came down. The hawk went close

¹ I am doubtful about the latter part of this sentence.
i lalo. haki’e simusea yoyo ho ke ma‘aya. keiko
below came under Simusea remained on the belly fell
to the ground. Again Simusea climbed on to the belly. The hawk
came down
ke ayakua ke heli-la yo sae ke la‘au i oki
the back of the hawk staked the tree finish
and a tree passed clean through its back.
ke apa‘au ke heli-la haki. heku‘u, ke heli-la
the wing of the hawk was broken. the king the hawk
The wing of the hawk was broken. The king, hearing the hawk
'u make, i aya, "ke lija," 1 "ke mo‘u" 2
dead called aloud "ke lija" called out again "ke mo‘u"
was dead, called out, "Ke lija!" and again "Ke mo‘u!"
i haele simusea peikahe 3 3 yo yoho
went Simusea to Peikahe to remain
Simusea went to Peikahe and lived there
he‘uya-la. heku‘u ’u yoho he‘uya-nei
there The king remained here.
The king remained here.

PART V
A REPRESENTATIVE VOCABULARY

Above
adze
afraid, to be
afterbirth
afternoon
alight on
all
alone
always
angry
ankle
ant
arm
ashes
ask

alua
ko‘i
maka‘u
nya
ahiahi
kau
haakoa
so‘ia
hamau
loko
puili
loaka
lima
lehu
vasilia‘e

Baby
back (of body)
bad
bailer
bail out
bald
bamboo
basket
bastard
bat, flying fox
bear, to
(children)
beard
kalake (always in

memsa
aya‘uka
haeo, sa‘igo
ka
ka-keliu
mole
makila
huki
’eke
kama-po
pe‘a
hayau, sopo
(plural)

1 ke lija —the signal for the men to collect coconuts for drinking.
2 ke mo‘u —the signal for the women to set out for the garden to dig taro.
beat  kaia
before  mua
behind  muli
belly  maa'ava
below  kelii
big  lahi
bird  manu
black  pe'la, uliuli
blood  koko
boast  makili
boil, bubble up  pupu
bone  ivi
born, to be  hayau, sopo
borne on the wind, to be  sausau
bowl (n.)  'omeke
box  papa
break  haki
break into small pieces  hakihaki
breast  u
breathe  maa'ava
bring  aumai
broom  kaekahi
bunch  hui
burn (trans.)  kuji
— (intrans.)  vela, iji
bury  kayu
butterfly  pelu
buttocks  muli

calm (weather)  maliyo
canoe  va'a, papau
carve  kaka
cemetery  'ava
change (v.)  susu
chase  kalualumia
cheek  papeiaha
chest  hakahaka
child  kamalili'i, kamalii'i
clean  ma'iyi
close (adv.)  kapili
cloud  'ulehulehu
coconut (when no flesh inside)  mumu'a
— (when most ripe)  niu
— (when ripe)  ama'ku
— (when sprouting)  uko
coconut flower  pu'ua
coconut leaf  lo'nuiu
coconut leaflets  lapa
coconut meat  si
coconut palm  niiu
coconut shell  upu, ma'o
coconut shoot (leaf)  kilo
cold  semalio
come  hamai
common (not sacred, not tapu)  kaya
consort  avana
contemplate  ma'anamaya
conversation  kakala
(long conversation)  kalakala
cook  kuku'yu
cough  kale
cover up  pili
crash  pe'au
crawl  kokolo
crooked  pio
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Ong tong Java</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Ong tong Java</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>custom</td>
<td>makiala</td>
<td>fall down</td>
<td>keiho</td>
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<tr>
<td>cut (open)</td>
<td>ha</td>
<td>(persons and things)</td>
<td>ili</td>
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<tr>
<td>— (whistle)</td>
<td>sepe</td>
<td>(persons only)</td>
<td>si'ya</td>
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<tr>
<td>— (in pieces)</td>
<td>ku</td>
<td>fan</td>
<td>mao</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dagger</td>
<td>hoku</td>
<td>far off</td>
<td>alohai</td>
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<tr>
<td>dance</td>
<td>lu'e</td>
<td>farewell</td>
<td>monoya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dawn</td>
<td>'aka</td>
<td>fat (of animals)</td>
<td>kamaya</td>
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<tr>
<td>day</td>
<td>aho</td>
<td>father</td>
<td>kuaveioki</td>
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<tr>
<td>defecate</td>
<td>saya</td>
<td>fell</td>
<td>moisi</td>
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<tr>
<td>die</td>
<td>make</td>
<td>fight (with fists)</td>
<td>vuhu</td>
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<tr>
<td>dig</td>
<td>'eli</td>
<td>— (with weapons)</td>
<td>maka</td>
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<tr>
<td>dirty</td>
<td>'ele'ele (literally,</td>
<td>finger</td>
<td>maka-lima</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;sandy&quot;)</td>
<td>finish</td>
<td>oki</td>
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<tr>
<td>distribute</td>
<td>vavai</td>
<td>fire</td>
<td>ahi</td>
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<tr>
<td>door</td>
<td>koko'a</td>
<td>fish (n.)</td>
<td>i'a</td>
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<tr>
<td>downwards</td>
<td>iho</td>
<td>— (v.) (with hook and line)</td>
<td>makau</td>
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<td>drill (a hole)</td>
<td>meke</td>
<td>food</td>
<td>'ai</td>
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<td>drink</td>
<td>u'nu</td>
<td>foot</td>
<td>kapuae</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ear</td>
<td>akaliya</td>
<td>forehead</td>
<td>muuale</td>
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<tr>
<td>earth (as opposed to sky)</td>
<td>papa</td>
<td>forget</td>
<td>sili</td>
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<tr>
<td>eat</td>
<td>'ai</td>
<td>fowl</td>
<td>moa</td>
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<tr>
<td>echo</td>
<td>aya</td>
<td>fragrant</td>
<td>mayoji</td>
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<td>egg</td>
<td>hua</td>
<td>friend</td>
<td>soa</td>
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<tr>
<td>elbow</td>
<td>pu'u-lima</td>
<td>front, in</td>
<td>mua</td>
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<td>empty</td>
<td>pupa'u</td>
<td>fruit</td>
<td>hua</td>
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<td>exchange</td>
<td>kau'i</td>
<td>full</td>
<td>pi, honyu</td>
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<tr>
<td>eye</td>
<td>elemaka</td>
<td>Garden</td>
<td>mo'u, vusi</td>
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<tr>
<td>eyebrow</td>
<td>uluheulu-elemaka</td>
<td>ghost</td>
<td>hamaka'u</td>
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<tr>
<td>eyelash</td>
<td>ku-elemaka</td>
<td>go (of persons, animals)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eyelid</td>
<td>ulu-elemaka</td>
<td>and</td>
<td>haele</td>
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<tr>
<td>Flat expanse</td>
<td>papa</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>fly (n.)</td>
<td>la'jo</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>— (v.)</td>
<td>lelele</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>face</td>
<td>maka</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
go (of persons only) o, ha'no
good koolo'la, laue
green kea
guard 'api
gum (mouth) nia-nonyho
Hair lohulu
— (pubic only) huyu
hand kukua-lima, lima
hat uluheulu
head pohulu
hear loyo
heart haku-manava
heavy mau
hole hoku
— (if torn) sasae
hook 'au
hot (of things and persons) vela
— (of persons only) 'o
house hale
Inside loko
ignorant, I am!
(I do not know!) lokueia
ill malili, kiyo-haeo
image aiku
island moku
itch avala
Jump leaku
Kick 'asi
kill kaia make
king heku'u
know makino
knee pukili
Language kakala
laugh 'aka
lazy maka ya yae, e.g.
maka ya yae ke
makau—lazy
at fishing.
kili (prob. applies only to a place when one is going a journey)
vae
hakeo
malama
leg
lick
light
light in weight
lightning
lime
lip
little
log
look at
louse
love
Make pejapeja
man kayaka
mankind, people kama
many kama'i
mat (woven on loom) kala, mohuki
— (woven by hand, of pandanus leaf) moe'na
— (woven by hand, of coconut leaf) kapa'au, 'apiki
micturate — mimi
moon — malama
mosquito — yamu
— Anopheles — iniiyi
mother — kiya
mountain, hill — mouya
mouth — yuku

Nail (finger or toe) — moi'u
name — ijoa
nasty (taste) — mala
navel — uso
neck — ua
net — 'u peya
night — po
no — seai
nose — esu
not — se
now — vaho-yei
Ocean — moa'a
oil — lo
old — makua (persons only)
ordure — kae (always in plural)
outrigger — ama
outside — haho
oven — umu

Paddle (n.) — hoe
— (v.) — aloalo
painful — lihu, esu
paint, smear with colour — musi
palm (of hand) — alohi-lima
paste made from dried fruit — poi
pardon! (i.e. I did not hear!)
— 'ia
pass by — halahi
path — makiala, ala
peel (v.) — ohe
penis — ali
person — kama
pestle — ku'i
pit — lua
place (n.) — heyua
place together in upright position
platform (seat) — papae
pole, propel a canoe by means of ko'o
presently, in the future
priest — maakua, ali'i
protect — lotosi
pudding (taro) — pumea
pull out, pull up, uproot — uhu
purify — malama
Quickly — vave, alualu
Rafter — o'a
rain (n.) — ua
— (v.) — lo-maile
rainbow — aumaka
rat — iole
red, brightly coloured — mea
remain (of persons) — yoho
— (of things) — kaoko
remember — mayaku
replete puhu sit ɲoɲo ho
reply mea'e sky vai-lanŋi
retch lua sleep moe
ring (n.) moŋi slimy lalali
rock (v.) kilia slowly hamaŋi'i
— (n.) haku smoke (n.) ahu
root kia — (v.) umi (tobacco)
rub solo snake 'aka [only]
run le, hulo sneeze pisiola
Sacred kapu snore olo
sail (n.) puei sore (n.) puka
sand 'ele spear (fighting) makahi
scrape valuvalu — (fishing) s'i'a
(vegetables) scraper (shell) as i spear fish (v.) vaya
scratch mayeo spider velevele
sea water lo-kai spine oilo ko
see ike spirit of the
seek ulu dead aiku, kipua
sem en s i spit sava le
sexual intercourse oŋi spray pia
sexual organ (of) star heku person of
opposite sex) mea steal lalo a
shadow ɲeŋa stalk (v.) moki
shake (intrans.) eu stand ku
shark maŋo star kuru
sharp 'a steal stink pulau, muŋipilo
shave sepe stink haku
shiver mama stone haku
shore uka stool kuai
shoulder papaŋaŋa-ua stop per pono
shut pui strait (passage
shuttle si'a between two
silence! se le va islands)—if
sing huhu covered at
simple minded, low tide ava
mad vale — if covered
quickly also) hamaloa
sugar cane  kolo
turn  huli
sun  la
turtle shell  asaya
sunset  la ausulu
ornaments  asaya
swallow (v.)  holo
understand  loa
sweep  velevele
undo  veke
sweet  malie
untrue!  louyukulaue!
swell  pu'u
unwilling, to be  'elo
swim  'au'au
urine  mimi

Take  ko
Vagina  po'o
take away  auioho
vein  ua
tall  kakala
vomit  lua
tatu  kaka
vulva  miko
tear up  momosi
Water  vai
completely  sasae
water bottle  kaha
testicles  ulua
— bag to
thatch  lau
carry  kaikai
thing  heheau
weep, cry out  kanji
throb  ma'ava
wet  su
throw away  pesia
white  ma'i'ni
thunder  hakuli
white man  laepa
tickle  kiki 'i
wind  makanji
tide, coming in  houpu
wing  apa'au
to-day  ke aho-yei
witchcraft  pa'ava
toe  maka-vae
woman  hahihe, hihel
to-morrow  kaiao
wound  mahu'a
tongue  alelo
Yawn  maipa
tooth  niko
year  hekaue
top  ulu, aea'e
yes  no
tree  la'au
yesterday  ke aho-la
true!  hamaoni
THE vicissitudes suffered by this famous architectural treatise, and especially the sources of the splendid re-edition published in 1925 were the subject of an earlier article in the Bulletin (Vol. IV, Pt. III (1927), pp. 473–92). A happy chance throws new light on the 1925 edition and allows me to add this note to what was said before. It is the presence in England of a sixteenth century manuscript copy of a part of the Ying tsao fa shih. If the editors of the 1925 edition had had access to this, they would doubtless have turned to it for data in their efforts to reconstruct the lost Sung original. At all events, the drawings it contains are of great interest to students of Chinese decorative design, for reasons to be mentioned presently.

The fact is well known that the last remaining set of the stupendous Yung-lo ta tien was almost entirely destroyed when the Han-lin College, on the north side of the British Legation, was burnt down by the Boxers in 1900. This set was the first of two transcripts finished in 1567. The three other copies probably perished at the downfall of the Ming dynasty.

According to a recent circular sent out by the National Library of Peking, 286 fascicules or volumes 册, containing 542 chüan, are known to have escaped destruction in 1900 and now to be scattered over the world. An appeal made by the Library for news of items not included in their list will no doubt result in more being reported. Several volumes in England, for instance, are not noted in the census, and of these three belong to Mr. C. H. Brewitt-Taylor. The architectural fragment mentioned above occurs in one of his volumes which is devoted to the category of crafts, chiang 工. It is chüan No. 18244 of the great encyclopaedia, and consists of 18 folios containing parts of the thirty-fourth chapter of Ying tsao fa shih.

The main purpose of this note is to point out that striking differences exist between the ornamental designs drawn in the Yung-lo ta tien copy and those in the magnificent 1925 edition of the architectural treatise. Taking advantage of Mr. Brewitt-Taylor’s kind permission, I have had photographs made of designs for the painted frieze between bracketed consoles. These drawings, reproduced here in Figs. 1 and 3, are taken from f. 4 of the Yung-lo ta tien copy, and alongside them
Fig. 1.—Designs to illustrate the *Rules for Painted Works* 彩畫作制度, which are set forth in *chüan 14 of Ying tao fa shih*. They are reproduced (about two-thirds actual size) from the *Yung-lo ta tien*, as stated in the accompanying note. These drawings represent coloured decoration for the spaces between two consoles: the upper being suited to the more elaborate kind, the lower to the simpler. To be noted is the careless manner in which the lines from the colour labels are drawn.
Fig. 2.—Versions of the same designs as those shown in Fig. 1, thus interpreted in the 1925 edition of *Ying tao fa shih*. This edition includes counterparts printed in colour. It represents the border of the upper design in four bands, from without inwards: leaf green, pale pink, deeper pink and scarlet. The floral part of the upper design is in light and dark blues and greens. The border of the lower design is coloured from without inwards: dark blue, pale, middle and dark leaf green; while the floral part exhibits all three shades of blue, red and green.
Fig. 3.—These, like the designs in Fig. 1, are reproduced from drawings in the Yung-lo ta tien, and they are prepared for the same decorative purpose. In common with the 1920 edition, the outermost band of the upper design is marked "blue"; and it is printed blue in the coloured counterpart of 1925, although in the outline drawing of that edition it is marked "green" (c. Fig. 4). The colour in the third band of the border in the lower design is labelled 青, instead of 二 青 as in the 1920 and 1925 editions.
Fig. 4.—The 1925 interpretation of designs shown in Fig. 3. The contrast is even more marked than that between Figs. 1 and 2. Though the version published in the 1920 edition of Ying tiao fa shih has less decorative significance than this, it keeps more closely to the spirit of Fig. 3. The colour scheme of the upper design, as represented in the 1925 edition, is similar to that of the upper design in Fig. 2, except that the outermost band of the border is printed dark blue. The lower design has a leaf green surround to the border and the three bands within it are pale, middle and dark blue. The floral ornament is coloured realistically, the petals of the lotus being scarlet gradated to pale pink.
appear in Figs. 2 and 4 the corresponding designs as represented on f. 6 of chüan 34 in the 1925 edition. The question is which of these two versions of the same motive truly represents the original Sung design. A point to be noted is that the photo-lithographed facsimile published in 1920 gives another variant, and it is more like that of the Yung-lo ta tien than that of 1925. The manuscript reproduced in the 1920 edition is traced to the 1145 printed edition, but it is said to have been copied at third hand (see my former article, pp. 474, 484–5). Judged by comparison with known Sung relics decorated with floral designs, the Yung-lo ta tien drawings would appear to resemble more closely the style of that period. The set of the gigantic encyclopædia, to which this volume belonged, should have been executed with due care; since it was made specially for the Palace at Peking. Nevertheless, the illustrations bear evidence of perfunctory treatment as regard the colour labels, and the question is whether they are to be regarded as trustworthy copies of those in the original set of 1407. The source of the latter is not known, so far as I am aware; but probably it was a copy of the 1145 Ying tsao fa shih.

The comparison made here involves a bigger issue than the reliability of this latest edition of the sole important treatise on Chinese architecture which has survived. It manifests the truth that traditional designs suffer change from time to time in accordance with varying factors, and that copyists, though aiming at faithful imitation, cannot exclude from their work influences of the current style and their own personal mannerisms.
THE ORKHON INSCRIPTIONS

Being a Translation of Professor Vilhelm Thomsen’s final Danish rendering

By E. Denison Ross

The two famous monuments known as the Orkhon Inscriptions, erected in honour of the two Turkic princes, Kül-Tegin and his brother Bilgä Kagan, though mentioned in Chinese histories, remained forgotten and ignored down to quite recent times. They stand near the Lake Kocho Tsaidam, to the west of the River Orkhn, about 50 miles north of the monastery of Erdentso (the site of the ancient city of Kara Korum), and about 25 miles to the north-west of the ruins of the capital of the Uighurs, Kara-Balgassun. They are two great square monoliths, which originally reposed in two sockets. Both these sockets are still in their original position, but the monuments have been thrown down, with the result that Monument II is in four pieces. They contain long Turkic inscriptions in Runic characters on three sides, and on one side (the western) the inscription is in Chinese. The Chinese inscriptions are very beautifully cut; the Runic inscriptions, which are also probably the work of the Chinese stone-cutters, are less elegant. It may be mentioned that the Chinese inscriptions differ entirely in their contents from the Turkish.

In 1896 the late Vilhelm Thomsen, of Copenhagen, published his first decipherment and translation into French of these Runic inscriptions, which are of the greatest historical importance for the early history of the Turks. In 1922, in the third volume of his collected essays, he published an entirely new translation into Danish of these inscriptions, his researches in the interval having thrown a great deal of new light, both linguistic and historical, on the interpretation of these texts.

No rendering of these famous inscriptions has hitherto appeared in English, although a full translation was published by H. H. Schaeder in the ZDMG., Neue Folge, Bd. iii, 1924. I thought it would be of interest to readers of our Bulletin to know what were the contents of these remarkable monuments, erected respectively in A.D. 732 and 735. Professor Thomsen also published at the same time a new translation of the Tonyukuk inscription found near the other two, and of this I hope to publish an English version in a future number.

1 Inscriptions de l’Orkhon, Helsingfors, 1896.
2 Samlaede Afhandlinger, vol. iii, Copenhagen, 1922.
Translation of Monuments I and II (1)

South side of Monument I (I S) = North side of Monument II (II N)

I 8 1 I, the God-like, Heaven-bred Turkish Wise [Bilgä] Kagan, I have mounted my throne (?). Hear from the beginning to the end of my words, first and foremost Ye my younger brothers, my brother's and my sister's sons (?) and my young princes, and then all Ye my kindred and my people, Ye Shadapit-begs on the right, Ye Tarkans and Buyruk-begs on the left, Otuz—["Thirty”—] [Tartars ? . . .] begs and peoples of the Tokuz—["Nine”—] Oguzes! Harken well to these my words, give close heed to them! Towards the East, towards the sun's rising, towards the South, towards the mid-day, towards the West, towards the sun's setting, towards the North, towards the mid-night—let all peoples within this [circle] listen to me; so far around have I disposed all the peoples. So long as the Turkish kagan rules in the forest of Mount Ötükân without the wickedness of to-day the kingdom suffers no ill. To the East I have made campaigns as far as the Shantung plain, and almost reached the sea; to the South I have made campaigns as far as Tokuz-Ersin (?) and almost reached Tibet; to the West I have made campaigns beyond Yenchü-ügüz ["The Pearl River"] as far as Tämir-kapig ["The Iron Gate”]; to the North I have made campaigns as far as the land of the Yer-Bayirkus. To all these lands have I led [the Turks]. The forest of Mount Ötükân has no [foreign] overlord; the forest of Mount Ötükân is the place wherefrom the kingdom is held together.

I 8 5 While I have ruled here, I have become reconciled with the Chinese people. The Chinese people, who give in abundance gold, silver, millet (?), and silk (?), have always used ingratiating words and have at their disposal enervating riches. While ensnaring them with their ingratiating talk and enervating riches, they have drawn the far-dwelling peoples nearer to themselves. But after settling down near them these have come to see their cunning. The good and shrewd men, the good and stout men, however, they have not shaken; and even if a man have fallen away from [us], they have not succeeded in leading, astray the sober ones within his kindred or his people.

I 8 6 But by letting yourselves be snared by their ingratiating talk and enervating riches, many of you, Turkish folk, have gone to destruction. When some among you, Turkish folk, said: "I will settle in the South, but not in the forest of Mount Chugay, but in the plain,” then the wicked men encouraged this party among you, Turkish folk, in this
wise: "When they are far away they give bad gifts; when they are near they give good gifts." Thus did they urge them on. The foolish persons were taken by these words, and went down to their neighbourhood, whereby many among you have come to destruction. "If thou then go forth to that land, O Turkish nation, thou wilt come to destruction; but if thou stay in the land of Ötükän, and send out caravans, thou wilt never suffer any need. If thou stay on in the mountain forest of Ötükän, thou shalt ever hold an everlasting kingdom, O Turkish nation, and thou shalt be full-fed. When thou art hungry, thou dost not remember what fullness is; but once thou art full-fed, thou hast no thought of what hunger is." Without giving heed to the words of your kagan, of him who, thanks to those of like mind among you, has set you on your feet—ye have wandered forth from place to place, and ye have all there languished and suffered need. Those among you that have stayed behind there have all had to go on from place to place, to life or death. Under the will of Heaven, and for that it was my high calling, I became kagan. After having become kagan I gathered together the whole luckless people; the poor people I have made rich, the people small in numbers I have made a numerous one. Or is there, perhaps, any untruth in these words? Turkish begs and peoples, harken unto this! How thou, O Turkish people, hast preserved the kingdom (through being obedient?), I have here written down; how thou hast been divided up, when thou wast faithless, I have here set forth. All that I had to say to you I have written down on this memorial stone [literally, the everlasting stone]. Having obeyed this, ye Turkish peoples and begs now living, ye begs that up to now have been obedient to the throne, could you indeed wish to be found wanting? (2)

I (have had) the memorial stone (hewn?). From the Chinese Emperor I have had artists to come, and have set them to work. My request has not been refused (†). They have sent the Chinese Emperor's court painters. I have bidden them set up a separate [or excelling?] hall, and inside and out I have had them to make various (?) [remarkable?] paintings. I have had the stone hewn; that which lay in my heart to utter I have (had written . . .). Understand to see [: to read?] this ( . . . ?) all as far as the suns and subjects of the Ten Arrows.² I have had the memorial stone hewn. For those of you (?) who might have been withdrawing [into

² It is interesting to note that the combination unց which Thomsen following Radloff originally read as unց = beloved, he now reads as ոուց or the Ten Arrows.
winter camp ?], or from barren (?) places striving towards grazing-ground, I have had this memorial stone hewn in a barren (?) place, and have written this. When ye see it, then know so much: this stone I have (. . . .). He that has written this inscription is his sister's son (?) Yolig Tegin.

The East Side (I and II E)

(3) When the blue sky above and the dark earth below were made, then were made between them both the sons of men. Over the sons of men set themselves [as rulers] my forbears Bumin kagan and İstämi kagan, and having set themselves [as rulers] they governed and kept in order the Turkish peoples' kingdoms and polity. All [the peoples in] the four quarters of the world were foes to them; but they waged wars against them and overcame all the peoples in the four quarters of the world, made them keep the peace and bow their head and bend their knee. Towards the East they made them settle as far as the mountain forest of Kadirkan, to the West as far as Tāmir-kapig [: "The Iron Gate"]). Over so great a distance did they rule between [these] two [extremes], bringing order to the "blue " Turks [kök Türk], who were without lord and without any tribal [organization]. They were wise kagans, they were stout-hearted; also their buyruk's [: high officials] were wise, were stout-hearted. Both begs and peoples were united. Therefore were they able to govern so great a realm, to bring order into the political body. According as their fate was laid down so they died. To witness the funeral and take part in the mourning there came from the East, from the sun's rising, the far-off Bökli (?)—nation, the Chinese, the Tibetans, Apar (?), Apurum (?), the Kirghiz, the Üch—[: "Three"—] Kurikans, the Otuz—("Thirty"—) Tatars, the Kitays, Tatabi—so many nations came to take part in the mourning and funeral. Such illustrious kagans they were. After them their younger brothers became kagans, and their sons became kagans; but the younger brothers were now not like their elder brothers, the sons were not like their fathers. It was incapable kagans that mounted the throne, it was bad kagans; their buyruks were likewise incapable and they were bad. Because of want of harmony between the begs and the people, and because of the Chinese people's cunning and craft and its intrigues, and because the younger and the elder brothers chose to take counsel against one another and bring discord between begs and people, they brought the old realm of the Turkish people to dissolution, and brought destruction on its lawful kagans. The sons of the nobles
became the bondsmen of the Chinese people, their unsullied daughters became its slaves. The Turkish begs gave up their Turkish names [or titles ?], and bearing the Chinese names [titles?] of Chinese begs they obeyed the Chinese Emperor, and served him during fifty years.

For him they waged war in the East towards the sun’s rising, as far as Bökli kagan, in the West they made expeditions as far as Tämirkapig ("The Iron Gate"); for the Chinese Emperor they conquered kingdoms and power. The whole of the common Turkish people said thus: “I have been a nation that had its own kingdom; where is now my kingdom? For whom do I win the kingdoms?” said they. “I have been a people that had its own kagan; where is my kagan?”

Which kagan is it I serve?” they said. Speaking in this wise they rose up against the Chinese Emperor; but as they, having risen up, had not been able to put themselves in order and take proper thought, they once more submitted. All these were [not only] not minded to give [us] help, but [even] said: “Let us [rather] slay the Turkish people and root it out”; but they went [themselves] to meet destruction. But the Turks’ Heaven above, and the Turks holy Yer-sub did as follows: to the end that the Turkish people should not perish but that it should [again] become a people, they raised up my father Elterish kagan and my mother Elbilga katun, supporting them from the heights of Heaven. My father the kagan went forth with seventeen men. When they heard the tidings that he was going forth outside [China], they that were in the towns went out, and they that were on the mountains came down from them, and when they gathered together they were seventy men. As Heaven gave them strength, my father, the kagan’s army was as wolves, and their foes as sheep. Making marches East and West, he gathered people and brought them together, and there came to be in all seven hundred men. When there had come to be seven hundred men he set the people in order in consonance with my forefathers’ institutions, the people that had lost its realms and its kagan, the people that had become thralls and slave-women, the people whose Turkish institutions had been broken up, and he put heart into them. He now brought order into the Tölish peoples and the Tardush peoples, and gave them a yabgu and a shad. To the south the Chinese people was our foe, to the North Baz kagan and the people of the Tokuz ["Nine"] Oguz’s were our foes; Kirghiz, kurikans, Otuz ["Thirty"] Tatars, Kitays and Tatabis—they were all hostile to us; (with) all these (had) my father the kagan (to fight?). Forty-seven times he went
campaining, and fought in twenty fights. By the will of Heaven we took from them that had a kingdom their kingdom, and them that had a kagan we robbed of their kagan; he made the foes to keep the peace, and made them bow their head and bend their knee. After having won so great a kingdom and such great power he died. Instead of my father the kagan we raised up Baz kagan as first balbal. (4)  

So my father’s brother the kagan took over the government. Having mounted the throne, my father’s brother the kagan organized anew the Turkish people, and set it on its feet; the poor he made rich, those that were few he made many. When my father’s brother the kagan had mounted the throne I myself became shad over the Tardush people (5). Together with my father’s brother the kagan I took the field eastwards as far as the Green River [yašil ūgūz] and the Shantung plain; westwards we made campaigns as far as Tāmīr-kapīg; as far as the Kirghiz land beyond Kögmān we made campaigns. Altogether we made twenty-five campaigns and fought thirteen times. From them that had a kingdom we took away their kingdom; them that had a kagan we robbed of their kagan; we made them bend their knee and bow their head. The Tūrgish kagan was of my Turks, my people. Because of his foolishness, and because he was filled with deceit towards us he was slain and his buyruks and beggs were slain. The people of the Ten Arrows suffered evil. So that the land governed by our forbears should not be without a lord, we set in order the people that was small in numbers [? or: the Az people?] (. . . . ) who was Bar’s beg; we gave him here the title of kagan, and gave him the princess my younger sister to wed. But they were faithless, the kagan was slain, and the people became thralls and slave-women. So that the land Kögmān should not be left without a lord, we came, after setting Az-og (?) the Kirghiz people in order, and fought, but we gave them (their independence?) back again. So far as the other side of the mountain forest of Kadirkan in the East, we let the people dwell, and organized it; so far as Kāngu-tarman in the West we let the Turkish people dwell, and organized it. At that time the slaves themselves had slaves, the slave-women themselves had slave-women; the younger brother knew nought of the elder brother, the sons knew nought of their father. So great was the kingdom and the dominion which we had won and organized. But, Turkish and Oğuz beggs and

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1 It was a custom of the Turks to set up stones round the tomb of a fallen prince, each stone representing an enemy he had slain during his lifetime. Such stones were called balbal.
people, hearken to this! Did not Heaven above fall down, or the earth below open, who could then have destroyed thy kingdom and thy might? Turkish peoples! Tremble and go into thyself! It is thou thyself that has been deceitful and acted cravenly towards thy wise kagan, who through thy obedience had raised thee up, and brought thee to thy goodly realm, which had been free and independent. Whence came, indeed, armoured men and split thee up? Whence, indeed, came lance-bearing men and dragged thee away? Thou people from the holy Ötükän mountain-forest, it was thou thyself that went forth! Some of you went eastwards, others of you went westwards;

but in those lands whither ye went ye attained only to this, that your blood flowed in streams and your bones lay like mountains. Your nobles' sons became thralls, your unsullied daughters became slave-women. Through your foolishness and cowardice my father's brother the kagan found his death. As the first one I had the Kirghiz kagan raised to be balbal. Heaven, which, so that the name and fame of the Turkish people should not perish, had raised up my father the kagan and my mother the katun, Heaven, which had given them the kingdom—this same Heaven, so that the name and fame of the Turkish people should not perish, has now appointed me as kagan.

I did not become a ruler over a flourishing (?) people; I became the ruler of a people which within was without food and outside was without clothing, a wretched and weak people. Together with my younger brother Kül tegin did I deal with this. So that the people's name and fame won by my father and my father's brother might not perish, for the sake of the Turkish people, I have not slept by night, and by day not found rest. Together with my younger brother Kül tegin, and with the two shads I have toiled unto death. By so toiling I have brought the peoples to not being as fire and water [: disunited]

(After I had mounted the throne as kagan?) those peoples that had gone forth far around came back, dying, without horses, and without clothing. That I might set the people up I (undertook) twelve (expeditions) with great armies, northwards against the Oguz people, to the East against the Kitay and Tatabi peoples, to the South against the Chinese, and I fought (. times). By the will of Heaven, and because I was greatly deserving and it so brought it about, I brought the dying people back to life; for the naked people I found clothing, the poor people I made rich, the scanty people I made numerous. I have made the other, which has a kingdom and a kagan, to stand higher. All the peoples in the four quarters of the world I have brought
to keeping the peace and making an end of hostilities; they all have obeyed me (6), and serve me. After having done so much for the power of the kingdom, my brother Kül tegin died by the decree of fate. At my father the kagan’s death my brother Kül tegin was (left behind at the age of) seven years. (At ten years of age ?) my brother Kül tegin was given a man’s name [: was received among the grown up], to the happiness of my mother the katun, who is like Umay. 

At the age of sixteen he accomplished as follows for my father’s brother, the kagan’s kingdom and power: we made a campaign against Alti [“Six”] Chub (?) and the Sogds and defeated them. The Chinese Ong tutuk (came with an army of) five-thousand and we fought. Kül tegin attacked at the run with the footmen, and took by force of arms the tutuk with spearmen prisoners, and brought them armed to the kagan. That army we destroyed there. When he was twenty-one years old we fought with Chacha sängün. First (he attacked riding on) Tadik (?) chur’s grey (horse; this horse) was killed there. The second time he attacked, riding on Ishbara Yamtar’s grey horse; this horse was killed there. The third time he attacked riding on Yäginsilig beg’s brown horse Kädimlig; this horse was killed there. His armour and his moon-diamond (ornament) they hit with more than 100 arrows, but not one hurt the [armour-?] plates or his head ( . . . . ) their [? his ?] attack ye all remember, Turkish begs. That army we there destroyed. Thereafter the Yer-Bayirkus under Ulug- [“great”] erkin became our foes. We hewed them up and defeated them by Lake Türgi-yargun. Ulug-erkin fled with but a few men. When Kül tegin was (26) years old we made a campaign against the Kirghiz. Making ourselves a way through the snow that lay a lance’s depth, we marched up over Kögmän mountain-forest and fell on the Kirghiz people as they slept. Kül tegin attacked at a run, riding on Bayir-ku’s white stallion. One man he shot with an arrow, two men he pierced through, one after the other. In this attack he broke the leg of Bayir-ku’s white stallion. The Kirghiz kagan we slew, and took their realm. In the same year we marched against the Türgishes up over the Altun mountain-forest, and crossing over the River Irtish. The Türgish folk we fell upon as they slept. The Türgish kagan’s army came up by Bolchu like fire and storm, and we fought. Kül tegin attacked riding on the grey horse Bashgu. The grey horse Bashgu ( . . . . . ). On the way back from there the Türgish kagan’s buyruks took the Az [people’s] tutuk a prisoner. Then we

¹ A children’s deity.
slew the kagan, and took over his kingdom. The whole of the common
Türgish people submitted. This people ( . . . . ). To organize
the Sogd people we went over Yenchü-ügüz as far as Tämir-kapig.
Afterwards the Türgish common people revolted, and went off towards
Kängäräs. Our army had neither horses nor supplies at the resting-
places; they were evil peoples ( . . . . ). They were brave men
that had attacked us. In despair under such conditions we sent out
Kül tegin with a few men to come up with them. They gave a great
fight. He attacked, riding on his white horse Alpshalchi. There he
slew and conquered the Türgish common people. As he withdrew
( . . . . ).

North Side (N)

IN 1 (. . ) he fought with (. ) and with Koshu tutuk, and slew all his
men. Their tents and goods he took all home without leaving anything.
When Kül tegin was 27 years old, the Karluk people, which at that
time was free and independent, came to a war with us. We fought
by the holy spring [or mountain-top; literally "head"] Tamag.

IN 2 Kül tegin was, when this battle took place, 30 years old. He attacked
at a run, riding on his white horse Alpshalchi. Two men he pierced
through one after the other. The Karlusks we slew and overcame. The
Az people came to war with us. We fought by Lake Kara (?)-kül.

IN 3 Kül tegin was then 31 years old. Riding on his white horse Alpshalchi
he attacked at a run. He took prisoner the eltäbir of the Az people
and annihilated there the Az people. As the kingdom of my father's
brother the kagan had become rebellious and the people had taken a
hatred (?) to him, we fought with the Izgizl people. Riding on his white
horse Alpshalchi, Kül tegin made his attack at the run. This horse
fell dead there. The Izgizl people was destroyed. The Tokuz-Oguz
people was my own people. As Heaven and Earth were in a turmoil
they rose against us. Within one year we fought five times. First

IN 5 we fought at [the town of] Togu-balik. Kül tegin attacked at a run,
riding on his white Azman. Six men he transfixed with his lance,
a seventh man he cut down in the hand-to-hand fight of the armies.
The second time we fought with the Ādız at Kushlagak. While Kül

IN 6 tegin attacked at a gallop, riding on his brown Az, he transfixed one
man, nine men he hewed down in the turmoil of the fight (?). The
Ādız people was destroyed there. The third time we fought with the
Oguz people at Bo( . . . . ). Kül tegin attacked, riding on the white
Azman, and transfixed [foes with the lance]. We overcame their army
and brought their people to submission. The fourth time we fought
at Chushbashi. The Turkish people was rebellious and nigh to being
averse. After Kül tegin had scattered (?) their army which had come
first, we surrounded and slew, at Tonga tegin’s funeral, the alpagus
of the Tongra of one kindred and (?) ten men. The fifth time we fought
with the Oguz at Azgänti-kadaz (?) Kül tegin attacked riding on his
black-brown Az. Two men he transfixed ( . . . ). This army was there
slain. After wintering in [the stronghold of] Maga- [or Amga-] kurgan
we set forth in the spring with an army against the Oguz ; Kül tegin
we sent off to bear the orders home (?). The hostile Oguz fell on the
camp. Kül tegin transfixed nine men among them, riding on his
white Ögsiz [= “the motherless” ], and did not yield the camp. My
mother the katun, along with my stepmothers, my aunts, and elder
sisters, my daughters-in-law, my princesses—all of those that were
left alive, would have become slave-women, and those of you that were
slain would have been left lying in the camp or on the road. If Kül
tegin had not been there, it would have been all over with you all.
Now my brother Kül tegin is dead. I have myself mourned. My eyes,
though seeing, have become as blinded; my thoughts, though conscious,
have become as without consciousness. I have myself mourned.

But the sons of men are all born to die, so soon as Heaven ordains the
time. Thus did I mourn, with the tears coming from the eye, and
wailing from the heart, I have mourned ever and again; deeply have
I mourned. I thought that the two shads, my younger brothers and
brothers’ sons, my sons, my begs and my people would weep till their
eyes grew sick. To take part at the funeral and mourning Udar Sängün
came from the Kitay and Tatabi peoples. From the Chinese Emperor
came Ishiyi and (?) Likäng. They brought in immeasurable quantity
precious things, gold and silver [to the value of] a tümän [= 10,000].
From the Tibetan kagan came a böln,¹ From the peoples of the Sogís,
Persians(?), and Bukhara tribes, dwelling in the West, towards the
sun’s setting came Näng [? or Nák ?] sängün and Ogul tarkan. From
the Ten Arrows and my son [? son-in-law or: from my sons, the
Ten Arrows, and] the Türkish kagan came Makarach, the keeper of
the seal, and Ogul Bilgä, the keeper of the seal. From the Kirghiz
kagan came Tardush Inanchu chur. To build the hall, carry out the

¹ It is interesting to note the Turkish transcription of the Tibetan word blöns—
pointing to the pronunciation of the initial “ b ” which has only an orthographical
value to-day ( = lön-po, an official).
works of art [the paintings?] and the inscribed stone there came the Chinese Emperor's Chikans and Chang Sängün.

_On the Face between the North and the East Side (I N E)_

Kül tegin died in the year “sheep” [731] the seventh [day]. In the ninth month, the 27th we held the funeral. His hall, the works of art [the paintings?] and the inscribed stone—all we dedicated in the year “ape”, the 7th month, the 27th [= 21 August 732]. Kül tegin died in his 47th year. ( . . . . ) All these artists were sent for by the toyguns (sic) and the eltäbirs.

_On the Face between the South and the East Side (I S E)_

He that has written [: composed] this inscription is I, Kül tegin’s sister’s son (?), Yolig tegin, who have written it. Tarrying here for twenty days, I have written all on this stone and these walls. Ye showed always a greater care than the others (?) for your princes and your tayguns. Now are ye dead. [Be in?] Heaven just as [ye were then] amongst the living.

_On the Face between the South and the West Side (I S W)_

The toyguns (?) that saw to (?) Kül tegin’s gold, silver, precious things, belongings, and 400 stud-horses ( . . . ) My lord the tegin ( . ) up to Heaven ( . . . . . . ) The stone I, Yollig [sic] tegin, have inscribed.

_On the West Side to the Right of the Chinese Inscription (I W)_

1. Inantchu apa’yargan tarkan is my name. The (Tur-) kish begs and the Turkish (people) (2) witnessed from the enclosure the funeral. Because of my brother Kül tegin’s (merits) and because he has served my kingdom, I, the Turkish Bilgä kagan have taken my place in the middle that was kept for me to keep watch over my brother Kül tegin.

**Notes**

1. The gaps in the inscription are shown by ( ), with a greater or a smaller number of dots or strokes, or attempts to fill in the missing matter conjecturally. In between [ ] are put words which are inserted in the translation for the sake of making it clearer by explanations and the like. In general in giving Turkish words and names I do not usually distinguish the sounds q, j, at the back of the tongue from k, g, or from i ; ch I use as in English = c (tsh); sh = s.
(2) (From here II goes on thus): As far around as (my father) the kagan and my father’s brother the kagan after having mounted the throne had ordered (and organized) the peoples in the four quarters of the world, (just as far around) have I myself by the favour of Heaven, after having mounted the throne, ordered and organized the peoples (. . . .). To the Türgish kagan with very great magnificence I sent (the princess) my daughter in marriage. The daughter of the Tür (gishes kagan) I gave with very great magnificence to my son in marriage. (The princess) my younger sister I sent (with very) great magnificence (to the Kirgiz (? kagan) in marriage. (. . . . . . . the peoples in the) four (quarters of the world I have brought into peace), to bow (their head) and bend their knee.

By the blessing of Heaven above, and the earth below (I have led) my people, whom none [before] had seen with their eyes or heard of with their ears, to the (lands lying ?) forwards, towards the up (rising) of the sun, to the right, towards the middle of the day, backwards, (towards) the sun’s (setting, to the left towards the middle of the night ?). I have won for my Turks, my people, their (yellow gold and) white silver, silk-stuff, and millet (?), riding-horses and stallions, black sables, and blue squirrels; I have brought it about that (my people) can live without cares. (. . . . So that thou dost not part thyself) from this thy kagan, from these thy begs, from (this) thy (land), O Turkish nation, then will it be well with thee, thou shalt come home again and not have any cares. (. . . .) From the Chinese Emperor I had artists (to come. My) request has not been refused (?) Court artists have been sent. I have made them build a separate (?) or excelling ?) hall and inside and outside I have (biden them make) various (?) excelling ?) paintings (. . . . .). Understand to see [: read]

(3) (II has in front of this): I, the godlike Turkish Wise [Bilgä] kagan appointed by Heaven, these are my words: When my father the Wise [Bilgä] (kagan had come into the rule, . . . were rejoiced and glad) the illustrious begs and peoples of the Tokuz—[“ nine ”] Oguz’s . . . . . . . . . (?), Now that my father the kagan is dead (I myself in accordance with) the Turkish Heaven’s (and the Turkish, holy Yer-sub’s will ?) come into the government of (this kingdom)

as kagan. After I had come into the government the Turkish begs and peoples were glad and rejoiced, who had been in sorrow as though they must die, and looked upwards with quieted (?) eyes. After
myself mounting the throne I have given out so many important laws (for the peoples) in the four quarters of the world ( . . . . . .).

II E 14 (4) (In the parallel place in II is here inserted :) When my father the kagan died, I myself was left behind at an age of eight years.

(5) (Instead of the last clause II has :) (I served) myself (my father’s brother the kagan, so long as I ?) was tegin; (by the will of

II E 15 Heaven) I was at fourteen years old appointed shad over the Tardush people.

(6) (From here II goes on as follows :) At the age of seventeen

II E 24 I made a campaign against Tangut. The Tangut people I destroyed; their young men and households, their horses and belongings I took away from there. At 18 years old I made a campaign against Alti— [“ six ”] Chub (??) and the Sogds and defeated them. The Chinese Ong tutuk came with an army of 50,000; I fought at Idruk-Bash [“ The holy spring ” or “ mountain-top ”] and I destroyed there this army. At 20 years old I made a campaign against the Bashmil people and its Iduk-kut, since they did not send caravans [with tribute], ( . . . . . ) I made them submit again, and all together come to us.

II E 25 At 22 I made a campaign against the Chinese; I fought against Chacha sängün and (his army of) 80,000 men; I destroyed his army there. At 26 the Chik people together with the Kirghiz became our enemies; I made a campaign over the river Kem against Chik, I fought at Örpän and beat their army. The Az people ( . . . . ), I brought them into submission to me again. At 27 years I made a campaign against the Kirghiz. As we made ourselves a way over the snow, which lay to a lance’s depth, I marched up over the Kögmän mountain-forest, and fell upon the Kirghiz people as they slept. I fought with their kagan in the Songa (??) mountain-forest, and I slew their kagan and occupied their kingdom. In the same year I marched against the Türlish people up over the Altun mountain-forest and beyond the Irtish river, and I fell upon (the Türlish people as they slept). The Türlish kagan’s army came like fire and storm; we fought

II E 26 at Bolchü; I slew there the kagan and his yabgn and shad, and brought their kingdom under my sway. When thirty years old I made an expedition against Beshbalik; I fought six times (and conquered ?), the whole of their army I did destroy. What peoples are there within ? ( . . . . . ) came to call ( . . . ); thereby Beshbalik was saved. When

II E 27 I was 31 years old the Karluk people became hostile to us, at the time when it was living in freedom and without any cares. I fought by the holy spring [or : mountain-top] Tamag, and I destroyed the Karluk
people, and conquered it. (When I was 32 years old . . . .) the Karluk people gathered together (and came ?; their army conquered)

I, and destroyed it. The Tokuz-Oguz's were my own people. Since Heaven and earth were in a tumult, and since envy have taken hold of their mind (?), they rose in rebellion. Within one year I fought four times. First I fought by [the town of] Togu-balik; having made my men swim over the River Togla I (overcame and destroyed) their army. The second time I fought at Andargu [? or Urgu ?] and overcame (and destroyed their army . . . .) The third time I fought (at Chush Bashi). The Turkish people was mutinous and near

to being craven, but I drove away (?) their [foes'] army, which had got the advantage, and was coming to break us; and many that were near to dying came back to life again at this. There I surrounded and hewed down, at the funeral of Togta tegin, the Tongra [tribes] yilpau's of one kindred. The fourth time I fought at Azgand-kadz; their army I overcame and destroyed there. (Their horses) and their belongings (I took away there. When I was 24 (?) years old) there was a failure of the crops after we had wintered in [the stronghold of] Maga-[for Amga-jkurgan. In the spring I marched against the

Oguzes; the first army had gone forth, the second army was at home. Three Oguz armies came to attack us; in the belief that we were left without horses and hard pressed, they came to attack us. One of their armies set forth to plunder our settlements, the second of their armies came to fight. We were few and we were hard beset, the Oguzes ( . . . . . . ; as Heaven) gave us strength, I overcame and broke them there. By the favour of Heaven, and because I myself accomplished somewhat, ( . . . ) the Turkish people ( . . . . ). If I had not first done so much, the Turkish people would have perished and come to destruction. (Turkish) begs (and people), think of this, know this!

The Oguz people ( . . . . . . ) I took the field; I laid waste their abodes. The Oguz people came united with the Tokuz Tatars; at Agn I fought two great fights; their army I destroyed, their tribes I overcame. After having accomplished so much (my father's brother the kanga (?) died). By the favour (of Heaven) (I became) myself

when 33 years old (kagan . . . . . .) kagan,1 who had set (them) on their feet again, was faithless. Heaven above and the holy Yer-sub and ( . . . ) kagan's good fortune were not favourably minded towards him. The Tokuz-Oguz people left their land, and went to China. ( . . . from) China they came (back) to this land. I will set them

1 Which kagan is here spoken of is not clear; perhaps Bögü kagan (p. 188 f.) (?)
on their feet, thought I ( . . . . . . . ) the people (. . .) was faithless, (therefore) its name and fame came to ruin in the South in China; in this land it became a shame (?) unto me. When I myself had become kagan, I (set) the Turkish people (on its feet . . . . . . . . . .). (There)

I fought and overcame their army. Some of them submitted again, and became a people; others found death. I marched down along Selenga (?) and there laid waste their settlements. (. . . . . .) the Uygurs' eltabir fled eastwards with about 100 men (. . . . . . .).

The Turkish people suffered hunger; I set them up through taking these horses. When I was 34 years old the Oguzes fled and gave themselves up under China; in wrath I took the field (. . . . . . . . . .).

[The rest of the East side and its continuation on the South side contain such great gaps, that these parts are here left out as far as II S 8:]

Küg Sängün came at the head of an army of 40,000 men; I met him at the mountain Tüngkär, and defeated him and hewed down 3,000 men (. . . . . . .). After my eldest son had died of sickness, I had Küg Sängün set up as balbal. For 19 years I governed as shad, for 19 years I was kagan and ruled the realm. 31 (years I was tegin?). For my Turks, for my people I have brought so much good. Having accomplished so much my father the kagan died in the year "dog" [734], the 10th moon, the 26; in the year "pig" [735], the 5th month the 27th, we held the funeral (. . . . . . . . . .). Lisün tay-sängün came at the head of 500 men; they brought sweet-scented things (. . .) gold and silver in quantity beyond reckoning; they brought corpse candles (?) and set them up; they brought sandal-wood (. . . . . . . . . .). All these people cut their hair and slashed their ears and checks. They brought their good riding-horses, their black sables, their blue squirrels in quantity beyond reckoning, and all this they offered up.

[The end of this part from 1.13 has only an enumeration of those who there took part in the funeral, and in the homage to the new kagan.]

1 While up to now it has been always the dead kagan who is represented as speaking [except in II F 1-2], here it is suddenly the new kagan that starts speaking without any transition.
On the Face between the South and the West Side (II S W)

(The description concerning the Turkish Bilgä) kagan I, Yolig tegin, have written. (He that had all this painted and set up, the hall, the paintings, and the statues, is I, the kagan's sister's son (?), Yolig tegin. For a month and four days I have tarried here, and written and had painted (and had set up).

Over the Chinese Inscription on the West Side (II W; p. 483)

(= the beginning of this translation)

(Since my father) Bilgä kagan, (who has ruled) over (the Turks, is dead), I will, when it is spring, when (Heaven's) drums (sound ?) as—(?), when the deer flees on the mountain, again mown. My father (the kagan's) stone I have myself as kagan (...).

(7) The month is not given; perhaps the first month of the year.
,,RA'INĀ“

Von David Künstlinger


Die muḥammadanischen Kurānkommentatoren wissen hierüber keinen Bescheid zu geben. Was sie zur Erklärung vorbringen, mag man es auch geistreich nennen, bietet keineswegs eine annehmbare Beleuchtung dieses merkwürdigen Verbotes.

Hier sei manches aus Ṭabarī's Ṭafsīr zu 2, 98 in Band i, 354 ff. der ersten Ausgabe angeführt.3) (Weder Zamahšari noch Baidāwī bieten darnach etwas Neues.) خلافًا رأعنا, Gegenteil, Widerspruch sein. Die Ungläubigen, die Juden, die Juden und Christen sollten den Propheten in beleidigendem Sinne ارتعى سمعاك angesprochen haben, daher wird an die Gläubigen das Verbot gerichtet, so nicht sprechen zu dürfen.4) Oder: Die Muslime pflegten die obige Phrase den Juden

1 Medinisch; s. Nöldeke-Schwally, Gesch. d. Qorāns, i, 176.
2 Medinisch, das. 200.
3 Zu 4, 48, beruft er sich auf seine Erklärung zu 2, 98.

Hirschfeld, *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Koran* pag. 64 vermutet, Muḥammad habe hier wohl wieder nach dem Gehör geruertelt. Wahrscheinlich war das Stichwort 'rā'ūn, „sieh auf uns“ oder 'rā'ūn, Anfangsworte eines Segensspruches aus dem Achtzehngebet; wie käme er sonst auf ḥātir? In der Tat lautet eine ältere arabische Paraphrase zu dieser Stelle des Achtzehngebets ḥātir. Aber dies zugegeben ist ausser der Schwierigkeit, die in der Verwechslung des 'rā'ūn liegt und dass Muḥammad hier ein hebräisches Wort wiedergegeben hätte, durchaus nicht einzusehen, was denn in 'rā'ūn tadelnswertes liegt, so dass es zu erwähnen verboten werden sollte! In Hirschfeld, *New Researches* etc. ist diese Ansicht nicht aufgenommen.

Die oben an letzter Stelle von Ṭabarī angeführte Erklärungsmethode ist wohl die ansprechendste insofern sie in ṭalqānā einen Gott gegenüber unentsprechenden Ausdruck findet. Die Erklärung selbst aber ist

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1 Die Begründungen s. das. und *Lisan al-arab* xv, 417–8; xx, 4–5. Der Text des Ṭabarī ist hier nicht in Ordnung.
3 Das. 108–9. 123.
unhaltbar, denn in Rätsel steckt durchaus nicht das, was in dasselbe hineingelegt wird. Rätsel selbst involviert durchaus nicht die Bedeutung einer "beiderseitigen" Aufmerksamkeit in sich. Der Grund des Verbotes Rätsel Gott gegenüber zu gebrauchen wird wohl ein anderer gewesen sein.


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¹ Goltz, Tischgebete und Abendmahlgebete, etc., 29. Derselbe, Das Gebet in der ältesten Christenheit, etc., 202, 230, 248, 256 u.s.
² Moh., i, 147.
Aus der arabischen Tradition seien hier zwei im *Lisān al-ʿarab* xvi, 41 erwähnte Stellen zitiert. Aus einem ḥadīt des ʿUmar


Wenn bei Juden in einem älteren Midrās siebzig Namen Gottes aufgezählt werden, so findet man darunter auch "aṣābaḥ", der Hirt. In den hundert Namen Gottes bei den Muḥammadanern kommt Raʿaṭān nicht vor; allerdings auch nicht "aṣābaḥ".

Dürfte man den islamischen Biographen Muḥammads Glauben schenken, welche zu erzählen wissen, dass Muḥammad selbst, vor seiner Berufung zum Propheten, ein Schafhirte gewesen war, wie es noch Sprenger annimmt, so könnte man vermuten, dass auch diese frühere Stellung vielleicht dazu beigetragen habe das Wort "weide uns" in Bezug auf Gott zu vermeiden. Allein diese Geschichte wird wohl, wie manche andere, dem Muḥammad zugeschriebene, erst in islāmischer Zeit erfunden worden sein. Und zwar, um zu beweisen, dass Gott nie einen Mann zum Propheten erkoren habe, der nicht die Schafe geweidet hätte. Ebenso wird auch die Bezeichnung

5. *Ibn Hīṣām* das., Sprenger das.

¹ Tor Andrae, *Die Person Muh.*, 254; Wensineck, *Acta Or.*, ii, iii, 183.
² *Lišān al-ʿarb*, xix, 42. Vgl. die oben aus dem NT. angeführten Stellen; Ezech. xxxiv, 23; Ephes., iv, 11, und die syr. *WBB.* s.v. ܒܝܬ ܢܗܪܝܢ.
³ Levy, Targ. *WB.* s.v.
LAHNDÁ AND LAHNDI

By Sir George A. Grierson, O.M., K.C.I.E.

In the Linguistic Survey of India the language spoken in the Western Panjáb is called Lahndá. Previously it had, in India, not been recognized as any independent form of speech, the many local dialects there spoken—Mūltānī, Sirākī, Hindkī, Jaṭkī, and so on—being looked upon merely as so many dialects of Panjábī. Panjábīs themselves had no general name for this group as a separate entity. When they wished to express that idea they employed a periphrasis, such as Lahndē-dī bōlī, or "the dialect of the West".¹

European scholars, however, had by that time long recognized the fact that a general name for the whole group was needed, and more than forty years ago one of the first describers of the language, Mr. Tisdall, named it "the Lahndā", i.e. Lahndā, "dialect."² I am not especially enamoured, myself, of this name, but as it had not been challenged for some thirty years, as it was not inconsistent with English idiom, and as no better name had been suggested, I employed it in the Survey.

Of late years some writers on Indian languages have substituted the term "Lahndī" for "Lahndā". This is justified by Dr. Grahame Bailey in the following terms ³:

"For Lahndī Sir George writes Lahndā, saying that it is an English word. Lahndī is just as good an English word as Lahnda, and better than Lahndā. What we want to know is the Urdu or Panjābī word for the language. As a matter of fact, I have found that scholarly Indians speaking Urdu or Panjābī use the word Lahndī as the name of the language. It is the natural word, whereas Lahnda would be used by those who were copying some European."

With every respect to Dr. Grahame Bailey’s profound knowledge of Urdu and Panjābī, I would venture to point out that it is not I who write Lahndā for Lahndī, but that it is he who writes Lahndī for Lahndā, the latter word having been undisputed for over forty years. I am unable to look upon Lahndī as an English word, and if scholarly Indians speaking Urdu or Panjābī use the word "Lahndī" as the name

¹ I may add that in the year 1898 I consulted the Panjāb Education Department on this particular point, and the result of the inquiries then instituted, was as above.
² As we shall see "Lahndā" and "Lahndā" are only local varieties of spelling the same word.
of the language, I can only say that they are displaying ignorance of the rules for the formation of words in their own tongue. If it is the natural word, it is the natural word only of those who employ spurious hybrids and false analogies. I know that I am a foreigner criticizing an Indian's knowledge of his own speech, but all the same I have no hesitation in raising this objection.

In order to justify my remarks it is necessary to go to the root of the matter. Bhai Maya Singh in his Panjâbî Dictionary, gives lahan as a Mûltâni (i.e. Lahndâ) word meaning “to descend”, “to set (as the sun),” with a present participle lahndâ.¹ Later on, he gives lahndâ, the Panjâbi form of latter word, as meaning “the West”. We therefore find that in the Panjâb, Lahndâ or Lahndâ means “the (masculine) country where the sun sets”, i.e. “the West”. Lahndâ would be the feminine of the present participle, and, in its derivative sense would mean “the (feminine) country where the sun sets”, i.e. some Western country the name of which is feminine in form. Lahndâ has an exact parallel in the English “Levant”, also a present participle of a borrowed foreign verb, and meaning “the country where the sun rises”, i.e. “the East”. The expression “the Levant” thus means in English the countries at the eastern end of the Mediterranean Sea. Similarly, when Lahndâ indicates a tract of country, the English idiom requires us to represent it by “the Lahndâ”, and not simply by “Lahndâ”.

As already stated, Panjâbî has no general word to indicate the group of dialects spoken in the Lahndâ; but Tisdall, in the relevant section of his Panjâbî grammar, called it “the Lahndâ dialect”, and the use of Lahndâ, or Lahndâ, to indicate the language of the Lahndâ is not inconsistent with English idiom, just as we say a man speaks “Somerset” or “Devon”. I therefore conclude that in the English language, it is not wrong to borrow the foreign word Lahndâ, and to employ it as a name for the language spoken in the Lahndâ.

The same thing cannot be said for Lahndâ. The name of the country in which the language is spoken is not a feminine word. Moreover, while “Lahndâ” has been borrowed by English, and used in English idiom, “Lahndâ” is not, and never has been, so borrowed.

Dr. Bailey says, “what we want to know is the Urdu or Panjâbî word for the language.” It is therefore necessary to ascertain whether

¹ The word presents difficulties in transliteration, as the a is merely a nasalization and not a pure consonant. But, for our present purposes, the above spelling will do. So also for lahndâ, later on.
Lahndā is a possible Urdu or Panjabi word for the language of the Lahnda.

In Indo-Aryan forms of speech, language names are made in various ways. These are:

1. The name of the country in which it is spoken is taken without alteration.
2. The name of the language is formed by the addition of the Persian suffix ī to the name of the country.
3. The name of the language ends in ī, having come down through Prakrit, being derived from a Sanskrit original in īkā or ī, and not being directly formed from the modern name of the country.
4. The name of the language is a modern formation, derived directly from a newly created name of a country.

We shall consider them in the above order.

1. As an example of the name of the country being also employed for the name of the language, there is the word Bāṅglā, which means both the country of Bengal, and also the Bengali language. Another example is Urdu, which means both "a camp" and also "the language of a camp". These might be quoted in defence of Lahnda, but I do not press the resemblance.

2. The addition of the Persian suffix ī is a frequent method of indicating the name of a language. Examples are Hindī, Hindōstānī, Panjābī, and Dōābī. Is it possible that "Lahndī" has been invented on the analogy of the above? If so, the analogy is false, and the result is an atrocious example of hybridism. The Persian suffix ī can be added only to Persian words. Hindī, Hindōstānī, Panjābī, and Dōāb are all Persian words, and the addition of the suffix is natural. But Lahnda is not Persian, or anything approaching Persian. It is good Indo-Aryan and cannot take a Persian suffix.

3. The Indo-Aryan suffix ī forming language names is distinct from the Persian suffix just referred to. It is invariably a taddhava suffix that has come down from the Sanskrit ī or īkā or some such termination, through a Prakrit ī or īa. In Sanskrit this was the termination of a feminine adjective running parallel to the name of the country in which the language was spoken. Thus in ancient Rājputānā there was a country called in Sanskrit Mālava-. From this was formed a Sanskrit adjective Mālavaka- meaning "of or belonging to Mālava". The feminine was mālavikā,—a word familiar to students of
Kālidāsa,—and (the feminine word bhāṣā, language, being understood) it meant "the (language) of Mālava". From the word Mālavā- is descended the modern name of Mālwa, and from Mālavikā is descended "Mālvi", the modern name of the language spoken there. It will be observed that "Mālvi" is in no way derived from "Mālwa". The two words have developed side by side and independently. This is true for all language-names formed with this suffix, and, "Lahndī" can no more be explained as derived from "Lahndā", than "Mālvi" can be explained as derived from "Mālwa". As other examples of this suffix, I may quote, Sanskrit rāṣṭrikā (cf. Asōka's raṭhika-), modern Rāṭhī, the dialect of the western Panjab; Sanskrit Gurjaratrā, modern Gujarāt; Sanskrit Gurjaratrīkā, modern Gujarātī; Sanskrit Mahārāṣṭraka-, modern Marāṭhā; Sanskrit Māhārāṣṭrī, or Māhārāṣṭrikā, modern Marāṭhī. In all these and in all similar cases, the modern language-name grew up independently of the country-name, and is not derived from it.

If therefore it is desired to put a language-name such as Lahndī under this head, we must first find a Sanskrit feminine adjective meaning "of, or belonging to the West", from which it is to be derived. So far as I am aware, it would be a hopeless task to search for such an origin.

(4) There remains the fourth class of language-names, words derived in modern times from a newly created name of a country. As nearly all Indo-Aryan local names are tadbhavas based on ancient Sanskrit words, it stands to reason that there can be very few of these, and, so far as I know, all such are complimentary or descriptive titles, and are attributives. A good example is found in the story of the famous Banda Bairāgī. Wishing to compliment the Sikhs who inhabited Fīrozpur and the neighbourhood, he gave them the title of "Mālwā Simha". Here Mālwā is an attribute, and the country where these Sikhs lived became known as "The Mālwā". This attributive word had to be treated like any other adjective. When it was desired to invent a form to indicate the language spoken in the Mālwā, the usual modern process was followed for forming an abstract noun from an adjective and, to use Dr. Grahame Bailey's expression, the "natural word" was formed without any difficulty. Just as the abstract noun of acabā is acabāi; of burā is burāi; of bhalā is bhalāi, so the name of the language spoken in the Mālwā is Mālveā.

1 Cf. what I have said above about "The Lahndā". It is hardly necessary to point out that this country is quite distinct from "Mālwā" of Rājpūtānā.
Observe the difference between this word, and the Mālvī of Rajputānā. In both the name of the country is Mālvā, but in the modern pair of words, when a language-name has to be made, it ends in āī, not in ī.

In the foregoing pages I have endeavoured to show two facts:—

(1) That, in the English language, it is not inconsistent with English idiom to employ the word Lahndā in the meaning of the language spoken in the Lahndā country, and (2) that neither in English nor in Panjābī can the word Lahndī be used in this sense, without committing a solecism.

There remains Dr. Grahame Bailey's demand for an Urdu or Panjābī word for this language. In reply, I can only state that there is no such general word in use in either Urdu or Panjābī for the group of dialects that together form the language called Lahndā in the Linguistic Survey. In fact, all Indians, scholarly or otherwise, have, up to the publication of the Linguistic Survey, looked upon these dialects not as forming a separate group, but as some among the many dialects of Panjābī. To them, say, Mūltānī, Jaṭī, and Hindī were as much dialects of that language, as were, say, Rāṭhī, Mālwaī or Majhī. It was English writers who first diagnosed these dialects of the Lahndā as forming together an independent language, distinct from Panjābī.

If, therefore, scholarly Indians accept the existence of this newly defined language and wish to find a name for it, they must invent one for themselves, just as names such as "Hindī" or "Hindōstānī" were invented by the Persian-speaking invaders who first recognized the existence of groups of dialects in the Gangetic plain and classified these groups under various language-names. I am a foreigner, and I have certainly no right to usurp this right of nomenclature. All that I can do is to repeat that if the linguistic laws of Indo-Aryan languages are to be adhered to, the name of the language of the Lahndā cannot be "Lahndī". I may perhaps also suggest that if a Panjābī word complying with these linguistic laws is needed they have a model in the Panjābī name of the language of the Mālwa. Just as, in Panjābī, the language of the Mālwa is called "Mālwaī", so it will be quite possible to invent a word "Lahndāī" for the language of the Lahndā. But this is only a friendly suggestion, and if scholarly Indians can suggest a better Urdu or Panjābī name that is linguistically possible, I shall be the first to welcome it.
THE HISTORY OF THE JAPANESE PARTICLE "I"
By S. Yosshitake

The Japanese language contains a number of words that are pronounced differently when standing in the attributive position. The following is a list of such words, taken mainly from the literary monuments of the eighth century A.D.¹

(1) e:a.

AME heaven, sky: ama-hire (sky—shawl) cloud.
AME rain: ama-giri (rain—mist) rainy mist.
FUNe ship: funa-de (<*funa-ide ship—departure) departure of a ship.
INE rice-plant: ina-muširo (rice plant—mat) a pillow-word used for qualifying šiki (dense, heavy, frequent) and kaha (river) which are homonymous with šiki (to spread) and kaha (skin).
KANE metal: kana-gusari (metal—chain) irons.
KAZE wind: kaza-nami (wind—wave) waves caused by the wind.
KOWE voice, sound: kowa-buri (voice—manner) tone of voice.
ME eye: ma-tsu-ge (eye—around—hair) eyelashes.
MUNE breast: muna-dži (chest—breast) breast.
MURE crowd: mura-kumo (cluster-cloud) clustered clouds.
NAHE seedling: naha-širo-ta (seedling—material—paddy field) a paddy-field used for the cultivation of seedlings.
SAKE liquor: saka-dzuki (<*saka-tsu-uki liquor—containing—cup) wine-glass.
SUGE sedge: suga-tatami (sedge-mat) mat made of the sedge.
TAKE bamboo: taka-dama (bamboo-gem) threaded pieces of bamboo used for ornamentation.
TAKE height, hill: taka-kura (height—seat) elevated seat, throne.
TE hand: ta-na-gokoro (hand—of—hollow) hollow of the hand.

¹ In order to unify the system of transcribing words in various languages, including Japanese, which are introduced in the present paper, I have adopted the following symbols: Turkish d = Japanese e = e in bed; d = u in bul; er = er in butter; i = e in pretty; J (Jap., Luchuan) = bilabial voiceless fricative; β = bilabial voiced fricative; = ch in German ich; ch = ch in German Buch; = sh in sheep; t = ch in cheek; = j in jar; q = uvular voiceless plosive.
² The initial voiceless consonant of the second word usually becomes voiced, thus -h > -b, -t > -d, -k > -g, unless the word contains a voiced consonant, when the initial consonant remains unvoiced.
tsume end: tsuma-gi (end—tree) brushwood, twig.
uhe upper part: uho-mo (upper part—skirt) upper skirt.
ure tree-top: ura-ba (tree top—leaf) leaves on the tree-top.
wase early rice: wasa-bo (early rice—ear) ear of early rice.

(2) e: o.
se back of the body: so-gahi (<*so-mukahi ? ¹ back-facing) rear.

(3) i: o.
ashi foot, leg: ato-be (foot-side) space around one’s feet.
hi fire: ho-no-ho (fire—of—head) flame.
iishi stone: iso-be (stone—side) shore (covered with pebbles).

(4) i: u.
fumi a writing: fumuta (<*fumu-ita writing-board) > fuda document, bill.
kami a god: kamu-tsudohi (god—assembly) assembly of the gods.
ki tree: ku-da-mono (tree—on—thing) fruit, ko-no-ha (tree—of—leaf) leaf of a tree.
ki yellow: ku-gane, ko-gane (yellow—metal) gold.
kuki stalk: kuku-datsi (stalk—shoot) offshoot of a stalk.
mi body: mu-zane (body—essence) the real self.
ni gem: nu-boko (gem—halberd) halberd adorned with gems.
tsuki moon: tsuku-yo (moon—night) moonlight night, moon.
utshi interior: utsu-momo (inside—thigh) inside of the thigh.
yohi night, evening: yofu-be (night—side) last night, yufu-datsi-no-ame (evening—issuing—rain) rain that pours in the evening (> a shower).

These examples, though few in number, are sufficient to show that the changes are quite regular, and that the same rule applies equally to a combination of two words by means of the particle no, no, tsu or da, of which the two latter are possibly related to Mongol -tu, -tii, -du, -dii, and Turkish-Mongol -daq, -daki.

No satisfactory explanation has ever been offered of these phonetic changes which are too regular to be accidental. The Japanese philologists unanimously agree that the back vocalic forms are the older of the two, apparently on the ground that archaisms are often

¹ The most archaic Japanese word meaning “the back of the body” is sobira, of which *so is apparently a contraction.
preserved unchanged in compound words. This, however, is hardly true of the Japanese language, where many a word is disfigured in compounds through contraction and assimilation. If, therefore, the front vocalic forms are a later development, as they apparently are, we must seek some other causes that might have been responsible for such phonetic changes.

To inquire into a problem of this kind is no easy task, for we have as yet no accurate knowledge even of the phonetic system of the Japanese language of the eighth century A.D. It is said that the modern Japanese h (which has three phonetic values γ, χ, and h) goes back to p and was so pronounced twelve hundred years ago. But there are also many instances which point to the presence of some such sounds as f and b (possibly also β, χ, h) besides p, in that period. With such a limited knowledge of the sound-system of that remote time it is well-nigh impossible for any one to venture a definite opinion as to the phonetic changes before the eighth century A.D. The theory put forward below must therefore be taken merely as a tentative suggestion which is subject to alteration as fresh evidence presents itself.

The Japanese literature of the seventh–eighth centuries A.D. is characterized by the use of a strange grammatical particle i, which, according to Motoori, cannot be replaced by ha, ga or zo, but resembles rather the interjection yo. While accepting Motoori’s view in the main, Matsuoka is inclined to connect this particle with the Korean nominative particle i, which is said to have been derived from the demonstrative i “this”, a theory which was apparently first advanced by Kanazawa. In Sansom’s historical grammar it is defined as “an obsolete emphatic particle, which appears to have acted as a case particle, denoting the subject”.

In my opinion the Japanese particle i was originally the genitive case of the personal pronoun of the third person singular, closely related to the Classical Mongol inu “his, her, its”, and the Turkish possessive suffixes of the third person singular -i (Orkhon), -in (Yakut), -o (Chuvash), the latter three forms developed from *-in. The Mongol inu has long since lost its original meaning, and has acquired a peculiar

force somewhat resembling the functions of Japanese *na* (isolation) and *ga* (nominative), but how it was once used even after a verb may be seen in the following passage taken from the Altan Gerel: *Egüün ü* (his) *amin-i* (life, accusative) *aburaq-yin* (of saving) *tulada* (for the sake) *ken* (who) *dż.a* (indeed) *öber. ün* (own) *bey. e-ben* (body, accusative) *tebšin* (abandoning) *tsidaq* (to be in a position, able) *bolqun-i* (would be—his) *Wer vermochte es wohl, seinen eigenen Körper wegzweifen (hinzugeben), um ihr Leben zu erhalten?*.¹ where *bolqun-i* is composed of *bolq* "would be" and *ni*, a variant of *inu*.

The Mongol suffix 

- *qu*, 

- *kii*, 

serves to form a future participle, as well as an infinitive, and hence, if the Japanese particle *i* is related to the Mongol *inu*, one can expect in Japanese also such apparently strange usage as *hana* (blossoms) *matsu* (I wait for) *i* (its) *ma ni* (in the interval) *nagekitsuru kamo* (Oh, it makes me sigh!) Oh, what an ordeal it is to have to wait for her so long! (Man-yō-shū, vii); *awoyagi no* (of the willow) *ito no* (of the branches) *kuhašisa* (beauty) *harukaženi* (in the spring breeze) *midaren* *i* (not becoming disarranged—its) *ma ni* (in the interval) *misemu ko mo gamo* (Oh, if only I could show it to others!) Oh, if only I could show the beauty of these willow branches to other people before it gets spoilt by the spring breeze! (Man-yō-shū, x). This use of the particle *i* after a verb has been a mystery to the Japanese scholars of all ages.

In the Korean language of the Silla Dynasty (57 B.C. ?—A.D. 935) both the nominative particle *i* and the genitive particle *ii* (now pronounced *a*) had an additional function of isolating the preceding word or words.² Further, we note that in the text *淵之* (*mot pond*) *叱* (āl to) *行尸浪* (*nyōl-nan going*) *阿叱* (*skim-s of the edge*) *沙* (*mo-rai sand*) *矣* *yō* on *以* (*i*—支如 *支* (*mō-mur-ō halting*) "going to the pond and halting on the sand of the edge (literally)" the character *以* (*i*) is considered by Ogura as representing a mere *reverberation* of the preceding locative particle *yōi*.³ Used as the "Ritu" we find the character *矣* (*ii*) in combination with *段* (kan), i.e. *矣段*. This second character *段* is used for isolation in exactly the same way as *nān*, and is, according to Ogura, a contraction of the


² S. Ogura, "Studies on the poems of the Shilla Dynasty and the 'Ritu'": *Journal of the Faculty of Law and Letters*, Keijō Imperial University, vol. i, February, 1929, Poem xvi, pp. 184, 187.


⁴ Ogura, op. cit., p. 227.
expletive suffix -ta, plus nān, a particle of isolation.¹ Thus the compound 其 段, states Ogura, should be read ḳi stan and its force is exactly the same as that of 段 itself, the character 其 being inserted between the preceding word and 段 for mere convenience, just as nō ḳi ɾil stands for nō ɾil (ye) and tyō ḳi ɾil for tyō ɾil (they).² These explanations, even though they are advanced by the greatest living authority on the Korean language, are too evasive to be accepted readily, for every word or sound in a sentence must have once had some reason to be there, no matter how obscure its original duty and signification may have became in later times. It is more appropriate therefore to consider in the present case also that the characters 硪 (i) and 其 (ii) in 其 段 carried certain meanings at one time, but their primary functions were already entering oblivion in the Silla Dynasty.

It is indeed very difficult to determine what the original duties of these characters were, but it nevertheless simplifies our interpretation of these apparently useless characters, if we assume that they both represented particles that had sprung from the genitive case of the personal pronoun of the third person singular, which force they still retained to some extent even in the Silla Dynasty. Thus if we translate the character 硪 (i) in the above example “of it”³ and refer it to “the pond”, we can explain perfectly well the function of this character without altering the actual meaning of the sentence.

Similarly, if we connect the 其 (ii) in 其 段 with the Mongol inu, we can easily account for the presence of the word 其 as the first element of the compound. For the genitive case of the personal pronoun, when used with an isolation particle, must always precede it, and just as we find the isolation particle bar placed after the genitive case of the personal pronoun in Mongol, so have we here in Korean the word 其 followed by 段, both bar and 段 performing the duties of the Japanese particles ha (for isolation), ba (for the indication of the conditional mood) and mo (“even”). Thus the combination 其 段, which once had the meaning “as for his, her, its . . .”, gradually lost its possessive signification and finally became indistinguishable from the 段 itself.

It is therefore not at all impossible that the nominative particle

¹ Ogura, op. cit., pp. 325-6.
² Ogura, op. cit., pp. 430-1.
³ The genitive case of the personal pronoun is placed immediately after the case ending in Mongol, as we find it in the present instance.
i and the genitive particle に in the Korean language go back to the same origin, i.e. the genitive case of the personal pronoun of the third person singular, which in course of time gave birth to two separate forms, one for the indication principally of the nominative and the other of the genitive, whilst both shared an additional duty of isolating the preceding word or words. Our theory is partly attested by the fact that the 斌 (に) was also used in the sense "one's own" in the Silla Dynasty.¹

Besides connecting thus the Japanese particle i with the Mongol inu, I would even consider that it is this very particle which has brought about the phonetic changes from a, o to e and from o, u to i, namely -a + i > e; -o + i > -e, -i; -u + i > -i, as illustrated in the list of words given above. It is highly possible that the genitive case of the personal pronoun of the third person singular (presumably i, though we have no knowledge of its exact form) was loosely affixed to both nouns and verbs in archaic Japanese, and with some words it was agglutinated so firmly that it ultimately became part of the word, whilst its use as a particle with certain additional functions similar to those which the Mongol inu acquired in later times, continued till some time after the eighth century A.D. This explains why the older forms have been preserved in the attributive position. The same phenomenon is found in the modern Mongolian language, where certain nouns have developed special nominative forms as a result of the agglutination of inu.²

It may be added in conclusion that the Luchuan language offers but little help for the verification of the theory put forward above. For in the Omorosôshi (c. A.D. 1150–1650), one of the oldest Luchuan literary monuments, containing over fifteen hundred poems, we find the same parallel forms, such as, for example, fune and funa- "a ship", kane and kana- "metal". This merely indicates two possibilities, (1) that the Luchuan language separated from archaic Japanese with some of the parallel forms of comparatively early date, (2) that the parallel forms found in Luchuan are loan-words from Japanese, which latter is more likely the case. Beyond this it tells us nothing.

There is, however, one word of great interest. The Japanese word 木 "tree" is pronounced kî in modern Luchuan. Since the Japanese syllable ki regularly corresponds to tsi in Luchuan, the stem vowel of

² A. D. Rudnev, Материалы по говорам восточной монголии. С.-Петербургъ, 1911, p. 206.
the word _strike_ must originally have been something different from _i_, as Ramstedt ¹ has pointed out. If our postulation be correct, the word meaning "tree" was in archaic Japanese something like *ku or *ko, from which developed _ki_ in Japanese and _ki_ in Luchuan,² both through the absorption of the particle _i_. In a similar manner may be explained the Luchuan _pɨ, fɨ_ (Jap. _hi_) "fire".³

Thus it is sufficiently clear that the Japanese particle _i_ as it presented itself in the seventh–eighth centuries A.D. is but a dwindling trail of a linguistic process which had long been at work, and that its vestiges are found in a certain number of words still used in modern Japanese and Luchuan. The question as to whether this same particle was also responsible for the formation of the substantival form of the verbs requires further careful study and cannot be answered at the present moment.

PROFESSOR J. MARKWART
(Extract from The Times)

THE death, in tragic circumstances, of Professor Josef Markwart, of Berlin, on 4th February, ought not to pass unnoticed in this country. For although his name is here unfamiliar to all but a small group of scholars, he occupies, and must always occupy, a place in the forefront of European Orientalists, and it would be difficult to name any past or present scholar with a wider range of learning or a more brilliant critical faculty, whether as philologist, historian, or ethnologist. He was a fine classical scholar; he could read nearly every literary language of Asia, and he had a profound knowledge of African ethnology. Though his total output of published work was comparatively small—amounting only to four or five books and a number of articles in learned journals—it may be said that every sentence he wrote bore the hall-mark of his immense learning and his rare analytical power.

Born in 1864, he began his academic career in Tübingen, where he remained till 1902, when he was appointed curator of the Ethnographical Museum and later professor in the University of Leyden. In 1912 he came to Berlin as professor of Iranian and Armenian philology, a post which he was still holding at the time of his death. Indeed, he had delivered a lecture on the day preceding this tragic event. In 1913 he published a Catalogue of the Benin Collections in the Leyden Museum, a massive volume in large quarto containing a prolegomena extending over 367 pages on the history of the trade routes and the movements of populations in North Africa from the earliest times. In the course of this great work Markwart found occasion to reveal almost every sphere of his encyclopædic learning. In his Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge (1903), dealing with the ethnology, topography, and history of the ninth and tenth centuries, he set at rest a hundred problems and exploded as many hitherto accepted theories. But it is in the field of Turkology that he rendered the most important services. The pre-Ottoman history of the Turks still remains to be written; it is still shrouded in a mist of confusing names; but it was Markwart who came nearest to making order out of the confusing mass of information contained in the Arabic, Persian, and Byzantine chronicles and the early Turkish inscriptions and documents.
Markwart, during his industrious life, had accumulated a mass of notes on important subjects which he never found time to publish, and it can only be hoped that these documents will not be allowed to disappear with him.—EDITOR.

A List of Professor Markwart’s Works


(i) Die Vorlage von Diodor, β 1-34.
(ii) Die echtktesianische Bestandtheile bei Diodor und in andern Fragmenten.
(iii) Die Quellen des Ktesias und die Art ihrer Benutzung.

Exkursus—

(1) Zur Seite 507.
(2) Die Chronol. der Inschrift von Behistān.
(3) Die griechische Wiedergabe der persischen au, wa und wi.
(4) Die ursprüngliche Heimat der Perser.

[This work, the first two parts of which were written in 1889 and the third in 1891, was presented in February, 1893, as thesis for the doctorate of the University of Tübingen.]

Beiträge z. Geschichte und Sage v. Ėrān: ZDMG. xlix, 1896, pp. 628-73:—

Ērān.
Pahlau.
Hyrcani-Wirk’, Iberen.
Āriš.
Tiridates u. Spandijāt.
Artobanos und K. Khosrau.
Gotarzes I und Orodēs I.
Die Liste d. ērān. und arm. Arsakiden.
Buzurg Kūšān-Šāh.
Der Stammbaum d. Būyiden.
Bāu.
Die Suffixe ę, ź, ė, žī.
Enclyt. -an = auv. nō.
Altpers. *frānah = farr.*
Neuper. *īzaḏ = jazata.*


Berossos und die babylonischen Königslisten.
Zur Chronologie von Hyksos.
Die Exodusberichte des Manetho.
Die XVIII und XIX Dynastie nach Manetho.
Die Chronologie der Aethiopen und Saiten.

_Untersuchungen zur Gesch. v. Ėrān, i_, Göttingen, 1896, 72 pp. (= *Philologus*, Bd. 54, 489–527; Bd. 55, 212–240):—

Diodors Nachrichten über das pont. und kappad. Fürstenhaus.
Das Verhältniss der Trogus z. Diodor.
Die angeblichen Zariadrommünzen und die Fürsten v. Sophene.
Zur Assyrischen u. Medischen Königsliste bei Ktesias.
Hazārapet.
Der altpersische Kalender.
’Aprāwau.
Erymandrus.
Haraiwa.
Nachträge.


Erster Teil: Das Provinzverzeichniss.
Zweiter Teil: Länderbeschreibung nach Ptolemaios.

Exkurs:—

(i) Die armenischen Markgrafen.
(iii) Toxariāstān: (1) Tocharer und Ta-hia; (2) Toxārīstān unter den Wei und T’ang; (3) Toxārīstān in der Steuerliste des ‘Abdallāh b. Tāhir; (4) Ober- und Unter-Toxārīstān; (5) Itinerar von Balx nach Ober

Die Bekehrung der Chazaren zum Judentum.
Die ältesten Berichte über d. Magyaren.
Der Raubzug d. Magyaren gegen Konstantinopel im Jahre 934.
Das Itinerar des Misʿar b. Muḥalhil nach d. chinesischen Hauptstadt.
Masʿūdi's Bericht über die Slawen.
Analyse d. Berichte des Gaihāni über die Nordländer.
D. Reisebericht des Hārūn b. Jahjā.
Exkurs:—
(i) Zur Bekehrungsgeschichte d. Chazaren.
(ii) Der Stammbaum d. Abdoritenfürsten
(iii) Masʿūdi's Bericht über die Russen und d. Ursprung des Namen Rōs.
(iv) Der Ursprung d. iberischen Bagratiden.¹
(v) Gaihāni's Bericht über die Slawen.

Untersuchungen z. Geschichte v. Ėrān, ii, Leipzig, 1905, 258 pp. (= Philologus, Supplementband x, Heft 1):—
Die Namen d. Magier.
Alexanders Marsch v. Persepolis nach Herat.
παραχόδρας, παροπαναδάς, Paradāta.
Über einige skythisch-iranische Völkernamen.
Über einige Inschr. aus Kappadokien.
Zusätze.
Καρπαλούκ, der 'skythische' Name der Maiotis: Keleti-Szemle, xi, 1910, pp. 1–26.


¹ This "Exkurs" (with some additions) was translated into Armenian by Hapozian, Hanes Anxorpu, 1912, 333–9, 519–31, 712–30; 1913, 160–7, 210–21, 281–93, 463–75.

Über d. Armenische Alphabet in Verbindung mit d. Biogr. d. h. Maš'oe: Handes Amsoyra, 1911, 530–43, 673–83 (German); 1912, 41–54, 199–216 (German and Armenian); 657–66 (Armenian); 742–50 (German).


Südarmenien u. die Tigrisquellen nach griechischen und arabischen Geographen: Handes Amsoyra (German and Armenian), 1913, 79–100, 357–66, 525–35; 1914, 41–52, 106–17, 177–82; 1915, 126–35; 1920, 103–10 (German).


Anhang:—

(1) Kritik d. bisherigen Erklärungsversuche d. Namen "Falben" u. "Komanen".
(2) Über die Herkunft d. Osmanen.
(3) [Der Zug d. Chytaï nach Westen.]

1 See two important reviews of this work: P. Pelliot, A propos des Comans (J. As. 1920, avr.–juin, pp. 125–85), and Barthold, Novyi trud o Polovtsoi Russ. istoric. žurnal, 1921, tome 7, pp. 138–56).

Nachtrag. [D. Chronologie d. Qara-Qyat.]


Die Entstehung und die Wiederherstellung der armenischen Nation, Potsdam, 1919.1

Was bedeutet der Name Kaukasus?: Morgenland, No. 1, 1922, pp. 3–8.


Works announced but not yet published:—

Geschichte und historische Ethnographie des Daghistan (cf. Eränsahr, p. 95, note 1).

Wehrot und Arang (cf. Über d. Volksstum d. Komanen, p. 38, note 6)— of this work 160 pages have been printed by Brill (Leyden).

ADDENDA.


Kultur- und sprachgeschichtliche Analekten, Ungarische Jahrbücher, IX/1, April, 1929, pp. 68–103.

See also a list of eight articles by Professor Markwart in Handes Amsorya, 1927, p. 983, and his contributions to Amedroz, "Notes on two articles on Mayyâfarîqîn," JRAS, 1890, pp. 170–6, and Herzfeld, "Am Tor von Asien," Berlin, 1920, pp. 39, 155, and 180.

The foregoing is only a provisional list of Professor Markwart’s work, offered as a token of high admiration of the departed scholar’s genius. I hope to re-edit it soon in a more complete form.

Y. MINORSKY.

1 Abridged translation by Marie Basmajian, L’origine et la reconstitution de la nation arménienne, Paris, 1919, 8°, 26 pp.

2 Beginning with this publication Professor Marquart changed the orthography of his name to Markwart.
REVIEWS OF BOOKS


Falakī, who lived in the beginning of the sixth/twelfth century, and was one of the court-poets of the Shīrwān-Shāh Minūchihr II, has been very little known until now. In E. G. Browne’s Literary History of Persia his name is given passing mention in only two places.

Since we do not yet possess a critical edition even of such a great poet as Nizami, some objection certainly might be raised to an edition of Falakī, if priority of treatment were to be accorded on the basis of relative merit. But after all the editor’s taste and convenience must be respected.

A most praiseworthy thoroughness of method characterizes Dr. H. H.’s work. To quote an example: Dawlatshāh in his Tadkhīrat al-shu‘arāʾ ascribes to Falakī a verse in praise of Mas‘ūd-i Sa‘d-i Salmān. Dr. H. H. has rightly suspected Dawlatshāh’s statement: “It was necessary therefore to examine without distinction the works of all (!! V. M.) Persian poets contemporary with, or posterior to, Mas‘ūd and anterior to, Dawlatshāh. And so eventually (!! V. M.) Dawlatshāh’s couplet was found in Dīwān-i Adīb-i Šābir ” (p. 62). One can imagine the amount of work done in order to elucidate a detail, after all, of secondary importance for the theme chosen. To discover a score of additional verses of Falakī Dr. H. H. has looked through all the illustrative quotations of four big Persian dictionaries (p. 75). This thoroughness accounts perhaps for the author’s predilection for chronological researches. On pp. 46–52 one finds long calendar tables calculated on the basis of Schram’s Kalendariographische und Chronologische Tafeln, Leipzig, 1908, according to two eras, that of Yazdagird and that of Jalāl al-dīn. No stone has been left unturned to arrive at the conclusion that “though the dates of Falakī’s birth and death cannot be determined with accuracy, it is obvious that they must be sought in the neighbourhood of the years 501 A.H. and 540 A.H. respectively ” (p. 52).

No side issue has been left without consideration. The author has disentangled the question of three different poets of the nom de plume Falakī (pp. 41–3) and of two homonymous ‘Imādīs (p. 96); he has elucidated Mas‘ūd-i Sa‘d-i Salmān’s authorship of a prison-poem
wrongly ascribed to Falākī (pp. 88–92); he has shown the inexactitude of the general assumption that Muʿizzī was killed in A.H. 542 by a stray shot from Šulṭān Šanjār’s bow (p. 95), as well as E. G. Browne’s mistake in attributing to Imāmī a verse of Qatrān (p. 93), etc. These statements though only by-products of Dr. H. H.’s research are characteristic of his vast readings and of his serious and intent desire to arrive at scientific truth.

If the final results obtained with regard to Falākī are somewhat vague it is in the first place the fault of our sources. The poet lived in the first half of the twelfth century (A.D. ± 1116–1145), whereas the copies of his works date from the end of the sixteenth and of the beginning of the seventeenth century, i.e. they were written some 450 years after his death. Only seventy-two couplets have come down to us from the year 741/1340. Different sources differently put Falākī’s literary heritage at 7,000, 3,000 and 10,000 bāits, but only less than twelve hundred of them have been preserved in the existing sources. Can one trust the taste of the selectors who may have omitted the more personal part of the poet’s work?

That Falākī enjoyed a considerable reputation is shown by the facts discovered by Dr. H. H.: Salmān-i Sāwaji (fourteenth century A.D.) tacitly imitated one of his odes (p. 65) and ‘Imāmat (beginning of the fourteenth century A.D.) spoke of him in terms of undisguised admiration. Of his contemporaries (twelfth century A.D.) Zahir al-dīn Shufurwa mentions him in an ode by the side of such great masters as ‘Unṣūrī and Anwārī. Less respectful to Falākī is his famous countryman Khāqānī.1 In his elegy on Falākī’s death he praises his “proficiency in ten sciences” but in his usual quaint way calls him “a sneeze of my lawful magic (i.e. poetry)”. Dr. H. H. gives no explanation of this strange expression which, as my friend Muḥammad khān Qazvīnī tells me, hints at a popular tradition about the creation of the cat out of the lion’s sneeze in the moment when the mice made a hole in Noah’s ark.

Khāqānī was certainly difficult to please and we need not follow him, but it is a pity that the question of Falākī’s poetical value has not been dealt with at all by the editor whose work in general contains no aesthetic appreciations, except that a mustazīd is called “graceful” (p. 42) and that on pp. 86 and 88 one finds a mention of Falākī’s and

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1 The local historian ‘Abbās Quli khān Rākī-khānū, in his Gulistān-i-Iram, Russian translation edited in Baku, 1926, p. 166, says that Khāqānī’s father was a joiner from the village Malhamlu, near Shamākhī.
Sa'd-i Salmān’s respective “styles” without any description of their characteristics.

The state of our methods with regard to the Oriental literatures cannot certainly be compared to those which prevail in the fields of Classical and Western studies, and critical editions of the texts are necessary first of all. But nevertheless it must not be forgotten that the poets are first of all Poets, and their works not merely collections of autobiographic hints and disguised chronograms.

The most obvious method of interpreting a poet—largely used by all the literary historians from Hammer to E. G. Browne and R. A. Nicholson—is to give in translation a representative selection of his works. A complete translation with commentary of half a dozen of Falākī’s odes would have rendered him more familiar even to those students who can read him in the original.

But beyond that, there remains the very important outward study of a poet’s style, of his rhymes, similes and vocabulary. Professor Nöldeke’s analysis of Firdausi and Dr. H. Ritter’s recent essay on the pictural language (“Bildersprache”) of Nizāmī show the manner in which such investigations must be conducted. The editor of Falākī gives a list of fifty “technical and uncommon words”, but they do not exhaust the lexical material scattered in the footnotes. Even a general list of words used in Falākī’s not very extensive productions would be welcome. It would enable us to form a judgment on the Persian of the early twelfth century, and its differences from the Persian of the later epoch. In this respect the study of the three pre-Mongolian groups of poets (those of Transcaspia, Isfāhān and Transcaucasia, Āzarbaijān included) would be extremely interesting.

The following are remarks on the fragmentary texts and translations found in the English part of Dr. H. H.’s work. P. 10...
suggest "because on the Sea of Khazars... they were confounded like irregular hordes". P. 54, "From the stable of the sky no horse comes forth, the circle of whose shoes is devoid of (or, not impressed by) the circle of my mouth"—is very obscure. P. 56, "The love and hatred is based on his pleasure and displeasure, just as the ل of هل is based on ف" needs an explanation. P. 59 correct يعهي. P. 63, "I shall surpass fire" read "I shall surpass athīr" meant both as αἰθήρ, Kazimirski: "atmosphère éthéré," (it is true that Arabic dictionaries explain this element as "fire") and as Athīr-i Akhsikatī cf. p. 64. P. 68, 'Aïyār "discrimination", rather than "aptitude (for poetry)". P. 88, correct bā-hazār. P. 89, "Whose service has increased my status"; better "devotion to whom has increased". P. 94 Zan(n) khatā shud marā, strike out the alif.

To his chapters on Falaki and his Diwan the editor has prefixed some general data on the reign of the kings of Shirwan, especially of Fariburz I (died after A.H. 487), Minūchir II (circa A.H. 514–44) and Akhsatān I (circa A.H. 544–93). This contribution to the history of Shirwan, coming from an Indian scholar, will be particularly gratifying to all those interested in the destinies of Transcaucasia.

The accuracy with which the author always proceeds has permitted him to throw new light on some dark details of the history of that kingdom and to complete the results of the investigation of Russian scholars, such as Dorn, Khanykov, Salzmann, Pakhomov and Barthold.

Such are the items on the Shirwānshāh's titles (pp. 10 and 27–8); a very just surmise on Akhsunthul = Aq-sunqur, amīr of Marāgha (p. 18, cf. my article "Marāgha" in the Enc. of Islām); the date of Akhsatān's death between 593–600 (p. 33); the origin of the queen 'Īsmat al-dawla (p. 34); the proof that Khāqānī's verse on the embellishment of Shamākhī refers to Akhsatān and not to Qizīl Arslān (p. 37).

A little sketch-map, as well as a genealogical table of the contemporary kings of the neighbouring Georgia, would be of great service to the readers. One regrets that the introductory pages (1–3) on the Kingdom of Shirwan are too brief. Shirwan, which kept its semi-independence since the Sasanian times till 1588 and then for a little while after the death of Nādir-Shāh, has been a considerable factor

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1 The local pronunciation of the name of the protector of Abū-'l-ʿAlā, Khāqānī and Falaki (avestan Manužībra) seems to be Manuchahr > Maničehr or Manuče, see Justi, Iran. Namenbuch, p. 191, and the transcription by the local historian Bākīkhānov.
in the preservation of the old Iranian tradition in the Caucasus and in the formation of the general characteristics of the present day inhabitants of the republic of Azarbaijan. For a historical perspective students will have to look in Professor Barthold's articles in the *Enc. of Islām* (Derbend, Shīrwān, Shīrwānshāh).

The following are remarks on some local matters where occasional slips were inevitable.

P. 2, *Abkhāz* has been translated Georgia. For a long time Georgian independence was held up by the west Georgian, so-called “Abkhazian” dynasty. *Abkhāz* = Georgia is practically comprehensible but at Khāqāni’s time *Abkhāz* could mean only western Georgia, as the energetic kings of Tiflis were first of all kings of eastern Georgia (K’art’li).

P. 5, with regard to the revenue of Shīrwān see *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, ed. Le Strange, pp. 92–93: “in the days of the khāns of Shīrwān they amounted to 1 million dinārs of the money of our time”.

Jalāl al-dīn Mankubīrtī—it would be better to keep to the form Mankburni, found in the manuscripts, see Muhammad Khan Qazvīnī’s *Juwānī*, II, p. 284, note “Dab-i Mangburnī”.

P. 8, Qabala, i.e. Ptolemy’s χαβδα in Albania (= Arrān) was certainly situated to the west of Shīrwān on the Tūriyān river (see *Enc. of Islām*: Shekki) and not near Darband.

P. 15, Minūchihīr’s sons were five in number. What are the reasons for identifying Afrīdūn with Dhukhrat al-dīn, which reduces their number to four?

P. 17, “Georgian and Armenian Chronicles.” By the Armenian Chronicle is meant here only the Armenian translation of the Georgian Chronicle.

P. 21, The story about King Dimitri I of Georgia having carried away “the famous gates (sic !) of Derbend” is false. The iron door, still kept at the monastery of Gelath in western Georgia, bears the date of 455 (1063) and the name of the Shaddādīd Shāwir b. Faḍl, cf. Fraehn, *Erkliirung der Arab. Inschrift. des Eisernen Thorflügels zu Galathi*, Mém. Acad. des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg, Sciences Morales,

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1 With regard to v. 930 in the Dīwān, where Falakī calls the dynasty tukhma-yi Ārash-u-Bahrīn, it may be remembered that a little town south of Shekki bears the name of Ārash.

2 In Russian see Pakhomov’s useful *Short Essay on the History of Azerbaijian*, Baku, 1923 (utilized by Dr. Hādi Ḥasan) and Barthold’s, *Mesto prikaspiskih oblastey* (“The place in the Moslem history of the provinces lying round the Caspian sea”), Bāḵū, 1925.
iii, 1835, pp. 531–46. The door was certainly carried away from Ganja and not from Derbend. Brosset, Hist. de la Géorgie, I, i, p. 369, explains it in a long note. Cf. also Sir E. D. Ross, Islamica, II, ii, 1925, p. 218.

P. 21. It is hardly possible to speak of the conquest of the "kingdom" of Arrân by Minûchîhîr II. Kingdom presupposes kings, but the Ganja branch of the Shaddâdîds disappeared before 500. Its last representative, Faḍlûn, deposed by Malik Shâh, was appointed governor of Astarâbâd, then came back to his dominions as a mere vassal of the Seljuks, then was turned out again and finished his days in Baghdad in 484 (A.D. 1091–2). Khâqânî’s fath-i Arrân may mean an occupation of some parts of the country south of the Kur after the disappearance of Sulṭân Muḥammad (498–511) whose particular fief was Arrân. [On the troublesome state of this province even in Sulṭân Muḥammad’s times many details are found in the unique MS. of the Bibl. Nat., Fonds arabe 4433.]

P. 26. The reading Akhsatân was already proposed by Justi, Iran. Namenbuch, p. 12, but according to Dorn local mîrzâs’ pronunciation is Akhsitân. The Georgian and Armenian form of the name Aghsarthan (Ašsarthan) is still puzzling. Clavijo, ed. Sreznevski, p. 135, mentions a Moslem ruler of Arzinjân of the name of Zaratan (= Saratan).

P. 37. At the time of the Kasrânid dynasty of Shirwânshâhs it is hardly accurate to speak of Khazars properly so-called. They had disappeared much earlier. As Pakhomov, op. cit. p. 16, thinks, the old name Khazar covers here some other Turkish people (the Qipchaqs?).

P. 37. In the original of Brosset’s Hist. de la Géorgie, I, i, p. 369, Minûchîhîr is called king of “Movakan and Shirwan”. Dr. H. H. renders Movakan by Mûqân and finds this title "incorrect". It must be remembered that in Georgian “Movakan” désignates also the locality between the Kur and its left tributary, the Alazan, above their junction, i.e. west of Shirwan, see Yakhushi’s Geography, tr. Brosset, p. 269. But I rather agree with Dr. H. H. on interpreting the term on its face value: Movakan = Mûqân (Mughân). The Georgian source may allude to Manuchîhîr’s conquests south of the Kur, say in the region of Bailaqân, which, roughly speaking, continues in the north the plain of Mûqân.

P. 57. Ulugh Beg Kûrkân, better Kûrakân from the Turkish kûrkân, “son in law.”

P. 60 and text p. 52. “Barṭâs in Turkistân”. The Burṭâs are
the Mordva of our days in the basin of the Oka, right tributary of the Volga.  
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Samangân, if it is the same as Samulqân (which I believe is Ptolemy's "Âσµωνονα), is on the upper Atrak, see Sykes, "A Sixth Journey in Persia, JRGS., January, 1911.

P. 74. The author of Bustân al-siyâhat is better known as Zain al-'Âbidîn Shirwâni. His work was printed in Teheran, a.h. 1315. On the biography of this remarkable man see Khanykov, Mélanges Asiat., St. Petersburg, iii (1859), p. 50-9 [=Bull. hist.-phil. de l'Acad. des sciences, t. xiv, N. 16].

P. 90. Quzdâr is not in Sistân but in Baluchistân, 85 miles south of Kalât (actually Khozdar).

Part II of Dr. H. H.'s work is a very artistic reproduction by the "Replica" process of the editor's original copy, in black and red ink. This last improvement is very welcome as it facilitates the philological study of the text. One thing is very unfortunate. The author's original was written in an extremely small hand. The result is that all the Part II puts the reader's eyes to a severe test. One regrets this handicap so much the more because this philological part of the work shows clearly the soundness of Dr. H. H.'s critical methods and the amount of his great industry.

His task was hard. Yielding, as he says, to the "numerical factor" he took as the basis of his edition the Munich MS. supposed to belong to the eleventh/seventeenth century. But its "errors are so plentiful that no more than a half of the diwan makes sense" [!]. Therefore the text had to be "deciphered" and reconstructed with the aid of the other MSS. and particularly of the rare tadkhîra of Taqî al-din Kâshi (written in 985/1577) in which are included all the then extant works of Falakî (over 1,000 baits). In view of the late date and the bad condition of the Munich copy it is questionable whether the surplus of some hundred verses constituted such an advantage in favour of a bad copy. Yet the reconstruction of the text has been done with the aid of all the available means and as the editor had the privilege of the counsels of such a high authority as Muḥammad Khân Qazwînî, one is sure that the text represents the greatest degree of accuracy attainable under present circumstances.

Neither of the two Parts has an Index. This is regrettable in the

1 Even now one of the small rivers in the basin of the Tana (flowing into the Oka) is called Burtas. See A. V. Markov, Otnosheniya mezhdou Russkimi i Mordeyu v istorii, Tiflis, 1914, and Barthold in Enc. of Islâm.
case of the text volume where a great many matters are scattered throughout the commentary (cf. p. 37 of the Persian text).

A separate enumeration of the works consulted would also be welcome, as well as a short Preface explaining the origin of some numismatic facts (quoted in a somewhat different form than in Pakhomov's book), of the data derived from Mūnis al-ahārū, etc.

Of course, we do not know to what degree all the desiderata suggested above were compatible with the restrictions imposed on the author by the general plan of the series.

Dr. H. H.'s propensity tends evidently towards a minute study of the detail. His model is Ch. Rieu rather than E. G. Browne, but each of the two scholars was great in his own way. With his unusual capacity of work, his vast readings in Persian poets and his ardour for getting to the bottom of every problem, however arid it might appear on the surface, Dr. H. H. in his new book has shed much new light on the Shirvān poets and their contemporaries. As a thesis for a doctorate his work is altogether worthy of praise.

V. Minorsky.


The translation into English of the first book of the Canon of Avicenna of Dr. O. C. Gruner reveals the profound scholarship and meticulous care and research which the author has applied in the production of this monumental work. The translation is an embodiment of his medical learning together with his knowledge of Arabic.

Hitherto the five books of the Canon of Avicenna have only been available in Arabic, Latin, and Hebrew, and in translating the first book, which deals with general principles the author explains that his translation is based on the Latin versions published in Venice in 1608 and 1595 and is supported by a study of the Arabic edition printed in Rome in 1593 and the Bulaq edition.

That distinguished Oriental scholar, the late Professor E. G. Browne, has already pointed out that "the Latin Qānūn of Avicenna swarms with barbarous words which are not merely transcriptions, but in many cases almost unrecognizable mis-transcriptions of Arabic originals ".
Dr. Gruner mentions that Campbell in his "Arabian Medicine and its Influence on the Middle Ages" states there was a "society of translators" at Toledo, about A.D. 1130, "whose method of translating from Arabic to Latin was to put the Latin equivalent over the Arabic words, disregarding the sense of the original." The Latin of the first book, however, is very close to the Arabic and hardly to be improved upon, though the author says that he has used modern terms when there is no reasonable doubt of their referring to the same idea. A point of special importance has been the careful study of the original Arabic because "words in the Latin version which are evidently technical there, become merely colloquial when translated into English". He explains also that in his rendering from the Arabic to the English the real meaning can only be conveyed by using many more words.

A valuable asset to the translation are the copious and interesting references to the contemporary writers of the time of Avicenna—Sufic, Vedantic, Buddhistic, Chinese—and to Persian writings subsequent to his time, such as Rumi, Sa’di, etc., and also to views presented by various modern philosophies including Western Theosophy, all of which point to erudite research on the part of the author.

Among other reasons for which Dr. Gruner says he has selected the work of Avicenna are his acknowledged excellence and his greater accessibility amongst mediaeval writers. The Canon is still regarded as the final appeal on all matters connected with the healing art by the "Tibb-i-Yumani", the followers of the old Greek medicine.

Nevertheless, we should not lose sight of or forget that other great mediaeval writer, Rhazes, who was probably the greatest and most original of all the Muslim physicians; for Rhazes was a physician first and then a philosopher, and here he stands in contrast to Avicenna, who was first a philosopher and then a physician; and further, Rhazes, by virtue of his clinical observations, deserves to rank highest of all the mediaeval medical writers.

In giving us this English translation of the Canon the author has rendered signal service to science and, in particular, to medical history. He has made available for the first time in the English language the extremely important material contained in this book of principles. The section dealing with Balneology contains much matter of importance to medical historians as well as to those who specialize in that particular branch of present-day medicine, including
as it does such subjects as sun-baths, sand-baths, oil-baths, shower-baths, etc. Again, in the section of Sphygmology, the pulse is described, and here it is of interest to note the words of Sir William Broadbent: "Every important variety of the pulse was recognized, described, and named before the Christian era."

The section dealing with Friction, Massage, and Shampooing, and also that on Cupping, are full of interest, and in regard to the latter it is interesting to note that even the methods of treatment set forth in the Canon are still resorted to to-day.

Further, in view of the interest now being taken in the history of anaesthetics, especially just at this time when the centenary of Hickman is about to be celebrated, that portion of the Canon dealing with this subject will no doubt attract attention. The author quotes Burton (in Night 263) as saying, "anaesthetics have been used in surgery throughout the East for centuries before ether and chloroform became the fashion in the civilized West."

In Appendix 3 there is a list of the materia medica of the Canon in which those that are Pharmacopeial are marked with an asterisk, and the author says that many of the others are found in a present-day catalogue. Commenting on Drug Treatment Dr. Gruner says, "the truth is that we know far too little about the herbal remedies of the Canon"; those desiring further knowledge on this subject would do well to study the materia medica of the Ancient Hindus, many of whose medicines can be traced directly down to the Arabs.

In the book the Thomistic philosophy of human nature and its applicability to the medicine of the future is specially discussed.

The book is beautifully produced, is well printed on good paper, and contains an index and a bibliography which themselves are worthy of this scholarly work. No scientific or research library will be complete without a copy, and it is to be hoped that at some future time Dr. Gruner will give science the further benefit of his profound learning by the translation of the remaining books of the Canon.

P. JOHNSTON-SAINT.


This interesting book combines within its covers much important and useful information to both the medical profession and the general
public. In recent years there has been noticeable, amongst all classes of people, a considerable revival and stimulation of interest in the medicinal uses of plants and herbs, and *The Indian Materia Medica* should provide a very useful and convenient work of reference on this subject. Further, it should greatly help to revive interest in Ayurvedic and Unani systems of medicine, to which systems modern science and medicine owe so much.

The author has been at much pains to gather together a vast amount of information, especially in the appendices. The "Substitutes for Imported Foreign Drugs" contained in Appendix 3 should be of great use, and much of the information in the other appendices is not only of interest at the present day, but is of great value to the student in historical research.

The size of the book is a little awkward, and it might have been 8½ in. × 5¼ in. with advantage. There are one or two printer's errors which should be corrected in the next edition, and it is a matter of regret that the index is weak, and that there is no table of contents.

P. JOHNSTON-SAINT.

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Professor Massignon's latest volume contains a collection of extracts dealing with Islamic mysticism, taken from unedited MSS., of which he has found an extraordinary number adapted to his purpose, scattered throughout the libraries of Europe and the Near East. In this volume, the extracts are given in their original language, Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and Urdu, so that the book is of value only to the true Orientalist, but the author has already given us the French translation of most of these texts in his *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane* (1922) and *La Passion d'al-Hallâj* (1914). In the present volume these extracts have been revised and improved, thanks to collation with new MSS., and corrections communicated by other scholars, and in addition to purely Hallagian texts, the author has included other important unedited sources, the most notable being extracts from Ibn Sab'în, Shoshtârî, Murîdî, Dârâ Shikûh, Sanousî, Warrâq, and Nâbolosî.

These sources are presented in chronological order, and represent a concerted whole, allowing the student of Islâm to trace the course
of the general history of Islamic mysticism, by means of original and characteristic texts, of which some are derived from the kindred domains of theology, philosophy, and literature. The fourth section of the book, which represents material not included in the two previous volumes, is devoted to these texts from writers not primarily concerned with mysticism, and is not the least interesting part of the book.

It is difficult to make selections from such a treasure-house of mystical literature. Among the quotations from al-Hallâj's teaching is a fragment given by Hamadhâni, describing the Beatific Vision. "When God desires union with one of His servants, He raises the veil, and reveals to that servant His Unicity in contemplation, and causes him to enter into the abode of the One. Then God unveils before him His own glorious Beauty, and when his gaze falls upon that Divine Loveliness, there it remains, and the servant passes away from self, and abides in God" (p. 68).

From the same writer comes a description of the reward awaiting those who paid with their lives for their mystic faith. When Hallâj had been brought to the scaffold, that same night Shiblî besought God saying: "How long wilt Thou slay Thy lovers?" and God answered him: "Until they find My compensation for blood." And Shiblî asked: "O Lord, what is Thy blood-wit?" And He answered him: "To meet with Me and behold My Beauty is what I give in return for the blood of My lovers."

There is a beautiful prayer included here, by one of these lovers of God, Suhrwardi, who was executed at Aleppo in 1191, at the age of 36. "O my God," he prays, "Thou Lord of all that exists, of all intellectual beings and all sensible things, Thou Giver of minds and souls, Who hast laid the foundations of the world; O First Cause of all existence and Dispenser of all bounty, Thou Maker of hearts and spirits, and Fashioner of forms and bodies; O Light of Lights and Ruler of all the spheres, Thou art the First, there was none before Thee; Thou art the Last, there shall be none after Thee. The angels are not able to comprehend Thy Majesty, and man cannot attain to a knowledge of Thy Perfect Essence. O God, set us free from the fetters of this world and of the flesh, and deliver us from all evil that may hinder us. Send down upon our spirits Thy gracious Influence and pour forth upon our souls the bright beams of Thy Light. The mind of man is but one drop in the ocean of Thy kingdom, and the soul is but a spark of Thy Divine Majesty. Praise be to Him Whom the sight cannot perceive, nor the thought conceive of His likeness.
To Thee, O Lord, be thanksgiving and praise. Thou dost give and Thou dost take away. Thou art the All-Bountiful and the All-Abiding. Praise be to Him, for His is the kingdom, and unto Him shall ye return.” (p. 111.)

These extracts, considered as a whole, while supporting the author’s contention that much of Islamic mysticism is fundamentally original, that is to say, native to Islām, and derived from the Qur’ān and the traditions, also make plain the indebtedness of the Islamic mystics for much of their theosophic doctrine, not only to Neo-platonism, but also to Christianity. It has been taken for granted by most writers on Şūfīsm that the asceticism and quietism of the early Şūfis, with their characteristic virtues of self-control, self-sacrifice, patience and dependence upon God, were modelled upon the example of the early Christian hermits and monks, who were to be found in Arabia, Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia at the time of the Muslim conquest and whose manner of life was much admired by their Muslim neighbours, but it seems doubtful whether the debt owed by Islamic mysticism to the teaching of the early Christian mystics, has been sufficiently recognized as yet.

It is true that Mysticism represents a spiritual tendency which is universal, which is, indeed, the most vital element in all true religions, making itself felt as the protest of earnest and devout souls against cold formalism and religious torpor. “Mysticism,” says Professor Masson (in his Essai) “cannot be the exclusive possession of a race, a tongue, a nation; it is a human phenomenon, of a spiritual order, which cannot be limited by these physical boundaries.” In Islām, therefore, as in other religions, we might expect Mysticism to be a spontaneous growth, produced by the failure of the orthodox faith to satisfy those souls which craved for a closer relation with God. Yet the resemblances between the mystical doctrines of Islām and those of Christianity, are so much closer than any analogy we can trace between Christian mysticism and the other Oriental systems of mysticism, such as Taoism or Buddhism, that it is reasonable to suppose that Şūfism derived more than a little of its doctrine from the mysticism of those Christians with whom the Muslims were in such close contact during the first two centuries of Islām, and later, in the Near and Middle East, and Europe. Baghdad was one of the chief centres of Islamic mysticism, and it was also a great store-house of Greek and Syriac manuscripts, which began to be translated into Arabic as early as the ninth century A.D. But while knowledge of
Christian mystical literature must have been limited to a very small number of Şūfis in the early stages of Islam, there were other means of transmission. The many Christian women who married Muslim husbands, had every opportunity for making their influence felt with the next Muslim generation, and we find traces of it in Şūfi literature. Of the numberless Christians who Islamized, either from fear of their lives or because of the advantages to be gained, many no doubt, like the Secret Believers in Spain, retained their original beliefs, and were responsible for the spread of a knowledge of Christian teaching, including Christian mysticism, among their fellow Muslims. The relations between Muslims and Christians in the early Islamic period were for the most part friendly, and since the Christians were possessed of a higher culture and civilization than their Arab conquerors, they, like the Greeks at an earlier period, were at first the teachers of their rulers, and gradually imbued them with something of their own culture and knowledge. Şūfism bears the traces of this influence, and hence in its developed theosophic doctrine we find much that is almost certainly derived from its Christian environment.

The book is well printed, there are few typographical errors to be noted, and it is equally well indexed.

The thanks of all students of Şūfism are due to Professor Massignon for this invaluable collection of extracts from Şūfi literature, and we rejoice to know that this is but the inaugural volume of a series of collections of texts relating to Islamic mysticism, to which we may look forward in the future, in the formation of which the author is to have the assistance of Professor Asin Palacios, of Madrid, and Professor Pedersen, of Copenhagen.

MARGARET SMITH.


It is perhaps more important for the majority of students of the faiths of the East to know the tendencies and convictions of those who now profess them, than to immerse themselves in the study of their origins. For all such Mr. Yusuf Ali’s address will provide an introduction to the attitude of a large body of modernist Muslim opinion. Students of history will not expect to find in it any more exact historical
exposition than in the average sermon delivered from a Christian pulpit. But surely "who taught man ever to seek new knowledge" is a rather startling translation of علم الإنسان ما لم يعلم.

H. A. R. G.


By this admirable translation of Monsieur Blochet's work on Muslim painting Mrs. Binyon has earned the gratitude of all students of Islamic art in this country. "The serious and systematic study of Persian illuminations is," as Sir Denison Ross says in his introduction, "a new science, and the problems which present themselves for solution or discussion are almost as young as the various theories which have lately been put forward." There can be few who have had better opportunities than M. Blochet of studying this new science, yet fewer who have used those opportunities as he has, and his deliverances on the subject are those of one fully aware of the range and depth of his knowledge of it. His opinions are entitled to great respect, to much greater respect than he pays to the opinions of those who differ from him, but occasionally they leave us breathless. "Only one art has ever existed, and that is Classic Art; it was born mysteriously at the foot of the Acropolis... It spread over the whole civilized world." The lands of the Far East not being specifically excluded from those over which it spread must be held to be included among them. This, surely, is attempting to prove too much. It is reminiscent of those folklorists who, tracing a remote resemblance between the plots of some of the folk-tales of the most diverse nations, insist upon a common origin; who will not admit that it is possible for two human minds to have one idea. All will admit the pre-eminence of Hellenic art, but M. Blochet must allow us some other art with which to compare it.

It is impossible for one mind to grasp all the details of each of the branches of learning over which the author's wide digressions range, and he must pardon Orientalists for dissenting from a gross libel on one of the most musical, flexible, and expressive languages of the East. Persian scholars will certainly not admit that the cadence of modern Persian prose "still recalls the heaviness and inelegance of the language spoken in Sasanian times".
In their attempt to identify their prophet with the Paraclete, the Muslims corrupted the word Παράκλητος to Περικλητός, which is a fairly accurate translation of the name Muhammad, or Ahmad, not to Παράκλητος, a word which was certainly not "born at the foot of the Acropolis". Again, it is hardly correct to say that Shâh Ismā'il, the first of the Safavids, was "set on the throne by the confederation of Turkish clans living in Irân, who elected him, as they would have elected one of their chiefs, in the fashion of the Altaics. Others besides the Turkish clans had a voice in the election, or, to use a more accurate expression, the acceptance, of Shâh Ismā'il as king; nor is it quite correct to describe him as a stranger to the Turks, for his mother and his grandmother were Turkish princesses.

M. Blochet, in attempting to discount the statements of Persian authors who believed, as so many European students, dissenting from him, believe, that Persian painting was not uninfluenced by that of the Celestial Empire, is hardly just in suggesting that they "never saw a Chinese painting and would have found it difficult to say where China was". Under the Ilkhan Persia was, for a short time, a province of the Celestial Empire, there was no lack of communication between the two countries, and it is difficult to believe that no specimens of Chinese art reached Persia, either then or later, in the era of the Timurids. As Sir Denison Ross says: "There is no gainsaying the spirit of the Far East in those delightful paintings of men and women, with their willowy figures shrouded by long flowing robes, with their heads slightly tilted to one side; and the culmination of Persian miniature art in the works of such a man as Bihzad, seems to be reached in a happy blending of the West and the East, where we find the conventional treatment of rocks and clouds reminding us of China, and the graceful grouping of figures recalling the Italian primitives intermingled with Moslem buildings and Persian trees and flowers.

The early sentences of Section XVIII of the book are unfortunately phrased, and might be held to suggest that Rustam was a Buddhist. I know that the author does not intend to suggest this, but a young student might be misled.

M. Blochet attributes the selection of Herat by the Timurids as their capital partly to the "torrid climate" of Shiraz and Isfahan, which "crushed them". Statements of this sort almost suggest that theories are formed first and evidence fitted to them later. One who was "crushed" by the "torrid climate" of Isfahan would die in Herat.
To many the notion that "the Christian Basilica copies, not the Pagan temple, but the Pagan Basilica, to show that the Faith of Christ is based on justice" will appear fanciful. The Pagan temple was not well adapted to Christian worship, and there were other obvious objections to the use of the temples of the old religion, the gods of which the early Christians believed to be not human inventions, but active demons, for this purpose. It is far more probable that the Christians, when their religion became that of the state, occupied and used buildings not immediately connected with the old faith, both because they were convenient for their purpose and lent dignity to their worship. I trust that I have not left the impression that I wish to cavil at this most scholarly work. M. Blochet is entitled to his opinions, his opinions are entitled to respect, and though we may dissent from some of them the fact that they are so firmly held by so eminent an authority cannot but stimulate our interest in the subject.

Of the excellent reproductions in colour and monochrome of two hundred examples of the paintings with which the book deals, I have left myself no space to treat. They add very greatly to the usefulness as well as to the attractiveness of the book, for they provide the student with material for independent study, but the numbers and titles of plates clxxxix and cxc should be reversed.

Wolseley Haig.

Et-Tamgrouti : En-Nafhat el-Miskiya fi-s-Sifarat et-Tourkiya.
Traduite et annotée par H. de Castries. pp. xvi + 130. Paris:
Geuthner, 1929.

Tamgrouit is a village in the Wad Draa, in the extreme south of Morocco. The author of this book was summoned thence by the Sultan of Morocco in 1589, to make an adventurous journey by sea to Constantinople and back, as the leader of an embassy to the Sultan of Turkey. Each stage on the way is duly noted and dated, but by far the most attractive portions of his narrative are those in which he abandons his prolix literary padding and gives free expression to his own moods and impressions, and particularly to the terror and fascination of the sea. The style of the book recalls the Travels of Ibn Battuta, who is quoted here and there, but at-Tamgrouti is of the two perhaps the keener and more intelligent observer. His translator, Lieut.-Col. de Castries, whose recent death is a heavy blow to Moroccan studies, has wisely excised the long quotations from al-Bakri, Ibn
'Abd Rabbahi, and others; though it is to be hoped that if ever the text (which is known to exist only in a single manuscript at Fez) is published, they will be printed in full. Apart from the passages already referred to, the book is interesting for the large number of technical naval terms which it contains, and for the long description of Constantinople and the organization of the Turks. In the latter section the account of the Santa Sophia and Sulaymaniya mosques is followed by a remarkable passage, to which I can recall no parallel in Arabic literature, although the editor doubts if it is original, and which is worth reproducing in full:—

"L'architecture de Sainte-Sophie offre plus de solidité, elle est de caractère plus grandiose, d’aspect plus massif: celle de la Soulaymaniya, plus élégante, plus agréable et plus spacieuse. Ne voit-on pas là—et Dieu sait mieux la vérité—une analogie frappante avec les caractères des deux fondateurs de ces édifices : l’un appartient à l’Islam et l’autre à l’Infidélité. Chacun d’eux affecte le caractère intime de son fondateur."

H. A. R. G.

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Mr. Armstrong has chosen the subjective method, and has not escaped its pitfalls. With the Turks he is at home; he takes a sympathetic interest in them and he knows their language, with the result that the reader, though he may doubt the profundity of some observations, will find much that appeals to him in the pages that deal with Turkey. But where neither understanding nor sympathy are present, the subjective writer were well advised to hold his hand, and this would have been a better book if Mr. Armstrong had confined himself to Anatolia.

H. A. R. Gibb.

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Guidance into the intricacies of the principles of Vedic interpretation laid down by the Pūrvamīmāṃsā school has hitherto been afforded in the main by Thibaut’s excellent translation and important
introduction to the brief manual of Laugākṣi Bhāskara, which appeared in the Benares Sanskrit Series in 1882. We now owe to the stay of Professor F. Edgerton at Poona in 1926 an equally valuable rendering, made with the aid of Pandit Wamanasa Sastri Kinjawadkar, of the much more complete treatise of Āpadeva, the Mīmāṁsāyāyaprakāsa. Like the Arthasaṁgraha, the interest of the work is severely technical, for it does not deal with those metaphysical doctrines which render the works of Prabhākara and Kumārila of first-class importance in the history of Indian thought. Nor does it touch on the really important side of the Mīmāṁsā rules, their application in the sphere of the interpretation of Hindu law, on which reference should be made to the Tagore Law Lectures, 1905, a valuable treatise somewhat surprisingly ignored by the translator. The Mīmāṁsāyāyaprakāsa serves as the regular introduction to the study of the topic in India, and it is very satisfactory to have it so competently rendered into English, as the result of the co-operation of Western and Eastern scholarship. It may safely be said that it could not have been translated half so satisfactorily in Europe, and Professor Edgerton has been very successful in his endeavour to present the argument in an intelligible form. It is, of course, impossible always to achieve this result. The arguments used in the text frequently are verbal rather than real, and, even when more substantial, they often are subtle to the verge of obscurity.

A few points of more general interest may be noted. Objection is taken to the assertion that Āpadeva’s guru was Govinda, and the suggestion is made, tentatively (p. 17) and with assurance (p. 189), that the ascription is due to a misunderstanding of s. 396, where reference is made to Govindagurupādayoh. The identification rests on the view of Aufrecht who doubtless deduced from the opening and closing stanzas that the guru was Govinda, the author, as not rarely, combining praise of his teacher with that of the god. That guru really refers to the author’s father as held by Professor Edgerton is far from certain; it must be noted that, when he does refer to his father (s. 143) it is merely as asmattātacaranaṇā. Nor is it at all clear that the Arthasaṁgraha is to be regarded as prior to Āpadeva (p. 22). This view is contrary to that of Chinnaswami, and it rests on inadequate evidence. Against it is the fact, pointed out by the editor, that the Arthasaṁgraha, though normally very condensed in comparison with the

2 In his edition, Benares, 1925.
Mimāṃsānyāyapracāca, treats the topic of arthavāda more fully, and that in certain places (e.g. s. 362) it is clearer than that text. The fact that in one case, at least, the Arthasaṅgraha simply adopts tacitly the view which Āpadeva refutes, can hardly be relied upon to prove that the Arthasaṅgraha was the older text. It is impossible to claim that the Arthasaṅgraha is in any sense a mere summary of the Mimāṃsānyāyapracāca; Laugāksi Bhāskara was clearly well versed in philosophy and entitled to choose the views he preferred, without attempting in so short a text to note or refute conflicting views adopted by Āpadeva. On the whole, the impression left from comparison of the texts is in favour of the priority of Laugāksi Bhāskara. Unluckily so far there is other evidence of a conclusive character to settle priority; everything known of the two writers assigns them to approximately the same period. An interesting point is raised (p. 21) as to the priority of Pārthasārathimīcra and Someçvara, but it is clear that the issue is as yet impossible of solution.

Professor Edgerton takes exception (p. 9, n. 1) to Mahāmahopādhyāya Gaṅgānāth Jhā's rendering of liṅga as "indirect implication", contending that it really is the "primary or direct meaning" of a word. But we find that under s. 68 he renders the text's account of śrutī as "direct statement means independent words (words which indicate their meaning directly, expressly, and immediately)". In face of this fact the explanation of liṅga is clearly unsatisfactory in point of terminology—which alone is involved, and Gaṅgānāth Jhā's term may be preferred. Nor perhaps is there really justification for the view that Gaṅgānāth Jhā has inverted the meaning of the terms saṃnipatypakārakaṇī and ārādupakārakaṇi, and that the latter term denotes not "indirect subsidiaries", but "immediate subsidiaries", ārāt having the sense of sāksāt. There is, of course, no real divergence of view as to what is really meant: the distinction is between subsidiaries which help the rite by adapting some guṇa, e.g. a material substance, for use in it, and those which affect the pradhāna; the former are aṅgānga, the latter pradhānāṅga. Professor Edgerton's view compels him to render s. 186 as "Such an indirectly-contributing subsidiary is stronger than a directly-contributing one". He seems to hold that in the words (s. 187) kiṃ cārādupakārakaṇi sāksāt pradhānāṅgam the word sāksāt is intended to represent ārāt; but this is implausible, for the text continues saṃnipatypakārakaṇi te aṅgāṅgam, where no attempt is made to explain saṃnipatya; the meaning is

1 Cf. Keith, Indian Logic and Atomism, p. 38.
rather "clearly", and has no reference to ārāt. Nor does it seem to me probable that in s. 183 jātidravasanikhyaḍīṇi refers to caste, for in such collocations jāti has a much more obvious sense.

The editor has given us most conveniently a transcribed text; it is perhaps regrettable that he did not use the India Office MSS., though they would probably not seriously have affected the result. He has been unwearyed in the tedious task of discovering the sources of the Brähmaṇa passages cited, which include some apparently from texts not now extant. A glossarial index of Sanskrit terms deserves the attention of lexicographers, and adds to our indebtedness to the editor for an excellent piece of work.

A. Berriedale Keith.


To this useful translation of the Vaikhaṇaṇa Dharmaśūtra Mr. Eggers, a pupil of Professor Schrader, has prefixed an interesting introduction dealing with the age of the Sūtras of the Vaikhaṇaṇaṣas and the position of ascetic dwellers in the forest as depicted in Indian literature. As regards the relation of the Dharmaśūtra and the Grhyaśūtra Mr. Eggers seems to differ from both Dr. Bloch and Professor Caland, for he suggests that, even if the Grhyaśūtra should be held to be later than the Mānava Dharmaçastra, this would not necessarily determine the date of the Dharmaśūtra. This view appears to be unsound; examination of the two Sūtras in Professor Caland’s text confirms the impression that they are by one and the same author, and this is strongly confirmed by the express reference in the Grhya, i, 8, to the Dharma, where the necessary passage is found at i, 6. On the other hand, as I have shown elsewhere, there can be no ground for accepting the view that the Mānava Dharmaçastra is posterior to the Vaikhaṇaṇa Grhyaśūtra. Mr. Eggers does not define his attitude to the question of the priority of the Çrautasūtra to the Grhya, otherwise than by citing without comment Bloch’s view that the Grhya and Dharma are dependent on the Çrauta, though not by the same author. Professor Caland is now convinced that the relation in time must be

1 BSOS. iv, 623 f.
2 Translation (1929), p. xii.
reversed, but the evidence is difficult. Professor Caland relies on the fact that the Grhyaṣūtra twice refers to the Črauta. The references are i, 8: pūtrasruddayopajñeyeproktäh, which is true of the Črauta ix, 7-11, and which prima facie would imply a pre-existing Črauta contrary to the view put forward. Incidentally, it is clear that the rendering “The vessels, as the sruva and so on”, is incorrect; the pūtra here is a specific vessel according to the rules of grammar, as the Bhāṣya and the Darpaṇa recognize. The second passage, iii, 6, has yajñaprāyaṇcette vaksyāmah, where a reference to the Črauta, xx, 7, is suggested. It must be noted, however, that the phrase used is not yajñey but yajñaprāyaṇcette, and that the term vaksyāmah contradicts the view, both of Bloch and Caland, that the Črauta is not by the same hand as the Grhya and Dharma. Moreover, there is a very important passage, not mentioned in Caland’s introduction (p. xii), which tells seriously against the theory. In the Dharma, i, 3, the preparations of the kundas is to be made yathoktam, and there is no doubt that the reference is to the opening chapters of the Črautasūtra. The Bhāṣya, indeed, glosses vaksyamāṇaprautapraṇāstena, but we cannot so light-heartedly turn a past into a future, and the only possible conclusion is that the writer had the Črauta before him. Dr. Caland holds that the fact that the Črauta merely mentions the pindaṃpitṛyajña, which is usually described in Črauta texts, and in this case is set out in the Grhya, is conclusive proof of the priority of the latter, but this is clearly unsound. There is no reference in the Črauta to any other text by such words as yathoktam, and it is an equally valid suggestion that the pindaṃpitṛyajña is described in the Grhya because it was not dealt with in the Črauta. The conclusion in fact seems inevitable that the writer of the Grhya and Dharma had the Črauta before him, and, if we accept the view that the reference in Grhya, iii, 6, is to the Črauta, we must assume that this part of that text was added by the author of the Grhya; in the alternative, we must assume that he dealt with the point in a Yajñaprāyaṇcitta text, which is in itself a very reasonable supposition. In any case, it is clear that Dr. Caland has involved himself in needless difficulty regarding pūrvaṇ in Dharma, ii, 5, where he writes that pūrvaṇ cannot refer to the sacrifices here mentioned because the Črautasūtra follows after the Grhya- and Dharma-sūtras, and suggests that it refers to the manner in which the sacrificial substances are gathered. In all probability the reference is not so much to Dharma, i, 5, as taken by Eggers, but to the account of agrayaneṣṭi in the Grhya, iv, 2, though reference to the Črauta cannot
be absolutely negativized on the evidence. Professor Caland suggests also that the Črauta may have borrowed from the Grhya two mantras which appear in it, though also found in the Vaikhānasa Samhīṭā, which he believes to be later than, or at least contemporary with, the Grhya text. The evidence for this view of the relation of Sūtra and Samhīṭā is not at all satisfactory. In the Grhya, v, 4, a number of mantras are given and described as āsīdantāni, which Caland renders as "in each of which the word 'was' is to be supplied"; from the fact that the Samhīṭā gives the mantras in full with āsīt added, he concludes that the Sūtrakāra made the error and was followed by the Samhīṭā. But, though it is clear that there is an error, for the verb needed is gacchatu, it is by no means clear that the error was not in the Samhīṭā, and the word āsīdantāni may simply be rendered "ending with āsīt" the Sūtrakāra saving himself the trouble of repeating the word in each mantra, in accordance with the normal rule of saving any useless term. In fact, by this device thirty-two repetitions of "was" or "were" are avoided, and this version saves us from reading a very unusual sense into the simple word anta. On the other hand, in ii, 6, and iii, 5, of the Grhya are respectively the words athāha and samcāsti, which are found in the mantras of the Samhīṭā, and therefore look as if taken from the Grhya. But the Grhya in iii, 23, recognizes the mantra, godānam unattu, which is in the Samhīṭā, and Caland traces back the mantra to a misunderstood godānam unattu, which must mean that the Samhīṭā in this respect is based on a misunderstood Sūtra text; the obvious conclusion, therefore, is that the Samhīṭā's errors are due to use of an older Sūtra than our present text. Caland (p. 59, n. 15) ascribes the Sūtra's error to misunderstanding an older Sūtra, but it seems far more natural to place the blame on the compiler of the Samhīṭā. The matter seems to be decided against Caland's view by his own note on iii, 3; there the Sūtra unquestionably gives as a mantra a text which is found in the Samhīṭā as such, but which is indubitably a piece of Sūtra text. On Caland's hypothesis we must suppose that the Sūtra misunderstood an older Sūtra and created a mantra which the Samhīṭā inserted; it is surely far easier to suppose that the compiler of the Samhīṭā made the error, a much more simple thing for him to do than for the writer of a Sūtra.

Mr. Eggers has not merely given us a translation, but also valuable critical notes, which form an important supplement to the text of Caland. The text is in very poor preservation, and conjectures are
justified, though often uncertain, as in the case of unmajjaka for the certainly odd unmatika in i, 7. In i, 8, caivālakāhūdino is plausible; it might be put as caipālakāhūdino to explain the variant caipalakahūdino; in i, 9, gūhanaveṣa is possible in place of grahamaveṣa which makes little if any sense. But in ii, 14, the conjecture tatākasyodake for parasyodake is clearly far too bold, and the text is shown sound by such a parallel as Yājñavalkya, i, 159. In many cases it is difficult to determine whether the text is at fault or not; it is not clear that in i, 11, the account of the Bhrūmadhygas is correctly rendered by Eggers or Caland; the term pralayāntam in neither version is fully intelligible. On the other hand, Egger's rendering of the views of the Asambhaktas is clearly preferable to Caland's; tatpratiṣṭhanāgamam must mean “the doctrine which leads to him (i.e. the deity)”, not “its (the All-soul’s coming) which by this (meditation) is brought about”. In i, 3, niveditabhaikṣabhojī must simply mean “eating food which he has duly reported to the teacher”, and not “subsisting on the alms which he has (gathered and) delivered over (to his teacher who, thereupon, allows him a quantity)”. Nor does it seem plausible to take in i, 9, vykaśakamūle as hypersandhi for vykaśa ekamūle and see a contrast to the nyagrodha tree; the location is reminiscent of phrases like vanaikadeçe, and Eggers, probably rightly, takes it merely as “an einer Baumwurzel”. The last words of i, 10, present difficulties; Caland renders “go against even (the God) on whom there must be contemplation”, which accords in a measure with the commentary; Eggers has “ändern [von Glied zu Glied] auch ihr Meditationsobjekt”. But this can hardly be right; possibly the point is that the Vimārgagas, while they perform the full eight members of Yoga, go astray in diverting their minds from Viṣṇu. Many of the names of classes of ascetics are extremely obscure; an interesting guess as to Saṁdarçaṇanavṛttikas will be found in an addendum in Eggers, p. 92; his attempt to explain udagraphalins (p. 22) is less plausible. But the corrupt text lends abundant room for doubt, and it is perhaps surprising that both translators are content to accept i, 1, as assigning agriculture to Čūdras, when it is easy to suppose that there is merely a textural error; the text now reads vaicyasya pācūpyahakusādāvānijaṇi čūdrasya dvijanmanāṁ čuṣrāśa kṛṣīc caye; the displacement is kṛṣīc caye may have been motivated by the desire to ascribe to the Vaiṣyasa as to the Kṣatriyas six karmāṇi, as in the case of the

1 Kumbakonam ed. caipalakahūdino; Caland caipalakahādīno; Bhāsya aphaikāhūdino.
Brahmins; what is important is that in the account of the functions of the ārhas in i, 5, we have the vārtārati described as kṣigorakṣya-vānijyopajīve. If the text had to be accepted as validly preserved, we should have to assume that it was compiled in some area where agriculture was especially the work of Čūdras. In i, 9, sarvālmānāḥ must clearly mean "who regard all as the self", a sense suggested by sarvasamāḥ preceding, and not, as Caland, "being entirely absorbed into the Ātman." In i, 2, stheyāt is amazing, and one can hardly see why a deliberate archaism should be attempted. In i, 4, the adverbial sodakam is paralleled by other adverbial usages enumerated by Caland (p. 237).

A. Berriedale Keith.


This is a Persian tažkira (biographical anthology) of Urdu poets; it was compiled in the year 1761 by a youthful poet known in his Persian verse as Shafiq and in his Rekhta as Şâhib. He was brought up in the Deccan, where his father held a responsible position under the State Government. He wrote several historical works and compiled three anthologies. Shām i-Garibān has extracts from Irānī poets who visited India; Gul i Ra'ūnā deals with Indian poets who wrote in Persian, while the third (the work under review) is an anthology of Rekhta poets.

Its contents are taken largely from Mir's Nikāt uṣh Shu'ārā, 1752, and Tažkira e Fath 'Ali, together with considerable additions of his own from earlier tažkiras. The arrival in the Deccan of the two anthologies just named created a sensation and gave rise to a keen desire to possess them. The difficulty of obtaining copies led Shafiq to bring out a collection of his own which differs from others in giving the poets in the order of the letters of the Abjad instead of the alphabet. It is worthy of note that he shows much annoyance with Mir for his depreciatory remarks about Yaqīn, for he himself places Yaqīn on a level with Saudā.

Only a single copy of the anthology is known to exist. That copy is worm-eaten and almost illegible. Its deciphering was a task of great difficulty. The editor has written an introduction of twenty-five pages discussing both Shafiq's Urdu poetry and his tažkira. Here
and there he has quoted freely from an interesting Persian anthology known as *Tuhfat ush Shu'arā*, prepared in 1752 by Afzal Beg. It professedly deals with the Persian writings of Indian poets, but occasionally their Urdu verse is referred to.

Maulvi Abdul Haq has given us a good piece of work which must have cost him great labour, and we feel our indebtedness to him ever increasing. This volume reflects much credit upon him.

In *Tajallī* for October, 1927, there is an article by Tamkīn Kāẓimī written before *Shamanistān i Shu'arā* was published. The author discusses the Dakni poets mentioned in the anthology.

T. G. B.

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*Tazkira i Shu'arā e Urdu*. By Mīr Ḥasan. Edited by Muḥammad Ḥabīb ur Rāhmān Sharvānī. 8 × 5, pp. 226. Aligarh.

Ḥabīb ur Rāhmān has published under this name the *Tazkira e Shu'arā e Hindi*, by the well-known Urdu poet Mīr Ḥasan. It is important to have such a work in print, although all its dates and many of its statements are questionable. The editor has written an introduction of 38 pp.; the second half of it is devoted to quotations from the tazkira itself. The date of the original work is about 1776. Mīr Ḥasan’s poem known as *Masnavī e Mīr Hasan* or *Sihr ul Bayān* is the most popular work in Urdu. For an article on Mīr Hasan and Dakni poets, see *Tajallī*, October, 1927, pp. 47–54.

T. G. B.

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Qāím’s famous anthology has never before been printed. Like all tazkiras of Urdu poets compiled before the nineteenth century, it is in Persian. There is a useful introduction of twenty-five pages; nine discuss Qāím, his anthology, and his poetry, and sixteen give extracts from his poems. There are quotations from 114 poets, including two pages from Qāím himself. It was compiled in 1754, and is thus one of the earliest anthologies. Four lines in Persian and Urdu, rightly condemned as unauthentic, are quoted from Shekh Sa’dī Shirāzī. The Anjuman i Taraqqī e Urdu and its talented Secretary, the editor, are to be congratulated on this work.

T. G. B.

Dr. Sen has made Maratha history his special study, and is already well known as one of the leading authorities on this subject. This book appears to me to be the most valuable of all his works, the mature fruit of research and study. It is a minute account of Shivaji’s military system, and of its development and decline, but it is much more than this, for it describes how social and political influences affected the military ideals of the Marathas, and explains very clearly the reasons for their decay as a military and political power. The chapter on chaouth and sardeshmukhi is most instructive in its explanation of the change in the nature of chaouth, which, as levied by Shivaji, was frankly blackmail levied on an enemy, and, as received by his successors, was an imperial grant made in return for military services, performed or promised. Shivaji’s dream was to expel the Mughuls and establish not only a Hindu, but a Maratha, empire. The Peshwas perceived the impossibility of realizing this dream, and substituted for it the project of establishing a Hindu empire, but Rajput and Maratha could not agree, and finally the Marathas were content to fight merely in order to maintain the predominance of their influence at a Muslim court.

The chapter on the revival of feudalism, the primary cause of the decay of the Maratha monarchy, traces that decay from the grant of fiefs by Shahu, Shivaji’s grandson, to Angria and Balaji Vishvanath to the period when the Maratha army consisted of feudal levies and foreign mercenaries, Sikhs, Rajputs, Sindhis, Canarese, Rohillas,
Arabs, Abyssinians, "Topasses," and Europeans, which he rightly describes as even more disastrous to the Maratha power than the revival of the feudal system.

The chapters on the Maratha infantry and cavalry, on Shivaji's forts, and on artillery are also instructive. Forts were Shivaji's last line of defence, but a very sure one, for they were well furnished with provisions and ammunition, from their position they could hardly be mined, the enemy's artillery could seldom approach near enough to damage them seriously, and the imperial troops, not sufficiently courageous to carry them by storm, very seldom took any fort but by bribery. Of the Maratha artillery Dr. Sen justly says they "had borrowed a scientific weapon without mastering its science, and unintelligent imitation seldom leads to success". The employment of troops trained after the European fashion might be similarly criticized. The tactics of these troops differed so entirely from the traditional Maratha tactics that the two could not be combined, yet the later Maratha leaders persisted in attempting to combine them, and this, as Dr. Sen shows, was one of the chief causes of their defeat at the third battle of Panipat, and afterwards at Assaye.

Dr. Sen has hardly laid sufficient stress on the personal responsibility of Sambhaji for the disappearance of discipline from the Maratha army. It was he who first permitted women to accompany troops in the field, and his troops to capture women, whom they either kept or sold as slaves.

No fewer than eighty-five pages of the book are devoted to the birth of the Maratha navy under Shivaji, its growth under the Angrias, and its maturity and decay under the Peshwas. Dr. Sen concludes this naval record with an interesting chapter on "Piracy, or the Sovereignty of the Sea". This is as complete a chronicle of the naval affairs of the Marathas as I have seen.

Finally, the causes of the decay of the Maratha power are thus concisely summed up: "The State degenerated from a national monarchy to a feudal confederacy, the army degenerated from a well-disciplined national force to an ill-disciplined band of mercenaries, and the military leaders degenerated from simple, hardy soldiers to ease-loving voluptuaries. There could be but one result of such a general and all-round degeneration."

The book is a most valuable contribution to the history of India in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Wolseley Haig.

The title of this bulky book is misleadingly modest. It is not merely a history of the North-East frontier policy of the Mughul emperors, but an account of the history, geography, fauna, flora, climate, peoples, religion, manners and customs, society, economics, agriculture, trade, industries, political institutions, military organization and tactics, and naval tactics of the three States with which that policy was concerned. It also contains a fairly full account of the Muslims in Bengal and of their frontier policy before Akbar ascended the throne. Much of this can only be described as padding. Such information on these subjects as is required as an introduction to an account of the imperial frontier policy might have been contained in ten pages, instead of nearly a hundred. The subject of the work, though not hitherto entirely neglected, as witness Sir Edward Gait’s History of Assam, has not perhaps received the attention which it merits, for it is interesting and historically important, and the author throws much light upon it. His industry is praiseworthy, but he would do well to study the art of expressing himself concisely. The bibliography affords some evidence of his industry, and is a useful guide to students of the subject with which he deals.

He would be well advised to study some models of English prose. “Queer” and “plucky” are not dignified descriptions of a cruel and capricious or a brave man; “rotting,” though sometimes applied in India to one who has the misfortune to pass a night in a police cell, is not accurate as applied to a prince detained at the imperial court; a leader who suffers a defeat may be obliged to fly, but not to “fly away”, as though on the wings of a dove; ammunition is singular, but munitions in the military sense should always take the plural form, while “fuel” should always take the singular. “Munition” and “fuels” blemish the pages of this book. “To topsyturvy” is not an English verb; “diabolical,” applied three times in two pages to a deceiver, is a needlessly strong expression. In an English work troops should be numbered in hundreds of thousands, not in lakhs, and a force of 20,000 men is not well described as a “batch”. Such expressions as “agar wood” and “bapta cloth” should be explained, either in brackets or in notes. Many other expressions in the book betray a lack of familiarity with English idiom, and the text should be carefully revised.

Wolseley Haig.
AFGHANISTAN: FROM DARIUS TO AMANULLAH. By Lieut.-General Sir George Macmunn. 8vo, pp. xii, 359. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1929. 21s.

This book is not based upon an exhaustive examination of the available records, but is an attempt to present the story of Afghanistan in all its absorbing interest to those who would view it from the comfort of the easy chair. In his introduction Sir George Macmunn makes the somewhat startling statement that the inseparable connection geographically, politically, and ethnologically between Afghanistan and India has never been emphasized. Surely this is not true. Even a superficial knowledge of the books and pamphlets dealing with this problem, of which the number is legion, would convince the most casual reader that nothing has been more emphasized. Nevertheless, the author has given us a thrilling account of this close connection between India and Afghanistan. Century after century hordes of invaders have swept like devastating torrents through the mountain passes of the North-West. Dark, inhospitable nullahs, lonely mountain glens, and barren, wind-swept raghzas have resounded to the tramp of Asiatic armies. Persian, Greek, and Afghan, the forces of Alexander and the armies of Mahmud of Ghazni, the hosts of Timur, Babur, and Nadir Shah, and the troops of Ahmad Shah Durrani, all advanced by these routes to lay waste the fair and smiling plains of Hindustan. The history of invasions from Central Asia proves that the frontier zone, from the banks of the Indus to the Afghan slopes of the Sulaiman range, has never presented any real barrier to an enterprising general.

The student of the Afghan problem must needs walk warily. Innumerable pamphlets have been written on this subject for the purpose of furthering party interests. In some cases even the Blue Books have been garbled, as was the case with the letters of Sir Alexander Burnes to the Indian Government. Valuable as are the memoirs of generals and frontier administrators, they nearly all suffer from a lack of perspective, and, in many instances, display considerable ignorance of the great Imperial issues at stake. It can, however, be safely affirmed that Afghanistan owes its very independence to its peculiar geographical position, which makes it the glacis of the fortress of Hindustan. Had it not been for the fact that the British in India recognized the importance of a friendly and independent buffer state between them and the Russians in Central Asia, Abdur Rahman Khan would never have succeeded in forming a group of autonomous
democracies, owing but a vague allegiance to the ruler of Kabul, into a strongly centralized military State. Although other factors, such as the intrigues of the Amirs with the frontier tribesmen, have, in recent years, played their part in determining Anglo-Afghan relations, by far the most important has been Russia’s steady march across the steppes of Central Asia. If Napoleon and the Czars of Russia had not entertained ideas of an invasion of India; if they had not intrigued to our detriment both in Persia and Afghanistan; and if the Black Eagle had never winged its flight across the Caucasus, in all probability our relations with Central Asian States would have been purely commercial in character.

Sir George Macmunn’s account of the racial divisions of Afghanistan should be of interest to the general reader. His contention that the Afghan claim to Hebraic descent is supported by very little in the way of evidence is sound. In fact, numerous theories have been put forward to explain the origin of the Afghans. They have been traced to Copts, Jews, Armenians, Albanians, Turks, Arabs, and Rajputs. Most of these theories are those of writers living in a pre-scientific age, before the examination of anthropometric data revolutionized the study of ethnological problems. They may therefore be dismissed as fanciful. The traditions of any people are useful in that they throw light on national characteristics, and often on their origin, but the Afghan claim to Hebraic descent is supported only by wild, fictitious genealogies. It is the outcome of a widespread practice amongst Muhammedans, by which they claim or invent some connection with the Prophet or with noted personages whose names occur in the Koran or other sacred writings. Travellers and explorers are unanimous in declaring that the Afghan has pronounced Semitic features. It is true that, as a rule, the Afghan nose is long and curved, but this Jewish or, rather, Hittite nose, is very widespread, and is a characteristic of races in no way connected with the Children of Israel. Lastly, the prevalence of Biblical names together with the existence of Jewish customs, have been brought forward in support of this theory. To ward off the Angel of Death, certain tribes have a custom resembling the Passover, in which they sprinkle the blood of an animal over the door posts of a house where a sick person resides. Another ceremony is the placing of the sins of the people upon a heifer, which is driven out into the wilderness in the same manner as the Biblical scapegoat. In addition to these, the offering up of sacrifices, the stoning to death of blasphemers, and a periodical redistribution of lands have been cited
in support of this theory. Mention has also been made of a sort of Levitical clan amongst the Pathans, in which priestly functions are invested. The use of Biblical names and customs is common to all Muhammadans; the Prophet himself adopted them from the Jews around him. In any case, it would not be correct to trace customs, such as the use of a scapegoat, to Israelites alone.

The book we are reviewing is not free from certain slips. Alptigin was not succeeded by Sabuktigin, as is implied on page 27, but by his own son, Is-haq, after whose death, in A.D. 966, another slave, one Baltigin, ruled for a time in Ghazni. The immediate predecessor of Sabuktigin was not Alptigin, as the author states, but Pirai, who came to the throne in A.D. 972. Again, on page 33, the statement occurs that Sultan Khusraw, the last of the Ghaznavids, was sent a prisoner to Ghazni, though history does not record his further fate. As a matter of fact, some authorities definitely state that Sultan Khusraw remained a prisoner until A.D. 1192, when he was put to death as a dangerous incumbrance.

Besides these minor slips there is much that is controversial in the author’s account of Anglo-Afghan relations. It would also be interesting to know what lies hidden behind the reference to temporary officers on page 257. It can, however, be safely stated that this book will be useful in giving a general view of a complicated subject, and as a starting-point for more intensive study.

C. Collin Davies.

The Most Noble and Famous Travels of Marco Polo, together with the Travels of Nicoló de’ Conti. Edited from the Elizabethan Translation of John Frampton, with Introduction, Notes, and Appendixes, by N. M. Penzer. pp. ix, 381. London: The Argonaut Press, 1929. £2 2s.

Mr. Penzer and the Argonaut Press are to be warmly congratulated on this new contribution to the ever-increasing number of Marco Polo editions. Although the text is merely a reprint of an early and little known English version, namely Frampton’s translation of Santaella’s Spanish, Mr. Penzer has taken this as a peg on which to hang the results of the latest researches and discoveries in the field of “Poliana.” And his introduction, notes, and maps form an important
contribution to our knowledge both of the bibliography of the Polo Manuscripts and of the itineraries followed by Marco Polo in his various journeys.

The two most recent editions of this famous book of travel are the French edition of Chârignon, published in Pekin, in which Chinese sources have been fully drawn upon, and the all-important "variorum" edition of il Milione, published by Professor Benedetto of Florence, two years ago.

Professor Benedetto's text opens a new epoch in the history of this engrossing subject; and until it appeared the famous Yule-Cordier edition represented the last stage reached in scholarly investigation of the numerous Polo manuscripts. It has been Benedetto's difficult task, for which he was linguistically and in other ways so well equipped, to reconsider this problem in the light of newly discovered manuscripts. His labours have carried the story many stages further, and his conclusions have been admirably summarized in Mr. Penzer's introduction to the volume under review. I cannot in this place recapitulate the details of this interesting inquiry, but will merely indicate the most important results reached by the Italian scholar:

1. He fully establishes the claims of the famous Paris manuscript Bibliothèque Nationale fr. 1116, and takes it as the main text of his "variorum" edition.

2. The famous edition prepared by Ramusio and published two years after his death in 1559 is known to contain whole chapters, passages, and expressions which are not found in any of the manuscripts known to Yule. Professor Benedetto had the good fortune to discover in the Ambrosian Library at Milan a copy made in 1795 of a manuscript dating from the fourteenth-fifteenth century, which once belonged to Cardinal Zelada. This manuscript was found to contain many but by no means all of the fragments which occur only in Ramusio's edition, but the Zelada text cannot be the one utilized by Ramusio, as it contains a number of passages which are not in Ramusio or in any of the known manuscripts. It is thus evident that although the Zelada text helps to bring us nearer to the original than we have hitherto been, the whole problem is not yet solved and a still more important manuscript may any day be unearthed from the unexplored treasures of European Libraries.

I may be permitted to mention here that Professor Benedetto has prepared an Italian translation based on his "variorum" edition, and that an English translation made under the supervision of
Professor Benedetto is to be published in the "Broadway Travellers" Series.

Of more general interest, perhaps, are Mr. Penzer’s attempts to trace the route followed by the three Polos to the court of the great Khan and their return journey, by sea, to the Persian Gulf, and thence home via Trebizond. He also traces the various journeys made by Marco Polo during his long residence at the Mongol Court. It has always been an important point in tracing these itineraries to distinguish carefully between the places actually visited by the traveller and those only spoken of by hearsay. In support of his arguments, Mr. Penzer has prepared no less than eleven excellent maps for some of which he acknowledges the help he has derived from Sir Aurel Stein’s *Innermost Asia*.

Frampton’s translation, of which only three copies are known to exist to-day, was published in 1579. The Spanish original by Santaella was first published in 1503, and was several times reprinted. The original Italian manuscript from which Santaella made his translation is preserved in the Biblioteca del Seminario at Seville.

Frampton’s English translation, which is here reproduced, without change, makes delightful reading, and being the translation of a simple narrative is free from those tedious ethical reflections and pompous verbosity which we so often find in Elizabethan books of travel.

One or two trivial errors may, perhaps, be mentioned: page xxxvi in two places for Jirupt read Jiruft, page xxxviii for Hasan Shabah read Hasan Sabbah, page xxxix for Balk read Bakh, page xlii for Muzaffarabāb read Muzaffarābād, the same page for Khotān read Khotan.

In conclusion a word must be said in praise of the admirable index and of the very handsome manner in which this volume has been produced.

E. Denison Ross.

*The Currency of the Far East. By Fr. Schjøth. 13 x 8½, pp. 94 of text + 132 of illustrations. London (Luzac) and Oslo (Aschehoug), 1929.*

Besides numerous articles in periodicals and pamphlets, several works on Chinese currency have been published by Western writers. Vissering’s treatise appeared as long ago as 1877, and it was followed in 1889 by Georgievsky’s monograph on the ancient coins. Terrien
de Lacouperie’s catalogue of Chinese coins in the British Museum is dated 1892. Between the years 1895 and 1907, three volumes descriptive of the Glover Collection were published by Sir J. H. Stewart Lockhart, who also compiled a catalogue of his own collection which came out in 1915 as an extra volume of the Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

None of these treats the subject comprehensively. Sir J. H. Stewart Lockhart’s works cover the largest field and are the most reliable; but they are confined to descriptions of the two collections. Vissering’s monograph is meagre and requires much revision; Lacouperie copied Vissering copiously (including the errors), without acknowledgment.

Whoever attempts to produce the standard work on Chinese currency has a stupendous task. Mere familiarity with the immense native literature on the subject is only part of the preparation needed; he should be able to criticize these works, and to re-examine countless problems with scientific scepticism. He should be possessed of extraordinarily wide epigraphic and archaeological knowledge. He should also find representative examples of all known types, and exclude the numerous counterfeits. Photography should replace the usual wood-cuts which depend for accuracy on the skill of both artist and block-cutter.

The book under review is not a standard work. It is the catalogue of a collection which the author made during twenty-five years spent in China as a member of the Customs Service, and which he lately presented to the Numismatic Cabinet of the University of Oslo. The scope is therefore limited; and, though the Collection is large and varied, many known types are absent. Some coins from Corea, Japan, and Annam are included. The illustrations are facsimile reproductions of “hand-drawn sketches, taken directly from each coin” by the author’s daughter, Mrs. Heyerdahl. As guides to the identification of coins they may serve a useful purpose; but they are hardly accurate enough to satisfy the requirements of numismatic specialists. In the descriptions several of the best-known Chinese works are freely quoted, but without critical discrimination, and often without specific reference. The English, too, is very strange in places, and it might with advantage have been revised by someone whose native tongue is English.

Nevertheless, the work is obviously the outcome of much patient labour, and it will be welcomed not only by the few who specialize
in this domain of numismatics but by those who study Chinese symbolism. The section on charms or amulets, for instance, contains numerous examples of the rebus and felicitous motto. A long list giving the weights of the coins, as determined by Dr. Hans Holst, is the most valuable contribution from a scientific point of view.

There is, by the way, a discrepancy between the title on the front page and that on the cover. The former is *The Currency of the Far East*, and it is more appropriate than *Chinese Currency* which is printed on the cover.

W. PERCEVAL YETTS.

THE DOCUMENTS OF IRIKI. Translated and edited by K. ASAKAWA. 10\(\frac{1}{4}\) in., pp. xvi, 442 [71]. Yale University Press, 1929.

This is not a book for the general reader; but to the advanced student already equipped with a knowledge of the history of feudal institutions in Europe, and of France in particular, it will be invaluable. The Documents, which deal mainly with questions relating to land and fiefs in which the ancient family of Iriki in Kyūshū were interested, number 155, and are printed in both Japanese and English. Dr. Asakawa has been singularly fortunate in being able to obtain access to such valuable material, and it is equally fortunate for the student that its translation and editing should have fallen into such able hands. The book opens with a scholarly Introduction dealing with the early history of the House of Shimadzu—one of the most powerful and famous among Japan’s territorial nobility—and of the lesser family of the Shibuya, with its branch, the Iriki, which in the early Middle Ages were rivals with the Shimadzu for supremacy in South Kyūshū. The Introduction is followed by a “Summary of Points” covering 40 closely printed pages in which, under the headings of (a) origin, (b) development, (c) relations between lord and vassal, and (d) régime, the editor discusses with great wealth of reference prominent features in the genesis and development of feudal institutions in Japan, and, for the benefit and guidance of the student, notes numerous points in connection with which a comparison with similar institutions in feudal Europe, and particularly France, would be both interesting and profitable. A copious Bibliography follows, and then come the Documents themselves. As we have already said, they are concerned mainly with matters relating to land, cadastral surveys, conditions of tenure, grants, devises, incidence of taxation, etc.; but they deal
also with a variety of other subjects, such as summons to arms, records of military services, claims for grants based on such services, the conditions under which vassals discharged their guard duty at the palace in Kyoto or at the seat of government, etc., and all are carefully annotated or prefaced by illuminating comments. There is not space here to touch on the many interesting and frequently very complicated questions discussed by Dr. Asakawa; but two we should like to notice briefly, the evolution of the warrior caste, and the relation between lord and vassal. In the very early stages of the feudal system there was little distinction between the fighting man and the man who tilled the soil, for the latter was generally soldier as well as farmer; but as the feudal system gradually developed and the struggles for supremacy between rival barons became fiercer and more prolonged, farmer and soldier slowly drifted apart to form two distinct classes, one occupied solely with the cultivation of the land and the other with warfare. In this process the warrior's interests in the land step by step diminished, the various rights (shiki) which he held in it passed one by one into the hands of the cultivator, and more and more as time went on the conditions of his existence forced him and his class to abandon their former homes and to collect in separate communities in the immediate neighbourhood of the fortress of the lord whose vassals they were. When Hideyoshi made his famous cadastral survey in 1587, the process was practically complete, and a distinct warrior caste had come into existence, wholly unproductive, with service to a feudal lord as its sole function, and rewarded for that service by grants of rice from the baronial granary. The term hyakusho, which originally meant a person having a family name, had completely lost its earlier honourable significance, and was now used as a generic term for the tillers of the soil, persons who had no right to bear a name. But if the peasant and the farmer had become inferior in the social scale, they were not without certain compensating advantages. They were virtually owners of the land they cultivated, their taxable capacity was carefully defined and regulated, and the rural communities (mura) of which they were members, although under a collective responsibility to the feudal lord, at the same time enjoyed a large measure of self-government. What precisely the position of the tenant farmer was it is difficult to say; but at all events serfage in the European sense of the term appears never to have existed in Japan. With regard to the relations of lord and vassal, Dr. Asakawa draws attention to an interesting point, the weakness of the mutuality
of the contract in Japan as compared with Europe. In the latter the
lord referred to his feudal court the trial of charges brought against
him by his vassal; in the former he admitted only the vassal's right to
petition, but not to sue. Justice was, in fact, not so much a matter
of obligation on one side or of right on the other as a part of the lord's
duty as a general ruler. Bald and laconic though many of the Docu-
ments are, there are among them a number with a distinct human
interest. Take, for instance, the suit between Yoshida Nobutada
and Shibuya Jōshin over a question of shiki, which the latter was
alleged to have taken from the former (Doc. No. 16), the repudiation
by Terao Jōun of his sons Yōichi and Shichirō in 1277, which
resulted in a family quarrel lasting many years (Doc. 26, et seq.),
the various papers relating to guard service, the surrender of Iriki
domains to the House of Shimadzu in 1574 (Doc. No. 145), thus
marking the final capitulation of the weaker to the stronger, and,
last but not least, the documents dealing with the downfall of the
feudal regime in 1867 (Doc. No. 155). The English section of the book
closes with a series of genealogical tables of the various branches of
the Iriki family and of the House of Shimadzu. Altogether, we have
here a collection of historical papers of immense interest, and we
look forward with pleasurable anticipation to the appearance of
Dr. Asakawa's work on the feudal system in Kyūshū generally, which
will doubtless contain in succinct and compendious form the final
results of his investigations. The printing of the Documents is
admirable; but page 32 seems to be missing, its place being taken by
page 42, which has been printed twice over. We should like to register
a mild protest against Dr. Asakawa's substitution of the letters zh
for j in the spelling of Japanese names, and of the word "church" for
"temple". On the authority of scholars like Satow, Aston, and
Chamberlain, we venture to think that j is preferable to zh, and that,
for instance, Hongwanzhi more closely approximates to the Japanese
sound than does Hongcanzhi. Nor are we convinced by Dr. Asakawa's
arguments in favour of the use of the words "church" and "temple" for
"tera" and "sha", but, with proper insular conservatism, adhere
to our predilection for the terms "temple" and "shrine", which,
apart from other reasons, have the merit of long use. But these are
very minor matters.

Harold Parlett.

It is related that a certain early Jesuit missionary, when questioned as to the origin of Chinese ideographs, replied that they were certainly the invention of the Devil whose ingenuity had devised this obstacle for those who wished to preach the gospel in the Middle Kingdom. But it is rather the student who makes his first acquaintance with the Chinese ideograph in its Japanese dress, that is justified in ascribing its origin to an evil power. As adapted to Japanese needs, most Chinese characters have several possible meanings and many alternative pronunciations, only one of which is correct in any given circumstances. The difficulties of the student are therefore of no mean order. They have been met by the late Professor Chamberlain's *A Practical Introduction to the Study of Japanese Writing*, a scholarly treatise that deals with some 3,000 characters, contains an immense amount of matter appertaining to them, and combines the functions of a textbook with those of an authoritative work of reference; but it is necessarily a ponderous volume, contains much outside the scope of the beginner, and unfortunately it is out of print.

The present book, intended for beginners, is based on Professor Chamberlain's methods; part of an early section of the larger work is (by permission) reproduced, and this, with some rearrangement, the addition of exercises and a great deal of helpful explanatory matter, has been welded into a homogeneous whole and successfully compressed into a handy volume of convenient size and shape, without resorting to small type. Keeping in view the requirements of the elementary student, only 400 characters are considered—those originally selected by Chamberlain for initial study. Commander Isemonger has acted wisely in adopting this list. They are not the simplest characters, nor are all of them constantly met with, but experience has proved the soundness of the principles that guided their choice; and students who have committed them permanently to memory, possess a solid groundwork on which to build, and generally proceed to extend their character-vocabulary with progressively diminishing effort.

The planning is good, the book being divided into two sections; the first, after making a broad survey of the field of Japanese writing in general, treats at length on the Kana syllabaries, studies the Japanese methods of reading and pronouncing Chinese characters, and closes
by examining the details of their formation, and with a classification by analysis. The second section tackles seriously the problem of learning 400 characters. Twenty characters are presented at a time; every one clearly printed in a large square together with its pronunciations, Japanese readings, and significations. Each batch is followed by a few pages of helpful notes, useful compounds and combinations, and an exercise with transliteration and translation.

The scheme is noteworthy, and there can be no doubt that this book will fill a long-felt want. It caters of course for the elementary student only, but provides him with an excellent introduction to the Kana and 400 characters. Explanations are concise, and the reader’s attention is never diverted by unnecessary dissertations, nor his time wasted on trivialities. It is doubtful, however, whether the beginner should be encouraged to trouble himself too much with the details of Kana-zukai, the syllabic spelling; and some of the space devoted to this subject might be cut down with advantage. A very few pages should suffice to indicate the general rules for syllabic spelling and to enable the student to pronounce correctly those words or inflections usually written with Kana. The Japanese themselves attach little importance to it; unorthodox Kana-spelling is not held to indicate lack of education, though correct use of the Chinese character is essential.

The author does not profess to teach writing—and, of course, the beautiful calligraphy of Japan and China cannot be acquired from any book—but for the benefit of those unable to obtain the services of a writing master, he devotes a few pages to general rules for writing, chiefly concerned with the order of the strokes. As at present printed, the examples given do not make it clear to a beginner how, and in what order, these strokes should be written. For instance, he is informed that “An angle on the left and at the bottom is often made with a single stroke, thus 女 山 衣”.

It would really help the student, and also be useful for reference, if all the characters used as examples in the section on “How to Write” were printed to show clearly the correct order of the strokes, as follows:

1st Stroke. + 2nd. + 3rd. + 4th. + 5th. + 6th stroke.

\[ \text{女} \quad \text{山} \quad \text{衣} \]
Mention should be made of the fact that the work under review will not enable the student—without further study—to read Japanese as it is written, but only in its modern printed form. Every letter he receives, many notices and hand-bills, all books printed from wooden blocks (a method of printing rare to-day, although at one time in general use) will be written in the cursive Sōsho, or the semi-cursive Gyōsho script. In these styles, the strokes of the characters are abbreviated and modified to such an extent that it is doubtful whether the student will be able to recognize the characters he is already familiar with in print. Mastery of the printed form, however, is an essential preliminary to the study of hand-written Japanese, and the student who aims at ability to read letters and documents, will find the present volume valuable as a preparatory course.

The book suffers from the absence of an index, though this is minimized by the synopsis that precedes each chapter. When the next edition is called for, an index to all the Chinese characters it contains might be added with advantage. This should be four-fold, and comprise:—

(1) An index to the characters, arranged alphabetically according to the "On".

(2) A similar index of the "Kun".

(3) An index to the characters, arranged in accordance with the number of strokes with which each is written.

(4) An index to the characters, arranged in the order of their radicals.

The last system, being the one employed in native character dictionaries, would serve as a useful early exercise in the method the student will ultimately adopt when searching for a word in a Japanese dictionary.

Lafcadio Hearn, with true insight, observes: "An ideograph does not make upon the Japanese brain any impression similar to that created in the Occidental brain by a letter or combination of letters—dull inanimate symbols of vocal sounds. To the Japanese brain an ideograph is a vivid picture; it lives; it speaks; it gesticulates." And it is probable that an educated Japanese when using Sinico-Japanese words, which form so large a part of the speech of the upper classes, visualizes—at the time he is speaking—the ideograph with which each word is written. The student should aim at this; and it is difficult to conceive a book—of modest size and limited


Außer der Gelehrten, welche die Sprachwissenschaft nur als Hilfsmittel benutzen, werden reiches Material bei Ivens finden. Der Zoologe und der Botaniker treffen bei vielen Namen von Tieren und Pflanzen die lateinischen Bezeichnungen an, die sie in anderen Wörterbüchern häufig vermissen, z.B. Seite 34. Haliaster girrereha, Seite 145 Baza gurnoyi, Seite 161 Turbo petholatus, Seite 255 Onithoptera Uvilleana—Seite 112 Musa Cavendishii, Seite 205 Cycas circinalis, Seite 234 Bischenio javanica, Seite 300 Parinarium laurimum. Ganz besonders wird der Ethnograph dieses Wörterbuch ausbeuten können, für die materielle Kultur z.B. Seite 60 unter ha'a 7 und Seite 354 unter to'o ha über Muschelgeld, Seite 55 unter eho, Seite 94 unter hato 2, Seite 160 unter la'o 3 über Ornamente; noch mehr für das Geistesleben, z.B. über Magie: Seite 50 unter dili 1, Seite 109 unter ho'o 3, über Geistergläuben: Seite 15 unter akalo 1, Seite 105 unter ho'asi, Seite 112 unter hu'o 2, Seite 139 unter karinga pevisi, Seite 143 unter kela, über Initiation: Seite 39 unter hena, Seite 135 unter malaahu.

Natürlich ist das Buch in erster Linie für den Linguisten bestimmt, und zwar für den Sprachvergleicher, wie der Verfasser im Vorwort hervorhebt. Für diesen werden bei sehr vielen Wörtern Parallelen aus indonesischen, melanesischen und polynesischen Sprachen angeführt; zum Teil werden als "IN." Wortformen geboten, die offenbar der indonesischen Ursprache entnommen sind, wie sie von
Brandstetter aufgestellt ist und von Ray in seinem Werk *Melanesian Island Languages*, Cambridge University Press, 1926, verwertet wird. Die meisten dieser Angaben stellen unbestreitbare etymologische Rückführungen dar, z.B. ‘āi “tree” < IN. kayu, āsi 1 “sea” < IN. tasik, hāu “stone” < IN. butu, honu “to be full” < IN. penuh, ‘ime “the bear’s paw clam” < IN. kima, ma’ue “to fear” < IN. (ma-)takut, rāu “a leaf” < IN. daven, sae- “heart” < IN. atay, tala 1 “path” < IN. jalan. Einige freilich sind zweifelhaft, z.B. he’a “to defecate” kann nicht mit IN. tay zusammenhängen, dieses IN. Wort wird durch ae “faeces” vertreten, und he’a ist auf IN. bekas “Hinterlassenschaft” zurückzuführen (vgl. Kern “De Fidjitaal” Seite 189 unter veka). Auch ono “to swallow” hängt kaum mit IN. telen zusammen, vielmehr geht auf dieses IN. Wort wohl olo 2 “to faint with hunger”, und hiolo “to be hungry” zurück, letzteres ist aus IN. pia-telen “Lust zum Schlucken” entstanden.

Auch bei der Angabe von Parallelen aus verwandten Einzelsprachen kann man die meisten anerkennen, und besonders für die Beibringung melanesischer Aequivalente dankbar sein; viele neue Wörter sind aus der Arosi-Sprache angeführt; sie sind nach einer Stelle im Vorwort von Dr. Fox gesammelt. Aber für die indonesischen Einzelsprachen hat der Verfasser anscheinend unzulängliches Quellenmaterial benutzt. Seine Zitate aus dem Malay enthalten Wörter, die es in dieser Sprache garnicht gibt: sapa “wing” zu apaapa 1, dia, jia zu diana “good”, tia “stomach” zu ie-1 “belly”, mam zu ome “to suck”, pea “foot” zu pe’a “footmark”, man, omani, manesh zu mwane 1 “a male”. Auch mit dem mehrfach angegebenen Borneo kann der Sprachvergleicher nicht viel anfangen, da es auf Borneo an die hundert verschiedene Sprachen gibt. Ueberhaupt ist es methodologisch bedenklich, Wörter aus verwandten Sprachen als Aequivalente anzuführen, solange man deren Lautwandel nicht genau kennt und angibt.

Der vom Verfasser im Vorwort ausgesprochene Wunsch, dass sein Wörterbuch von Nutzen für Forscher zur Aufhellung des Ursprungs der melanesischen Sprachen sein möge, veranlasst mich, hier eine Untersuchung darüber anzustellen, welcher Anteil des Wortschatzes im Sa’a sich mit indonesischem Sprachgut identifizieren lässt, und welchen Lautwandel die Laute des IN. erfahren haben. Ich knüpfe dabei an die gleichartigen Untersuchungen an, die Ray in seinem vorstehend zitierten Buch, Seite 481–87 veröffentlicht hat. Es soll ein Beweis für den hohen Wert des Werkes von Ivens sein, dass
man aus seinem erschöpfenden Material zu umfangreicheren und sichereren Ergebnissen kommen kann, als es Ray möglich war, der mit beschränkterem Material arbeiten musste.

Die von Ray zusammengestellten Aequivalente ergeben, etwas anders geordnet, folgende Lautverschiebung

(1) der Konsonanten des IN.
   (a) Labiallauten: IN. \( p > h \), IN. \( b > h \), IN. \( m \) bleibt \( m \);
   (b) Alveolarlauten: IN. \( t > O \) (fällt fort), IN. \( d > r \), IN. \( l \) bleibt \( l \), IN. \( r^1 > t \), IN. \( s \) bleibt \( s \) oder \( > t \);
   (c) Palatallauten: IN. \( j > t \), IN. \( ŋ > n \);
   (d) Velarlauten: IN. \( k > \) (Kehlverschluss), IN. \( g < \), IN. \( r^2 > l \), IN. \( ŉ \) bleibt \( ŉ \).
   (e) Laryngallauten: IN. \( h > O \) (fällt fort);
   (2) der Vokale, Halbvokale und Diphthonge des IN.
   IN. \( a, i, u \) bleiben \( a, i, u \), IN. \( ê > o \);
   IN. \( w \) bleibt \( w \), IN. \( y > O \);
   IN. \( ay > e \), IN. \( aw > o \).

Von sekundärer Lautentwicklung beachtet Ray den "Umlaut", der die Vokalfolge \( i-a \) und \( u-a \) im Sa‘a zu \( i-ã \) und \( u-ã \) werden lässt, er gibt an, dass zuweilen IN. \( t \) vor \( o \) < IN. \( ê \) erhalten ist, erklärt das \( s \) in S. \( ãsi \) "brother" < IN. ar‘i als Wirkung des \( i \) und führt als unerklärte Entsprechungen an, dass IN. \( r^2 \) zu \( n \) wird in U. nima, S. nime, "house" IN. \( l > n \) in U. nima, S. nime "hand", und dass IN. \( p \) bleibt \( p \) in pepe "butterfly".


Vorausschicken muss ich aber, dass ich einige Laute der indonesischen Ursprache etwas anders auffasse als Ray. Ich nehme an, dass Rays (Brandstetters) \( r^1 \) und \( s \) ursprünglich palatale Konsonanten waren, und setzen dafür \( g’ \) und \( t’ \) an. Ausserdem schreibe ich Rays \( c, j \) und \( ŉ \) als \( k’, d’ \) und \( ŉ \) und gebe Rays \( r^2 \) als \( γ \). Endlich habe ich noch einen R-Laut als ursprüchlich aufgefundem, den ich als \( ŋ \) ansetze. Im ubrigen verzichte ich hier auf einige weitere Abweichungen von Rays Auffassung und Schreibung, da sie für das Sa‘a belanglos sind.

(1) Die Konsonanten des IN.

(a) Labiallauten. IN. \( p > h \) auch in hano "a skin disease" < IN. panaw "Flecken", ta|hãna "a fathom, the opening of a man’s
arms” < IN. paña “Gabelung”, hu’o “fishing-net” < IN. pukét “Wurfnetz”, āhui 5 “placenta, white of egg” < IN. putih “weiss”, tāha “what?” < IN. apa “was?”, sīāhū 1 “lime” < IN. apūry “Kalk”; eno “to lie down”, enohi “to lie in” < IN. hinēp “nächtigen, schlafen, liegen”, unehi “to scale a fish” < IN. unap “Fischschuppe”—in den beiden letzten Beispielen ist auslautendes IN. p vor stützendem Suffix als h erhalten.

IN. b > h auch in hāha 2 “down” < IN. babah “unten”, hāha 3 “to carry a person on one’s back” < IN. bāba “tragen auf Rücken”, hāho 1 “above” < IN. babaw “oben”, hou 4 “to proclaim” < IN. bētu “in Erscheinung treten”, hu’e 5 “to reverse” < IN. buka (+i) “öffnen” (+ Lokativ-Suffix), huku 1 “to leak . . . of powdered substance” < IN. bukkuk “Holzmehl”, hule 6 “full moon” < IN. bulan “Mond”, hulu 2 “to be hairy” < IN. bulu “Wolle”, huu 5 Barringtonia < IN. butun dgl.; uhe S., uha U. “a strong ground creeper . . . used to poison fish” < IN. tuba “Fischgift”, sāu/lehi “evening” < IN. yabi “Abend” — für auslautendes IN. b sind keine Beispiele zu finden.

IN. m bleibt m, u.a. auch auslautend vor stützendem Suffix in anom “to cover with earth” < IN. tanēm “Erde häufen, begraben, pflanzen”, inumi (Seite 201 unter mi) neben inu “to drink” < IN. inum “trinken”.

(b) Alveolar- (und Zerebral) laute.

IN. t > O (fällt fort) auch in ano 1 “ground” < IN. tanēm “Erde”, sa/oru “the egg of a bird” < IN. tōly “Ei”, iilo “a mangrove oyster” < IN. tiyēm “Auster”, i/o “to sit . . .” < IN. tikēl “rasten”; moa “to vomit” < IN. (moa-utah “sich erbrechen”.

IN. ā (und ā) > r auch in rara 1 “to be in the sunlight . . .” < IN. dadañ “verseengt”, rara 3 “the coral tree, Erythrina” < IN. dapaap “Schattenbaum, Erythrina”, rāi 2 “the front ends of the stone walls of a canoe house” < IN. dahi “Stirn”; āhuri “couch, shell, triton” < tabudī “Tritonshorn”; — auslautendes IN. ā (oder ā) ist nicht zu belegen.


IN. n bleibt n, siehe vorstehend hano, enohi, unehi, anom, ano; — auslautendes IN. n ist nicht zu belegen.
IN. \( l > r \) in ‘a’ari “to tear” < IN. \( g\tilde{a}l\tilde{i}t \) “ritzen”, ausserdem in k\( \ddot{a}ru \) 2 “to scratch” < IN. \( g\tilde{a}lut, para \) “a fence” < IN. \( p\tilde{a}la \) “Gestell” (wegen des hier auffretenden \( k \) und \( p \) im Sa’a siehe nachstehend); —dieses IN. \( l \) ist anlautend und auslautend nicht zu belegen.

(c) Palatallaute

IN. \( t' \) (bei Ray \( s \) > \( t \) vor IN. \( a \) und \( \check{e} \), auch in \( t\tilde{a}‘e \) 2 “up, inland”, 3 “to rise up”, 4 “to embark” < IN. \( t\tilde{a}kay \) “besteigen”, \( t\tilde{a}l\tilde{a} \) “to miss, to fail” < IN. \( t\tilde{a}lah \) “Irrtum”, \( m\tilde{a}t\tilde{a}l\check{a} \) “between, midway . . .” < IN. \( t\tilde{e}l\tilde{a}t \) “Zwischenraum”, \( t\tilde{a}t\tilde{a}l\tilde{a} \) “to pay a fine” < IN. \( t\tilde{e}l\tilde{\check{e}}l \) “Reue”; \( a\tilde{a}t\tilde{a}t\tilde{a} \) 2 “to grate” < IN. \( h\tilde{a}t\check{a}h \) “schleifen”; \( m\tilde{a}t\tilde{e}h\tilde{u}l\tilde{u}l \) “the final stage of ripeness of a coconut” < IN. \( m\tilde{a}t\tilde{a}k + b\tilde{u}y\tilde{u}k \) “reif sein” + “verrottet”, \( \tilde{a}l\tilde{a}t \) 1 “a tree, Catappa terminalia” < IN. \( t\tilde{a}h\tilde{t}i\tilde{a}j \) “Terminalia”; — auslautendes IN. \( t' \) ist nur vor Suffix -i zu belegen, siehe nachstehend.

IN. \( d' \) (bei Ivens und Ray \( j \) > \( t \) vor IN. \( a \) auch in \( t\tilde{a}n\tilde{a}|\tilde{a} \) “a span” < IN. \( d\tilde{a}n\tilde{a}n \) “Spanne”, \( s\tilde{a}t\check{e} \) “the human jaw” < IN. \( a\tilde{d}\tilde{a}y \) “Kinn”, \( u\tilde{e} \) 2, \( u\tilde{e} \pi \) “heavy rain” < IN. \( h\tilde{u}d\tilde{a}n \) “Regen” (Rays Angabe IN. \( u\tilde{r} \) an ist irrig, es gibt zwei Stammformen für “Regen”: IN. \( h\tilde{u}d\tilde{a}n \) und IN. \( u\tilde{d}a\tilde{n} \), aber keine \( u\tilde{r} \) an = \( u\tilde{g}\tilde{\check{a}}\tilde{n} \) in meiner Schreibung).

IN. \( g' \) (Rays \( r \) 1; bei Ivens werden IN. \( r \) 1 und \( r \) 2 nicht unterschieden) > \( t \) vor IN. \( a \); auch in \( s\tilde{a}t\tilde{o} \) “the sun” < IN. \( a\tilde{g}\tilde{\check{a}}w \) “Tag”.

Diese drei palatalen Verschlusslaute IN. \( t' \), \( d' \) und \( g' \) werden regelmässig zu \( s \) vor IN. \( i \) und \( u \); es liegt also kombinatorischer Lautwandel vor. So sind zu erklären ausser den Beispielen bei Ray für IN. \( t\tilde{i} \) und \( t\tilde{u} \) auch: \( s\tilde{i} \)’ \( o \) 2 “to collect” < IN. \( t\tilde{i}k\tilde{e}p \) “fassen”, \( a\tilde{m}|\tilde{a}s\tilde{i} \) “to feel pity for” < IN. \( a\tilde{t}i\tilde{h} \) “Mitgefühl”, \( l\tilde{u}su \) “the rib in a canoe . . .” < IN. \( y\tilde{u}t\tilde{u}h \) “Rippe”, auch \( s\tilde{a}\tilde{u} \) 2 “to smoke” geht nicht auf IN. \( h\tilde{a}t\tilde{e}p \) “Rauch” (davon Malay asap), sondern auf IN. \( a\tilde{t}\tilde{u}w \) “Rauch” zurück. Ebenso tritt auslautendes IN. \( t' \) nur als \( s \) vor dem stützenden Suffix \( i \) auf in \( h\tilde{a}r\tilde{a}si \) “to chafe” < IN. \( p\tilde{a}l\tilde{a}t \) “glätten”. Ferner für IN. \( d\tilde{u} \): \( s\tilde{u}l\tilde{u} \) 5 “liquid, water” < IN. \( d\tilde{u}y\tilde{u}h \) “Saft”, \( \tilde{a}\tilde{u} \) 4 “to point” < IN. \( t\tilde{u}d\tilde{\check{u}}k \) “zeigen”. Endlich für IN. \( g\tilde{i} \) und \( g\tilde{u} \): \( \ddot{a}\ddot{s}i- \) S., 2 “a man’s brother, a woman’s sister” < IN. \( a\tilde{g}\tilde{i} \) “Geschwister”, \( s\tilde{u}l\tilde{u} \) 2 “a bone” < IN. \( g\tilde{u}\ddot{y}r \) “Dorn, Stachel”.

IN. \( \check{n} \) (bei Ray \( \check{n} \) > \( n \) auch in \( n\tilde{a}u \) “a fruit tree, teak” < IN.
\textit{natu}h "Pallaquium usw."); \textit{mānu} 2 "to float" \textless \text{IN. anud} "flottieren".

(d) Velarlaute

\text{IN. k} > ' (Kehlverschluss) auch in "ami U. "we (excl.)" \textless \text{IN. kami} "wir (exkl.)"; "ānu "you" \textless \text{IN. kamī}e "ihr"; "o̱hi "to fetch" \textless \text{IN. kēpī} "festhalten"; u̱i-i̱i "tail" \textless \text{IN. ikwī}y "Schwanz" (mit Umstellung über *ukiγ); vgl. auch vorstehend hu̱o, hu̱e, i̱o, ta̱e, si̱o.

\text{IN. g} > ' in 'a'ari "to tear" \textless \text{IN. ga}̱līt "ritzen".

\text{IN. y} (bei Ray r^2) > l auch in mela "to glow" \textless \text{IN. (ma-)iyah "rot sein"}, ule- U., 1 "brother, sister . . ." \textless \text{IN. uyān} "Mensch"; vgl. auch vorstehend sāu|lehi, iilo, mata|hulu, lusu, sulu, suli; — für auslautendes IN. γ ist dem Beleg von Ray sineli "to shine" \textless \text{IN. t'īnay} "Schein" kein neuer hinzuzaufügen.

\text{IN. ń} bleibt ń auch in awa|angāa "to open the mouth, to gape" \textless \text{IN. angāna "offen stehen (Mund)"}; vgl. vorstehend ta|haţa; auslautendes IN. ń ist nicht zu belegen.

(e) Laryngallauten

\text{IN. h} > O auch in ihe- S., iha- U. "brother in law" \textless \text{IN. hi}pāγy "Schwager", mā|ua U. 1 "reif" \textless \text{IN. tuhāy "alt"}, uu 2 "real . . ." \textless \text{IN. tuhu "sicherlich"}; vgl. vorstehend rāi, atata, uetc.

Bemerkenswert ist, dass die Vokale, die durch \text{IN. h} getrennt waren, nicht verschmelzen, wie sonst z.B. in (vorstehend) moa, oï, mela. Diese Feststellung leitet dazu über, dass für \text{IN. h} auch ' (Kehlverschluss) auftritt in ta' a 6 "bad" \textless \text{IN. d'ahat "schlecht"}. Ray gibt auch U. ha|olu zu IN. baheγu "neu" an, während Ivens haolu bringt. Es ist zu vermuten, dass die Entsprechung IN. h > ' älter ist als \text{IN. h} > O.

Die vorstehenden Zusammenstellungen haben eine grosse Lücke, sie erklären nicht das Auftreten von p, d und k in einer Anzahl von Wörtern, die offensichtlich indonesische Äquivalente haben. Diese Fälle lassen sich aber als Entsprechungen von Nasalverbindungen deuten, die das IN. im Anlaut und Inlaut aufweist.

So geht p zurück auf \text{IN. mp} in āpi 1 "bordering upon" \textless \text{IN. hampī}y "nahe sein", āpi 2 "to hold under the arm" \textless \text{IN. hampī} "unter dem Arm festhalten", epa 2 "to lie as a mat" \textless \text{IN. hampay "ausgebreitet"}, hapa 1 "a canoe seat . . ." \textless \text{IN. pa(m)pan "Brett"}; pulopulo "to revolve" neben hulo 2 "to wrap around" \textless \text{IN. (m)pu}lēt' "drehen", puńu 2 "a bunch" neben hunu 1 "to bear
fruit" < IN. (m)pūnu "Fruchttross", āli|pono, susu ēli|pono "closed up . . ." neben hono 1 "to shut", ma|hono "stopped up" < IN. (m)pēnēd "verstopft", i|pelu, ipai|palu "to make war" < IN. (m)palu "schlagen", pānī U. 2 "the side walls of a house" < IN. (m)panīg "Flügel", pulu U. 3 "the putty-nut . . . to caulk a canoe" < IN. (m)pullut "Klebstoff"; para 2 "a fence" < IN. (m)pala "Gestell", poo- 2 "navel, umbilical cord" < IN. (m)pūtel "rundgedreht".

Auch auf IN. mb geht p zurück in apa 1 "part, side, half" < IN. tambān "Seite", upu 1 "to swell in body" < IN. tumbuh "wachsen", pue S., pua U. "areca-nut" neben hue- S., hua- U. "article, . . . used of fruits only" < IN. (m)buwah "Frucht" (dass ein Zusammenhang von pue und hue vorliegt, hat Ivens S. 264 vermerkt); hierher gehört wohl auch pūnu 1 "to be deaf" < IN. bēnēl "taub", obwohl die Entsprechung u für IN. č unregelmässig ist, sowie pepe "butterfly" < IN. (m)bēmbēn "Schmetterling", und nicht zu dem in Indonesien isolierten Mak. pipipi.

Neben p kommt pw im Anlaut vor, das gleichfalls IN. mb entspricht in pwonī- S. 2 neben poinī- 2 "a time, a season" < IN. (m)bēnī "Nacht, Tag von 24 Stunden", pwāu- 1 "head" < IN. (m)batuk "Schädel, Kugel". Diese Lautvariante pw neben p ist vermutlich aus einem labiovelaren Laut entstanden, der in anderen melanesischen Sprachen in den betreffenden Wörtern für "Nacht", "Kopf", (auch "Schwein") gesprochen wird. Labiovelare Laute aber deuten auf Mischung mit Papua-Sprachen hin.

Der Laut d des Sa'a vertritt die Nasalverbindungen nt, nd, ňt und ňg' des IN. Es sind aber nur eine kleine Anzahl von Belegen zu finden, und nur der Vergleich mit anderen melanesischen Sprachen sichert den Zusammenhang mit IN. Wörtern. Auf IN. nt geht d zurück in hudi 1 "a banana" < IN. punti "Banane", idu 1 "to count" < IN. hī(n)tuḥ "zählen", udu "the pith of a twig" neben uwa (wohl = uo) 3 "the inner skin of rattan cane, pith" < IN. u(n)tēk "Gehirn, Mark"; ma|dala "the morning star" < IN. (n)tala "Gestirn", duu "a covering of bast cloth . . ." < IN. (n)tutup "zugedeckt".

Auf IN. nd geht d zurück in -da 1 "pers. pron. pl. 3, suffixed to nouns . . ." < IN. ndа (n-đа) "ihr (Plural)", ri|rīdi "the space under the eaves of a house" < IN. dīndih "Wand", udu "to drip" < IN. tu(n)duh (tu(n)đuh) "tröpfeln", dānu U. "to bake" < IN. (n)danum "Wasser", doňa 1 "a pair" < IN. dēňan "Gefährte".
Auch auf IN. *nî* geht d zurück in *dâmu* "to eat the betel-mixture", *ma|damudamu* "to smack the lips" < IN. (*nî)*’*amuk* "schmacken", *diâ* U. *dîne* S. "a day" neben *sihèsîne* S. "to shine" < IN. (*nî)*’*înây* "Schein" (Nebenform zu IN. *înây*).

Endlich geht d auch auf IN. *ng* zurück in *nî*’*udu* U., *nî*’*udu* S. "lip" neben *puvâl*’*usu* “nose” < IN. (*nî)*’*gîn* “Nase; der Bedeutungswandel lässt sich ebenso wie der Lautwandel durch viele melanesische Sprachen verfolgen.

Der Laut *k* geht auf IN. *nî* und *ng* zurück. Auf IN. *nî* in -*ku* "my" < IN. *nîku* (ni-*ku*) "mein", *aka* 2 "to pull out, to emerge" < IN. *a(î)kat* "hoch gehoben", *laka* 1 "to leap about" < IN. *lankah* "Schritt", *ake|ake* "a strand of rope, a twig, a sprig" < IN. *tankay* "Stengel"; *kîa* "we (incl.)" < IN. (*nî)*kîta “wir (inkl.)”. Auf IN. *ng* in *kâru* S. 2 "to scratch with the finger-nails" < IN. (*nî)*’*gâlû* "kratzen", *a|kuru* "to rumble, of thunder" < IN. (*nî)*’*guduh* "donnern".

Etwas anderes als diese Nasalverbindungen des IN. ist die sogenannte "Pränasalierung" des IN., die aus anlautenden Verschlusslauten deren homorgane Nasale hervorbringt. Sie findet sich im Sa’a nur in wenigen Fällen.

Pränasalierung von IN. *p* und *b* ergibt *m* in *mae* 1 “to die . . .” < IN. *patay, matay* "sterben", *mîmi* "to urinate" < IN. *piypiy, mimiy* “spitzen”; *mî|mîmi* "to hide" < IN. *buni, muni* "verbergen". Ebenso von IN. *t* als *n* in *na|nau* S. "to be taught, to be wise" < IN. *tahu, nahu* "gewohnt sein, wissen", *nîmî* U., *nemo* S. "rain" < IN. *timûy, nimûy* "Regenwind". Endlich von IN. *k* als *n* in *hâna* S. "to eat" < IN. *panan* "Speise" zu IN. *kaën* "essen".

Es bleiben noch einige Einzelfälle zu besprechen. *nîma* U., *nime* S. 2 "hand" neben *lima* U., *limê* S. "five" < IN. *lima* "Hand, fünf" und *nîma* U., *nume* S. neben *lume* S. "a dwelling-house" < IN. *yûmah* "Haus" sind Assimilationsvorgänge nach der Formel *l*—Nasal > *n*—Nasal, wie sie melanesisch und auch indonesisch mehrfach vorkommen. *mama|taku* "dreadful, fearful" neben *mâ’u* "to fear" < IN. (ma-)*takut, mate* "dead, in phrases only" neben *mae* "to die" mit *t* statt O für IN. *t* sind wohl als Entlehnungen aus anderen Südseesprachen anzusehen, in denen IN. *t* erhalten ist.

Auffallend ist das Fehlen von ‘ für IN. *k* und *g* in *ala* 3 “to bite” < IN. *kayat* "beissen", *âu* neben *‘âi* "tree" < IN. *kayu* "Holz, Baum", *eî* "to dig" < IN. *kali* "graben", *ato* 3 "a rafter" < IN. *kat’aw* "Dachsparren"; *âlî* "to lie curled up . . .” < IN. *galiň*
"rollen". Ebenso auffallend ist das Auftreten von ' für IN. t in 'āli "a cord" < IN. tali "Strick". Man erwartet 'āu, 'eli, 'ato, 'āli (to lie curled up), aber āli ("a cord"). Ray bringt die beiden letzten Worte entsprechend dieser Erwartung. Sollten Ivens nicht hierbei Hör-, Schreib- oder Druckfehler unterlaufen sein?

(2) Die Halbvokale und Diphthonge des IN.

Der klaren Darstellung Rays ist nur wenig hinzuzufügen.

IN. w bleibt w auch in wāi "fresh water" < IN. wayēγ "Wasser"; lawa 1 "spider's web" < IN. lawah "Spinnweb", tawa "an opening in the shore reef" < IN. t'awañ "Gestade, Lagune".

IN. u + w > u in rua U., rue S. "two" < IN. duva "zwei", vgl. vorstehend hue, pue, s|esu; IN. ve > u in āu 2 "the bamboo" < IN. avēγ, rāu 1 "leaf" < IN. dawēñ; IN. iw > u in āmu U. 4 "you" < IN. kamie "ihr".

IN. y fällt zwar in āu (rāu ?) "tree" < IN. kayu "Holz, Baum" fort, ist aber in āi 2 "tree" als i erhalten, es > s in asusu "coco-nut crab" < IN. ayuγu "grosse Krabbenart" und in huasa "a crocodile" < IN. burama "Krokodil".

IN. iy > i in ie- S., ia- U. "belly" < IN. tiyan "Bauch", niu "the coco-nut palm" < IN. niyγ "Kokos", vgl. vorstehend lie S. 1; IN. ye > i, siehe vorstehend wāi.

IN. ay > e auch in s|ane;" the white ant" < IN. anay "Termite", ue S. (ua U.) 3 "rattan-cane" < IN. uway "Rohr"; vgl. vorstehend ta'e, alite, s|a|te, sowie in one "sand" < IN. hēnay "Sand" (in Alt-Java hēni ist i < ay erst sekundär entstanden).

IN. aw > o auch in vorstehendem hano, baho, s|ato, ato.

Aus allen diesen Wortentsprechungen, deren ich rund 240 gesammelt habe, lässt sich folgende Lautverschiebung vom IN. zum Sa'a zusammenstellen:

IN. a i u ē aw ay w y
Sa'a a i u o e w s (i, O)
IN. p b m mp mb
Sa'a h m p (pw)
IN. t d (d) l l n
Sa'a O r l n
IN. t' d' g' n
Sa'a ś n
IN. nt nd(nd) n't ng'
Sa'a d
IN. \( k g \gamma \hat{n} \hat{n}k \hat{ng} \hat{h} \)
Sa’a \( l \hat{n} \hat{k} \ O(\overline{\text{C}}) \)

*s in kombinatorischem Lautwandel vor \( i \) und \( u \).

Diese Lautverschiebung passt vollständig in den Rahmen der von mir aus dem IN. abgeleiteten melanesischen Ursprache (Urmelanesisch = UMN; siehe Folia ethnoglossica Bd. 3 Heft 2–4, 1927) hinein:

IN. \( a \hat{i}y \hat{y}e \ u \hat{w} \hat{e} \hat{c}aw \hat{w} \hat{y} \hat{h} \)
UMN. \( a \hat{i}y \hat{y}e \ u \hat{w} \hat{e} \hat{c}aw \hat{w} \hat{y} \hat{h} \)
Sa’a \( a i u o w s(i, O) O(\overline{\text{C}}) \)

IN. \( m \hat{n} \hat{n}b \hat{b}p \hat{d}d \hat{t}t'g' \hat{t}g \hat{k}l\overline{\text{I}}\gamma \)
UMN. \( m \hat{n} \hat{n}b \hat{b}p \hat{d}d \hat{t}t'g' \hat{t}g \hat{k}l\overline{\text{I}}\gamma \)
Sa’a \( m \hat{n} \hat{n}b \hat{b}p \hat{d}d \hat{t}t'g' \hat{t}g \hat{k}l\overline{\text{I}}\gamma \)

IN. \( mb \hat{m}p \hat{n}d \hat{n}d \hat{t}t' \hat{d} \hat{d}t' \hat{g}k \hat{h}r \hat{t}l\overline{\text{I}}\gamma \)
UMN. \( mb \hat{m}p \hat{n}d \hat{n}d \hat{t}t' \hat{d} \hat{d}t' \hat{g}k \hat{h}r \hat{t}l\overline{\text{I}}\gamma \)
Sa’a \( p(pw) \hat{d} \hat{k} \)

Es gelingt sonst selten, für den Lautwandel einer melanesischen Sprache so viele und so sichere Belege in dem Quellenmaterial der einschlägigen Literatur aufzuspüren. Dass es für das Sa’a möglich ist, verdanken wir nur dem hier besprochenen Werke Ivens’. Es ist vorbildlich für alle, die in der Südsee linguistische Forschungsarbeit leisten, und es ist unentbehrlich für alle Gelehrten in der alten und neuen Welt, die sich mit linguistischen Problemen der indonesischen, melanesischen und polynesischen Sprachen beschäftigen.

OTTO DEMPWOLFF.

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This book, by the Professor of Egyptology in the University of Toronto, to whom we are already indebted for much scholarly work on Egypt and Assyria, is prefaced by a short introduction from the pen of M. Moret, himself a great authority on the religion of the ancient Egyptians.

The author tells us that he has incorporated in his book the opinions expressed in certain notes left to him by Gaston Maspero, but in addition he has made use of new sources, of recent contributions to
the subject, and of the results of his own personal research. He has limited himself in this volume to a study of the four Egyptian gods, Horus, Seth, Osiris, and Re, before the period of the Pyramid Texts. The sources for this prehistoric period are rare and imperfect, consequently many of the conclusions reached are based on hypothesis only.

Ancient Egypt was an intrinsic part of the Mediterranean world. From the standpoint of ethnology, the Egyptians belong to the Mediterranean race, from the point of view of geography, their country is a part of North Africa, from the standpoint of culture, their civilization has always been associated with that of Palestine, Syria and the islands of the East Mediterranean.

Dr. Mercer brings together some very interesting material in his first chapter and concludes that the most ancient civilization of Egypt was found in Upper Egypt. In this region, at a prehistoric period, the supreme god was Seth, who was in part indigenous, and in part Libyan, like his worshippers. At the neolithic period, Egypt was invaded on the south-east by a Mediterranean race coming probably from Arabia, which created a second civilization, that of the Fayoum, and these people were worshippers of the Falcon-god, Horus. Later, Horus established himself in the West Delta, and there became supreme. His followers allied themselves with the worshippers of Osiris in the East Delta, and thus formed a united kingdom of Lower Egypt. Then the worshippers of Horus invaded Upper Egypt, conquered the worshippers of Seth, and established themselves in Central Egypt. After this arose a new people in the Delta, with their headquarters at Heliopolis, who worshipped Re. These people were of an Armenian type, or a Semitic mixture, and came perhaps from the Mediterranean islands, and allied themselves with the Horus worshippers. The two attacked Lower Egypt and conquered it, and there resulted a political union of the North and the South under the rule of the worshippers of Horus, though the people of Seth were not entirely conquered. Yet Horus remained the national god, up to the period of the Third Dynasty. During the time of the Fifth Dynasty Horus had to yield to Re, but after this Re, in his turn, had to share the supremacy with Osiris, and thenceforward the two great gods of Egypt were Re and Osiris.

After dealing in detail with the history and worship of each of the four gods, the author takes up the more controversial question of the origin of the religion of ancient Egypt. He differs from those Egyptologists who maintain that the religion was essentially native,
and not of foreign origin, holding that Semitic influence was predominant in the prehistoric period. The first civilization he admits was indigenous, but the second he holds was of foreign importation, coming probably from Arabia, not Nubia, by way of Suez. His final conclusion is that the inhabitants of Egypt represented four races and four religions; worshippers of Seth, worshippers of Horus (who came from Arabia by Kosseir and Suez), worshippers of Osiris (who came from Syria), and worshippers of Re (from the Mediterranean islands). The cult of these four gods, the development of their mythologies, the rivalries of their priests, had a far-reaching influence upon the history of Egypt.

Though some will be prepared to dispute the author’s view as to the preponderating influence of the Semitic elements in this early period, and to attach greater importance to the Libyan-Hamitic element, all readers of this book will admit that Professor Mercer has made the most of the scanty materials at his disposal, while his views as to the political condition of Egypt at this time, a condition which was so intimately connected with the worship of the four great gods, are of great interest and very suggestive.

It is much to be regretted that a book which includes so much that is interesting and valuable for all who are concerned with the study of Egyptology, should contain neither bibliography nor index.

M. Smith.

Races of Africa. By C. G. Seligman, F.R.C.P., F.R.S., Professor of Ethnology in the University of London. 6¾ x 4¼, pp. 256. (Home University Library of Modern Knowledge.) London: Thornton Butterworth, Ltd. 1930. 2s. 6d.

An up-to-date summary of anthropological facts relating to Africa is greatly needed and Dr. Seligman has supplied the want in a most attractive little volume. The survey is both clear and concise and at the same time extremely readable. The introductory chapter contains definitions of terms commonly used in physical anthropology the lack of which has often been sadly felt by the general reader, spoiling his enjoyment of what would otherwise be interesting works. On a point which has caused a good deal of discussion in the past, one fancies that the best-informed authorities will be disposed to agree that “if a definition of race be sought it is scarcely possible to say more than that race connotes ‘a group of people who have certain well-marked
physical characters in common', and that, though at the present day there can be few pure races in existence, for descriptive purposes we can treat a race as 'pure' unless there is reason to believe that it has arisen from more than one source in relatively modern times.'

The "primary" races of Africa are enumerated by Dr. Seligman as: (1) Hamites, (2) Semites (who, however, "apart from a certain amount of mixture in Abyssinia, have only been present in Africa for a little over 1,000 years"), (3) Negroes, including "True Negroes" ("mainly confined to the neighbourhood of the Guinea coast, including Nigeria and the French Sudan, with some part of the Cameroons and perhaps the Congo"), Bantu, Nilotes and "half-Hamites", (4) Bushmen, (4a) Hottentots, and (5) Negritos (Pygmies). The "half-Hamites" include the Masai, Nandi, Suk, Lumbwa, and some others, as well as, probably, the Didinga, Topotha and Iteso. The tribes sometimes called "outcast" are mentioned in the chapter on the "Eastern Hamites" on account of "geographical position rather than ethnic knowledge". They are "generally assumed . . . to be the descendants of a dwarf or pygmy race, presumably the ancestors of Bushmen or Negritos": Dr. Seligman is inclined to doubt this in the case of the Dorobo, and I would venture to extend the doubt to the "Wasania" (surely, more correctly, Wasanye)—what, by the bye, is the authority for the assertion that these people have clicks in their language? True, very little is known of it, as most of them now speak Galla.

Enough has been said to show that the importance of this manual is in no way commensurate with its size. There could be no better introduction to the subject.

A. W.

FABLES OF THE VELD. By F. Posselt. With a Foreword by Professor Carl Meinhof. 7\(\text{\frac{3}{4}}\) × 5, pp. 132. Oxford: University Press, 6s.

These stories have been collected by Mr. Posselt in the course of many years' residence among the natives of southern Rhodesia, during which he had the ampest opportunity of gaining an insight into their customs and beliefs. While regretting, with Professor Meinhof, that the author has not seen his way to print the original text along with his versions, one cannot but be grateful for the conscientious
way in which he has recorded them, and particularly for noting the
tribe by which each is contributed. Of the forty-six stories the largest
number comes from the Nyungwe (Tete) people, who hardly come into
southern Rhodesia; but the two authorities quoted for these, Siamakuli and Chimsau, probably belong to this tribe, though Mr. Posselt
gives no further particulars about them. The language spoken by the
Banyungwe (probably the prefix should have the bilabial v) is virtually
the same as Nyanja. The Jindwe tribe, represented by eleven tales,
appears to live in the Umtali district, but the name is not to be found
among those enumerated in Mr. Posselt's valuable Notes on Some Tribes
of Southern Rhodesia. In the table of contents we find, indiscriminately,
the name of the tribe, with or without prefix—Bananzwa, Barozwi,
Ndebele—and that of the language, Chizezuru, Sinjanja. This is apt
to be found perplexing. The Vambilere, who have contributed two
stories both new to me (though one is a variant on a familiar theme)
are to be found in the Marandellas District; "Chikunda" (unless
this is one of the unnamed tribes mentioned by Mr. Posselt as
"scattered over the Territory . . . and interspersed with those
already named") presumably means the A-Chikunda (in their case,
chi- is not a language-denoting prefix) of the Lower Shire and Zambezi.

One story, given as Ndebele, is identical (though shortened) with
part of Ukombekcasini: in Callaway's Nursery Tales, Traditions
and Histories of the Zulus (1868). "The Blind Man and his Brother"
(Jindwe) may be compared with "The Blind Man and the Cripple"
in Captain Rattray's Nyanja collection. Many of the stories, as might
be expected, are concerned with the faits et gestes of the Hare (Tsuro,
Sulwe or Kalulu), and one combines the incident of the well dug by
the animals (Swahili: Sungura na Mngoma and Hadithi ya Vinyama)
with that of the hare nursing the leopard's (here the lion's) cubs and
eating one after the other. For nearly every one of the forty-six tales
in Mr. Posselt's book, interesting parallels can be adduced from other
parts of the Bantu field, and probably a very little further research
would complete the list.

The print and general appearance of the book are quite in accordance
with the traditions of the Oxford University Press.

A. W.

The most important part, to the non-expert in phonetics, of this very thorough and conscientious study, is the first chapter, with its accompanying map enabling one to place the various dialects of the three closely related but distinct languages: Sesuto, Sepedi and Sechuana. (Though, as Mr. Tucker points out, there is no actual "Sechuana" language in existence: the name, here used for convenience, is applied by him to the dialect of the Barolong, which appears to be the most important and is that used in Crisp, Notes towards a Secoana Grammar and Jones and Plaatje, Sechuana Reader.) The Bakgatla are classed by Mr. Tucker as Bechuana, but probably the "Kchatla" noted by Meinhof as a separate language and placed on his map in the neighbourhood of Pretoria is that of the "Transvaal Bakgatla, to be found in the Rustenberg district of South-West Transvaal", who have "so far differed from the parent stem in language as to be classed under the Bapedi". (In proper names, where Mr. Tucker follows the current South African orthography, g has the Dutch value of the velar fricative). The historical development of these languages is illustrated by the diagram on p. 13: the Barolong and Bathaping were, seemingly, the earliest immigrants into the country south of the Zambezi. A point which I do not remember to have been taken up by previous inquirers is the "peculiar quality of carrying power" possessed by all Bantu languages. Mr. Tucker has examined this question carefully but does not here suggest any final solution. If I am not mistaken, however, he is disposed to think that the fact of all syllables being open—i.e. ending in a vowel—may at any rate partly account for the phenomenon.

The discussion of phonetic technicalities must be left to specialists. I must confine myself to remarking that the two varieties of e, always a stumbling-block to learners, seem to present even more difficulty than I had thought, especially as the results arrived at by Crisp, Jacottet and Endemann "do not tally, neither have I found any native to agree with any one author in more than half the cases I have investigated". In addition to this, the commonest sound appears to be the one most difficult for the average ear to seize!

A. Werner.

This little work embodies lectures actually delivered by the author in 1928–9 to Colonial Office probationers at Oxford, Cambridge, and London, and it is accordingly divided into four "lectures". These deal, respectively, with the main divisions of the African languages, the Sudanic family, the large Bantu aggregate, which covers such a great part of the field, and the Hamitic languages. Semitic is cut out as being of comparatively late importation, and the Hottentot and Bushman languages are not discussed in detail, as their affiliation is still subject to some doubt. The differences between the three main types of speech considered are very clearly explained and illustrated by examples; and an account is given of their geographical distribution. In such a small compass it would obviously have been impossible, even if it had been desirable, to enter into the details of the characteristics of all the individual languages comprised in these great groups. That is a function best reserved for their several grammars, not for a work which aims at being an introduction, on comparative lines, to African languages in general. Regarded from this point of view, it can fairly claim to have achieved its object, for it is very interesting and intelligible even to one who knows nothing at all of African linguistics and it will serve to stimulate its readers to a further pursuit of the subject.

C. O. Blagden.
NOTES AND QUERIES

LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA. VOLUME I, PT. II

I am grateful to Dr. Grahame Bailey for the kindly and suggestive review of the above book in pp. 615 ff. of the Vol. V of the Bulletin. I would nevertheless ask permission to submit the following remarks in no controversial spirit, but in order to prevent my attitude in regard to one or two points being misunderstood.

On p. 616 Dr. Bailey states that he has several times begged me to discontinue the use of "Brokpa" as the name of a dialect of Šinā, and adds that in the volume under review I have given this up. I must make my position plain. It is true that I do not use the term in the volume under review, but that does not mean that I have given it up. Dr. Bailey objects to my using the term as the name of the Šinā dialects of Drās and Dāḥ-Hanū. With all respect for his great authority I must differ from him in this respect. The word "Brōk-pā" is a Tibetan term for "a Highlander", and in that language is used for the Dards of both these localities. As Shaw 1 says, "Both the Dah-Hanu people and the Dard communities settled on or about the Dras river, are called by their Tibetan neighbours Brōk-pā," and so, all through the article, he calls these people by this name.

Again, Drew 2 says "At Drās the Dārdas . . . form more than half the community, the others being Baltis . . . Wherever the Dards are in contact with Baltis or with Bhots these others call them . . . Brōkpa or Blokpa."

In spite of Dr. Bailey’s authority I therefore still venture to maintain that, if occasion requires it, I am entitled to refer to the forms of Šinā spoken in Drās and Dāḥ-Hanū as Brōkpa dialects.

Dr. Bailey refers to the question as to whether the t and d of Šinā are alveolar or dental. This was not dealt with in the book under review, nor do I do that here. It has been discussed at great length in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1924, the protagonists being Colonel Lorimer and Dr. Bailey.

Dr. Bailey says that four names are given in the Survey for the tākrī Alphabet, viz. tākrū, tākktārī, tākrī and tākrī, and that he has never heard any but the last. He adds that its derivation is unknown, but that we may be sure it is not connected with thākur. I have not

1 See "Stray Arians in Tibet" in JASB. vol. xlvii, pt. i, 1878, pp 36 ff.
2 Jummoo and Kashmir Territories, 433 ff.
checked his list of names, but I have no doubt that it is correct. Names
differ according to locality, and I have in each case recorded those that
I found in use. If Dr. Bailey will refer to page 170 of the Part I of
Volume I of the Survey, he will see that I consider Ṭakkarī as the best
spelling, and of this his Ṭākri is an obvious variant. As for the
derivation, the word means "the alphabet of the Ṭakkas", an
important tribe who once ruled the country round Sialkot. They were
so well-known that they had a Prakrit dialect of their own, which was
described at length by Indian grammarians. This dialect was called
Ṭākki, which Bischel, owing to incorrect manuscripts, read as Ḍhākkī,
and mistakenly referred to the Dacca of Eastern Bengal.¹

G. A. Grierson.

Attention ought to be widely called to an Occasional Paper (No. 2)
issued by the Department of Native Development, Southern Rhodesia,
in which Dr. Doke discusses the important question of Word-Division
in Bantu. The "conjunctive method" which he advocates will surely
commend itself to every impartial inquirer when it is taken into
consideration that in such a word, for instance, as the Zulu u-ya-ku-si-
bona "he will see us", not one of the component parts, with the
exception of the verb-stem bona (and that only in the imperative
singular) can be used independently. In Sesuto printed books, where
the "disjunctive method" is usually employed (according to which
the above word would be written u ya ku si bona) the loose particles are
a constant source of confusion. I have always adopted the conjunctive
form of writing, but have been accustomed to except from it the word
for "and" (na) and the possessive particle—except where these, as in
Zulu, coalesce with a vowel following, e.g. nomuntu (for na umuntu),
wenkosi (for wa inkosi). But it must be owned that Dr. Doke is only
logical in refusing to make this exception. If the problem is likely to
arise in any other class of hitherto unwritten languages, the solution
here suggested is well worth the attention of all concerned.

A. Werner.

¹ See JRAS. 1913, p. 882.
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